January 2011

America at Mid-19th Century: Abolition, Civil War, Emancipation, and Reconstruction - An Illustrated Thesis

James Schiele
Washington University in St. Louis

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Immortalized his name by the PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION Jaunary 1st 1853
whereby more than THREE MILLIONS of HUMAMAN BEINGS were dedared
FOREVER FREE.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

University College

Department of American Culture Studies

AMERICA AT MID-19TH CENTURY:

ABOLITION, CIVIL WAR, EMANCIPATION, AND RECONSTRUCTION

AN ILLUSTRATED THESIS

by

James E. Schiele

A Thesis presented to the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts

May 2011

Saint Louis, Missouri

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the assistance that I received from my faculty Thesis Committee at Washington University in St. Louis:

Douglas B. Dowd, Thesis Committee Chair, Professor of Art

Iver Bernstein, Professor of History

Steven M. Fazzari, Professor of Economics

Wayne D. Fields, Lynne Cooper Harvey Distinguished Professor of English

Gary J. Miller, Professor of Political Science

I also would like to thank the following University staff:

Anne Posega, Maria Schlafly, Christine Moseley, and Nancy Galofré,

as well as Sue Rainey, former editor of *Imprint*,

the journal of the American Historical Print Collectors Society.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Introduction

If socialism had ever been considered as part of the culture of America, it was stillborn on the fields of Antietam and Gettysburg. This was the final message delivered by British military historian and author, John Keegan, in his 2009 book entitled *The American Civil War*.[1] The Civil War, fought on 10,000 battlegrounds between April of 1861 and April 1865, was the largest engagement of arms fought anywhere in the 19th century and likely the largest that will ever be engaged on the North American continent. To understand the significance of the proliferation of illustrations that poured out of the presses of the *Illustrated London News*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *Leslie's Illustrated News*, it is important to understand the cultural revolution that was taking place in America as its citizens, North and South, grappled with issues of slavery, states' rights, and union. *Illustrations played a vital role in shaping public opinion; that is the underlying premise of this thesis.*

In the sometimes-called "Second American Revolution," Americans were awakened to issues that heretofore had not seriously interrupted their daily lives that largely revolved around an agricultural livelihood or an urban life. In a nation of some 33 million, only around 16,000 had chosen the military as a career, and they were mostly posted in the West. John Keegan, a premier English military historian who taught at Sandhurst and lectured at Princeton, keenly observed that while traditional officer corps were establishments in England, France, and Germany, no such institutions existed in antebellum America. Where concepts of socialism brought to light by Karl Marx permeated the roots of European society and made lasting, if not always successful impressions, the United States was uniquely impervious to such theory and practice.

Jacksonian Democracy had made the stronger impression and as armed conflict to resolve the issues of slavery, states' rights, and union appeared to be ever more likely, sectional majorities would end up deciding whether those United States would remain half slave and half free or whether a more cohesive Union would survive. The War itself would decide the issues.

The James E. and Joan Singer Schiele Historical Print Collection contains over three hundred 19th century prints; the vast majority are original lithographs, chromolithographs, metal plate engravings, wood engravings, etchings, three John Stuart Curry charcoal and ink sketches, and some Frederick Remington late 19th century pieces. The Schiele Collection is housed at the Olin Library, Washington University in St. Louis, and is on permanent exhibit in Special Collections under the direction of Anne Posega.

All sixty of the pieces displayed in this thesis are part of the Schiele Collection.

Chapter 1

Understanding the Impact of the Illustrated Press in 19th Century America

The following events have been recorded to tell a story. The story, illustrated by pictures, is a tale of a nation in turmoil, a crisis that might have remained unresolved and the character of the men and women who stood up to the trauma of a divided nation to find resolution. The story also includes some information about the illustrators and artists who painted pictures from memory or from their own sometimes harrowing experiences on the battlefields. These pictures were printed thousands of times; hundreds of thousands saw them as a way to help resolve their own feelings about a nation divided into a cultural landscape in which there was no right or wrong. Did the Constitution prevail on such a contentious issue as slavery, or did the "better angels of our nature" prevail? In 2011 the United States recognized the 150th year of the war that decided whether the nation would remain half slave and half free. Illustrations by talented and dedicated artists never determined an outcome on the field or at the polls, but sometimes opinions could be easily turned by discussion that followed those pictures.

Many books have been published over the last century that illustrate the Civil War in America in words and pictures. Today, in the 21st century, books continue to be published that contain beautiful engravings, lithographs, and etchings taken from a variety of sources that depict the lives of those who made history and those whose lives were strewn on the fields of battle during this tumultuous time. The concept of America changed in the eyes of those who lived in the mid-19th century, to some extent driven by events that were reported not only in print but also in pictures.

Woodblock engraved illustrations in papers and periodicals began their meteoric ascendancy in the 1850s and took off during the 1860s (see Ill. 3). Whatever concepts of the United States as a "nation" had been in the minds of most Americans prior to the tumultuous events of the mid-19th century, those concepts were bound to be influenced by the proliferation of the written and illustrated opinions that appeared in the press. The likes of Thomas Nast, Winslow Homer, Alfred Waud, Edwin Forbes, F.O.C. Darley, all of whom were leading artists and illustrators of the period, helped form the opinions of Northerners and Southerners toward their conflicting destinations. The advent of more pictures arriving on the newsstands, sometimes only days after events took place, either solidified or inflamed public opinion, both in the North and South.

Events that had moved along rapidly in 1776, culminating with the signing of the Declaration of Independence, had an immediate effect of dividing the fledgling population of America in three parts: Separatists, Loyalists, and Undecided. Communication extending out from Boston and Philadelphia was slow. Many of those who were undecided about whether to remain loyal to Great Britain or join the rebellion, remained undecided. Those favoring separation gathered around the new banner, while the Loyalists returned to England or emigrated to Canada. These reactions are clearly illustrated in a mid-19th century steel engraving that pictures the destruction of a King George III statue in Boston. But this wonderful graphic illustration appeared 84 years after the event. In comparison to a century later, there was not very much printed material available in 1776.

An increasing sophistication in the dissemination of news to the public grew throughout the trauma of the Civil War, the uncertainties associated with the

Emancipation Proclamation, and the disappointments of Reconstruction. By 1876, at the end of Reconstruction, the end of President Grant's second term, and the Battle of the Little Big Horn, public opinion was formed quickly. As news, followed by illustrations, filtered into the public eye, the United States reacted swiftly and vigorously to what was described as *the massacre at the Little Big Horn*. Public sentiment condemned all Indians in the West, calls for retribution went out over the land, and public pressure mounted in Washington for more security by the Army to protect the movement west.

The use of illustrations in printed matter grew exponentially from 1850 through the 1870s. The illustrations of current events had a dramatic influence on the way Americans learned about their country and how they formed their identity as Americans. Prior to the 1860s and the availability of widely distributed periodicals such as *Harper's Weekly*, *Illustrated London News*, and *Leslie's Illustrated News*, graphic illustrations of current events were only available well after the fact. Around the time of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry and his subsequent trial and execution in 1859, more immediate reporting of such stories appeared in the press, accompanied by pictures produced by the wood engraving process.

As the coming of a war between the states became inevitable, the numbers of illustrations that complemented news stories skyrocketed. As Americans north and south of the Mason-Dixon Line became informed by both word and picture, the line separating North and South became more tautly drawn. Illustrations were revolutionizing printed materials, and those were reaching into the heart and soul of every part of the fragmented nation. The inevitability of an armed conflict was being carried to the population swiftly by printed matter and pictures. It was almost as if Americans could see themselves in the

mirror when they gazed at images of people and scenes that previously they could only imagine.

Illustrations tell the story in the articles covering the events that spanned the abolition of slavery, the antebellum South, the Civil War, Emancipation and Reconstruction from 1848 through 1876. Those times were not only turbulent, but it was also a period in which the United States achieved remarkable growth in population and expansion of its borders west. Population growth was stimulated by the arrival of immigrants from Ireland, Germany, and Central Europe. Although the importation of slaves from Africa had been declared illegal in 1807, the slave population in the South continued to increase at a steady rate; by 1861, African-Americans constituted four million of the approximately ten million people living in the eleven southern states that formed the Confederate States of America. The historic rise in population in the North and South stimulated western migration, and as this phenomenon developed, the issue of "slavery in the territories" became contentious; it also became *the issue*.

In the meantime, the abolition movement, which had been confined mostly to New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, became a national issue. The abolitionists, who were mostly quartered in churches and in abolition societies in the East, spread their influence, driven by the likes of John Brown, Charles Sumner (see Ill. 6), and Harriet Beecher Stowe (see Ill. 7). Abolitionists gained national platforms in Washington. In addition to Sumner in the Senate, William Seward spoke eloquently of "the irrepressible conflict"[2] and stirred the conscience of the nation toward the cruelty of slavery and the inevitability of a war between the states.

The war came; it lasted four years and claimed over 630,000 American lives from the battlefields, in a nation of barely 33 million souls. But it also brought the Emancipation Proclamation as a presidential order into the mainstream of American life, and forever changed life in America. The end of the war and President Lincoln's assassination ushered in the age of Reconstruction, 1866-1876. The last quarter of the 19th century witnessed the final expansion westward.

The issue of slavery and slavery in the territories may not have made headline news every week in *Harper's Illustrated Weekly* and *Leslie's Illustrated News*, but by mid-19th century in America, the issue of slavery was topical. Looking back to 1821 when Missouri was admitted to the Union as a slave state and Maine was admitted as a free state, the topic of slavery, whether preserving it or abolishing it, would not die. The South stood to be impacted by any change in the status of slavery in the United States to a far greater extent than the North. Whereas commerce and industry in the North was diversified—manufacturing, distribution of goods, agriculture, banking, finance—the engine that drove wealth and prosperity in the South became cotton by midcentury and the fuel that turned the wheels was slavery.

On the larger plantations consisting of 20 or more slaves, those human beings oftentimes represented the largest single asset of a plantation owner. The cost of a good field hand in 1850 was around $2,000 and that cost was not expected to go down as more of the smaller farmers had ambitions to buy slaves. Slave owning gave meaning to successful cotton farming; when a small farmer who had been working his own field without slave labor was in a position to acquire one or two slaves, his fortunes may not have changed overnight, but his status did. Owning slaves in the South reached out much

farther than the ambition of a few; it had become the goal of many. Those who successfully climbed the next rung on the ladder gained the status sought by many, but achieved by few. The human beings that were bought and sold to sow, plant, and harvest were considered as nothing more than working assets. If the farm venture was successful, the planter might add to his slave labor force. If he failed, human assets were sold off and lives might well be changed forever.

Such was the tale told by Harriet Beecher Stowe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, her memorable novel published in 1852 that sold over 300,000 copies in its first year of publication and outsold the Bible in the United States in the second half of the 19th century. It was subsequently published in thirty foreign languages.[3] To expand further on Stowe's amazing success with her first published book, Eric Foner writes:

> Indeed, the most effective piece of antislavery literature of the entire period, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* was to some extent modeled on the autobiography of fugitive slave Josiah Henson. Serialized in 1851 in a Washington antislavery newspaper and published in a book the following year, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had sold over 1 million copies by 1854, and was performed in numerous stage versions. By portraying slaves as sympathetic men and women, Christians at the mercy of slaveholders who split up families and set bloodhounds on innocent mothers and children, Stowe's melodrama gave the abolitionist message a powerful human appeal.[4]

Several illustrations that follow depict a young Harriet Beecher Stowe possibly at the age when she wrote the book. Also shown is a plate from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Ill. 8).

There were a number of abolitionists that individually made a large impact on the conscience of Americans. A few of those, in addition to Stowe, are discussed in this chapter. Because they represented different points of view and because they rose to the cause of abolition from different disciplines, they acted independently. But they had one thing in common and that was a passion directed toward abolishing slavery. They gathered momentum as they drew followers to themselves, nonviolently like Harriet Beecher Stowe, or violently like John Brown.

As a movement, abolition appeared on the American scene as part of a wave of reforms. Although the issue of slavery had remained a hot topic since ratification of the *Constitution*, it had not apparently reached the numbers significant enough to give it national prominence and recognition. That kind of action best originates with large gatherings of people, and the wave of reforms that occurred toward mid-century assured abolition equal treatment.

> Abolition was only one part of the multifaceted reform impulse that emerged in these years. Americans established organizations devoted to preventing the manufacture and sale of liquor, ending the delivery of the mails and other "frivolous" activities on Sundays, improving conditions in prisons—renouncing war as a means of settling disputes among nations, expanding educational opportunities. . . . But all these groups sent out speakers, gathered signatures on petitions, published pamphlets, and strove to convert public opinion to their cause.[5]

Coincidentally, around this time, technological advances in printmaking allowed wood engravers to turn out pictures of contemporary events at an accelerated rate. The

chart referenced earlier (Ill. 3) clearly demonstrates the rate at which wood engravings skyrocketed at mid-century.[6] But it is no coincidence that the proliferation of pictures that occurred as news breaking events were taking place, such as John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859 or Abraham Lincoln's Cooper Union speech in 1860, heated up topics further that were already hot, and brought the public's attention quickly to these events. Brown's journey from Harper's Ferry to the gallows was memorialized well ahead of its time. The Currier & Ives lithograph memorialized it even further well after the date of his execution (Ill. 5).

The individuals involved kept the topic of slavery and abolition in front of the press. But the movements brought crowds of people together to listen to well-versed speakers.

> Many of these movements drew their inspiration from the Second Great Awakening, a wave of religious revivalism that swept over the country in the 1820s and 1830s. . . . But the vision of a society freed from sin became the driving force behind the reform impulse of the 1830s, pushing older moderate movements in a new radical direction. Under the impact of revivals, temperance became prohibitionism, criticism of war became outright pacifism, and a new movement arose devoted to the immediate and total abolition of slavery.[7]

Brown and Stowe stood at extreme ends of the abolition spectrum. John Brown was an extremist, a sometime terrorist and an avowed Old Testament style of killer, who exacted revenge when his own style of frontier justice demanded it. He and his sons murdered five pro-slavery planters in Potowatamie, Kansas, avenging the murder of a

like number of free soilers who were anti-slavery farmers. Brown had planned to arm up to 200 slaves in Virginia following the Harper's Ferry raid on the arsenal, but found only 20 volunteers and the uprising failed.

Stowe spoke through her gifted style of prose, which enchanted millions, and brought the issue of the inhumanity of slavery to the public eye and created havoc in the South. There were many in between, including Charles Sumner, Republican from Massachusetts in the U.S. Senate, William Lloyd Garrison (Ill. 11), fiery publisher of *The Liberator*, a successful abolition newspaper, and the names of those under the pictures of the engraving entitled, *Eminent Opponents of the Slave Power* (Ill. 9). They are:

John Quincy Adams
Henry Ward Beecher (see Ill. 10)
John Greenleaf Whittier
William Lloyd Garrison
William Cullen Bryant
Wendell Phillips
Charles Sumner
Joshua R. Giddings
Gerrit Smith
Owen Lovejoy
Benjamin Lundy
Cassius M. Clay

Two striking wood engravings that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in 1861 and *The Illustrated London News* in 1856 (see Ill. 4) were sketched and printed at different times, but tell the same story of the slave trade in Charleston, South Carolina. The scenes, though illustrated five years apart, tell the same story of black slave families at risk while the auctioneer assumes the role of executioner, very likely separating families that may never see each other again. Abolition of slavery thereby was no longer one of the nation's best kept secrets, sometimes debated heatedly in Congress, and legislated via laws such as the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, but never

fully disclosed to large masses of the population. It was no longer possible to keep abolition quiet, or to keep the issue from dividing the nation in two. The movements gathered crowds, the images brought reality to the public eye, and the reality of "irrepressible conflict" brought slavery and its possible extension into new territories to a boiling point. The link that bound the entire issue together for resolution or failure was the presence of Abraham Lincoln on the national scene in 1858.

Abolition of slavery had many sides to it. Because of the Second Great Awakening, and because of the Quaker movement that preceded it, a great moral issue was raised that had scant exposure prior to these movements. The Law of the Land, the *Constitution of the United States,* contained nothing that prohibited slavery. William Lloyd Garrison preached total abolition, even if it meant voluntarily dividing the country in two—free states and slave states. In 1831, Garrison stated in his newspaper, *The Liberator*: "I will be as harsh as truth—and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, to speak, or to write with moderation—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard."[8] There were several abolition-focused newspapers, including *Massachusetts Abolitionist* and *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* original copies of which may be found in the Schiele Historic Print Collection. But *The Liberator* was the preeminent and probably the most widely read antislavery newspaper.

There were moderates, who believed that slavery was wrong, but that it would eventually seek its own end, more than likely because it was no longer cost effective. Abraham Lincoln believed that slavery would end by the latter part of the nineteenth century. But he had also expressed an interest in voluntary departure of blacks to Africa.

Whatever Abraham Lincoln thought did not make much of an impact until he became a recognized national political figure in the Illinois U.S. Senate election of 1858, followed by his candidacy for president of the United States in 1860. The seven Lincoln-Douglas Debates in 1858 took Lincoln a significant step further along the road to eventual abolition of slavery in the United States. His Cooper Union address in New York in 1860 propelled him to national prominence in the North, and to the image of destroyer of a way of life in the South. At Cooper Union, Lincoln answered the fears of Southerners by stating that a Republican federal government had no intention of denying Southerners any rights written in the *Constitution*. What he further said was that the *Constitution* did not provide for taking slaves into federal territories and holding them there as property.

"That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the *Constitution*, even by implication."[9] Slavery in the territories had become and remained the contentious issue that simply could not be easily worked out; Lincoln answered the notion of "popular sovereignty" by saying that "if one man would enslave another, no third man should object." With the expansion of the United States west into the new territories, Southerners simply saw their majority hold on Congress dissipating without the ability to control new territories and states. Lincoln struck a conciliatory note when he asked Republicans to "do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can."[10]

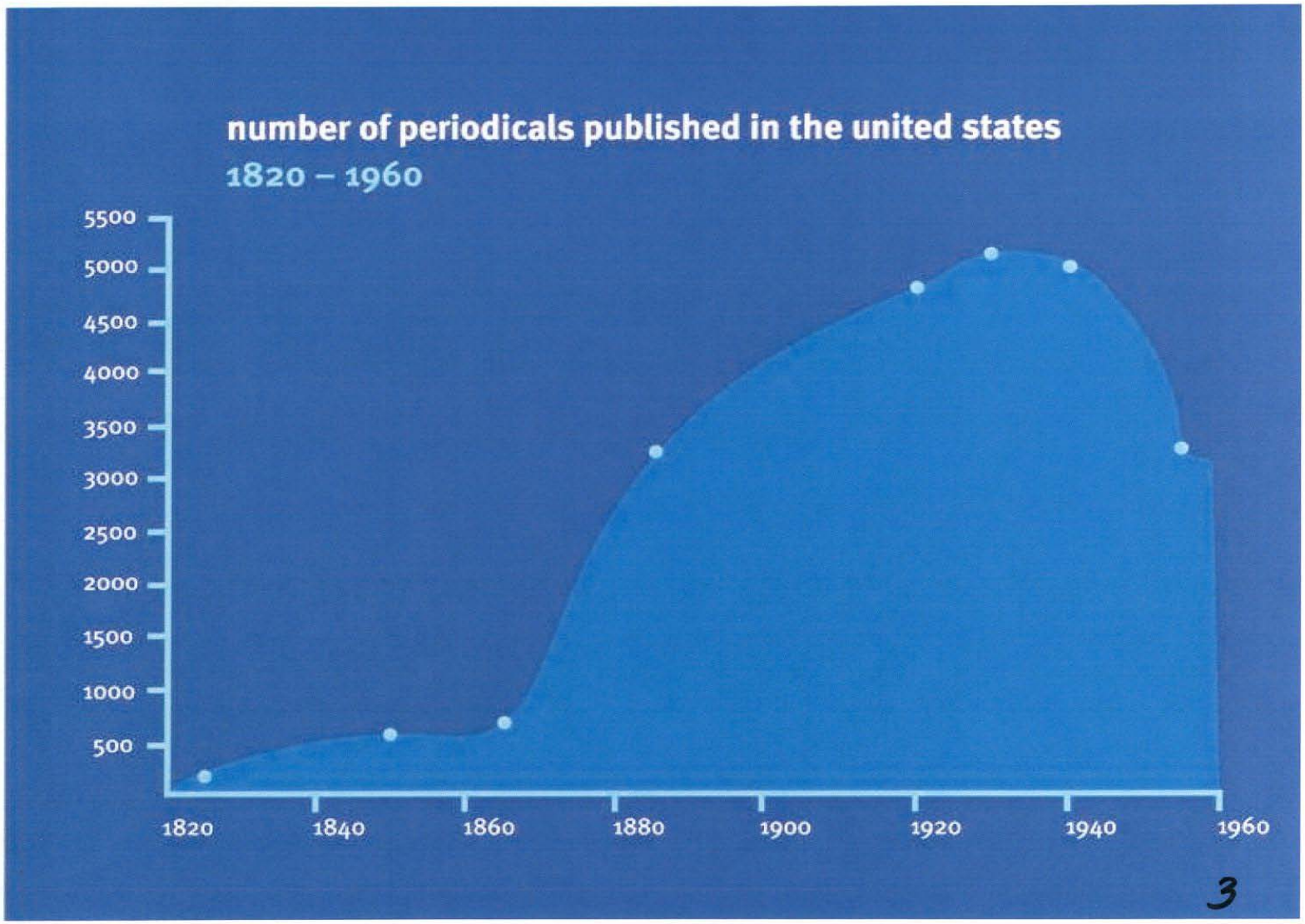
Lincoln calls for conciliation and understanding while clearly stating that to accede to southern demands would ultimately destroy the very principles upon which the nation was founded.

> Holding as they do, that slavery is morally right, and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it, as a legal right, and a social blessing. Nor can we justifiably withhold this, on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong. If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it, are themselves wrong, and should be silenced . . . if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension—its enlargement.[11]

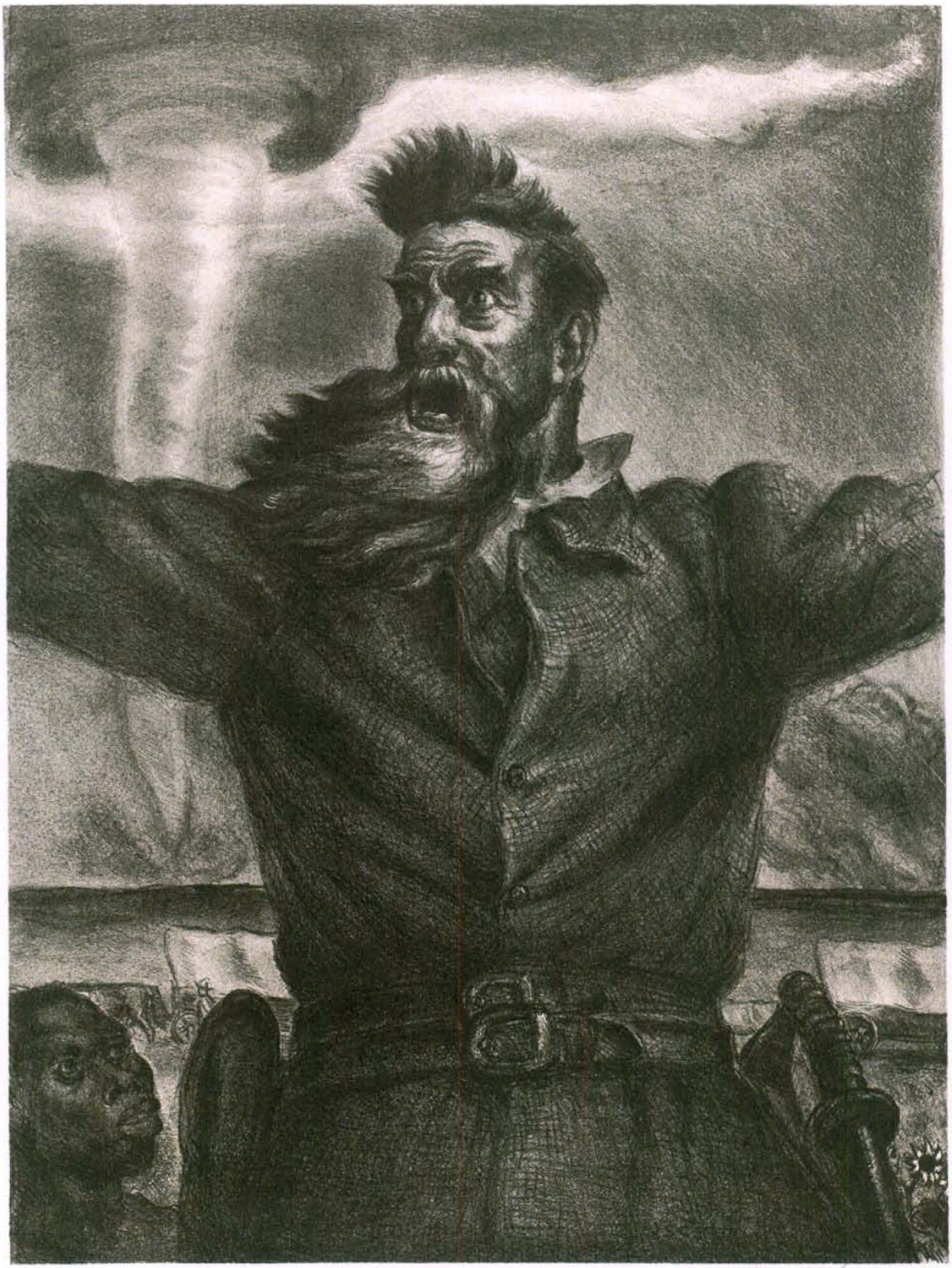
Lincoln concluded this historic political address by asking Republicans and any other fair-minded people in that crowded hall to "DARE TO DO OUR DUTY AS WE UNDERSTAND IT."

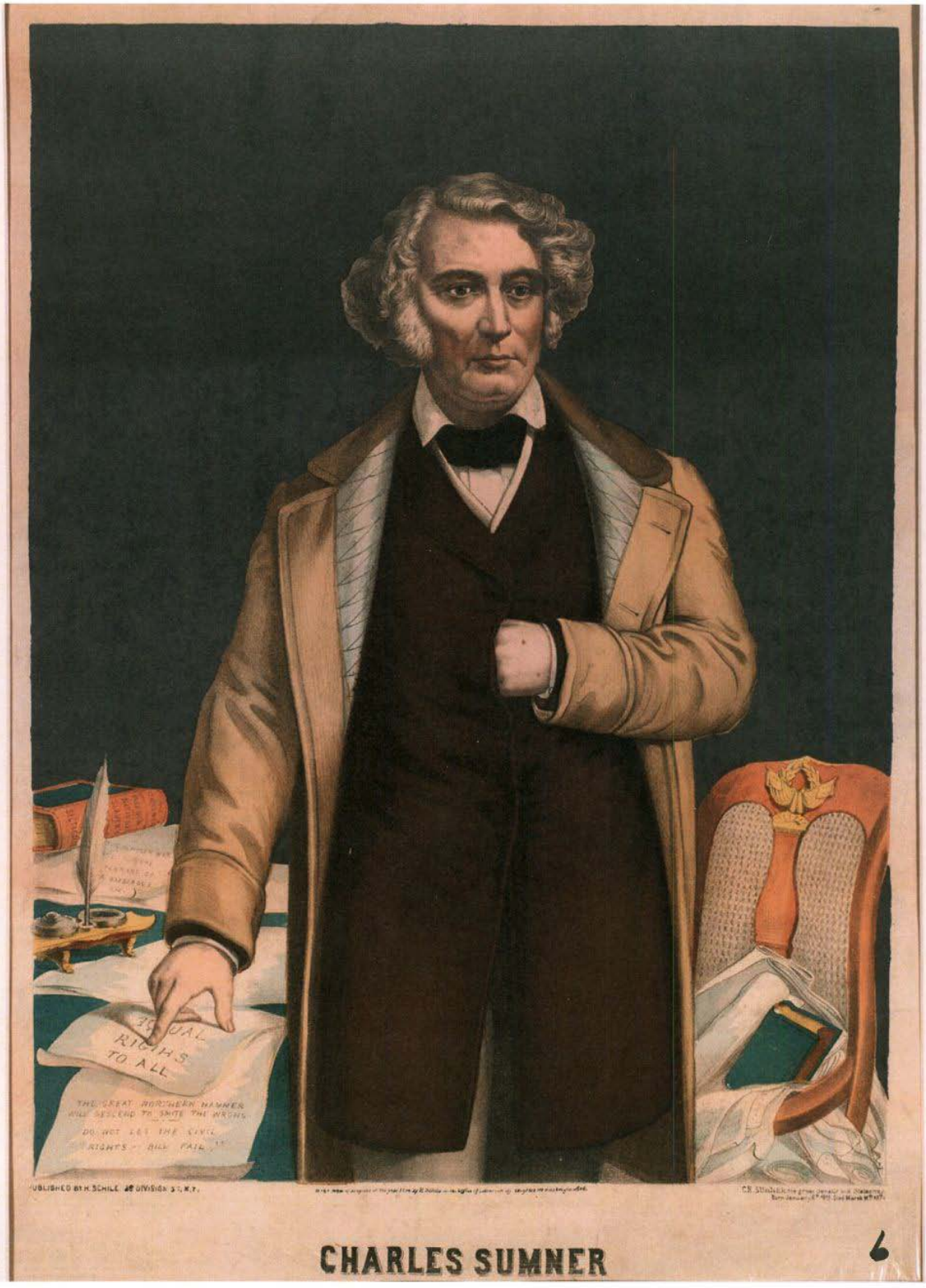
The Cooper Union speech clearly stated Lincoln's platform on the issue of slavery in the territories. That had been the pressing issue and the one that would, within the year 1860 following Lincoln's election, bring on the secession from the Union of South Carolina followed by ten more southern states in 1861. Prohibition of slavery in the territories was anathema to southern political leadership, but there were other reasons than halting its extension. Extension of tariffs and government subsidies led that list. The combination of grievances simply became overwhelming to a society that had run its own course for over 200 years. As William Seward had predicted, a conflict was "irrepressible." "Union Now and Forever" became the words that would propel the party of Lincoln and the northern states into a full-fledged state of war with the newly formed

Confederate States of America. As the demand for illustrated news grew with the torrents of events, new printing technologies were applied that could put those stories on the street just days after they occurred.


number of periodicals published in the united states
1820 – 1960
5500
5000
4500
4000
3500
3000
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
1820
1840
1860
1880
1900
1920
1940
1960
3

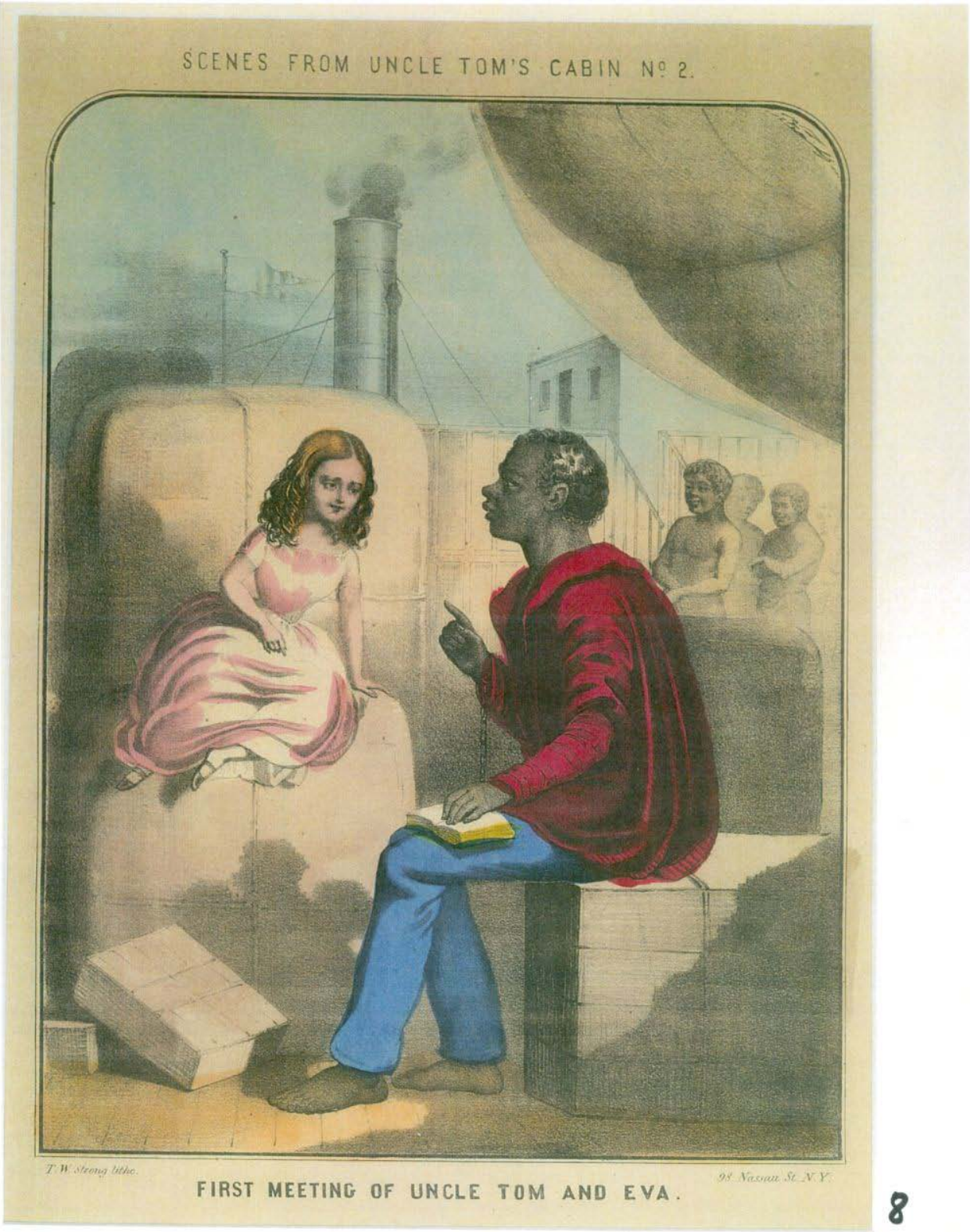
SLAVE SALE, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, FROM A SKETCH BY EYRE CROWE. (SEE NEXT PAGE.


5

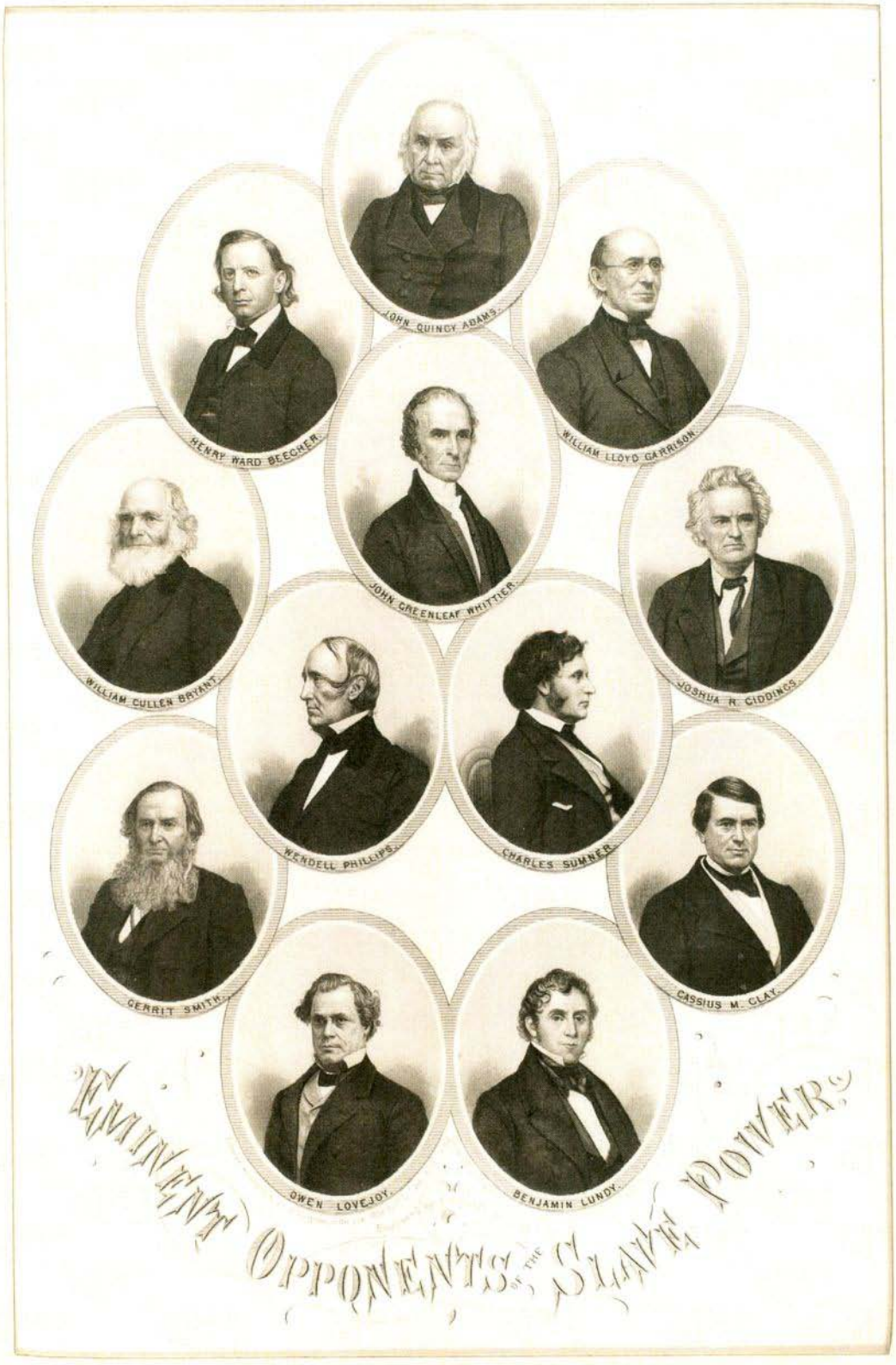


CHARLES SUMNER

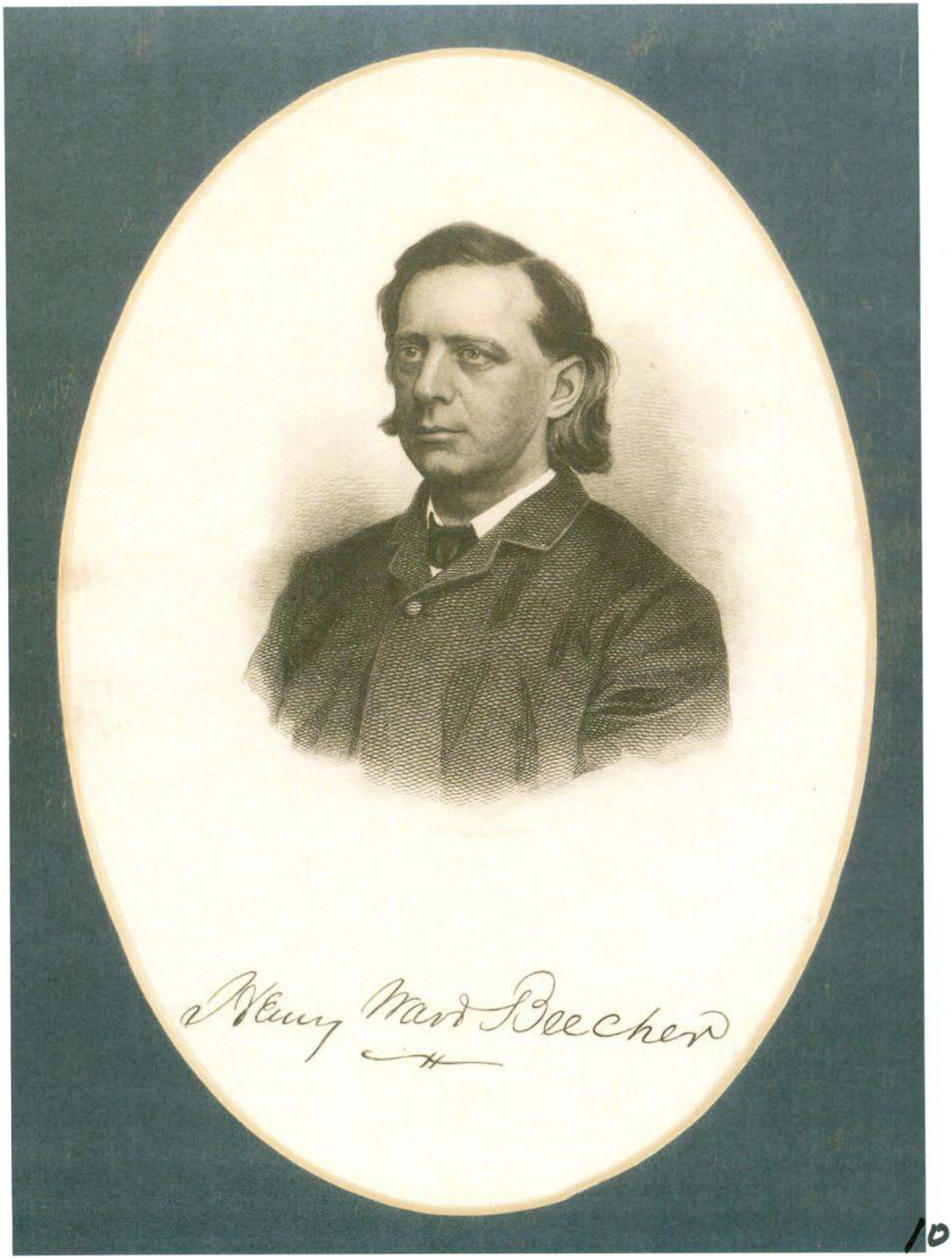
7


SCENES FROM UNCLE TOM'S CABIN Nº 2.
T.W. Strong lithe.
98 Nassau St. N.Y.
FIRST MEETING OF UNCLE TOM AND EVA.

8


JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
HENRY WARD BEECHER
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON
JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS
WENDELL PHILLIPS
CHARLES SUMNER
GERRIT SMITH
CASSIUS M. CLAY
OWEN LOVEJOY
BENJAMIN LUNDY
EMINENT OPPONENTS OF THE SLAVE POWER.

9


Henry Ward Beecher
10

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

11

POLITICAL "BLONDINS" CROSSING SALT RIVER.

12

Chapter 2

The Art of Plate Making and Printing

The art of producing prints extends over the last five centuries. There are a multitude of ways that artists and craftsmen learned to reproduce pictures over this span of time, but this study is going to cover only the prominent methods that are contained in the James E. and Joan Singer Schiele American Historical Print Collection at Special Collections, Olin Library, Washington University. Those art forms are black and white lithography, hand-painted lithographs, chromolithographs, metal plate engravings, wood engravings, and etchings. At the latter part of the 19th century, half-tone prints were developed as a faster way of reproducing prints for publication. A few of these are represented in the collection from the work of Frederick Remington. There are also three ink and charcoal sketches (not prints) rendered by John Stuart Curry that illustrate a special edition of *The Red Badge of Courage*, which may be seen in the Special Collections library. Those sketches are rare because they are one-of-a-kind pictures produced specifically for that special edition, where they appear in sepia tone in the book.

Information dealing with the origin of prints was taken from a publication entitled, *Strips, Toons, and Bluesies*, edited by Professor D. B. Dowd, Washington University and co-edited by Todd Hignite. [12]

In 1770, a significant step in the art form of prints is taken when "a copper engraver discovers that fine, durable relief printing surfaces can be produced by using metal engraving tools on hard end-grain blocks."[13] This is possibly the most significant step in reproduction of prints that is related to this study. This method led to the ability of publications such as *Harper's Weekly*, *Leslie's Illustrated News*, and the *Illustrated*

London News, all of which appeared in the United States in mid-19th century, to develop high speed methods of reproducing prints in as few as 24 hours. Many of the prints in the Schiele Collection were produced as wood engravings. As shown in Illustration 3, the proliferation of wood engraved illustrations from 1860 to 1900 was astounding. This new technology permitted people in all parts of the United States, some of whom possibly had not been exposed to current events, to learn firsthand through the printed picture the scorching developments that were bringing war to a divided nation.

There were two issues involved in print making that had to be altered in order to get reliable illustrations to the readers on a timely basis: (1) the speed with which a print could be reproduced many times and (2) the durability of the block of wood in which the print was engraved. Introduction of the hard end grain block of wood as opposed to softer wood blocks allowed engravers to work with metal engraving tools to produce the relief methods of printing. Relief, printing from the top of the engraving, could be run far faster than the older intaglio method, which entailed pushing print paper into the grooves. Thomas Bewick, an Englishman who invented this new method known as the white line system, created a wood engraving of a bird (whose illustration is located at the end of this chapter), the first in a series of bird pictures that appeared in a book published in 1797 titled *History of British Birds* (Ill. 13).

Relief print making most resembles a rubber stamp method of reproducing images. Images printed by relief may be produced rapidly; the system gained favor in Europe in the 1840s with the invention of the giant rotary press and became popular in the United States in the 1850s as demand for publication like *Harper's Weekly* grew exponentially from 1858 through the last quarter of the 19th century. The hard end-grain

wood block lasted longer than its softer predecessor, allowing more prints to be run in a day of increasing demand.

Professor Doug Dowd at Washington University has identified a problem that the highly touted wood engraving could not resolve. He described that problem as "how to get the artist's description immediately transferred to the picture." When a print is created by engravers interpreting what they see from the artist's sketch to the engraved wood block, original description is lost in the transfer. What wood engraving loses by transfer, lithography gains. According to Professor Dowd, "What you put down on stone, is exactly what you get." You gain tonal quality, which is the direct physical relationship between light and dark colors. But lithographs and chromolithographs could not be produced in the high powered way that the relief printing of the publications demanded. They could not meet the demand of same week or next day pictures of events that rolled off the presses of *Harper's Weekly* and *Leslie's Illustrated*. Those journals were the TV cameras of today. The lithographic methods of printing applied only to the works of art that would be destined for the museums, galleries, and walls of those who wanted a higher art form.

The battle scenes produced by Kurz & Allison twenty years after the fact as ten stone chromolithographs, are still being printed today to illustrate descriptions of battles as well as adorning dust jackets of books. These sometimes exciting, sometimes provocative scenes of battle fought almost a generation earlier, kept the flame of Union armies on the field burning brightly through the 19th and on into the 20th century. Pictures of events long past continued to remind Americans of just how desperate those Civil War years were.

The next breakthrough in print technology that would benefit the young American nation as it searched for more ways to get words and pictures to a news hungry population was the invention of the stone lithograph in 1798, a method that became extremely popular by mid-19th century. A black and white stone lithograph carried a double advantage; it could be published in black and white (see accompanying illustrations 13 through 18 in the back section of the chapter) or that same lithograph could be hand painted to achieve a picture in stunning color. In a chapter to follow, the lithographic works of the Currier & Ives Company, founded in 1834, will be examined. Currier & Ives were clearly the most prolific picture publishers of the 19th century, touching just about every phase of American life and making pictures available to almost every income level. According to Professor Dowd, "print shops in Europe and America produce and market lithographs of various paper grades across a spectrum of subjects. Such a wide range of images and fine gradations in quality and pricing appeal to buyers of different social standing, from the working class to the wealthy."[14]

The chromolithograph, somewhat more selectively, began to appear in the 1860s. Black and white lithographs are reproduced by use of a marked, single stone. Chromolithographs employ the use of as many stones as the artist might deem necessary to obtain the desired color effects. A different color applied to each stone collectively can produce a final picture rich in color and depth. The Schiele Collection contains a number of chromolithographs; the centerpiece of the Civil War section in the collection is the complete set of 36 original Kurz and Allison chromolithographs of battle scenes of the Civil War. (This particular complete collection is one of only two known to exist.) Art historians have estimated that Louis Kurz, the artist, and Alexander Allison, the

lithographer, employed 10 stones to create their colorful scenes. (See Chapter 4, "Battles.") Edwin Forbes, an early illustrator of the Union Army in action, etched all of his battle scenes, also found in Chapter 4. Example of a wood block engraving, a black and white lithograph, a chromolithograph, a black and white metal plate engraving, a hand-painted engraving, and an etching are described and displayed for their comparative qualities at the end of this chapter.

Whether prints, over the past 500 years, have been produced as art for art's sake or for information, is a topic worthy of debate. I have included a modern print created by a Native North American artist, which also appears at the end of this chapter. I have placed it there as an example of a beautiful work of art, delicate in its lines and spiritual in its rendering. The other illustrations are more part of storytelling, communicating information that is valuable at the moment. William M. Ivins, Jr. writes "that the principal function of the printed picture in Western Europe and America has been obscured by the persistent habit of regarding prints as of interest and value only in so far as they can be regarded as works of art. Actually, the various ways of making prints are the only methods by which exactly repeatable pictorial statements can be made about anything. The importance of being able to exactly repeat pictorial statements is undoubtedly greater for science, technology, and general information than it is for art."[15]

Because the wood engraving lent itself to the more speedy reproduction process, by mid-19th century, it was the preferred method of transferring sketches, for example, from a Civil War battlefield to a publisher where sometimes four engravers worked on an engraving. Each engraver completed one block of the picture that was assembled and "went to a particularly skilled engraver whose task it was to knit the picture together—in

such a way that their joins would not be too strikingly noticeable."[16] What usually resulted was not exactly what the illustrator had sketched. It was a collection of what four skilled engravers thought he had seen on that distant battlefield where cannon roared and smoke distorted reality. The master engraver had the last pass at bringing a snapshot to life.

"The responsibility for pictorial statements had been bypassed and such statements as were actually made had been reduced to a flat dull plane of *reasonability*"[17] (author's italics). Common sense provided enough reader's insight to give the reader a good idea of what had transpired in the picture. The Schiele Collection contains a number of Civil War principals' sitting or standing portraits taken directly from a Mathew Brady photograph that was as close as possible to reproducing an exact image. A newly elected Abraham Lincoln engraving from a photo by Brady appeared in a *Harper's* publication just four days after Lincoln's election as president in November 1860. The wood engraving provided the fast track for pictorial illustrations to reach society where public opinion was being formed.

Lithography is an art form that can result in deep color contrasts and soft tones. The Kellogg Lithograph Company of Hartford, Connecticut and the previously referenced Currier & Ives Company were two of the leading lithography houses in the United States in the 19th century. Currier probably covered broader fields of interest and thereby became better known, but both companies produced works of everlasting interest as they covered life in America. As opposed to the engraving process that involves cutting into a surface, "The printing of lithographs is based on the resistance between grease and water. The artist must utilize greasy substances (lithographic crayons) to

create an image on a stone—surfaces that have a slight texture to catch and hold the crayon markings."[18]

Heavy stones provided the surface on which the image was drawn. In chromolithography, anywhere between two and a multiplicity of stones were colored with different inks to achieve the desired range of colors in the picture. "The artist transferred the outline from the key stone, via paper, to as many separate stones as he needed colors."[19] The Louis Kurz battle scenes of the Civil War, referenced earlier, utilized ten stones each with a different color ink; the picture was passed on to each stone to achieve the desired picture coloration. A one-stone and multi-stone litho are shown at the end of the chapter.

Etchings can many times bring out fine lines not often associated with the lithograph. "To make an etching, the artist starts with a metal plate (usually copper) that he has coated with a wavy substance called a 'ground.'"[20] A very fine etching needle only breaks the surface of the wax, not the plate, as the plate is immersed in acid. The acid goes to the drawn lines, making an impression on the metal and, again, providing more finely drawn lines than you would expect to find in lithographs or wood engravings. In the picture section of this chapter, an etching by Edwin Forbes clearly shows detail attained by this method. Metal plate or "steel engravings" are made by the intaglio method in print making. Metal plate engravings are made exclusively by one engraver on one metal sheet. The multiple methods of producing prints provided different measures of speed on the one hand and quality on the other to a society hungry for news.

The examples of the different reproduction methods of producing prints, included in this chapter, follow. They are:

Ill. 14. Black and white lithograph: *Freedom to the Slaves*, Currier & Ives.

Currier & Ives prints appeared either as one-stone black and white images or colored images. The coloring was accomplished by production-line style with groups of painters coloring the original image.

Ill. 15. Chromolithograph: *Battle of Fredericksburg*, Kurz & Allison.

Kurz & Allison employed the 10-stone method of achieving rich coloration. Each print was impressed on ten different stones, each containing a different color.

Ill. 16. Metal engraving: *Custer*, from a photo by Brady.

Most plates were copper plates, which made one impression on the print paper.

Ill. 17. Wood block engraving: *Lincoln elected*, Winslow Homer from a photo by Brady.

Wood engravings were the most prolific of all printing methods in the 19th century since they could be run quickly on rotary presses for publications in newspapers and journals.

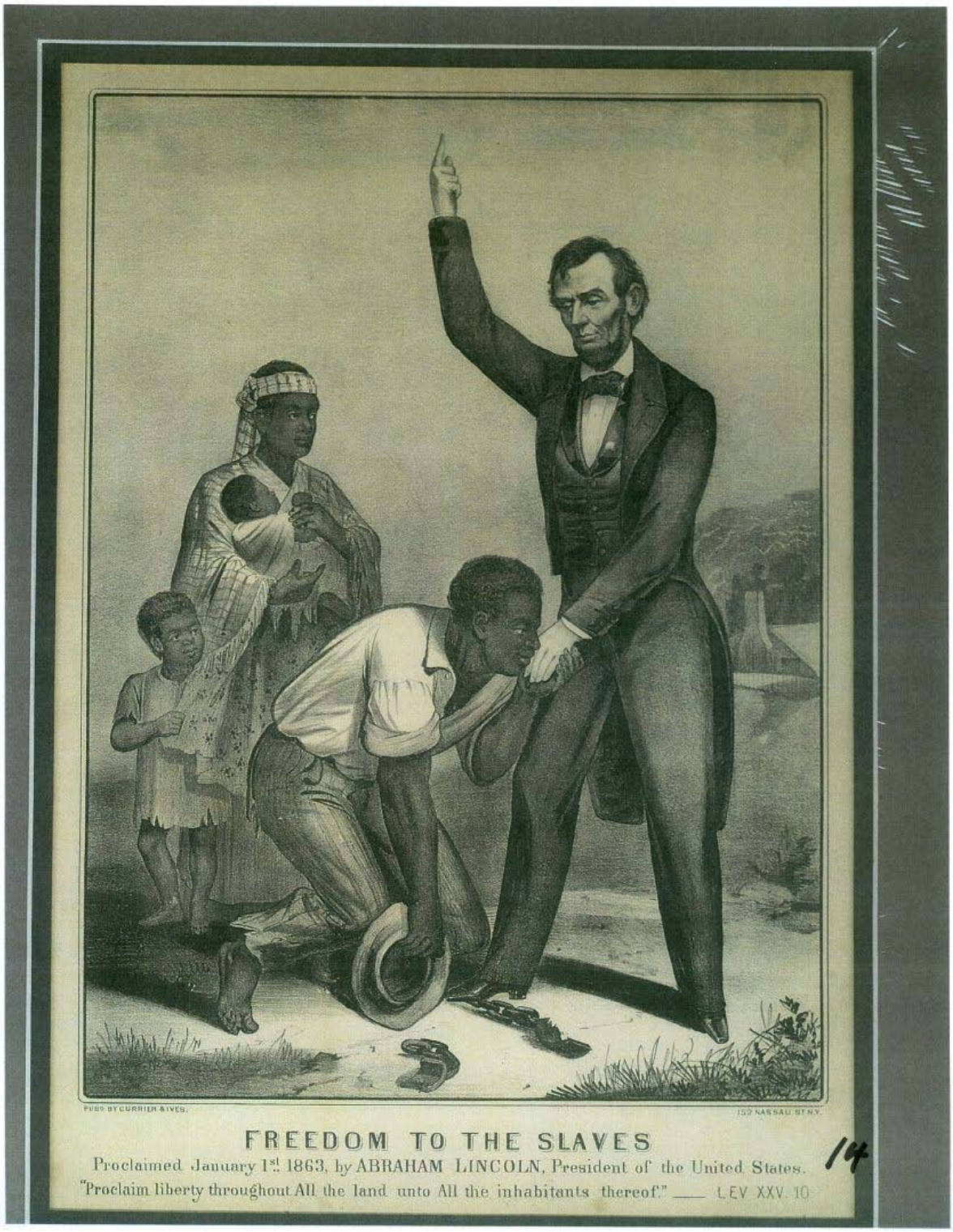
Ill. 18. Etching: *Battle of Chancellorsville*, Kurz & Allison.

Etching from stone brought out fine lines in the print.

Ill. 19. Modern print: *The Offering*, Maxine Noel.

The artist employed the 5-stone method of chromolithography to create this image.

13


PUBD BY CURRIER & IVES.
152 NASSAU ST N.Y.
FREEDOM TO THE SLAVES
Proclaimed January 1st 1863, by ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States.
"Proclaim liberty throughout All the land unto All the inhabitants thereof." ___ LEV XXV. 10
14

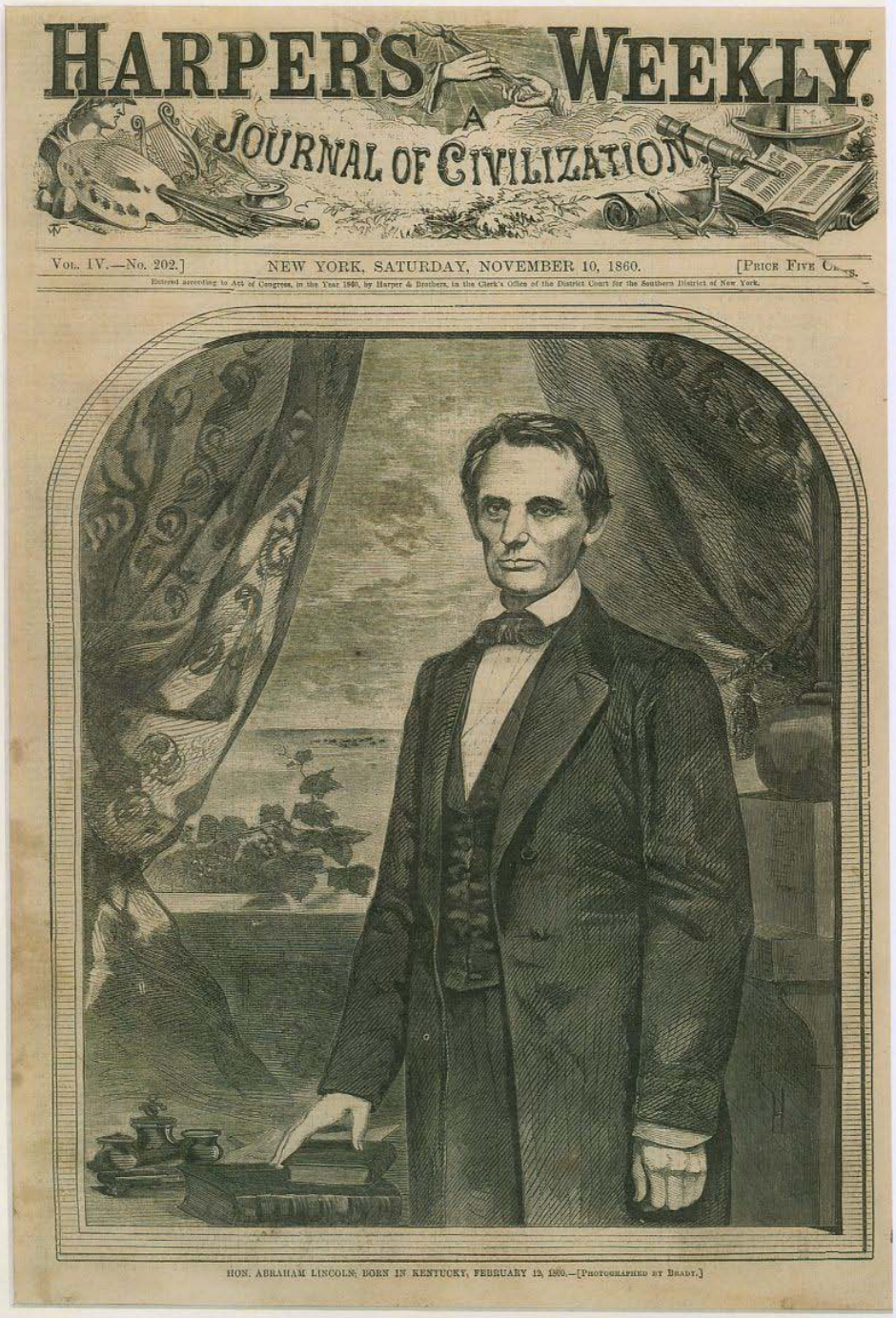
BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

15

From a Photograph by Brady

G. A. Custer

16



HARPER'S WEEKLY.

A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

VOL. IV.—No. 202.] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1860. [PRICE FIVE CENTS.

HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, BORN IN KENTUCKY, FEBRUARY 12, 1809.—[PHOTOGRAPHED BY BRADY.]

17

BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

18


19

Chapter 3

Important Illustrators and Publications of the 19th Century

There are many 19th century artists exhibited in the James E. & Joan Singer Schiele Historical Print Collection housed in Special Collections at the Olin Library. They painted, sketched, etched, and drew their landscapes and images during the half century that encompassed America's journey from an antebellum compromise over slavery through the rebellion that divided the young nation in two.

Where words were inadequate to describe the dynamics and trauma of this half century transition, pictures told the story graphically. The sketches, etchings, lithographs, metal plate engravings, and wood engravings that could sometimes be quickly reproduced in the thousands, reached a public eager for news. The mass production of lithographs allowed an aggressive publisher like Currier & Ives to display the charm of a New England fall as well as the grim results of a wartime battlefield. For a mass readership, *Harper's Weekly* and *Leslie's Illustrated News* published weekly newspapers including detailed wood engravings, sometimes based on drawings created by outstanding artists such as Winslow Homer and Edwin Forbes, which brought current events home quickly. Readership of these publications expanded rapidly following the outbreak of hostilities in April 1861. Young aspiring artists such as Edwin Forbes and Winslow Homer made their mark as traveling artists and correspondents of the Civil War as illustrations came to play an increasing role in the dissemination of public information.

In addition to Forbes and Homer, Alfred Waud, Thomas Nast, F.O.C. Darley, and Louis Kurz are selected for special attention because their art work appears frequently in the Schiele Collection that covers the historical period of Abolition, Civil War,

Emancipation, and Reconstruction. The collection has been designed to tell a story of this mid-19th century American epic. With a handful of exceptions, the prints are original and appear to the 21st century viewer exactly as they appeared to those who were getting their news and forming their opinions a century and a half ago.

The Civil War Artwork of Louis Kurz: An Escape From Realism[21]

Louis Kurz was described by one of his biographers as a landscape artist, house painter, portraitist, and artistic chronicler of towns and cities.[22] A number of images survive to illustrate those claims, for which he was known in Wisconsin and Illinois in the mid-19th century. Yet, as the most prolific Civil War artist of the 19th century, he is especially remembered for thirty-six chromolithographs of Civil War battles, images that are still frequently used to illustrate books about the war. Because the Schiele Collection is only one of two complete (original) collections known to exist, I have chosen to pay particular attention to Kurz. His easily recognized style shows regiments moving evenly in line, all uniforms and battle gear of the same cloth, flags and artillery in place. In reality, uniforms varied, equipment was often discarded as a battle approached its fury, and the troops seldom maintained rigid ranks. Nevertheless, Kurz's art was and has remained compelling, and this part of Chapter 3 will explore its appeal.

In creating this series of chromolithographs published with his partner, Alexander Allison, from 1883 to 1894, more than twenty years after the war, Kurz had an opportunity to reflect on the message he wanted to convey, a message that would appeal to a Northern audience ready to idealize the great struggle that was the Civil War. During the war, the public turned to the illustrated newspapers *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for apparently accurate depictions by the Special Artists accompanying the troops. In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War there was exhilaration in the North, resentment and desperation in the South, and a noticeable lack of artworks that spoke of glory or defeat. Veterans in the North were reluctant to reminisce; the trauma was too close at hand. Veterans in the South scrabbled to make a

living in a land devastated by four years of war. Reconstruction did not inspire memorable works of art on paper. What it did inspire was a widening cultural breach north and south of the Mason-Dixon Line. Real reminiscences would take place later, with parades and reunions sponsored by the Grand Army of the Republic, the fraternal organization of Union veterans, and publications of accounts by generals from both sides.[23]

Louis Kurz (1833-1921), an immigrant from Salzburg, Austria, arrived in America in 1848 along with many others. He began his art career in Wisconsin as a painter of cities, towns, and landscapes. In his city views he apparently strove for accuracy, and these images are similar to well-composed photographs. Louis Kurz's partner, Alexander Allison, was the lithographer in the partnership of Kurz & Allison, which was formed in Chicago in 1880. Although Kurz was listed as a lithographer, there is no reference to him performing any task other than creating the artwork necessary for Allison to transfer the images to the stones employed in the lithographic process. It has been assumed that as many as ten stones were used in printing the different colors for each of the thirty-six Civil War chromolithographs.[24] The two stones known to have survived from this series are housed at the Chicago Historical Society in Chicago, Illinois.

The thirty-six scenes of Civil War battles, all measuring approximately 17-1/2-by-25 inches, have become the signature prints produced by the Kurz & Allison firm during the years in which the partnership issued prints of many historical subjects. The firm also issued 26-by-20- inch portraits of at least three important individuals of the Civil War era: John Brown, General Ulysses Grant, and General Philip Sheridan.[25] In producing

the Civil War chromolithographs a generation after the war, Kurz &Allison turned to veterans, war correspondents, and topographers for records of the battles. Their pictures often tell a bigger story than those of the artists of the 1860s, many of whom drew their pictures from direct observation of the battlefield. To discover what made the Kurz & Allison battle scenes compelling, not only to the generations of Americans after the Civil War, but also to today's viewers, an important question needs to be asked. What did Americans of the late 19th century wish to see in scenes of the terrible conflict on American soil that lasted for four years, claimed over six hundred thousand souls, left a significant part of the country in ruins, and manifested economic shifts and societal conflicts that have yet to be fully resolved? Apparently most wanted to see heroic dramatizations of the war that showed brave men facing great odds with grit and determination.

This chapter will focus on four of Kurz & Allison's battle prints. They were selected because they represent varying perspectives that Louis Kurz took in dramatizing events, sometimes telling the whole story of a Union defeat or victory with imagination and creativity and other times focusing on a particular phase of a battle that would appeal to a Northern audience. They will be considered in the chronological order in which the battles took place.

In the 1889 print *Battle of Bull Run* (Ill. 21) Kurz presents a total defeat of the Union army, the disastrous beginning of what would be a long, protracted war. In none of the other prints is a retreat so displayed, even though there were worse Union defeats in other battles, such as the Battle of Fredericksburg. The Battle of Bull Run, fought in July 1861, took place as the first ninety-day enlistments were about to expire for 75,000 Union

volunteers. The print displays the sequence of events on Sunday, July 21, 1861, in which Union and Confederate armies were engaged in the first major battle of the Civil War. Irvin McDowell, the Union general leading the Union army, had taken the initiative during the opening phases of the fight. As the battle progressed, the Confederate position on the field stabilized after a retreat seemed imminent. That army formed a tight line when Thomas Jackson's brigade stood fast less than a mile from the Henry House, shown in the center background of the Kurz chromo-lithograph.

Confederate General Bee ordered his men to reinforce Jackson's line, and that line of gray uniforms can be seen in the center right of the print, somewhat obscured by the smoke of battle. The most dramatic figure in the print is the Union Zouave soldier running in the center foreground. His regiment is being overtaken by the Confederate cavalry, and the left side of the print shows the entire Union army retreating. The retreat of General Irvin McDowell's army is underscored by the United States flag lying on the ground—something that is rarely shown in any of the scenes of battle portrayed by Louis Kurz or any of the other Union artists of the Civil War. Symbolically, the abandoned flag in *Battle of Bull Run* speaks volumes about the beginning of a terrible war that had initially been perceived as a civil uprising that would last no longer than ninety days. The flag on the ground symbolizes defeat, retreat, even cowardice, and is as strong a statement as a war artist could make about the course of battle.

The Battle of Bull Run was a startling and significant opening battle of fully-arranged field armies, and President Lincoln's response to this defeat would be a call to arms for three-year enlistments. Louis Kurz's print tells its unfolding story rather than providing a snapshot of a single part of the action. An example of the latter is *Retreat of*

Our Troops from Bull Run, By Moonlight, Colonel Blenker's Brigade Covering (Ill. 21a), a wood engraving that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* on August 10, 1861, depicting the Union army's retreat from the Bull Run battlefield later that night. That artist had likely been on the scene and taken some time to draw many figures, including troops on the move in a well-ordered marching line that extends along the road for a mile. This is a well-composed detail of what took place, similar to what a photographer in later times might have captured with a wide-angle lens. Although it shows a retreat, the picture was not designed to upset the audience that saw it in August 1861. Only the single soldier in the lower right quadrant of the picture, head in hands, suggests despair. *Retreat of Our Troops from Bull Run* does not minimize the reality of the lost battle, nor does it arouse fears of an imminent invasion of the North. In its straight news reporting, it is typical of much of the battlefield reporting that would occur over the succeeding four years. While journalists and war artists of the day were expected to report the facts, partisanship undoubtedly played a part in what was reported, as they would select a specific aspect of a battle to reproduce for the public.

Kurz's approach to the same event was to depict a frightened army in retreat in all its complexity. He had the benefit, twenty years later, of being able to construct a story of desperation, ill preparedness, poor leadership, and overconfidence. The passage of time allowed him to consider everything that had come into play leading up to a battle and following it. The flight and the flag on the ground suggest the uncertain future of the Union's fight to preserve the United States. The implied rout and possible pursuit of the Union army to the nation's capital by Confederate General Beauregard carried unimagined consequences for the Union.

How was Louis Kurz able to visualize this event without misrepresenting the historical events? He could have had the advantage of visiting a battlefield that remained largely intact; the Henry House remained, along with the imaginary line where Thomas Jackson held as the battle turned in Beauregard's favor, and he could have referred to numerous earlier renderings of the scene. Yet Kurz also effectively employed his imagination to create a picture in which four events unfolded before the viewer. With the freedom to offer a perspective after the fact, he was able to paint a desperate scene, knowing that the Union armies would win in the end, and that he would eventually be able to depict the *Fall of Petersburg*, on April 2, 1865, and the end of the war. Few of Kurz's compositions represent what was taking place on the field at any one time; elapsed time and distance from the events permitted him the luxury of perception, recollections, and imagination. In *Battle if Bull Run* he created a story rather than reporting the event.

Kurz had taken quite a different approach a year or so earlier in depicting the December 1862 Battle of Fredericksburg. In the 1888 print *Battle of Fredericksburg* (Ill. 15, Ch. 2), Kurz focused exclusively on the early phase of the battle when the Union army was rushing to complete two pontoon bridges across the Rappahannock River to attack the Confederates on the other side, who were firing at them from trenches and buildings. And in this case, Kurz apparently relied heavily on a wood engraving that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* on December 27, 1862, titled *The Bombardment of Fredericksburg by the Army of the Potomac* (Ill. 22). When the well-armed and well-trained Army of the Potomac, formerly under the command of the cashiered Major General George McClellan, now commanded by General Ambrose Burnside, pushed off

along the Rappahannock River in the direction of Fredericksburg, Virginia, in November of 1862, the change in the command itself gave renewed hope of a decisive victory over General Robert E. Lee's smaller Army of Northern Virginia. Burnside is reported to have said, "I think now, that the enemy will be more surprised by a [river] crossing in our front than in any other part of the river."[26] The surprise might have been effective had the pontoons to fabricate the bridge arrived on time. Instead, considerable delays allowed Lee time to bring his army at full strength into a position to withstand a direct attack. After crossing the river, Burnside's assault on Lee's army, well entrenched in Marye's Heights behind the town of Fredericksburg, resulted in one of the worst defeats of a Union army in four years of ferocious fighting. After two days on the attack, the Army of the Potomac retreated across the Rappahannock, suffering 12,500 casualties out of an army of one hundred thousand. The Union losses at Fredericksburg were many times those at Bull Run, and tactically, it was a worse defeat, since it set the stage for further changes of command that resulted in more losses.

In this case, in depicting only the early part of the action, as Burnside's brave men struggled to complete the bridges, Kurz honored the Union soldiers but avoided the horrific bloodshed and defeat that would follow at Chancellorsville. The similarities between his image and the rather crude, but action- filled, wood engraving drawn for *Harper's Weekly* by a staff artist or someone else on the scene strongly suggest that Kurz used the earlier print as a source.[27] The subject of both prints is bridge building, with the town in flames across the river. Larger figures of wounded or dying soldiers and a horse in the foreground and a billowing flag add drama. Kurz's effective use of color, made possible by chromolithography, greatly enhances the print's appeal. The contrast between

Kurz's representation of the Union defeat at Bull Run and his narrow focus on the early phase of the siege at Fredericksburg is significant. It suggests that Kurz was aware that his audience was following the progress of the Civil War, a generation after the event, through his art work, and that he wanted to hold their interest but not give undue attention to Union failures.

Fredericksburg may well be cited as a mid-war crisis in the Union cause that resulted in a defeat of such disastrous proportions that General Lee and President Jefferson Davis had visions of diplomatically bringing France or England to recognition of the Confederate States of America, paramount to a negotiated peace. Louis Kurz evidently recognized the importance of the battle and felt compelled to create a print of it. The scarcity of this print may give evidence of the unpopularity of this battle among Northerners, and Kurz & Allison likely ran fewer prints.[28] Kurz's designs that provide such post-war interpretations of battles waged long before his illustrations, such as *Battle of Bull Run* and *The Battle of Gettysburg,* which I shall consider next, demonstrate his evolution into a storyteller. They manifest an artistic style, a sense of history, and a keen eye for how Union veterans and a new generation of Americans would wish to remember, or see for the first time, the young nation's most traumatic era. His later interpretation of *Battle of Bull Run* seems informed by the comments of John Nicolay, President Lincoln's private secretary:

> It is in its political aspects that Bull Run becomes a great historic landmark. To say that the hope and enthusiasm of the North received a painful shock of humiliation and disappointment is to use but a mild description of the popular feeling. The first defeat was inexpressibly bitter.

> Stifling the sharp sorrow, however, the great public of the Free States sent up its prompt and united demand that the contest should be continued and the disgrace wiped out.[29]

Nicolay's statement underscores the sentiment of an awakened North, as Kurz's *Battle of Bull Run* and other battle prints served to reawaken this new generation to the hazards that lay ahead and the trauma through which it had passed.

Kurz & Allison's 1884 *The Battle of Gettysburg* (Ill. 23) depicts that trauma on the afternoon of July 3, 1863, when Confederate General James Longstreet sent George Pickett's brigade straight to the center of the massed Union forces. It shows the unfolding of dramatic events that would determine the outcome of the battle. Preceding Pickett's assault, an artillery barrage from somewhere between 80 and 120 cannons a mile away has splintered the Union lines. The smoke and artillery blasts may be seen bursting in the air. Spears states, "All that mortal men could do to win victory was done by Pickett's veterans in the five or ten immortal minutes when their battle flags flaunted above the stone wall."[30] Confederate General Armistead is visible in the center of the print as his horse rears and he falls backward. Notable is the fence behind him indicating he has breached the Union line. He is the only identifiable individual in the print, and according to legend, his advance through the Union center represented the high tide of battle. Shortly after his heroic effort, Pickett's division was recalled, and the following day Lee's army began its long retreat to Virginia. In the right foreground, Confederate prisoners are being led from the field as the battle wears down.

In possibly his finest pictorial composition of the series, Kurz tells the story of the decisive third day of the battle. The topographical features are historically accurate. The

ranks of the reserves moving forward in the left front quadrant tell of the strength and depth of General Meade's Union reserves. The numbers of captives under a white flag symbolically emphasize the meaning of the loss to the Confederate cause. The drama had escalated during the three days of Gettysburg until only Meade's army stood fast between the Army of Northern Virginia and Washington, a symbol of the Union cause. This composition was Kurz's own personal high tide. It includes the familiar Kurz features of soldiers arranged in ranks and flags flying and depicts numerous actions in all parts of the composition. It shows a moment of high drama as Confederate General Armistead crosses the line, and the faces of the Confederate prisoners register defeat. Yet the fallen Union soldiers in the foreground both left and right suggest the cost of the eventual victory. This print is exceptional in its attention to the topography and to the flow of action portrayed in three unfolding developments: the bombardment, the fatal assault, and the prisoners being led off at the battle's end. Kurz's *The Battle of Gettysburg* emerges from the group of thirty-six as the most thoughtful, well-constructed chromolithograph.[31]

An interesting contrast to Kurz's interpretation is the 1876 engraving *Gettysburg (Repulse of Longstreet's Assault)* (Ill. 24), by James Walker and John B. Bachelder. Walker was the artist; the action of battle was arranged by Bachelder, who was an expert on the topography and history of the battle[32]; and H. B. Hall Jr. was engraver. Both prints picture George Pickett's Virginians attacking the center of the Union line on the third day of the battle. Both show a desperate attack against a line that bends slightly under the onslaught but does not break. Both depict a great volume of attackers and defenders and both show mounting casualties. But in the Walker/Bachelder image, the outcome of the battle is as yet uncertain, whereas Kurz's image signals the viewer that the fight is

finished and the end of the war is perhaps in sight. It is a tale foretold. Whereas the landscape is real, some of the events, such as Armistead's leap into the line may embellish the truth. But what Kurz had in mind to attract his audience differed from Walker and Bachelder's attempt to represent the battle accurately; Kurz's apparent aim was to create a picture that expressed the post-war movement away from reality toward a new kind of patriotism. There are signs along the way as the thirty-six prints appeared that suggest Louis Kurz was moving toward a notion of a more lasting North-South division or rivalry. Whereas many in the North had put the intensity of the bitter war behind them and were more inclined to accept the South as the South presented itself—as a unique culture within the re-united country—Louis Kurz was not so inclined.

In foretelling the eventual Union victory in *The Battle of Gettysburg*, Kurz represents little of the Confederate Army's heroism, nor how close Lee might have come to winning the battle. The most prominent feature of the print is the group of ill-clad Confederate prisoners walking out of the picture, white flag flying, under guard. In contrast to most other Kurz & Allison prints that show Confederate soldiers dressed in gray, some of these prisoners wear red or brown garments. This motley crew symbolizes the Confederate defeat and demonstrates Kurz's way of building up the Union cause without discrediting the Confederate army, but surely displaying nothing to credit it. In contrast, Walker/Bachelder's panorama showing what was happening at a particular moment offers no hint of what may follow, either in this battle or its aftermath. Kurz, on the other hand, succeeded in pinning the badge of defeat on the Confederate army.

In 1890 Louis Kurz created *Storming Fort Wagner* (Ill. 26), depicting the July 18, 1863, assault on the fort near Charleston, S.C., by the 54th Massachusetts Regiment,

made up of black recruits. In 1890 a monument was being created to stand across from the Massachusetts State Capitol building in Boston honoring the 54th Massachusetts Regiment and their commander, Robert Gould Shaw, a Bostonian who resigned from his New York regiment in order to help organize the 54th Massachusetts. This was the first major regiment made up of black recruits to fight in a full-scale battle. Colonel Shaw was killed on the parapets, leading his troops as they desperately fought to overcome General Beauregard's well-entrenched Confederate army. The battle was a significant Union army loss, but it was also significant in a number of other ways. Although Colonel Shaw was killed and total casualties were heavy, the 54th acquitted itself in a manner that brought everlasting fame to the regiment and proof that black infantry could fight well. The Kurz & Allison print tells this story in graphic details, depicting the gripping moment when the 54th reached the outer trenches of the fort just before it was hurled back and Shaw went down. The faces of both Union *and* Confederate soldiers display more agony, terror, ferocity, and desperation than Kurz ordinarily delineated in his pictures.

On September 26, 1863, two months after the battle, *The Illustrated London News* printed a wood engraving with the caption *The War in America: Assault on Fort Wagner, Charleston Harbor, on the Night of July 18—The Rush of the Garrison to the Parapet. From a sketch by our special artist* (Ill. 27). The caption suggests that the unnamed artist, who was actually Frank Vizetelly, was at or near the battle.[33] The wood engraving shows the attackers approaching the outer line of trenches in a mass charge, as the defenders rise to return the fire, an apparently accurate depiction of a moment in the battle. Once again, in comparing the two prints, Kurz's compositional skills are evident in the simpler, more

dramatic triangular arrangement, with the flag at the apex, and the numerous clearly delineated figures in the foreground. While it is not clear in *The Illustrated London News* illustration how many of the troopers are white and how many are black, this is abundantly clear in Kurz's print. Kurz is intent on telling a story of bravery, of equality of black and white adversaries under fire, and of a battle lost. *The Illustrated London News* artist provided as much realism as possible during the fury of battle. Kurz had the luxury of reflecting on a past event and deciding how to develop a theme. He portrayed a story of valor that could combat negative stereotypes about how blacks would behave in battle, in keeping with the monument being erected in Boston. His depiction of the bravery of these troops was not lost on many Northerners who had erroneously assumed that one could not teach blacks to maneuver, hold ranks, and fight.

Kurz's early years in America as a landscape artist were modestly successful because he made maximum use of his skill as a small town and landscape artist with an eye for detail. Sometime between his focus on creating landscapes and town views and the formation of the Kurz & Allison company in Chicago in 1880, Louis Kurz took an entirely different direction—setting out on the road to storytelling and moving away from depicting what the eye could see from just one vantage point. Yet Kurz's primary goal continued to be to sell quantities of prints. And he rolled with the tide of change. Whereas Abraham Lincoln was a leader capable of bringing the nation together and healing wounds, President Johnson did not have that ability, and Ulysses Grant was left with the struggle brought on by Reconstruction and a Congress divided over the way to manage it. In such times, Kurz had to capture the mood of Northerners in the 1880s. Battle scenes, by their very nature, are not intended to be pictures of reconciliation. In removing his

audience from the reality of the battle and introducing its mythical dimensions, Kurz successfully dispelled any vague notion that North and South would soon seek brotherhood and reconciliation; his scenes often leave the viewer with a bitter feeling, typified by *Storming Fort Wagner*. What stands out is the antagonism, bordering on outrage, shown by black soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment against the defenders of Fort Wagner. Although Colonel Shaw being shot is at the apex of the triangular composition, the eye of the viewer is more readily drawn to the ferocious hand-to-hand fighting taking place in the foreground, left and center. This depiction of fierce combat may well fit the facts. According to the Kurz & Allison statistics regarding this battle, the Federal army suffered twelve hundred casualties there that included at least five colonels and generals. There is seldom much humanity in battle, but Kurz's depictions, printed twenty-five years after the war, only served to deepen the racial division by literally driving a wedge with the bayonet and sword between North and South, black and white. Clearly he was not one to expect facile reconciliation.

As the battle scenes of the Civil War went to production in the eleven-year span between 1883 and 1894, Louis Kurz became a national figure, and the chromolithographs received wide distribution. But although Kurz changed his style between 1866 and 1883, he did not change his flair for appealing to the public eye. The pre-war town views of Chicago and Wisconsin would excite local residents, but the battle scenes catered to Americans all across the Northern states. The prints surely didn't draw much attention in the South and are rarely, if ever, found there. The chromolithographs were sold in the North. Although in marketing them it was claimed that Kurz had a connection to Abraham Lincoln before the war, he probably never met Lincoln. Neither was a claim

that he enlisted in the Union army accurate.[34] The records on Kurz at the Chicago Historical Society, the most extensive available, reveal little about Kurz's political leanings or personal life. Kurz's great achievement was to create dramatic narratives of Civil War battles by adapting his own style and creating a new one that appealed to a general audience and revealed his strong patriotism. He had lived in the "Land of Lincoln," and his works of art express his loyalty to the Northern cause—the cause to which he dedicated his thirty-six scenes of the battles that decided the outcome of the Civil War and kept "the Union Forever."

Thomas Nast: 19th Century Artist of Diverse Interests and Compelling Illustrations

Thomas Nast emerged as the quintessential champion of the Union Cause in America during the turbulent mid-19th century years. His interests, focused on the Union Cause during the Civil War and after the war, concentrated on the election of six different presidents of the United States following Lincoln. The exposure of political corruption in New York City was a highlight of his career during Boss Tweed's time in office.

Nast supported Ulysses S. Grant on the Republican ticket for president in 1868 by illustrating some damaging evidence of Democratic Party corruption. Nast was not interested in politics as a vocation; Nast saw American politics as a driving force either to further the cause of the Union and a free society, or to inhibit the movement of freedom and just causes. In this chapter I shall explore those driving forces that are so much a part of what Thomas Nast had to say in pictures during his long and distinguished career, and how they may have influenced public opinion.

As evidence of Nast's influence, consider the summer of 1864 when President Lincoln's reelection was not only being seriously contested, but was doubtful. The Democratic nominee was (former) Major General George B. McClellan, a brilliant military strategist but a flawed field commander of the Union Army in 1861 and 1862. Lincoln was often at loggerheads with McClellan and thought he was intractable. Lincoln removed McClellan from command of the Army of the Potomac in the fall of 1862. Two years later, McClellan became the nominee of the Democratic Party that was reaching for a military victory in the field followed by a negotiated peace with the Confederacy that would likely have culminated in a status quo among the states, but avoided further bloodshed. Republicans recognized the futility of a negotiated peace

with the South that would simply restore an antebellum lifestyle in that part of the country with a continuation of slavery.

Lincoln had made it possible for men in uniform to vote in the November election. There was a lingering doubt in Lincoln's mind whether those troops would remain loyal to the Union cause and reelect him or whether they would vote for the popular major general who campaigned for an end to hostilities and a compromise with the South. When the following illustration was published, General William T. Sherman was stalemated in Georgia and the northern citizenry had openly grown weary of war and losses. Abraham Lincoln notified his closest advisors of his darkest concerns and prepared to transition the government to a new administration in 1865 should his reelection bid fail. At this dark moment in early September 1864, Thomas Nast painted the picture of such an event. Nast advocated against such a peace in his widely published *Harper's* engraving entitled, *Compromise With the South* (Ill. 28). This dynamic illustration is not subtle, but is an effective reminder to every voting military man in the North and the voting family males of those troops. Devastation surrounds the three central figures in the scene. From the campaign caps of the fallen in the foreground, to the Union corpses and burning buildings at center right and left, dark smoke, clouds and a sense of foreboding fill the page. An African-American soldier in uniform is chained to his wife and child. Columbia kneels, head bowed, weeping in despair at the grave and headstone of the fallen heroes "in a Useless War."

The Confederate officer in full battle dress, sword at his side, slave whip in his left hand, has extended his right to grasp the hand of the Union veteran whose head is bowed so that we cannot see his face. He has lost a leg, he holds his hat in his left hand

while weakly offering his right to the conqueror. Seldom has submission appeared so complete with the totality of defeat so imminent. The Union soldier's sword lies broken in two on the grave of the fallen, and it is marked "Northern - - - - Power." But perhaps the most compelling part of the scene lies beyond the trio at center stage. The Confederate flag and United States stars and stripes appear prominently at right and left corners. The Confederate flag is marked with "treason," "slavery," "starving Yankee prisoners," "Bayoneting the wounded," "scalping," and more. The U.S. flag flies upside down, the universal signal of distress. The central theme on the flag is "Emancipation of the Slaves." Surrender at the polls would be emblematic of surrender in the field and the embattled flag symbolizes that ultimate disgrace. The engraving is as powerful as any run off the presses in the Civil War or any succeeding war in which American troops were engaged. It surely got the attention of the voting military; the troops stayed with their mission and helped reelect Abraham Lincoln by a clear majority. Furthermore, the majority of those serving whose three year enlistments had expired extended their enlistments. The military chose not to have fought a "Useless War."

Compromise With the South was possibly the most significant of the hundreds of pictorial statements made by Thomas Nast. It was significant because it sent a desperate message at a critical time in the nation's successful but sometimes troubled history. The message typified the influence that pictures would continue to exert over the printed word. More than his contemporaries, Nast quickly developed as a spokesman for the Union Army, the Republican Party, and the cause of the Union forever.

Nast did not confine his art of the Civil War and Reconstruction entirely to wood engravings. Some rather well constructed metal plate engravings of significant battles

such as the Union attack on Fort Wagner in July 1863 by the Massachusetts 54th Colored Regiment provide an interesting contrast to other artists. Nast's picture is probably more accurate than that of Louis Kurz; it may not have developed the emotional result made famous by the Kurz & Allison chromolithograph printed twenty years after the battle, but it bore the imprint of one who was either on or close to the scene.

However, the greatest impact made by Nast on the hearts and souls of the Northern citizenry appeared in *Harper's Weekly* and spoke to the issues of race, divisions of culture, politics and a prevailing question of who would rule at home after the war. Nast had the skill of the caricaturist, the ability to, according to Morton Keller, "charge or to overcharge—suggestive of the compressed force of expression that is peculiar to the technique"[35] (of caricature). He had developed a sense of how the readers of newspapers and journals had gathered their impressions of current events.

A caricature sometimes becomes a lasting symbol of a type (of person) that became fixed in the viewer's mind. "The development of caricature and other devices of satiric social art meant that a compelling form of artistic expression had come into being. The artist as social commentator has awesome weapons—wit, symbolism—to direct at men and institutions."[36] Nast targeted the individuals that were prominently framing the critical events of the time. Some of those individuals were African-Americans, a symbol of the oppressed. No individual was singled out, but African-Americans were stereotyped in a way that they became easily recognized as Thomas Nast figures. The Irish of New York took on a characteristic that identified them as a part of the Nast cast of characters that should be despised. They shall be seen in an illustration that follows.

A politician that Nast both despised and helped destroy through caricature was "Boss" Tweed of New York City.

Nast was a strong Unionist and treated the army throughout the war and Reconstruction with respect. Possibly the most interesting stream of works in progress performed by Nast centered around his interest in African-Americans as a class of people denied rights as citizens but grasping at opportunity that might follow the bitter times of slavery. Some of those characteristics assigned by Nast to blacks are evident in the *Harper's Weekly* illustration dated April 4, 1863, in which a column of Union troops has taken over a plantation in Dixie and freed the slaves. The title of the engraving is, *Arrival of a Federal Column at a Plantation House in Dixie* (Ill. 29).

The event has taken place following the Emancipation Proclamation; under United States law, freeing slaves in the Confederate States is perfectly legitimate. The action of the Union soldiers and officers is restrained, polite, and orderly. The reaction of the matronly plantation owners is hostile and indignant. Reaction of the freed black slaves takes on the meaning of "Day of Jubilee"—in other words, "Freedom." Most evident in the picture is the central theme, the African-American adults who are in various bowing and bending poses, worshipping their liberators. The central figure has placed an offering at the feet of the Union soldier whose extended arm holds a musket and bayonet, the symbols of the liberator. The black woman with arms stretched to heaven praises the event, while the elderly white-haired male offers a deep bow and prayer to the liberators. Barefoot children dance and celebrate; the whole scene is almost reminiscent of a Nast who is in as much awe of what is going on as those whose "Day of Jubilee" has arrived. African-Americans throughout Nast's pictorial journeys through

Dixie have been characterized as mostly happy, shabbily dressed folks with a wary eye to the future, but taking joy in the moment. This particular scene of joy will be contrasted to a different kind of freedom depicted by F.O.C. Darley in a metal plate engraving titled *On the March to the Sea*, which shall be shown in a later section.

Nast made his disaffection for New York politics and the Democratic Party's notorious leader, William Marcy Tweed, known in a series of illustrations that likely helped unseat Boss Tweed. Morton Keller states, "Thomas Nast's reputation rests primarily on his brilliant excoriation of the Tweed Ring. This ineffable band of politicos, who ruled Tammany Hall and New York City from 1866 to 1871, evoked Nast's most powerful work: a sustained attack which in its passion and effectiveness stands alone in the history of graphic art."[37] The results at the polls seem to bear it out. The Democrats were unseated in 1871 and, in 1873, Tweed was sentenced to twelve years in prison for corruption. Perhaps Boss Tweed's own comments about Nast speak loudest as he was quoted as saying, "I don't care a straw for your newspaper articles, my constituents don't know how to read, but they can't help seeing the damned pictures."[38]

Nast threw a lot of accusing, vindictive "damned pictures" at the perceived and then proven corruption that was rampant in New York City. The one selected for discussion in this paper is titled, *This Is a White Man's Government*, and appears as Illustration 30. It was printed in September 1868, which would have coincided with the rise of Tammany Hall power in New York City, the rise of Boss Tweed's grip on the New York Democratic Party, and the candidacy of Ulysses S. Grant for president of the United States. Nast was relentless in pursuit, exposing all elements of the party in power in the city, and this particular illustration captures many of those elements. On the left of

the picture is the New York Irish Catholic as Nast would portray them throughout his one-man offensive. The individual has Nast's signature hard core features, carries a bottle of whiskey on his right side, wields a club with the words "A VOTE" printed on it and wears a cap with clay (smoking) pipe in the hat band. On the right is the Tweed-like personification of the corrupt New York Democratic power structure; the individual holds a bundle of large denomination greenbacks in his left hand, the packet marked "Capital For Votes." The man's lapel pin is marked "5th Avenue," Boss Tweed's headquarters address. Tweed was one of the city's largest property holders.

In the center, to complete the trio that constitutes the Democratic power base in the approaching presidential election is the ex-Confederate soldier, his dagger raised high, inscribed "The Lost Cause." The mythology surrounding the "Lost Cause" is just beginning to surface in the northern states. The whip in his rear pocket symbolizes a return to some form of slavery; his lapel pin commemorates the Confederate Army's victory at Fort Pillow, scene of a widespread massacre of black Union soldiers and civilians. The U.S. flag lies on the ground, a conspicuous symbol of defeat, with an African-American soldier sprawled on top of it, his Union Army hat lying near him and legs of the conquerors placed on top of him. In the background is New York burning, actually a scene taken from the New York draft riots of 1863 when a mob burned down the Colored Orphan Asylum, torched the Southern School and lynched a number of African-Americans. One of those unfortunate souls is shown hanging from a lamp post. Hate, fear, political corruption and slogans dominate the scene and tell a sad tale of Reconstruction.

"*Harper's* circulation tripled during the course of this (pictorial) onslaught; bribes were offered (to discontinue the illustrations)—'Mr. Nast has carried political illustrations during the last six months to a pitch of excellence never before attained in this country . . .'"[39] This "onslaught" represented the pinnacle of Thomas Nast's politically motivated career. He continued to publish for almost the next two decades until his death in 1902, but the Civil War era, Reconstruction, and New York politics collectively established his name in the annals of great American illustrators. His Civil War battle scenes were powerful in their own right. Nast was always close to the action that he so dynamically portrayed, whether it was being waged on the field of battle or on the political field.

The following Thomas Nast illustrations are on permanent exhibit in the Schiele Historical Print Collection.

Thomas Nast

A Negro Regiment in Action
Harper's Weekly
March 14, 1865
Engraving

Attack on Fort Wagner
Engraving

A Group of Union Prisoners
Harper's Weekly
June 13, 1863

Christmas Eve, 1862
Harper's Weekly
c1862
Engraving

Gettysburg
J.C. McRae, engr.
Engraving

The Life of a Spy—In Nine Tableaux
Harper's Weekly
October 24, 1863
Engraving

The Great Civil War
Engraving

United We Stand: Thanksgiving
Harper's Weekly
November 24, 1864
Engraving

J.E. Johnston
Johnson, Fry & Co.
c1870
Engraving

After the Battle – The Rebels in Possession of the Field
Harper's Weekly

Battle of Lookout Mountain
Johnson, Fry & Co.
c1867

Contrabands Coming Into Our Lines, Under the Proclamation
Harper's Weekly
May 9, 1863
Engraving

Arrival of a Federal Column at a Planter's House in Dixie
Harper's Weekly
Engraving

Dedicated to the Chicago Convention: Compromise with the South
Harper's Weekly
September 3, 1864
Engraving

Convention or Massacre, Which is the More Illegal?
Harper's Weekly
September 8, 1866
Engraving

Playing Possum
Harper's Weekly
August 24, 1872
Engraving

Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction, and How It Works
Harper's Weekly
September 1, 1866
Engraving

The Emancipation of the Negroes, January, 1863—The Past and the Future
Harper's Weekly
c1863
Engraving

Marching On! – The Fifty-Fifth Massachusetts Colored Regiment Singing John Brown's March in the Streets of Charleston
Harper's Weekly
February 21, 1865
Engraving

Patience on a Monument
Harper's Weekly
October 10, 1868
Engraving

This is a White Man's Government
Harper's Weekly
September 5, 1868

The Ignorant Vote—Honors are Easy
Harper's Weekly
December 9, 1876

All the Difference in the World
Harper's Weekly
September 26, 1868

Alfred Waud:
"Best of the Civil War Sketch Artists"

"American Treasures of the Library of Congress," an on-line exhibition of the Library of Congress, describes Alfred Waud "as the best of the Civil War sketch artists who drew the war for the nation's pictorial press."[40] The major wartime publication for which Waud sketched scenes of battle during the Civil War was *Harper's Weekly*, which he joined toward the end of 1861. "American Treasures" further describes Waud as an artist who could draw a battle scene accurately and quickly. These are known attributes that a war artist, correspondent, or photographer would have to possess in order to get the job done.

Consider the elements that make up a battle, whether Pickett's Brigade charging headlong in to the center of the Union line at Gettysburg on the fateful third day (July 3, 1863) or American troops being sprung from landing craft on the beach at Normandy, June 6, 1944. Though 80 years apart in time, these elements of battle curiously held similar risks, causes, and effects in their planning. Elements of surprise were present in each engagement. Gunpowder, cannon bursts, smoke, flame, and men stumbling toward an objective of unknown resistance were all present at each critical moment of battle (on both sides), and uncertainties prevailed like a dark cloud over each attacking force. Robert Capa at Normandy and Waud at Gettysburg had similar challenges—get the information on silver film or on paper quickly, for the scene of battle shifts in a shutter flash or the blink of an eye. That "Waud could render a scene quickly" contributed to his success, for there were not many who sketched their work "from nature" or at the battle site. And possibly some artists or correspondents who were on site did not live to have their work recorded; the risk to the artist was the same as the risk to the infantryman. Of

the seven series of artists surveyed in this study, Alfred Waud is the only one who has been credited by his biographers for his consistent appearance on the line of battle. However, on-site observation is not necessarily the most important element attributed to Civil War print artists.

Louis Kurz, the most prolific artist of the Civil War, from what is known, was not present at any of the 36 pictures of Civil War battles that he and his lithographer, Alexander Allison, published from1881 to 1892. The work of Louis Kurz thrives today in new book editions. The Louis Kurz *Battle of Gettysburg* (Ill. 23) has appeared far more often than Alfred Waud's *Attack of the Louisiana Tigers on a Battery of the 11th Corps. at Gettysburg.*[41] The *Battle of Gettysburg* by Louis Kurz has been published many more times than Edwin Forbes' illustration of *Pickett's Charge on July 3, 1863*. Forbes was the only other artist, along with Waud, present at Gettysburg (Waud was closest to the fighting). "His drawing of Pickett's Charge is thought to be the only contemporary depiction by an eyewitness," according to David Meschutt.[42]

Alfred Waud has assumed a most revered position in the annals of Civil War art and artists, for Pickett's Charge is the Civil War battle to which most Americans can relate; it is remembered as the "high tide of the Confederacy" and the battle that best defined the desperation of the Army of Northern Virginia that went all out to gain a victory. The resilient Union center held to preserve a Union victory and preserve the Union. In comparing these two pieces of art, Waud's is creditable for its accuracy and Kurz's for the excitement generated by the mass of humanity shown as both victors and vanquished leave the field.

These three of Alfred Waud's original drawings, rendered by staff engravers at Harper's as wood engravings, appear in the Schiele Collection at Olin Library, Special Collections. They shall be reviewed:

Army of the Potomac—The Struggle for the Salient, near Spotsylvania, Virginia
Harper's Weekly, May 12, 1864

Contrabands Coming Into Camp in Consequence of the Proclamation
Harper's Weekly, January 31, 1863

Scene on a Mississippi River Steamer—"The Parting Song"
Harper's Weekly, November 9, 1867

Alfred Waud was with Ulysses S. Grant's Army of the Potomac when it accepted the surrender of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865. I have included a very good copy of a sketch by Raymond F. Houlihan, drawn after Alfred Waud's, of General Lee as he rode away from the McLean House following his surrender to General Grant. According to Meschutt, "No artist or correspondent was permitted to observe the actual surrender ceremony." I believe that this was an accurate statement because the surrender was a private matter between Lee and Grant, the room in the McLean House was small, and staff of both generals filled the void.

There are two aspects to my assumption that Houlihan borrowed the artistry of Waud, the only (known) artist on site. Houlihan, who sketched *General Robert E. Lee Leaves McLean House at Appomattox . . .* (Ill. 34), more than likely took his vision of the surrender scene from works previously put on paper by Waud. Houlihan is not listed in the Library of Congress edition of *An Album of American Battle Art, 1755-1918*.[43] Alfred Waud is listed both in text and his works are reproduced in the book in sixteen

different illustrations, far more than any other artist's listings. However, Houlihan is listed in *The Illustrator in America* by Walt Reed.

It is not unusual that war artists borrowed ideas from others. Some knowingly shared ideas. Louis Kurz, the most prolific American war artist of the 19th century, produced 36 battle scenes of the Civil War. Some of those scenes may be traced back to what a battlefield artist had drawn some twenty years before.

Specific to Houlihan's work, I refer to an 1862 "Drawing by Alfred Waud" entitled *The First Virginia Cavalry at a Halt, Antietam Campaign*.[44] The mounted Confederate cavalry officer in the center of the picture is very similar to the mounted Robert E. Lee as he departed the McLean House in Houlihan's print. The three-quarter pose of horse and rider are practically identical from the manes of the two horses to their tails. The riders are mounted in similar poses, with left gloved hands, and with the guiding hands on relaxed reins as each arched horse's neck gives a note of graceful forward motion. The similarity is stark and the comparison unmistakable. Alfred Waud was the only artist known to be in the vicinity of Appomattox Court House at the surrender, and he produced a drawing of Lee riding away from the McLean House, not the Court House.

But perhaps Houlihan saw it, or using the description of an on-site journalist, composed this stylistically arranged picture of Lee's departure, with Grant and his staff saluting the defeated general in a moment of both admiration and respect. (It has been recorded by General Joshua Chamberlain that he and his troops came to attention and presented arms as Lee passed by.) Houlihan's scene, though borrowed and visualized in the mind's eye, pays tribute to Robert E. Lee and Alfred Waud. Adding credibility to the

accuracy of *First Virginia Cavalry*, Alfred Waud made some of the following observations at the very time that he drew the picture of the mounted officer and men that surrounded him.

"Being detained within the enemy's lines, an opportunity occurred to make a sketch of one of the two crack regiments of the Confederate service . . . they were . . . generally polite and agreeable in manner. With the exception of the officers, there was little else but homespun among them, light drab-gray or butternut color . . ." Waud's descriptions not only add authenticity to his drawing, but also add an additional dimension to the picture seen by the viewer. "Their horses were good; in many cases . . . they provided their own. Their carbines, they said, were mostly captured from our own cavalry, for whom they expressed utter contempt . . . a feeling unfortunately shared by our own army."[45]

Pickett's Charge, on the third day of Gettysburg, has resonated in words and pictures since that afternoon, July 3, 1863. It is altogether fitting to quote Steven Vincent Benét from "John Brown's Body":

> I shall go forward, sir," he said and turned to his men. The command went down the line. The gray ranks started to move . . .
>
> The Virginians, the Fifteen Thousand, the seventh wave of the tide . . .
>
> You could mark the path that they took by the dead that they left behind . . .
>
> And yet they came on unceasing, the Fifteen Thousand no more.

The illustrations of the assault likely number in the hundreds; no one knows. In my opinion, the best and most accurate of scope and detail was created by Hall in 1867

and "arranged by Bachelder." But the only artist there at the time was Alfred Waud; he drew *Cemetery Hill Previous to Pickett's Charge, July 3, 1863*.[46]

Alfred Waud's drawing was evidently made as the "furious thunderstorm" of the Union cannonade answered the Confederate guns.[47] The Confederate guns had opened the furious bombardment of the Union center in the afternoon of July 3rd. The Union artillery responded, as shown in Waud's drawing, but not in kind. The Union artillery commander saved his best for the frontal attack of Pickett's Fifteen Thousand. According to Benét and others, that response blew a huge hole in the front ranks of the Confederate attack. In Waud's drawing, the excitement generated by the artillerymen is evident in the movement of soldiers shown flying around in all directions. Action, above all, is prevalent. The smoke of cannon fire obscures everything beyond the cannon and men on line.

At the end of the war, *Harper's Weekly* paid tribute to Alfred Waud and the others who put themselves at risk. "They have not been less busy and scarcely less imperiled than the soldiers. They have made the weary marches and dangerous voyages . . . they have ridden and waded, and climbed and floundered, always trusting in lead-pencils and keeping their paper dry. When the battle began, they were there."[48] The beneficiaries of their works were the people of America, who were learning quickly and with credibility what was taking place on the front lines of this all consuming war. Never before in the annals of journalism in America had information been made available to the public in this way.

The following three works of Alfred Waud illustrate the time frame covered by his work during the war and its aftermath. These are among several pieces of Waud

presently in the Schiele Collection. The three prints, all published by *Harper's*, span a time from 1863 to 1867. The middle time is May 12, 1864. The Army of the Potomac, under the top command of Ulysses S. Grant, is shown in three phases of the fight that is underway. Titled *Army of the Potomac—The Struggle for the Salient, Near Spotsylvania, Virginia*, most of the troopers are positioned in a shallow trench, muskets, bayonets fixed, held vertically. Most of the men are not ready to fire, except for the soldier on the far left who has his musket raised at the shoulder in a take aim, fire pose. The battered American flag hangs limply from its standard, while one soldier has placed his hat above the line of men, on his bayonet as if to draw enemy fire. The line of troopers extends in a curve off to the right as far as the eye can see. Shrapnel from enemy cannon is seen exploding in the air, killing a number of soldiers in the foreground and middle ground. Although those corpses lie close at hand, the officers gathered at the near right in conference seem oblivious to this part of the action. Others in the foreground approach with muskets over shoulders to enter the line. Part of the battlefield encampment appears to be at mid-ground center, but it is not clear on which side of the encampment and the line of troops protecting it are fighting. Logistically, they should be Union troops, but during some battles in the Wilderness in the spring of 1864, only several hundred feet separated Confederates and Union troops.

The accompanying story in *Harper's* would have explained the action. Battles fought in the Wilderness campaign often took place in dense fog, smoke, forests, where adversaries' lines crossed and nothing was clear until the battle was over. This appears to be a disjointed maneuver that has not fulfilled the battle plan that would have never placed a brigade at such risk on the open ground. The limp, battered flag is telling the

viewer that all is not well. The fallen have already signaled the futility of this engagement; their lives have been offered up to poor leadership rather than misfortune. On the far horizon, clouds and dark prevail. The scene is more reminiscent of the uncertainties of combat than of the glory of fixed ranks moving in the right direction with authority and purpose. Waud shows us none of that in *The Salient*.

The last two pictures reviewed are scenes of African-Americans in two phases of their movement from slavery to "freed men." In *Contrabands Coming Into Camp in Consequence of the Proclamation* (Ill. 32), published by *Harper's* on January 31, 1863, reference is made to the "Proclamation," which is the Emancipation Proclamation—made the law of the land just 30 days earlier. General Ben Butler had first labeled African-Americans *Contrabands* a year before the Proclamation, as slaves left plantations in the wake of the Union Army's advance in the South. Slaves were no longer "contrabands of war" after the Proclamation was issued, but journalistically, the name stuck. The families gathered around by the wagon, drawn by mules and halted at the roadside have few expectations and little apparent joy. They are a somber group, waiting to be told what to do, where to go, and accompanied by an armed Union soldier at the rear of the wagon. Some are dressed in their finery. Other artists pictured "contrabands" coming in to the lines with joy on their faces and hope for a better life ahead. Waud's snapshot pictures the people, posed for a publication, but unprepared for the next step.

The Parting Song (Ill. 33), a *Harper's* story and picture 4-1/2 years later, is a scene of "Jubilee." Freed men are gathered on a wharf in the South to bid farewell to those among them who are headed north to New York. We know that because the bundle in the foreground is marked "NY." The man holding the American flag is leading his

group in a moment of joy and anticipation of a new life in New York. He may be leading them in song. It appears that most are singing, but it is not clear who is traveling and who is not, for I believe the river boat to still be at anchor on the wharf. The mood of the African-Americans is upbeat, but a few hold back their feelings. Only the few whites in the background display disdain and, perhaps, disapproval. If they are southern whites, they have yet to accept their former perceived inferiors as equals under the law.

In these last two renditions of black Americans in the South, Waud displays the latent power of what freedom might produce in *Parting Song*. Like Thomas Nast, he has not quite arrived at that place in his artistic journey where that transition comes easily; a stereotypical black figure still remains on the artist's sketchbook.

F.O.C. Darley: Premier Journal and Book Illustrator

Felix Octavius Carr Darley was born in Philadelphia in 1822 and received his first commission less than 20 years later. "In 1848 he produced six illustrations for Washington Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*."[49] "He received a commission to illustrate the entire works of James Fennimore Cooper in 1856."[50] "American book illustration can be said to have begun with Darley, who illustrated more than 300 books . . ."[51] His illustrations were prominently displayed at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial. Darley's place among America's premier artists of the mid-19th century had been clearly established by that time, though his reputation has been preserved in the more circumscribed arena of illustration. He produced fewer Civil War illustrations than Forbes, Homer, and Nast, but his works from the period stand out in the attention to detail and drama that unfolded within them. In the Schiele Historical Print Collection at Olin Library, Special Collections, Washington University in St. Louis, the following Darleys are on permanent exhibit.

F.O.C. Darley

Emigrants Crossing the Plains
Henry Bryan Hall, engraver
D. Appleton, NY, publisher
c1869
Metal plate engraving

On the March to the Sea
A.H. Ritchie, engraver
c1868
Metal plate engraving

General Lyons at Wilson's Creek
Henry Bryan Hall, engraver
c1862
Metal plate engraving

Battle of Ball's Bluff, VA
J. Godfrey, engraver
Metal plate engraving

Massachusetts Militia Passing Through Baltimore
F.F. Walker, engraver
Virtue & Co., publishers
c1862
Metal plate engraving

Battle of Shiloh, Tenn.
W. Ridgeway, engraver
Virtue, Yorston & Co., publishers
c1863
Metal plate engraving

Capture of Fort Donelson, Tenn.
est. 1862
Metal plate engraving

The copper engraving, *On the March to the Sea* (Ill. 35), was "[E]ntered according to act of Congress in the year 1868 by L. Stebbins in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the district of Connecticut." Darley was the artist and the engraver was A.H. Ritchie. The engraving in the Schiele Collection is 47 inches on the horizontal and 33 inches in the vertical. It is a "galley proof," meaning that it was one of the first prints made, and in this case, signed by both artist and engraver. Outside of the copyright information shown above (in very small print on the engraving), there is no written description. The print is the largest in the Schiele Collection and is housed with other prints specific to William T. Sherman, whose Army of the Ohio marched through Georgia following the fall of Atlanta.

In my opinion, this is one of the most dramatic pictures made of a Civil War encounter by any artist of the period. It represents Darley's finest Civil War era characterization of tension and drama. Although not centered, the peak of this drama depicts a slave family on the right entering the Union lines. The family takes on the role of refugees as opposed to "Contrabands of War," as described in most other scenes of liberation. The family is probably clothed in the only garments available to them, literally, the clothes on their back. Father and mother carry other meager belongings in sacks while the cow is being led by the mother who strides ahead of the family, eyes fixed forward. The young boy, barefoot, is reluctant and terrified, and he is led by his mother with her other hand, while the father comforts the elderly man as he assists him across the railroad tracks.

The family is a work in itself—expressing apprehension and a hesitancy to move ahead, while their long strides forward signify the desire to seek a new life, freed from

the plantation and cotton fields. What really lies ahead is uncertainty. Even crossing the tracks symbolizes a moment, a snapshot in time. Those very rails, representing a life line of the community, are soon to be ripped up, leaving nothing behind as a link to the past.

There is a lot of action in this picture. Soldiers in the foreground are tearing apart the railroad tracks. The wood ties are piled and set afire in bonfire fashion, while the rails are heated white hot on the fire and then twisted into "Sherman's neckties." They become sculpted reminders of the total war that General Sherman has declared on the Confederacy. As his columns have begun their long march to Savannah, the "bummers" on the flanks of the army are destroying every usable remnant of crops, farm animals, and equipment that cannot be carried with the army as provisions. This is evident on the horizon, as far as the eye can see, as hay stacks and buildings burn. There is little or no resistance or counterattack as Sherman's columns make their way east. The telegraph line in the final stages of destruction symbolizes the isolation that is befalling the Southern Confederacy. More freed slaves hurriedly make their way across the river to join the ranks. The choice has not been theirs to make. They will benefit from or be victims of the fortunes of war, but their lives and fortunes shall be forever changed.

The dynamics of total war are all present. The Union army is ravaging the countryside and destroying every visible means of support that a mid-19th century American population requires to exist as a coherent community. Transportation and communications are being totally wrecked before our very eyes. The food supply is going up in smoke, the farm animals are disappearing, dwellings are aflame and the sole source of labor has been set loose. The officer in charge is the anointed central figure, and it is his presence on which you focus when first viewing the picture. As dominant as

this mounted officer may appear, he is really just a blur in the action that is taking place across the broad screen of this production. His movements tell us nothing of his character, his sensibilities; even his rank is obscure—it is almost a non-rank.

One might assume at first glance that the larger-than-life horseman is William Tecumseh Sherman. Who else in an oversized engraving would occupy such position? Upon close examination, no explicit rank is displayed. (A general's saddle blanket ordinarily displays one, two, or three stars.) The main character in this picture story is indeed a blur, a passing figure across a sea of devastation, upending the remnant of community and creating a mass migration. I don't know if this was intended, but it is difficult to explain the nameless leader surrounded by the soldiers who are efficiently carrying out their tasks. The soldiers to the officer's left in the background are placed there in typical period fashion by moving forward toward the action in the field. The similar backdrop is seen in *Robert E. Lee at Chancellorsville* (Ill. 36) and *George B. McClellan at Antietam* (Ill. 37). The comparison of these three prints presents an interesting artistic contrast. There is also similarity in the movement of the horses in the three prints. Especially in *March to the Sea*, Darley has made the two grays the focus of the real action as one officer springs to the saddle and the commanding officer appears ready to move forward as one of his staff points to a troop of cavalry moving off in pursuit. Horses provide a contrast of swift movement versus foot manpower. The storm in the background only intensifies the action of destruction presented so vividly in the foreground. It tells a tale of the city of Atlanta in flames and forecasts the havoc that lies ahead as Sherman's army advances across Georgia to Savannah.

The appearance of the freed slave family on the right has already been labeled as the artistic and cultural center of the picture. The soldiers are engaged in the yeoman-like tasks while their tools of war are stacked neatly in the left foreground. They consist of muskets, bayonets, haversacks—all symbolic of an army on the move, but not implicated in killing the population, for that would violate Sherman's general orders. Darley's picture captures the meaning of total war and does it with a flair of efficiency. He also pays attention to the compassion that is being shown to the family of frightened refugees who will somehow strive to find their own path to a new identity and make their first steps to freedom.

Drawn and engraved at the same time, *Emigrants Crossing the Plains* (Ill. 38) presents an entirely different picture of the process by which Americans strove to gain a new birth of freedom. The black slave family in "March to the Sea" has acquired a new and completely different status in life during the day that Sherman's troopers took over a plantation in Georgia, confiscated supplies and liberated the slaves. Under the Emancipation Proclamation, slaves liberated in Confederate states were now considered "freed men." The Caucasian emigrants pictured in the engraving created by Darley and engraved by H.B. Hall in 1869 were probably never indentured servants. They were most likely small farmers living as sharecroppers to a large farm or low-paid wage earners in an industrial urban setting. They may have been Irish, or Bohemians, or Germans. They were leaving their past with the dream of becoming self-sufficient land holders in the land beyond the horizon. They are willing to undergo hardship and risk as yet unknown to them.

The picture has yet to speak of those hardships and dangers that lie beyond the horizon, but unlike the freed slaves in "March to the Sea," the emigrants are moving toward a new life of their own free will. The road taken is shown to be not much more than wagon wheel ruts cut from those who trod before them. A dog on the front left drinks water left over from the last rain; it is summer and there is not an abundance of water on the plains of Kansas or in the territories further west. Whole families move. The centerpiece shows a family in covered wagon drawn at a slow pace by a pair of oxen, with the head of the family leading at the head of the wagon. The chief scout and trail master in buckskins rides at the front of the long column, rifle slung across his saddle, eyes focused westward, always westward, ready for the first signs of danger. This journey takes place seven years before Custer's encounter with the Sioux at the Little Big Horn River in Montana. Scouts are trained to be ready, for the path west is underlined with unknowns. The man who walks with his woman at left center carries his rifle. All earthly possessions including livestock are evident. The faded pastel colors of this hand-painted engraving fortify the feeling of a long arduous journey, the timelessness of passage and the wonderment of how all of this will play out; it is panoramic.

March to the Sea is a snapshot; it is of the moment. In the next picture frame a different scene will evolve. *Emigrants* aspires to timelessness, in part by using the juxtaposed stance of Greek statuary evidenced in the man leading the oxen to the inclusion of a Madonna-like figure in the wagon. It is not pastoral, because a change in the weather or the approach of plains Indians can alter things. But at this moment, the journey west is all that matters and the mood of all involved is static, fixed to a commitment that moved America forever forward in the 19th century. This scene of

1869 expansion westward was an eternal journey, punctuated by failure, but wrapped in enough success that the settlers kept coming. The people crossing the plains in Darley's concept of westward expansion carried confidence and conviction over and above whatever else they may have packed into those wagons. Pictures of their crossing helped inspire a generation of Americans.

At an earlier time following the assault on Fort Sumter by the Confederate shore batteries in Charleston, South Carolina in April 1861 and the opening of hostilities between North and South, the President of the United States moved quickly to reinforce the garrison in the nation's capital. As the likelihood of war drew closer in the winter of 1860 following the secession of South Carolina, the administration was faced with the dilemma of a federal army that numbered less than 20,000 regulars, most of whom were stationed in the west. State militias were the first units that responded to the call for reinforcements.

Massachusetts Militia Passing Through Baltimore (Ill. 39) depicts the confrontation of that militia by civilians in Baltimore as those troops move to garrison Washington. Darley's metal plate engraving was completed in 1862; this date denotes a relatively short time span from the event to the picture that would be seen by multitudes of northerners. With a sense of urgency, Darley has not spared the public from the violence that took place as the militia responded to the rocks, debris, and gunfire with their own musket fire and bayonets.

The scene is far different than the one depicted in "March to the Sea," where destruction is wrought, but the solders' weapons are stacked. In *Massachusetts Militia*, violence and death fill the page. As the eye follows the scene of battle from right to left,

the main figures, left foreground, are a woman covering a man on the ground. He is sprawled, hands stretched forward, while the woman crouches over him to assist him should there be any life left in him. Some of the mob of citizens fire guns from the windows of the building on the left. Nothing is left out; all ages and shapes of humanity violently oppose passage of the Union troops. Even a young boy has clamored on top of the wagon on the left so that he can get a better view of the action. The mob scene could be reminiscent of America in 1776 or two decades later, when citizens of France stormed the barricades in Paris.

The picture was drawn for a Northern audience, but it surely caught the attention of Southerners. It contained as much live action, violence, and death as anything put out by Darley. The action occurred when the direction and duration of war was an unknown. The only certainty was that Death has found its way to both sides. Two Union soldiers lay on the ground at the feet of their comrades. In the background, multi-story buildings enclose the scene; their close proximity indicates that the action is taking place in the heart of the city and that the fighting is in a narrow corridor where there is little chance of retreat. To complete a scene of death, smoke, and desperation on both sides, a vulture lurks in the sky in the background. Darley has presented a picture that tells North and South that this conflict, described by President Lincoln as an insurrection that should be put down with 75,000 volunteers, will be bitter, drawn out, and unlikely to end by an early negotiated cease fire or reconciliation. The picture has served as both warning and predictable outcome to citizens on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line.

Darley joined a famous contingent of other Civil War artists that included Edwin Forbes, Alfred Waud, and Winslow Homer that brought the fury of the battles directly to

the American people. As the fighting continued for four long years and the casualties and deaths surpassed 600,000, illustrations did not make acceptance of realities any easier, but they brought reality home to North and South in a timely fashion. Looking back *On the March to the Sea*, Sherman's campaign through Georgia had a stimulating effect on those in the North who had thought the war would be lost by stalemate, while having a depressing effect on those in the South whose lives were forever changed by the infamous march. Graphic illustrations illuminated events.

The Early Development of Print Making
In the Distinguished Art Career of Winslow Homer

Winslow Homer, whose art career began at mid-19th century and carried on through the early 20th century, nurtured ambitions to be a painter but started out as an illustrator. The field of illustrations proved to be a worthy training ground in support of a later career as one of America's most celebrated late 19th century artists.

"Long after he had become a famous painter, Winslow Homer was asked to help prepare a brief autobiography for the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In it, he wrote that as a young man he had come to New York to be a painter. '. . . the young man [Homer] supported himself by doing illustrations for the popular journals of the day.' With these few words, the celebrated artist dismissed a twenty-year career and the more than two hundred wood engravings that were the fruits of those years."[52] These illustrations are the focus of this chapter.

By the latter 1850s, Winslow Homer's timing was perhaps his most important career advantage as he entered the modern publishing world. The technology of wood engraving, matched with the advent of high speed presses, permitted industrial-scale print production. Homer moved from Boston to New York in 1859 to begin a rewarding and productive career illustrating Civil War military camps and battle scenes for *Harper's Weekly*, a journal that experienced a great increase in popularity from the onset of the war and through its duration. A series of fast moving events fanned the public interest that began with John Brown's raid on the Harpers Ferry arsenal in 1859 to the election of Abraham Lincoln in November 1860 and the secession of South Carolina in December of 1860. Pictures illustrated what had heretofore been written history as it was being played out in the last days of antebellum America.

The new printing technology allowed timely news to reach the public quickly. As a result, the number of publications grew at an amazing rate as shown in Illustration 3.[53] The addition of wood-engraved pictures both in *Harper's Weekly* as well as *Leslie's Illustrated News*, a rival publication doing the same kind of work, only intensified public interest and amplified readers' experiences.

In sizing up the period of Abolition, Civil War, and Reconstruction, Winslow Homer's illustrations were largely centered around the War. A print that deals with Abolition in the United States was likely drawn from observation by Homer. It is entitled, *Expulsion of Negroes and Abolitionists from Tremont Temple, Boston, Massachusetts on December 3, 1860*" (Ill. 40) and was sketched that month for *Harper's Weekly*. It pictures a near riot as blacks and abolitionists are forcibly being removed from an abolitionist meeting at the Tremont Temple memorializing John Brown, the now martyred abolitionist. "Anti-Lincoln and anti-abolitionist rioters piled into the public meeting and attempted to take it over." Police have entered the fray to attempt to restore order after speeches by Frederick Douglass and other high profile abolitionists. Homer's depiction of a full-fledged riot with all parties engaged suggests that the police have been summoned to assist the rioters and not the abolitionists.

Whether this interpretation reflected the real intent of the authorities that day or whether Homer was in a position to make an accurate judgment is really incidental. Unlike his more strongly editorial pro-Union pictures to follow, this scene of an abolition-inspired event shows Winslow Homer choosing not to take a strong Union stand. Perhaps, like many other antebellum Union loyalists, Homer chose not to recognize the new Lincoln administration's position on slavery. Perhaps he expected the

call to arms that followed. But after the firing of Confederate shore batteries on Fort Sumter four months later, a series of southern state secessions ensued, and the war was on. He produced vivid scenes of war and camp life. Homer was assigned by *Harper's* to cover scenes of some troopers awaiting action in camp, while others fiercely engaged the enemy.

Other artists worked for the pictorial press during the Civil War, notably Waud and Forbes. As reflected in the Schiele Collection at Washington University, it has always been a matter of interest to me in the half century that I have spent examining Civil War prints that so few originate in the South or are drawn by artists in the South. In *Winslow Homer and the Pictorial Press*, Tatham explains that "the Confederate states had no pictorial magazines." (The North had two: *Harper's Weekly* and *Leslie's Illustrated News*.) Tatham goes on to explain that "through an unexpected circumstance, however, they gained extensive coverage during the war from a single source: *The Illustrated London News*."[54] Their American correspondent and artist, Frank Vizetelly, who covered the first Battle of Bull Run in 1861, made some unflattering comments about the rout of the Union forces. He thereby became *persona non grata* in the North, but an artist of note in the South, covering Lee's army through Appomattox. The Schiele Collection owns none of his or any other Southern artist's prints that we can positively identify. It is possible that we have one that depicts the assault on Fort Wagner in July 1863, but it is not signed or credited to Vizetelly.

There are now over 12 Winslow Homer wood engravings in the Schiele Collection. Perhaps the most intriguing one is *A Bivouac Fire on the Potomac* (Ill. 41), a *Harper's Weekly* centerfold published in December 1861. The picture carefully and

somewhat accurately details life at leisure during maneuvers along the Potomac River. Perhaps the army is preparing to make a move in the Fall of 1861 against their opponents on the other side of the river. Homer would not have known this as he sketched the faces and demeanor of the men, preparing for the grim task of war. They had suffered shattering defeat by the Confederates at Manassas Junction just several weeks earlier.

This is a confident gathering of U.S. Army soldiers. None of the green or amateurish militias are to be seen. They relax by fireside, thirty or more souls gathered in a circle around a young black male who dances to the elderly black fiddler, seated on the far right of the circle. There is mostly silence and serenity. Only the posting of armed sentries in the rear of the picture lets the viewer know that this is wartime, not a peacetime bivouac. Many of those engaged in private thought many miles from home are gazing blankly into fire and smoke that may be taken to symbolize the brevity of life.

The black entertainers are representative of the role of African Americans prior to Emancipation and enlistments in the U.S. Army. They are peripheral players, supplying services of daytime labor and nighttime entertainment. Blacks in numerous 19th century prints are almost always dressed in the cotton cloth of field dress with no shoes. A lack of shoes symbolically communicates the status of black field hands shown in the art of the mid-19th century. *Bivouac* is one of Homer's better war scenes because it realistically paints a picture of an army in transition, from training for battle in the day to the newly discovered camaraderie of the camp fire at night, to the unknown expectations of what lies ahead on the following day. The silence speaks for the unknowns of the morrow.

In direct contrast to *Bivouac*, Homer created a series of battle scenes that rivaled any of those pictures drawn by the other war artists of that day, including Edwin Forbes and Alfred Waud. However, Homer did not cherish his role as a frontline artist. "He had found the procedure of sending drawings to the *Weekly* from Virginia unsatisfactory—he found his role as a pictorial reporter in conflict with his emerging self-image as a fine artist. To be a feeder of drawings to an art room whose draftsmen then reworked them for publication was antithetical to his self-concept as an independent worker. Still, the time he spent in Virginia in 1861 and 1862—probably 10 weeks or so—proved invaluable. The sketches he made there became the raw materials for most of the rest of his Civil War illustrations."[55] It was common practice in journal print production for draftsmen to finish the job that was started by the artist in the field. Sometimes four draftsmen would recreate the artist's picture, and a master engraver would tie their work together to make the final wood engraving for publication.

There is no direct way of knowing what Homer composed from on site, in the heat of things, and what he may have drawn from his vast collection of sketches from the field on site and later drawn for publication. "In New York, he composed striking images of the conflict from what must have been a bulging portfolio of field sketches. Some . . . have survived. Most are in the collections of the Smithsonian Institution's Cooper-Hewitt National Museum of Design . . ."[56] As stated previously, it is important to note that many of the most famous and widely circulated battle scenes of the Civil War were not the result of direct contact during or even right after a battle. The thirty-six battle scenes of the Civil War chromolithographed by the Chicago firm of Kurz & Allison were produced between 1881 and 1892. The artist, Louis Kurz, more than likely was never

exposed to a live battle, but his works have been indelibly painted in the minds of Civil War historians and amateur scholars for well over a hundred years.

Winslow Homer may or may not have witnessed the action picture that he created in *The War for the Union, 1862—A Bayonet Charge* (Ill. 42). This 13-5/8" x 20-5/8" centerfold was published in *Harper's Weekly* in July 1862. The campaign underway, though not titled, would have been the Peninsula Campaign commencing in the spring of 1862 and lasting throughout the summer. The U.S. Army, led by Major General George B. McClellan, had invaded Virginia well south of Richmond and was successful in moving within cannon shot of Richmond before being turned back by the newly appointed commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, General Robert E. Lee. This fighting ground may have been Seven Pines or Malvern Hill, scenes of some of the most vigorous and costly fighting of the Peninsula Campaign. Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. speculated that the scene was an invention, based largely on the battle formations in the Napoleonic era. [57] I believe Homer had more intimate knowledge of the battle based on the ferocity of the fight vividly shown by the grim expressions on the faces of the Union assaulting force as well as on the faces of the defenders.

Many lives already have been taken and yet the outcome of battle is still very much in doubt. Homer had obviously developed a very good idea of exactly how the Springfield musket with bayonet attached could turn the tide of battle. Death by bayonet was rare in the Civil War, but both sides had them and were trained to use them. Counting from left to right in the wood engraving, there are six different positions of the bayonet shown on the attacking Union column. The Union soldier pictured lower center is charging in a low profile as he keeps his eyes pointed straight ahead; he seeks out his

target but doesn't present much of a target himself. *Harper's* had likely instructed Homer to get close to the battle and send back some live action illustrations that would offset the more relaxed pictures published prior to the spring invasion. *Bayonet Charge* seems to exhibit the rare knowledge that one can only attain by being on or near the front lines, within earshot of the fighting. Those qualities stand out.

Each of the Homer illustrations in the Schiele Collection has distinctive characteristics that are instantly recognizable as a Winslow Homer. It may be the intensity of an individual as he throws himself with abandon towards an awaiting foe, or the relaxed composure of soldiers at ease in a camp setting. Winslow Homer exhibited genuine human qualities in his individuals that set them apart from the blur of faces that more than often dot the scene of soldiers in military settings. (Homer was set apart as an artist from other Civil War correspondents by identifying with the soldier in the field as a comrade in arms.)

There are a number of wood engravings attributed to Winslow Homer in the James E. and Joan Singer Schiele Historical Print Collection in Olin Library, Special Collections.

Winslow Homer

A Bivouac Fire on the Potomac
Harper's Weekly
December 21, 1861
Engraving

The War for the Union, 1862—A Bayonet Charge
Harper's Weekly
July 12, 1862
Engraving

Thanksgiving in Camp
Harper's Weekly
November 29, 1862
Engraving

Christmas Boxes in Camp—Christmas, 1861
Harper's Weekly
January 4, 1862

The Seceding Mississippi Delegation in Congress
Matthew Brady, photographer
Harper's Weekly
February 2, 1861

The Union Cavalry and Artillery Starting in Pursuit of the Rebels Up the Yorktown Turnpike
Harper's Weekly
May 17, 1862

A Shell in the Rebel Trenches
Harper's Weekly
January 17, 1863

Additional engravings have been more recently added.

Edwin Forbes:
Battlefield Artist of the Civil War

The Civil War, fought on 10,000 battlegrounds between April of 1861 and April 1865, was the largest engagement of arms fought anywhere in the 19th century and likely the largest that will ever be engaged on the North American continent. To understand the significance of the proliferation of illustrations that poured out of the presses of the *Illustrated London News*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *Leslie's Illustrated News*,[58] it is important to understand the cultural revolution that was taking place in America as its Northern and Southern citizens grappled with issues of slavery, states' rights, and union.

The United States at mid-19th century was a land severely split across the boundaries imposed by the Mason-Dixon Line that defined North and South. Eleven soon-to-be-called "Confederate States" encompassed what was known as the "Old South." Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky were "border states" with divided interests. All other states north of the border were "Northern States," whose interests were largely commercial and industrial in addition to agricultural. The South relied on agriculture, mostly cotton, tobacco, and rice to form what became known as the "Cotton Kingdom." Its structure and success leaned heavily on slave labor in the fields. The flames of growing intolerance in the North of the "peculiar institution" were fanned by an abolition movement and then the election to the presidency of Republican Abraham Lincoln. The election tripped the wire that triggered the secession of South Carolina and the ten other states that formed the new Confederacy.

A cultural revolution was taking place in the United States. To help guide opinion, the *Illustrated London News*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *Leslie's Illustrated News*

poured out illustrations that dealt with issues of slavery, states' rights, union and an "irrepressible" conflict.

It was against this background of daunting issues such as extension of slavery and a cohesive Union that young artists including Edwin Forbes and Winslow Homer appeared on the scene at the beginning of the Civil War. "In 1862, Frank Leslie, the owner of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* newspaper, hired Forbes to join the corps of artists he was sending south to provide illustrations for his paper. These pictorial reporters were known as 'special correspondents' or 'special artists.'"[59]

Special correspondents and special artists are credited throughout the Civil War with providing on-the-scene pictures of battle, before the battle, or after the battle. These credits are often recognized as "drawn from nature" and thereby certify that the illustrator was on the battle site or at the least, somewhere in the vicinity. "Forbes had a straightforward mission—to sketch scenes of the war that would end up as illustrations in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* Newspaper."[60] Edwin Forbes was a war and artist correspondent. He was one of only two war artists on the scene at Gettysburg. He also was familiar with the everyday life of the army, which makes his artwork authentic in terms of understanding his subjects as real individuals as well as their roles as set military pieces.

Louis Kurz, the most prolific artist of the Civil War, illustrated thirty-six scenes of important battles. Kurz's soldiers were set pieces, part of a battle that was being played out on a stage set twenty-five years after the drama. Kurz's battle scenes have remained popular through the first decade of the twenty-first century, but they were not drawn from first-hand experience. Forbes capitalized on the sketches that he had created

during the war, obtained his sketches from Frank Leslie, and then etched the scenes to copper plates and exhibited those etchings as *Life Studies of the Great Army* displayed at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876. The exhibit received a lot of favorable publicity. (The Mercantile Library in St. Louis has the complete set of "Life Studies.") "William T. Sherman, commanding general of the United States Army, bought the original portfolio to decorate his office."[61] In this study of Forbes, the focus shall be on three of the wartime scenes that became etchings that are part of the Schiele Historical Print Collection. They are *The Pontoon Bridges*, circa 1876, *Cavalry Charge*, circa 1876, and *Going Into Action*, also circa 1876.

Although he does not identify the battle coming on as the army crosses the Rapidan River, *The Pontoon Bridges* (Ill. 43) graphically describes what appears to be a full army corps in rapid movement across a newly constructed bridge. In his written account of the work of the Army Engineer Corps, Forbes writes about the "preparatory work" of the engineers as being "the most scientific," and although the corps is not exposed to the same level of the danger of combat as the regulars in the field, "its danger is not slight and its work is indispensible."[62] Thus said, Forbes pays homage to the bridge builders, being careful not to compare them too closely to the men with whom he marched, sketched, and watched die—the combat foot soldiers.

Pontoon bridges, as seen in the etching, were laid over a series of boats that were placed lengthwise in the direction that the water flowed in a river. The bridge decking, as shown, was anchored to the series of boats in such a way that columns of men and material drawn by horse and wagon could ford a river in short order. That is the essence of the etching. The viewer is immediately struck with the sheer size of the troop

movement. There are not only two columns of men and mule-drawn wagons loaded with war material led by officers on horse, but also a landscape broken only by felled trees in the foreground and a vast array of humanity reaching out and spreading into the distance. Wagons are all proceeding to the left bank while infantry marches in close quarters toward the center in order to form ranks in the distant center, as far as the eye can see. The movement and the formed ranks would almost indicate that an engagement with the enemy is imminent. Supplies are being located in proximity, but not in direct line with the troops preparing for action. And what about the skirmishes in broken ranks ranging freely about at left of center in the distance? Are they the first to make contact with the enemy? Forbes only describes the mechanics of building foot bridges that may then be dismantled, placed in wagons and used in yet another river crossing.

What will happen in the next phase of *The Pontoon Bridges* is left entirely to the imagination of the viewer these many years later. The sheer volume of men that cover the picture to a distance of a mile or two is impressive. There are thousands on the horizon that bring a sense of the enormity and significance of so many of the major battles fought in the American Civil War. It is interesting to note that while recognizing the value of the Army Engineer Corps, in words and pictures, Edwin Forbes lavishes his greatest respect to the infantry. At West Point, it was traditional for the highest ranking cadets—for example, Robert E. Lee—to be assigned to the Engineer Corps, while those that ranked in the bottom half of the class received assignments to the cavalry and infantry. George Armstrong Custer ranked last in the graduating class of 1861 at West Point. He was promoted from captain to brigadier general three days before the Battle of Gettysburg commenced on July 1, 1863.

Was the Union army that short of generals? Was there such mortality in field command that new generals had to be minted and brought on the scene? Or had the upper echelons of command finally recognized that popular choices for field command and political appointees were not always the best choices? It was indeed a combination of all of these factors that led to General Custer becoming the youngest of that rank at age 23. His name became synonymous with the excitement, daring, and dash of the cavalry charge. Forbes illustrated a number of wood engravings for newspaper publication that show elements of Custer's brigade, sabers drawn, attacking Confederate positions. *Capture of Stuart's Confederate Guns near Culpepper, by General Custer's Cavalry Brigade, September 14th, 1863* and *General Custer's Fifth Regulars—Charging Into Jeb Stuart's Camp near Charlottesville, Virginia* are two wood engravings located in the Schiele Collection.

The etching entitled *A Cavalry Charge* (Ill. 44) although not necessarily Custer's brigade, effectively shows the dynamics of a mounted cavalry charge. As an etching created a decade after the war's end, Forbes has had a lot of time to fill in details and add lines to a picture that would have been far more spare in those details when actually sketched and then immediately reproduced from the field. Note the dead and dying troopers and horses in the foreground, weapons and gear scattered about, telling the viewer that this is a serious engagement in which losses will be heavy and the outcome will carry great uncertainties. Sabers are drawn, as the cavalry appears to cover both flanks, while infantry and artillery move forward in the center of the line. The foe awaits in the far background on the left, guidons fluttering in the opposite direction to the Union line of attack. If that enemy line may be calculated as one mile in the distance, then the

artillery moving forward to meet them at left center will likely set the Union line at a half mile from the waiting Confederates. The picture is fully engaged with action, mounted troopers shown on the far right moving in different directions. Perhaps those are wounded moving off to the far right, while the four horses at the gallop that appear at right center may be couriers bringing new orders to the field commanders. The landscape detail in the foreground is meticulous, while sky and horizon provide a sense of distance in the background, while the middle ground captures the viewer's attention with the cavalry charge.

Forbes' sense of the immediacy, trauma, and uncertainty of battle is clearly demonstrated by a larger sense gained by the viewer that as the outcome of battle is in doubt, life itself rides a very thin line. Dash of the living, charging ahead, and the finality of death in the rear ranks, give testimony to the unpredictable fortunes of the battlefield.

The outcome of the three days of Gettysburg was not clear until dusk of the third day, July 3, 1863, when General Robert E. Lee ordered the evacuation of the Army of Northern Virginia from the battlefield. Edwin Forbes created a scene a decade or so later. Entitled *Going Into Action* (Ill. 45), it is possibly the finest action *etched* by Forbes of an actual engagement. Forbes best describes the action in his commentary on Gettysburg (*Thirty Years After*), not linking *Going Into Action* directly, but making it clear (at least to me) that this picture was part of the battle. On the third day of Gettysburg, General Meade (Army of the Potomac) assumed that General Lee would test the center of the Union line. The right and left had been severely tested on the first and second days, but they held. The so-called "fish-hook" line that extended from the area

south of the town of Gettysburg to Little Round Top and then south and east to connect with Union cavalry protecting the rear, had continued to bend but did not break.

As the Confederate bombardment of the center commenced at around 1:30 on the afternoon of July 3rd, the 80 cannon already positioned to hold the center of the Union line were reinforced by elements of the 120 guns held in reserve. What Forbes pictured in his moving snapshot were reserve batteries being wheeled into position to support the center of the line. Two guns are already shown at center right, horse teams disengaged, battery teams at the ready sighting their weapons. At far center right, the lead horses stand ready to move their team into the line. At center is the six horse battery moving directly toward the line of formed cannon at full tilt. The lead horseman is looking ahead at the rise of ground before him to make sure that the battery arrives at their designated place, while the middle rider urges the team on with whip raised high. The third team rider sits steadily on his mount, while the two battery mates on the caisson hold fast for arrival at the team's position. The sculpted cavalry battery at the foot of the Capitol in Washington, D.C. that makes up a part of the U.S. Grant monument may well have been modeled after Forbes' etched battery in motion. Forbes' picture is typical of many 19th century Civil War representations of artillery on the move. Forbes had time to think about how he wished to picture this centerpiece and how to detail it without overstating the drama that was unfolding. Quoting Edwin Forbes' own words:

> General Lee determined to disable our artillery, and then carry the Cemetery Ridge by assault. Quiet prevailed—when a sudden roar broke out along the center of the enemy's line; and in an instant—our whole front line—was belching fire and smoke . . . [then] Great columns of flame

> shot up from bursting caissons—and the enemy's guns sought to cripple our artillery—the terrible cannonading failed to shake our lines. A pause ensued—but soon—the rapid fire of Union artillery along the crest. It was the magnificent charge of Pickett's division.[63]

The center of the Union line held. Reinforced artillery units and reserve infantry brigades won the day; the high tide of the Confederacy had been swept back by a greater force and the long gray lines fell back and prepared to cross the Potomac as they retreated south back home to Virginia. The mounted officer at full gallop on the left ordering his batteries up to the front line completes the story in the picture. The Army of the Potomac stands ready to take on the best that the Army of Northern Virginia can offer. The end of the tale has been told in words and pictures many times. Imagination linked with reality can provide an intriguing mix; Edwin Forbes described his experiences as well as any frontline correspondent of the past or present. His firsthand experience adds credibility to the scope of his illustrations.

The following list of Edwin Forbes' prints are included in the Schiele Historic Print Collection in Special Collections, Olin Library, Washington University in St. Louis. More prints have been added since the completion of this study.

Edwin Forbes Prints

Etchings Created for the 1876 Exposition in Philadelphia

The Pontoon Bridges
c1876

Going Into Action
c1876

The Supply Train
c1876

A Cavalry Charge
c1876

Wood Engravings That Appeared in News Publications

Capture of Stuart's Confederate Guns, near Culpepper, by General Custer's Cavalry Brigade, September 14, 1863

Battle of Spotsylvania Court House, Va., May 8th, 1864

Battle of Chancellorsville, Va., May 1st, 1863

Sketch on the line of the Second Corps at the Battle of the Wilderness, Va., May 10th, 1864—Waiting for the Enemy

Gordon's and Crawford's Brigades driving the Confederate forces from the woods, at the Battle of Cedar Mountain, August 9th, 1862

Confederate batteries shelling the federal position on the night of the Battle of Cedar Mountain, August 9th^{h}, 1862. Wounded men lying on the ground—McDowell's Corps on the field

General Custer's Fifth Regulars, Colonel Ash, charging into J.E.B. Stuart's camp, near Charlottesville, Va.

Invasion of Maryland, 1864—Driving off cattle and plunder taken from the farmers by Early's Cavalry

The Federal Army entrenched before Petersburg—A night scene in the trenches

A Snapshot of "Currier & Ives, Printmakers to the American People": A Commentary on Visual Representation

Over 7,000 prints under the Currier & Ives name were produced and sold from the mid-19th century until the early 20th century. The publisher made it known that its goal was to place their pictures in the hands of as many viewers as possible, always appealing to an American public regardless of wealth or status in life. Many of the prints, according to biographer Harry T. Peters, were sold from pushcarts by salesmen and many more were sold through print dealers, stores that today would be called print galleries. Currier & Ives mailed catalogs to their sales agents that contained some of the following information directly quoted from an enclosed letter that accompanied the catalogs:

> Herewith we enclose our new Catalogue of Popular Cheap Prints containing nearly eleven hundred subjects . . . the Catalogue comprises Juvenile, Domestic, Love Scenes, Kittens and Puppies, Ladies Heads, Catholic Religions, Patriotic, Landscapes, Vessels, Comic, School Rewards and Drawing Studies, Flowers and Fruits, Motto Cards, Horses, Family Registers, Memory Pieces and Miscellaneous in great variety . . . subjects best adapted to suit the popular taste, and to meet the wants of all sections . . . Pictures have now become a necessity, and the price at which they can now be retailed is so low, that everybody can afford to buy them . . . [64]

The letter more than adequately explains the range of topics covered in a typical Currier & Ives rendering. As a lithographer over those many years, Currier & Ives commissioned many artists and lithographers to produce their prints. Some of those

skilled craftsmen performed both tasks. For example, Louis Mauer and Napoleon Sarony were both artist and lithographer. Sarony became famous on his own while establishing the lithograph company of Sarony & Major. (The Schiele Collection includes a lithograph of *The 7th New York Regiment Leaving New York*, 1861.)

Some of the most popular as well as varied lithographs originating from Currier & Ives include the following[65]:

The "Lightning Express" Trains

The Rail Road Suspension Bridge Near Niagara Falls

Peytona and Fashion In Their Great Match for $20,000

The Wreck of the Steam Ship San Francisco

Harvest

Central Park In Winter

The American National Game of Baseball

Clipper Ship Nightingale

The American Fireman Always Ready

A Summer Ramble

The Road, Winter

Home to Thanksgiving

The following prints are cataloged and are part of the Schiele Historic Print Collection at Washington University in St. Louis, Olin Library, Special Collections. All of the prints in the Schiele Collection have locations listed in the catalog that accompanies the collection.

Currier & Ives

Major-General Joseph Hooker, Commander in Chief of the "Army of the Potomac"
Lithograph

The Battle of Gettysburg, PA. July 3rd, 1863
c1863
Lithograph

Major-General George G. Meade at the Battle of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863
c1863
Lithograph

The Battle of Pittsburg, Tenn., April 7th, 1862
c1862
Lithograph

General McClellan
Est. 1864
Lithograph

Bound to Shine!
c1877

General U.S. Grant, General in chief of the Armies of the United States
Lithograph

Glorious Charge of Hancock's Division (2nd) of the Army of the Potomac at the battle near Spotsylvania Court House, Va., May 12, 1864
Lithograph

John Brown
c1863
Lithograph

Political "Blondins" Crossing Salt River
c1860
Lithograph

Freedom to the Slaves
c1863

The Irrepressible Conflict
c1860
Lithograph

Rumsey's Darktown Hook and Ladder Corps—Going to the Front
c1884

The boss of the road
Thomas Worth, artist
1877

A Home on the Mississippi
Entered according to Act of Congress, 1871

American Homestead Spring
Entered according to Act of Congress, 1869

The Currier & Ives prints in the Schiele Collection focus on the Abolition issue, Civil War, Emancipation, and the Reconstruction period that includes the "Darktown" series. Volumes have been written about Currier & Ives. Hundreds of the more famous prints have been reproduced in books similar to *Currier & Ives, Printmakers to the American People*, used as reference in this paper. I have chosen to compare and comment on just two prints. They are "Freedom to the Slaves," a print with distinct religious overtones of an unshackled freed slave gesturing to Abraham Lincoln, and the *Darktown Hook and Ladder Corps,* possibly drawn as an intended spoof on a small town fire department but, more than likely the stereotypical comic statement of the perceived innocence, stupidity, and incompetence assigned to African Americans by whites during Reconstruction and thereafter. Both ends of the black spectrum sold pictures, conceivably in large numbers. How many of those results were based on the mercantile aim of a successful publisher and how many were based on prevailing ingrained prejudices is left to an understanding of the social consequences of War, Emancipation, and Reconstruction. The combination of topics intersects the mercantilist aims of the publisher and public prejudice.

A number of pieces known as the "Darktown' series depicted African-Americans in a variety of stages of life in the South during and following Reconstruction (1868-1876). Reconstruction came to an end with the termination of the Grant Administration in 1877. Many of the "Darktown" series are dated in 1884. It is significant that the "Darktown" series, an unflattering and typically racist view of African Americans, should occur well after Reconstruction, the well-intended introductory period of African Americans move from slavery into the mainstream of American life. It is unsettling in

the 21st century to look back 125 years ago to witness the emergence of cartoon pictures of blacks thrown into roles of innocent, ignorant, well-meaning buffoons who just do not seem to get it right. The hand painted lithograph titled *Rumsey's Darktown Hook and Ladder Corps* (Ill. 46) and subtitled "Going to the Front," is just such an example. What makes the entire popular series of "Darktown" episodes more stunning to the 21st century reader is that the venerable "Printmakers to the American People" ran the series. Of the 7,000 known prints produced by Currier & Ives over a fifty-year span, relatively few displayed the crude satire evidenced in the "Darktown" Series.

Hook and Ladder shows nine black firefighters dressed in fireman's garments that include helmets, long sleeves, full length pants and boots. The reality stops there and the cartooning takes over. Different artists of mid-19th century America pictured African Americans in a variety of ways. Many images were not particularly flattering. Many of Thomas Nast's denote blacks as innocent, pandering, largely uneducated and dressed in rags. Thomas Worth, who is credited with most of the "Darktown" series, has created a primitive picture of African Americans that is stark and unrelenting. In *Hook and Ladder*, the following characterizations are unmistakable.

Nine firemen accompany the fire wagon on its journey "to the front," an inordinate number of men that might ordinarily be riding the hook and ladder wagon at any given time. The wagon is shoddily constructed and is pulled by one weary draught animal, presumably a beleaguered mule. It is helped along by three men in the front line and a driver with a tight grip on the reins. The animal's eyes are almost shut, showing viewers that it is running on fumes and ready to expire.

The men are in various poses that make them resemble chimpanzees more than humans; this resemblance is more than coincidental. They move in various stages of fear, wonderment, and apprehension of what may lie ahead, for they surely do not inspire confidence in themselves or in the outcome of their journey. The two small children on the left, waving to the Corps, only adds to the innocence and primitive nature of those who are on a mission. The hooks in the hands of two men are reminiscent of the savage origin of the men in motion and simply underscore the racist notions already present in the minds of too many white Americans: African Americans are closer to their African origins than they are to civilized white Americans.

The picture has been commissioned by Rumsey & Co., a fire equipment manufacturer, lending even more credence to the racist views held by a host of white Americans; it is all right in the name of commerce, industry, public service and the citizenry to denigrate, ridicule, and advertise the station in life of an already troubled minority. The period of Reconstruction following the Civil War along with the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution were all intended to place the African American population in the United States on an equal footing with the white citizenry. During the last quarter of the 19th century, racial discrimination continued to play its hand in a number of ways. "Black codes" "lent the sanction of law to a racial ostracism that extended to churches and schools, to housing and jobs, to eating and drinking. Whether by law or by custom, that ostracism extended to virtually all forms of public transportation, to sports and recreation, to hospitals, orphanages, prisons and asylums, and ultimately to funeral homes and cemeteries."[66]

What began as black codes became known in the latter 19th and the 20th centuries as "Jim Crow" laws. The origin of the term "Jim Crow" applied to Negroes is lost in obscurity. Thomas D. Price wrote a song and dance called "Jim Crow" in 1832, and the term had become an adjective by 1838."[67] Jim Crow laws remained in place in the South until passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In distinct contrast to Thomas Worth's "Darktown" is the black and white Emancipation lithograph published by Currier & Ives in the early 1860s following the Proclamation. The picture, entitled *Freedom to the Slaves*, (Ill. 14, Ch. 2) carries a lot of symbolism. Several of these symbols include freedom, God, country, biblical reference and a grateful people. The picture's design and structure is simple. President Abraham Lincoln and the freed man, a classic representation of the broken shackled slave, are centered. The freed slave's wife and two children occupy a less dominant space, while the background is a collection of mist, house, and hills. The symbols reach out as far as the viewer wishes to extend them.

Lincoln is somewhat somber, unsmiling, his downcast eyes acknowledge the presence of a grateful man; Lincoln's forward motion toward the family acknowledges a new freedom that has been granted to thousands of the underclass, so the downcast eyes gaze on all of those who have been proclaimed "forever free." The somber appearance of Lincoln is symbolic of what he has cobbled together in the historic Emancipation Proclamation. Slaves in states still loyal to the South are free; slaves in all the other counties and states that are not in rebellion remain in servitude. One step forward on freedom's path has been made, but only the first step. The freed man grasps the president's hand and prepares to kiss it. His humility is balanced by his somewhat

awkward position, which is bent but not kneeling; neither of his knees touches the ground. He has removed his hat as a symbol of reverence to his savior and president. President Lincoln has raised his right hand and pointed his forefinger skyward to heaven, indicating that his proclamation is an act of God. He has not taken credit for liberation. It is January 1863, and like the outcome of the next 28 months of fire and fury on the fields of battle, God shall be the ultimate judge of the fate of people both North and South. "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord . . ."

The family looks on this scene, not in wonderment, not in awe, but as an event whose time has come. The Madonna and Child figures stand out, but they stand back. Freedom has found its day. The middle ground has a river-like quality to it; it could be the River Jordan with the Promised Land not too distant. The faraway trees are shaded into the background; the figures themselves have no distractions in the foreground or background.

The theme of this black and white lithograph, the universal setting of an entire people moving toward their emancipation from slavery, tells the tale of a nation in transition. The picture has broad appeal. In a different time frame, it could be Mandela breaking the shackles of apartheid in South Africa in the late 20th century. The shackles in the foreground are broken, setting men free. The physical features of the black family are universal; the family might have originated anywhere that people of color have lived. Their features are not those usually drawn by Thomas Nast or other artists of the period that tended to display stereotypical blacks. The physical characteristics of the freed man's family are in stunning contrast to the insulting features drawn by Thomas Worth for the "Darktown" series. That African Americans should be pictured in such

completely different circumstances by the same publisher is a remarkable commentary on the diverse nature of Currier & Ives. An element of paternalism is evident in both illustrations, relevant to white power, the superiority of whites over blacks and the notion that blacks in America are just (perhaps) beginning the long journey from a primitive society to a more advanced American society.

It is irrefutable evidence of the ability of this flexible publisher to print whatever their constituency wanted, when they wanted it, at whatever price their customers were willing to pay. Placing Emancipation in a religious setting and offsetting this event with a series of scenes denigrating black Americans is a contrast that warrants further research into the workings of Currier & Ives. However, there is the certainty that they remained the most popular publisher for over half a century because of their ability to appeal to a broad spectrum of the American population. Those 7,000 some pieces of artwork contain an extraordinary amount of America from mid-century to the beginning of the 20th century. Those pictures scanned the most traumatic and decisive period of American history from slavery and Civil War to Emancipation and the final movement westward.

The beautiful landscapes of the four seasons glossed over the misery of slavery and the abolition movement that led to war. Currier & Ives made a shallow, uninspired effort to recreate battle scenes, even of such monumental events such as Gettysburg (Ill. 47); the artwork was flat, the drawing was crude, and the action poorly staged. Perhaps those events were best left up to the better artists of the era.

However, the Emancipation picture had appeal and the freed slave was a poster-child for the Lincoln administration. But the broad images of African Americans that followed failed to support the emergence of blacks in America as free men with equal

rights, but displayed them as an underclass, undercutting Abraham Lincoln's fondest hopes. Having taken the high road in such dramatic fashion with the publication of *Freedom to the Slaves*, it is indeed unfortunate that Currier & Ives, the esteemed standard for the publishing industry of prints in America, should fall off the wagon so far as to print those seamy cartoons that followed.

I have graphically displayed the exponential increase in the number of engravings by noted artists and illustrators, written about some of their achievements, and suggest that public opinion was influenced by what the public saw in newspapers and journals. Public opinion is measured almost daily in the 21st century by public opinion polls. One measure that comes to mind between 1860 and 1864 is a comparison of results of the national presidential elections of those two years.

As the nation drew closer to remaining half slave and half free or deciding its fate by armed conflict, there was no certainty who would be the standard bearer in either the Republican Party, representing the North, or the Democratic Party mostly representing southern interests. Currier & Ives published some political cartoons that fairly exposed the issues at hand (See Ill. 12, Ch. 1). "Abolition Rock" separates the abolition-minded from the slave interests, while constitutional considerations play their role on the peripheral, commenting, but staying back from water's edge. As this illustration was published and circulated, public opinion had been formed in the minds of the slave society, but could have been easily influenced to let the status quo (a country half slave and half free) remain, or move to resolution by negotiation, as candidate Lincoln proposed, or by "irrepressible conflict," as candidate William Seward explained in his speech given on October 25, 1858 in Rochester, New York.

The Republicans chose Lincoln's more modest approach to resolution as the nation took note of national issues in 1860 with more information available to them than in any previous election. Three opponents emerge out of the other political convention producing candidates: John C. Breckinridge, Southern Democrat; John Bell, a Constitutional Union/Whig; and Stephen A. Douglas, the leading contender for Southern votes, running as a Northern Democrat. The final tallies added up to a very close presidential election. Lincoln won sufficient electoral votes to defeat the combined electoral votes of his three opponents. But the popular vote told a different story: Lincoln fell short of 40% of the popular count, with his three opponents, led by Douglas, tallying just over 60% of the popular vote. In more detail, it could be shown that the vote was strictly along sectional lines. Lincoln's support was primarily from the region north of the Mason-Dixon Line; Douglas had some Northern support but primarily Southern support; Bell gained Tennessee, his home state; and the Breckinridge support was mostly Southern. Sectionalism ruled the day.

By contrast, in 1864 President Lincoln decisively defeated Major General George B. McClellan electorally (McClellan won only three states that included his home state, New Jersey), while Lincoln swept the popular vote by 55 percent to 45 percent. It is clear that Lincoln was helped by General William T. Sherman's occupation of Atlanta and his march to the sea. But during the years between the 1860 and 1864 elections, public opinion in the North became almost solidly fixed behind the Union cause that ranged from saving the Union to emancipating slaves. Of course, there were stretches of time that threw public opinion into doubt as to whether the war should continue—seminal

defeats at Fredericksburg in December of 1862 and at Chancellorsville in April of 1863 were prime examples.

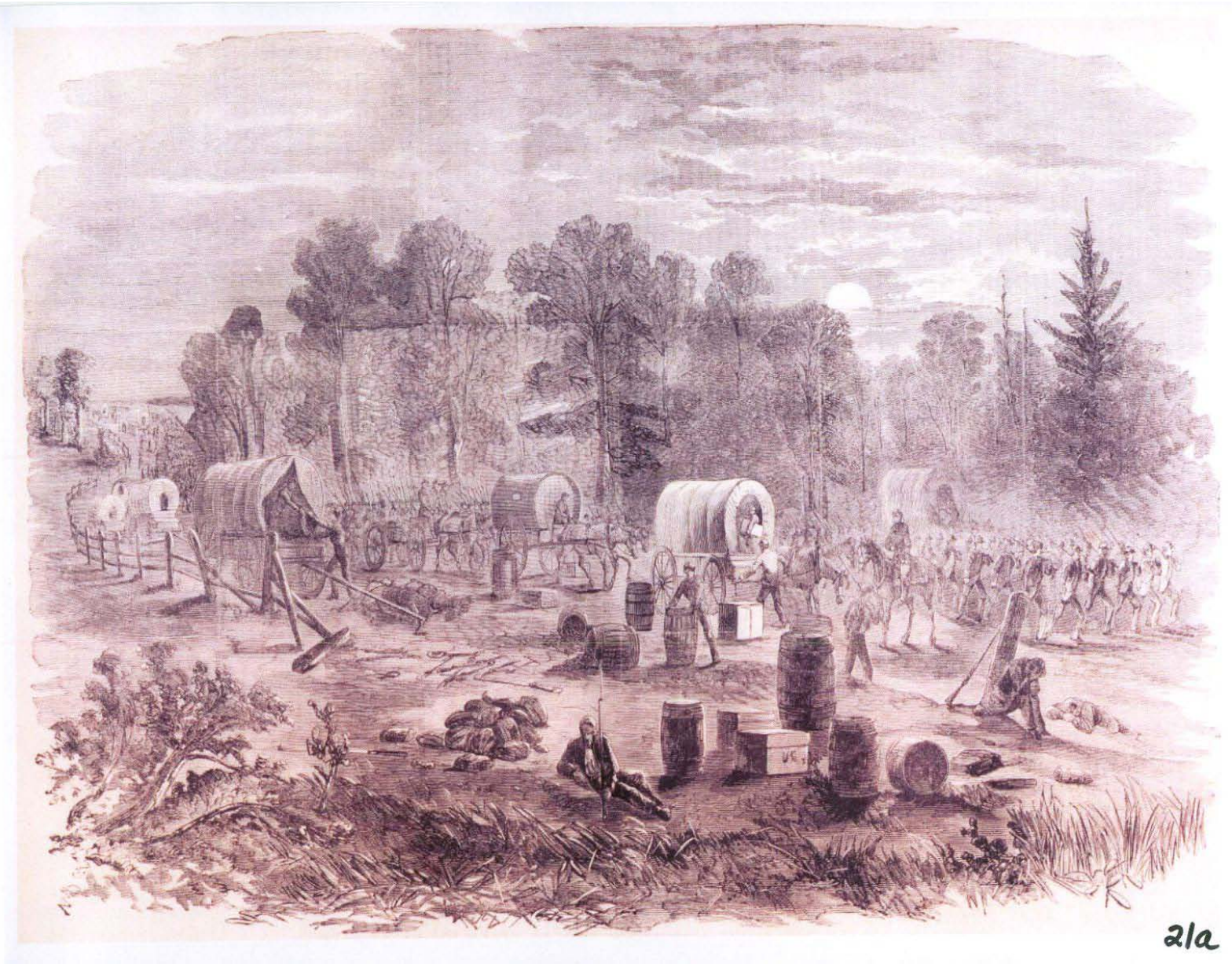
News relayed quickly to all areas of the war and the profusion of timely pictures that illustrated the news were constant reminders, even to a population weary of war, that the nation was on the threshold of achieving a worthwhile victory, with a growing army dedicated to finishing the job and an administration in Washington committed to supporting the President and emancipation of slaves. Unity had replaced sectionalism in the North, making it a more worthy opponent to the forces of slavocracy in the South.

HARPER'S FERRY, W.VA.

20

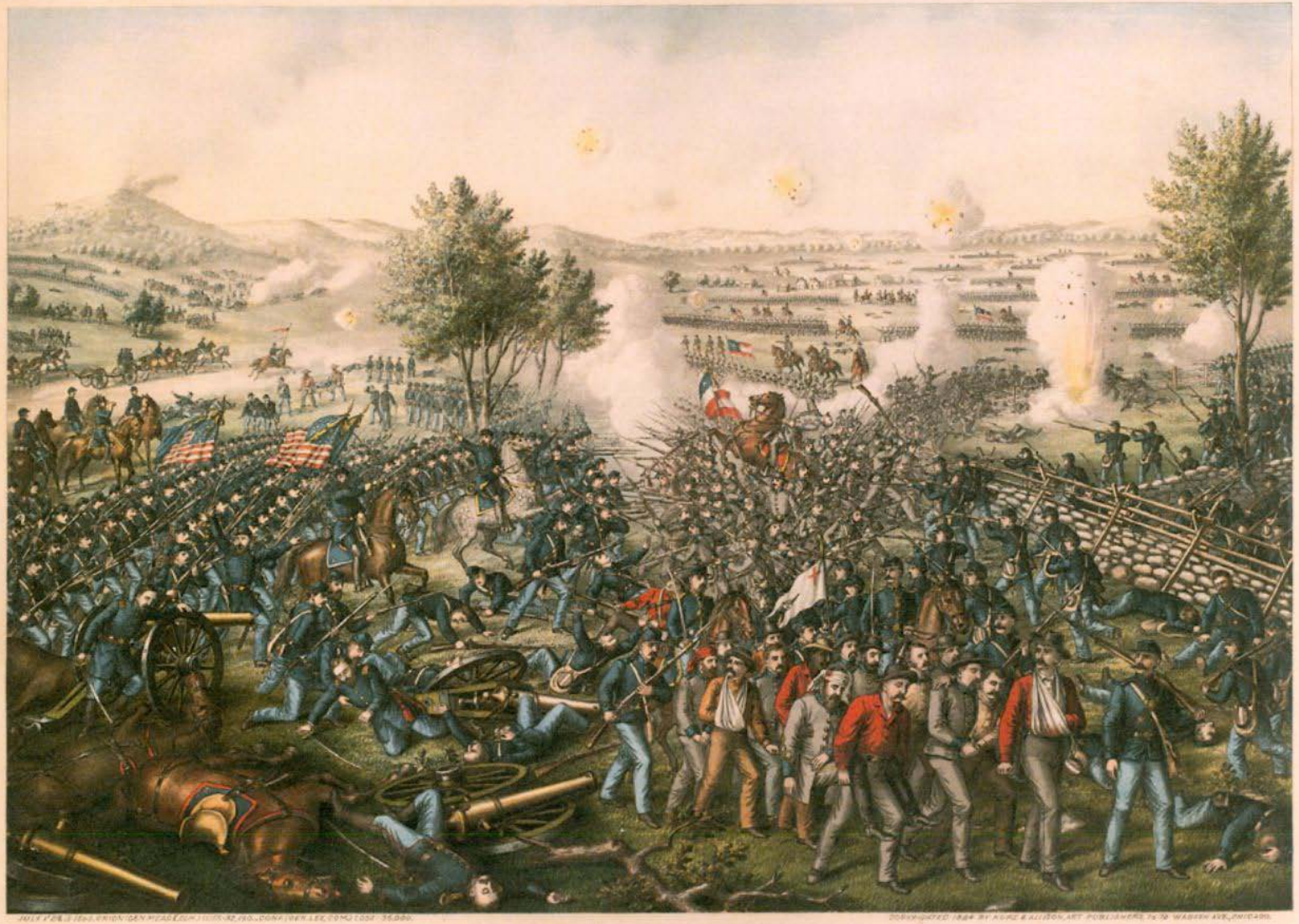
BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

21



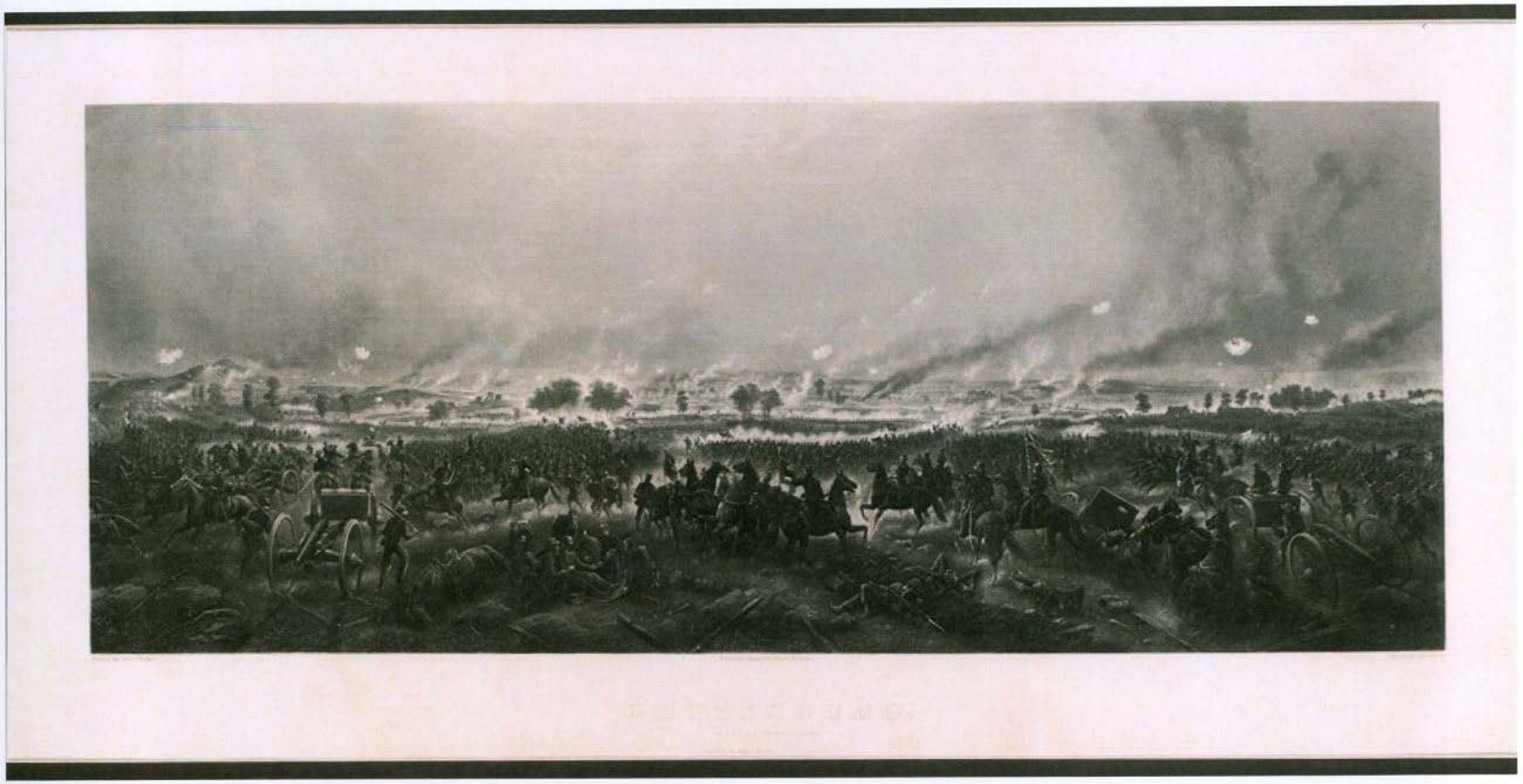
21a

BOMBARDMENT OF FREDERICKSBURG, VA., BY THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, COMMANDED BY GENERAL BURNSIDE, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1862.

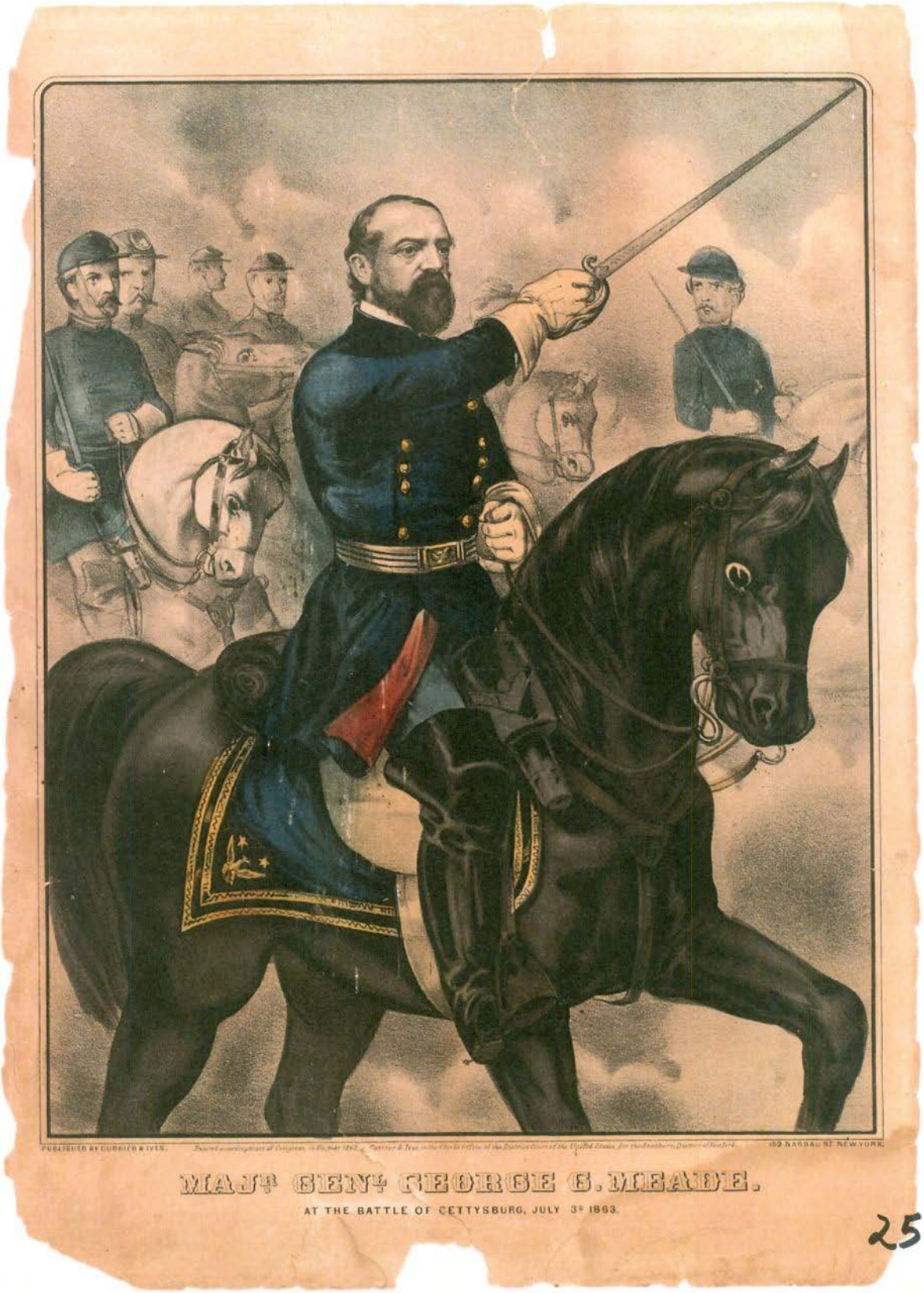


THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

23



24



MAJ^R GEN^L GEORGE G. MEADE.

AT THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, JULY 3^D 1863.

25

STORMING FORT WAGNER.

26

Stamped Edition, 6d

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

No. 1223.—VOL. XLIII. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1863. WITH A SUPPLEMENT, FIVEPENCE

RUSSIA SHUTTING THE DOOR OF DIPLOMACY.

THE diplomatic correspondence between the three Powers and Russia on the subject of Poland may be looked upon as closed. Prince Gortschakoff is released from the necessity of seeming to listen and defer to the remonstrances of England, France, and Austria by the approach of winter. While there remained a possibility that words of complaint might be followed up by deeds of hostility Russia deigned to hear what her neighbours had to urge against her, to make some admissions, to offer plausible explanations, to criticise offers of advice, and to give vague promise of concessions. With unrelaxed clutch on the throat of Poland she could afford to parley with shocked and indignant nations, and to amuse them with illusory hopes, until summer had slipped by. It is unnecessary now. Before the maritime Powers could organise a naval expedition to coerce her frost will have mounted guard over her northern ports, and, unless Austria should be provoked to act alone—a contingency too improbable to be feared—armed intervention will have become impracticable until next spring. The subjugation of her insurgent provinces—which she has been unable to effect with upwards of two hundred thousand soldiers during the open weather—she counts upon completing within the next three or four months, with the aid of a rigorous climate. The sharp breath of winter, she knows, will be more terrible than the rattle of musketry to the bands of patriots that bivouack in forest and swamp, and provide more work for Russian troops than they can accomplish. Her victim, she thinks, is at her mercy. She will have crushed all resistance before foreign interference can stay her vengeance; and, having prostrated, gagged, and pinioned the nation which has dared to assert its rights, she will tell Europe that for the future there need be no apprehension that the public conscience will be troubled by the shrieks of the oppressed, or that the public peace will be endangered by their struggles to be independent and free.

THE WAR IN AMERICA: ASSAULT ON FORT WAGNER, CHARLESTON HARBOUR, ON THE NIGHT OF JULY 18.—THE RUSH OF THE GARRISON TO THE PARAPET.
FROM A SKETCH BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST.—SEE PAGE 317.

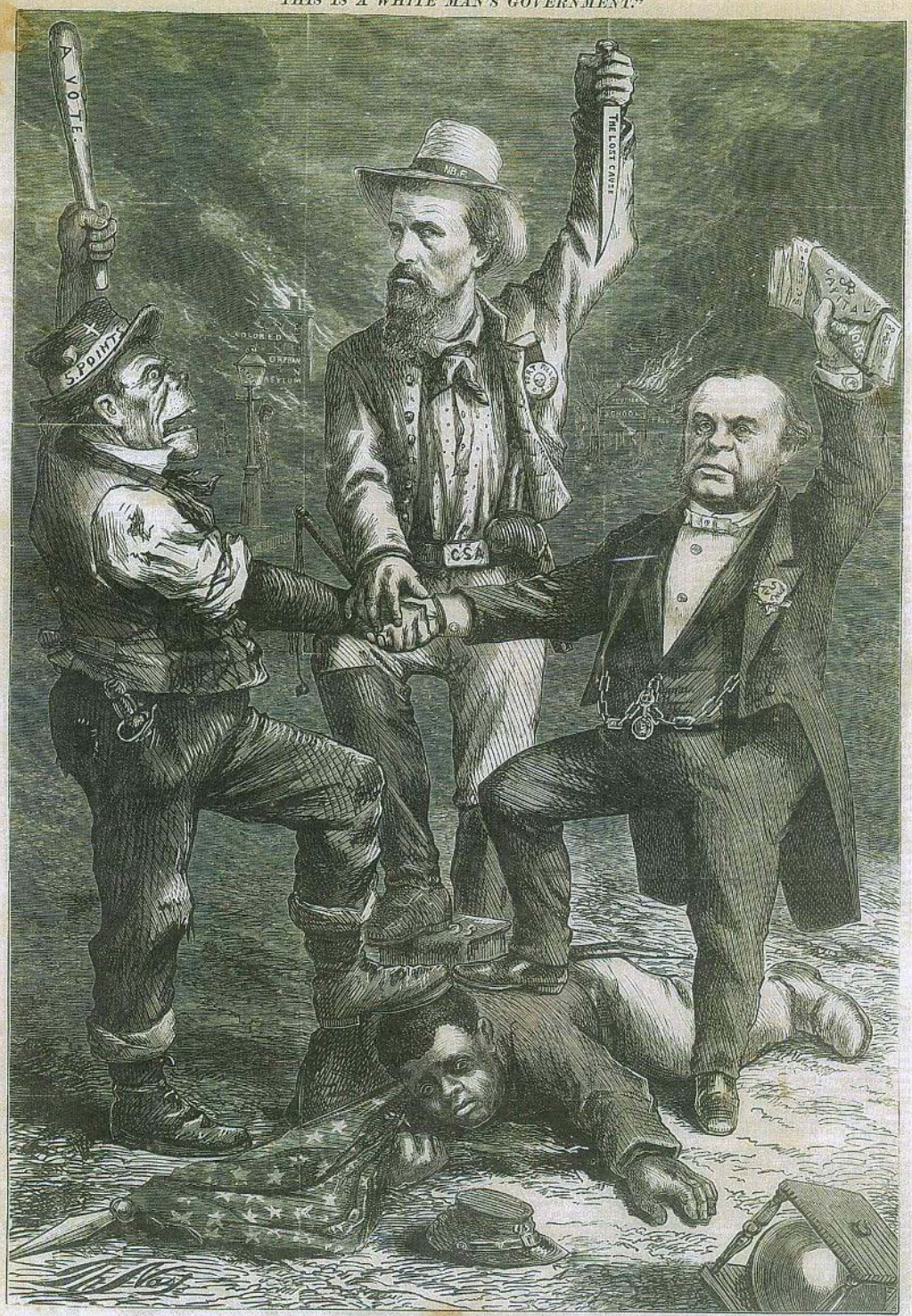
27

572 HARPER'S WEEKLY. [SEPTEMBER 3, 1864.

DEDICATED TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

ARRIVAL OF A FEDERAL COLONEL AT A PLANTER'S HOUSE IN DIXIE.—[See Page 217.]

"THIS IS A WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT."



"We regard the Reconstruction Acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."—*Democratic Platform.*

30

31

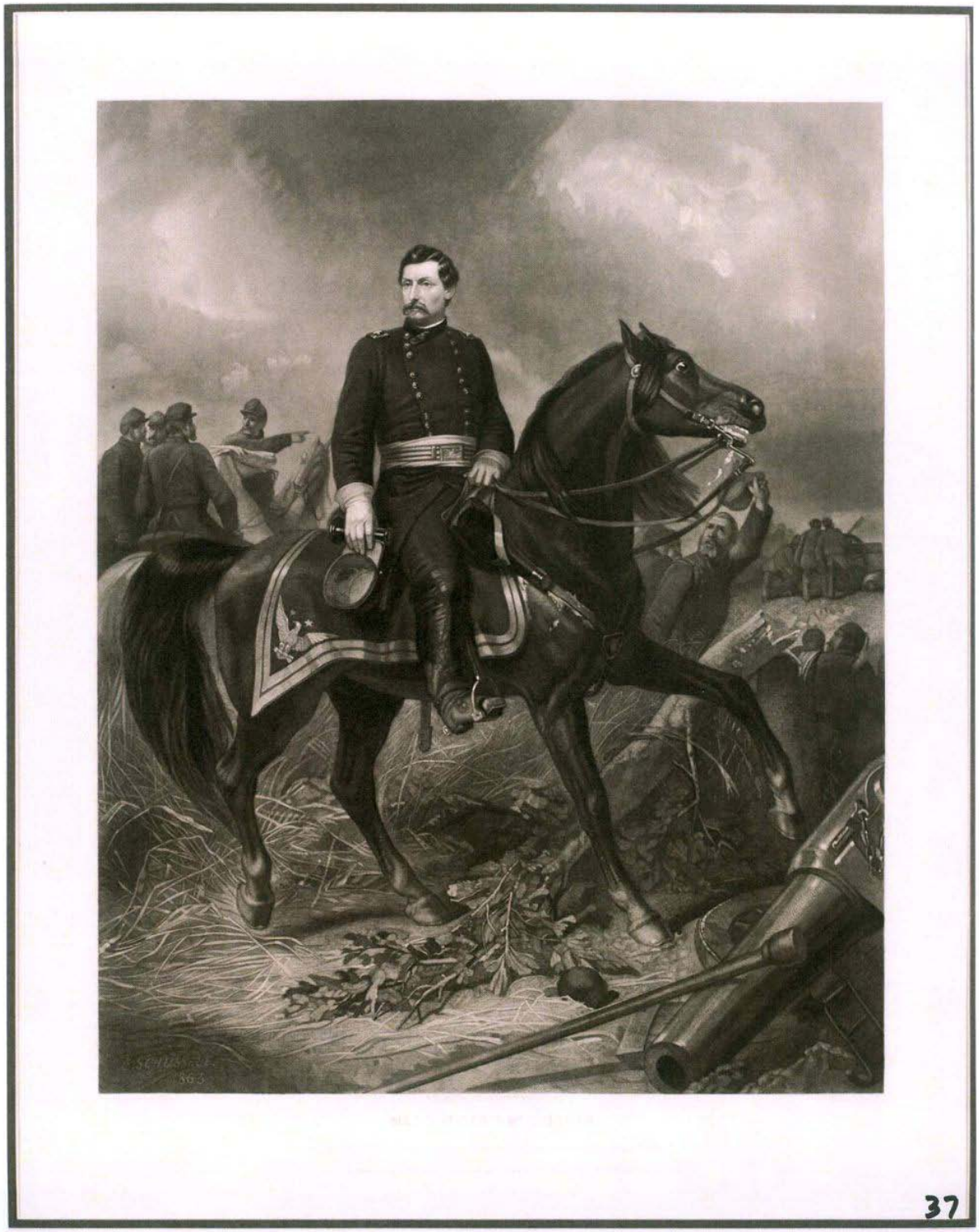
CONTRABANDS COMING INTO CAMP IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE PROCLAMATION.—Drawn by Mr. A. R. Waud.—[See Page 75.]

33

SCENE ON A MISSISSIPPI RIVER STEAMER—"THE PARTING SONG."—SKETCHED BY A. R. WAUD.—[SEE PAGE 712.]

Gen. Robert E. Lee Leaves McLean House at Appomatox After Signing the Surrender of the Civil War...1865.

35


37

MASSACHUSETTS MILITIA PASSING THROUGH BALTIMORE.

39

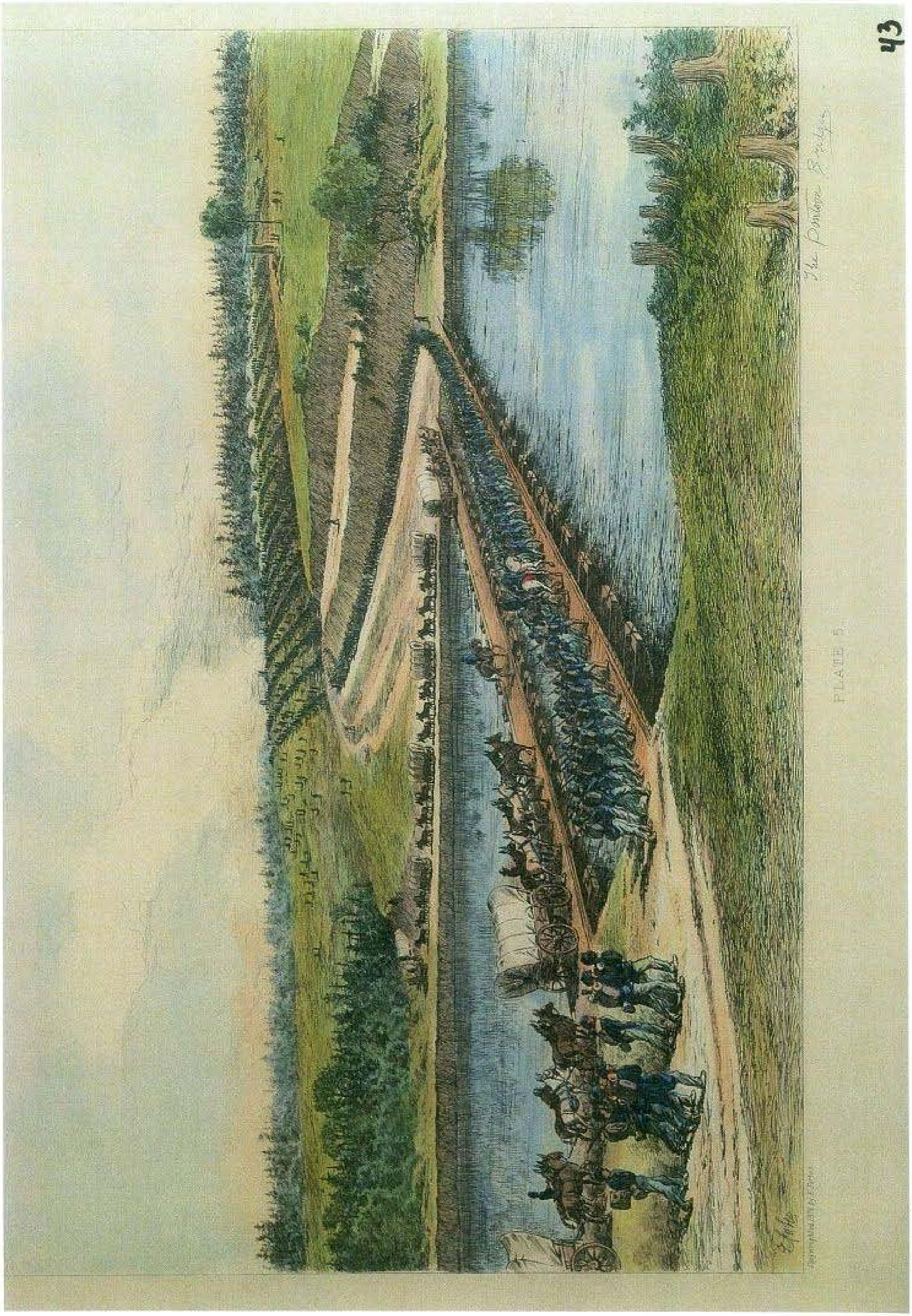
EXPULSION OF NEGROES AND ABOLITIONISTS FROM TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, ON DECEMBER 3, 1860.—[SEE PAGE 787.]

40

A BIVOUAC FIRE ON THE POTOMAC.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION, 1863—A BAYONET CHARGE.—[See Page 420.]

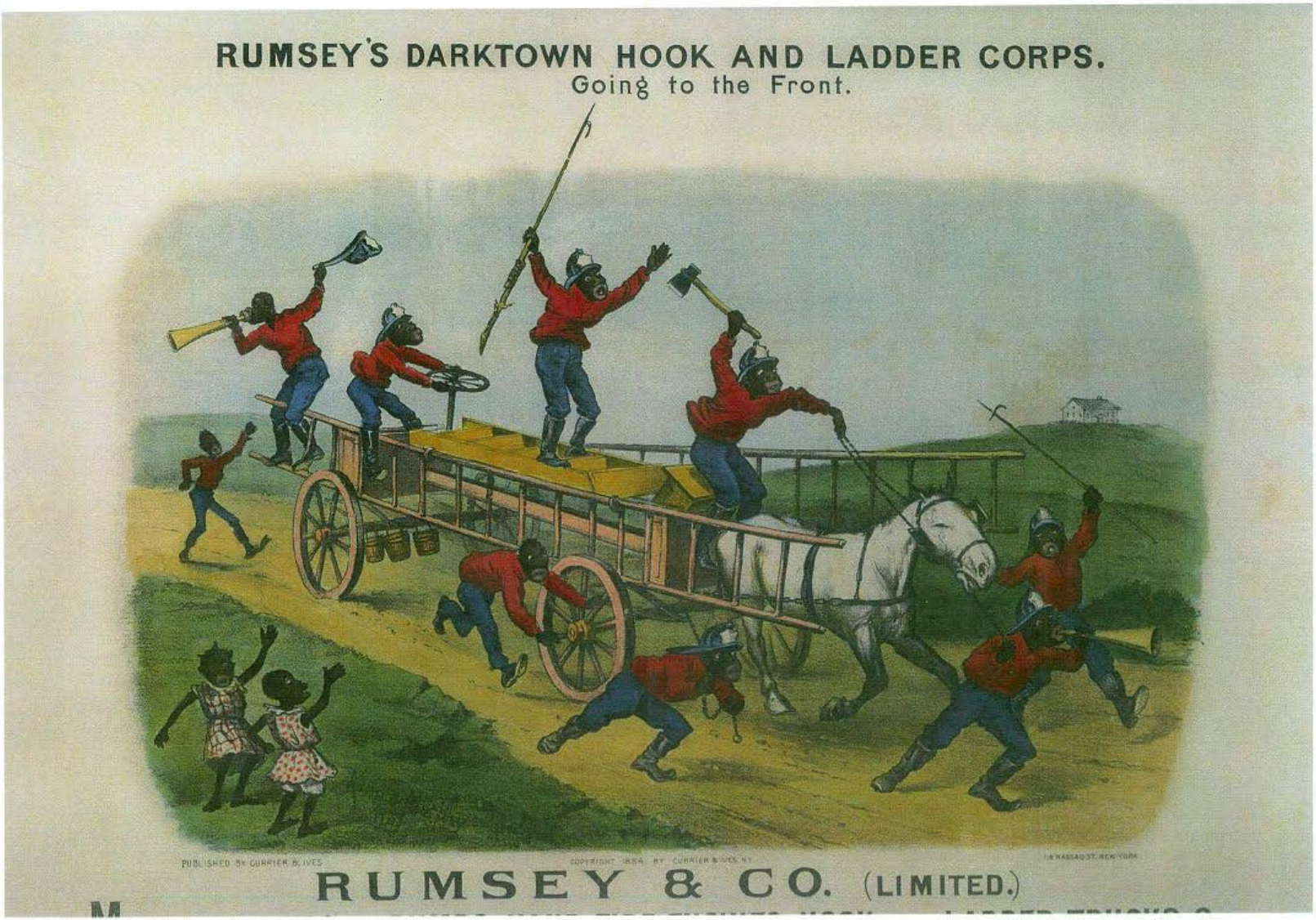
42

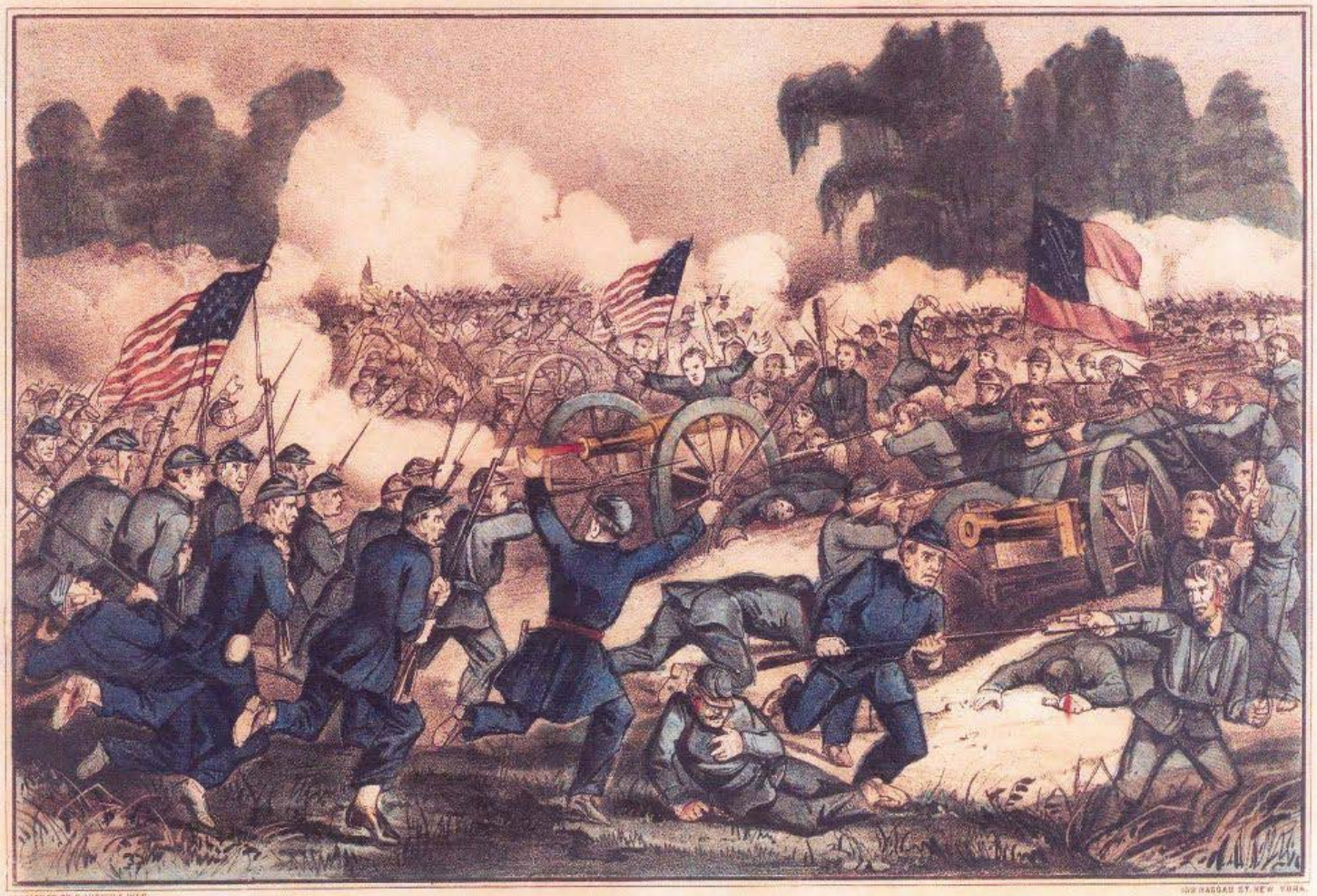

43
PLATE 5.

44
A Cavalry Charge

PLATE 36

45


RUMSEY'S DARKTOWN HOOK AND LADDER CORPS.
Going to the Front.
PUBLISHED BY CURRIER & IVES
RUMSEY & CO. (LIMITED.)



PUBLISHED BY CURRIER & IVES

152 NASSAU ST. NEW YORK

THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, Pa JULY 3d 1863.

This terrific and bloody conflict between the gallant "Army of the Potomac" commanded by their great General George G. Meade, and the hosts of the rebel "Army of the East" under General Lee, was commenced on Wednesday July 1st and ended on Friday the 3rd at 5 O'Clock P.M.— The decisive Battle was fought on Friday, ending in the complete rout & dispersion of the Rebel Army. A Nations thanks and undying fame ever crown the Arms of the heroic soldiers, who fought with such unflinching bravery this long and desperate fight.

48

Chapter 4

Significant Battles and the Impact of the Emancipation Proclamation

Julia Ward Howe committed "Battle Hymn of the Republic" to music that had been written to accompany "John Brown's Body," in the year 1861. It became an instant "best seller" of the time, and inspired a generation of blue-clad warriors for the Union cause to carry their banners forward with a sense of purpose and destiny. The first major battle of the Civil War, fought on a field outside of Manassas Junction, Virginia, on Sunday, July 21, did not end on such a glorious note for the Union.

In the following description of the battle, some quotations and information are taken from *Battles of the Civil War* (Birmingham, Ala.: Oxmoor House, 1976, and *Battle Cry of Freedom*, by James McPherson (Oxford University Press, 1986). Union General Irvin McDowell had been placed in command of the main part of the army following the outbreak of hostilities. He wanted time to train his army. At the beginning of hostilities, the U.S. Army numbered no more than 16,000 regulars, most of whom were stationed out west. President Lincoln wanted to confront the Confederate forces under General Joseph Johnston before a 90-day enlistment expired. The President had called for 75,000 volunteers to deal with what he described as a civil disturbance following the Confederate batteries firing on Fort Sumter. The Union Army moved out from Washington on July 18th to confront one main body of the Confederate Army commanded by General P.G.T. Beauregard. The Union Army's objective was to defeat the Confederate Army that would stand between the Union Army and Richmond, and then take Richmond. McDowell had never commanded an army in the field.

McDowell's strategy was to "approach down the road toward the mountains and the Confederate left (flank) threaten toward Blackburn's Ford, but the major attack would be to right (flank of the Confederate Army). One division, under Tyler, would move straight ahead and confront the Confederates on the other side of Stone Bridge across the Bull Run creek. Following would come 2 divisions under Hunter and Heintzelman. Cross a smaller stream, 2 miles from Centerville, swing right upstream, and come in behind the Southerners."[68]

"While no military genius, McDowell was a capable, but inexperienced leader." The strategy was sound; it placed the Union Army on the offensive. However, on the early morning of Sunday, July 21, because there was a problem bringing the artillery in place, the Union attacking force was over four hours late arriving in place. On the hill with his (semaphore) flags, (Confederate) E. Porter Alexander stared through glasses in the direction of the winding banks of Bull Run. . . he got a glimpse of sunlight on steel and realized enemy bayonets were north of Stone Bridge. . . . He wigwagged to the Confederate leader at that point, 'Look out for your left . . . you are turned.'"[69]

The other event that saved the day for the Confederacy and turned the tide of battle was the arrival of General Johnston's army by train to Manassas Junction. They entered the fray in the afternoon, a Confederate force of 34,000 facing McDowell's attacking army that totaled 35,000. (Confusion was raging over both lines of battle because opposing uniforms were many times the same color blue. There was little distinction.)

In the afternoon of that hot Sunday, "After the two armies made contact, a hot contest developed in which the Southerners held for about an hour. As the Union

pressure increased, the Confederate commander sent an urgent message to brigade commanders Bee and Bartow to move up from the Henry House (visible on the Kurz & Allison chromolithograph). When the support arrived, the line held for about an hour and (then) fell back. Drawn up on a ridge across Henry House Hill stood Thomas Jackson's brigade. Bee exclaimed, "General, they are driving us back." "Then sir," replied Jackson, "we will give them the bayonet."[70]

Bee rode back to his troops, raised his sword and shouted . . . "*there stands Jackson like a stone wall . . . Rally behind the Virginians . . .*" The line held. An artillery duel followed as both lines held. Then the last of Johnston's brigades arrived, led by Kirby Smith, and the balance of power swung to the Confederates. The rout was on. Leaving the field cluttered with arms and equipment, the Union lines broke for Washington but with no enemy in pursuit. "Back on the field of battle lay numerous dead. Among them were the Confederate brigade leaders Bee and Bartow and the brother of Simon Cameron, Union Secretary of War."[71]

Of the battle pictures displayed at the conclusion of this chapter, the illustration drawn from nature clearly shows an orderly withdrawal of Union troops from the field. According to battlefield reports, the rout was on, and most of the Union Army left equipment on the field and headed back to Washington in hasty retreat. I believe the artist wished to alleviate the impact on those who would read and view early accounts of Bull Run. Illustrations were usually accurate but the combination of artist and engraver could sometimes modify a picture. Louis Kurz's chromolithograph did not spare any viewer's feelings regarding the Battle. Union troops are pictured prominently, in the center, as disarrayed as they break and run over the Stars and Stripes that lay on the

ground, the ultimate signal of disgrace and defeat. Public opinion would be served one way or the other, but in the North, the picture was not a very pretty one.

A series of battles took place following the Union defeat at Bull Run. Antietam stands out because the favorable outcome resulted in President Lincoln's decision to release the Emancipation Proclamation and make it effective on January 1, 1863. In Carpenter's famous picture (Ill. 48, Ch. 3) of the Lincoln cabinet's first review of the Proclamation, the central figure is Secretary of State William Seward, who makes a definitive statement that the written proclamation on the table should not be released until the Union Army wins a significant battle in the field, lest the proclamation be viewed as a last ditch effort to impress the Europeans and recruit African Americans into the army to fill the depleted ranks. That was the summer of 1862. In September, Robert E. Lee took his Army of Northern Virginia, confident after the failed Union Peninsula Campaign, north into Maryland. With the help of a set of Lee's battle orders discovered by a Union soldier, General George McClellan's Army of the Potomac was able to position itself at Antietam Creek to anticipate Lee's next move and hopefully destroy his army.

Antietam turned out to be the bloodiest single day of the Civil War. "Lee had reasoned" after his stunning repulse of the Army of the Potomac on the Peninsula that a move into Maryland could bring that border state into the Confederacy. If the battle was won, an invasion of Pennsylvania and a threat to Washington could possibly bring on a negotiated end to the war. A large part of Southern strategy revolved around convincing England and France that the South was now an independent nation again capable of shipping to a cotton starved Europe. So far, however, the only terms offered by a Union

commander in the field had been "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender," issued by Ulysses Grant at Fort Donelson earlier in 1862.[72]

As he had successfully managed on the Peninsula, Lee dispersed his forces, sending Thomas Jackson, James Longstreet, and Jeb Stuart in three different directions. At this crucial juncture, "fate intervened," and the orders discovered in the field were spirited to Union top command, where "McClellan lapsed" into slow motion. McClellan was also advised that 100,000 men faced him, as General Lee prepared his 50,000 for battle. "The Rebel position was good, but it did not dominate the field." Antietam Creek offered some protection, but the Potomac River was at Lee's back, not a viable escape route if needed.

"McClellan's plan called for a massive assault on Lee's left followed by a blow to the center and then an all out assault on the right. The attacks were not coordinated and came too little, too late with no follow up, only abandonment when a breakthrough seemed plausible."[73] But, the Confederate line was so thin at that point, that any Federal thrust might have split Lee's army and brought the battle to a close. "*The final thrust never came*." (author's italics) The Army of Northern Virginia rallied, held their ground, while McClellan refused to send a fresh corps to the center. The day (and the battle) ended in a draw as "Federal columns only 1200 yards from cutting off Lee's line of retreat to the Potomac," *stalled*. Lee offered battle the next day, but "McClellan had enough."[74]

In my opinion and in the opinion of distinguished American historian James McPherson, Antietam was the signature battle of the War Between the States. Some of McPherson's comments from his book, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam*, follow:[75]

September 1862: ". . . General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia invaded Maryland seeking a war-winning victory over the Army of the Potomac commanded by General George B. McClellan. The tremendous shock of that collision in the battle of Antietam near the village of Sharpsburg *changed the course of the war*. Union victory at Antietam, *limited though it was*, forestalled foreign recognition of the Confederacy, reversed a disastrous decline in the morale of Northern soldiers and civilians, and *offered Lincoln the opportunity to issue a proclamation of emancipation*. In a war with several crucial turning points, the battle of Antietam was the pivotal moment for the most crucial of them all." (author's italics)[76]

McPherson concludes his summary statement of the battle by offering these thoughts: "When the Army of Northern Virginia crossed the Potomac River into Maryland in September 1862, the Confederacy appeared to be on the brink of victory. *Antietam shattered that momentum*. Never again did Southern armies come so close to conquering a peace for an independent Confederacy as they did in September 1862."[77]

Antietam did not carry the crescendo quality of Gettysburg, fought nine months later, but it set the stage for the Emancipation Proclamation, which heralded the beginning of the end to slavery in the United States. That document, second only to the Declaration of Independence in its impact on the lives of all Americans, was powerful enough not only to grab the attention of Americans, but also to drive a wedge between the South and its fading hope of recognition by France and England. Gettysburg would drive the wedge a little deeper.

At Chancellorsville, Virginia, in May, following the battle at Fredericksburg, Virginia, fought in December 1862, the victory was Lee's, by a wide margin. Lee's

somewhat depleted army, about half the size of General Joseph Hooker's Army of the Potomac, struck at the rear of one of Hooker's corps and sent the Federals reeling back. This astounding victory by Lee added to the credits of his now seemingly unbeatable Army of Northern Virginia and paved the road to a second invasion of Pennsylvania. But credit their worthy opponents, never demoralized, poorly led, but well equipped. This army of veterans would be led by newly appointed Major General George Gordon Meade (Ill. 25, Ch. 3), not a spectacular leader , but a modest, scholarly general who would match Lee at the crossroads in Pennsylvania, where stands Gettysburg College.

The Army of Northern Virginia and the Army of the Potomac may have clashed at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania by accident, but their inevitable quintessential battle for superiority was no accident. General Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania in June of 1863 was by design and simply replayed the postponed engagement of the prior year when the two armies fought to a stalemate at Antietam Creek in Maryland. Southern strategy is clear today if it may have been somewhat cloudy then. If the Army of Northern Virginia could win the day or even stalemate its opponent, and place itself between the Army of the Potomac and Washington, it might well win the negotiation that could end the war, or gain enough prominence to induce recognition from England or France.

Quotations made in the following account of the battle are taken directly from Alex Spears, writing a piece in *Battles of the Civil War* and from James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*.

"On June 3rd, the Army of Northern Virginia slipped away from its campgrounds along the Rappahonock and swung off to the Northwest. Time and again they had whipped the Federal Army of the Potomac, though only two thirds its size. Here Lee

could surely knife through the abundant Pennsylvania countryside, smashing resistance and stirring up some solid European support."[78]

"So Lee set about reorganizing his augmented army into an invasion force of three infantry corps and six cavalry brigades, a total of 75,000."[79] The Army of Northern Virginia was better prepared for this invasion than it had been the year before. ". . . the unimpeded advance of the fearsome rebels into Pennsylvania set off panic in the north and heightened southern euphoria."[80] In early June, in its first impressive display of parity with Jeb Stuart's rebel cavalry, Union cavalry held their opposite number to a draw at Brandy Station, keeping Stuart at a distance as he attempted to follow the movement of the Union Army north. Hooker's troops remained between Lee's and Washington as the Rebel army moved inexorably toward their eventual field of combat.

As they moved north, Lee's army stripped the countryside of every commodity that had been in short supply. "Southern soldiers also seized scores of black people and sent them south into slavery."[81]

Meanwhile, Lincoln saw a huge opportunity to confront Lee's army head on, but became disenchanted with General Hooker, who seemed more intent on fighting a limited engagement. Lincoln wired Hooker, "I think Lee's army, and not Richmond, *is your true* objective. Stay on his inside flank . . . fight him when opportunity offers."[82] Lincoln became convinced that Hooker was *not* his man. Lincoln told his Cabinet that Hooker turned out to be another McClellan, overestimating his enemy's forces and refusing to bring Lee to battle. On June 28th, he replaced Hooker with George Gordon Meade. "As the Pennsylvania crowds cheered them on, the morale and spirit of the Federal troops rose as they approached the battle of their lives."[83]

As A.P. Hill's divisions approached Gettysburg, crossroads of southern Pennsylvania, they were met by two brigades of Union cavalry under command of battle-wise John Buford, who had anticipated a rebel move into the town. The battle was underway as an under-armed Union cavalry dismounted and held off Hill's divisions until reinforcements began to arrive. Buford's men held for two hours until "the Rebels spotted the black hats of the famous Iron Brigade, now in line, and knew that they were up against the real Army of the Potomac . . . and not mere local (Pennsylvania) militia."[84]

The Union forces gave ground, but occupied the low ridge south of Gettysburg. The South had won the first day, but had not taken the strategic ground. As the battle raged the second day, Meade's army formed the famous fishhook that anchored the Union line on a long stretch from Cemetery Ridge at the north end to the Little Round Top at the southern extremity. Lee was unable to break the Union line either north or south on the second day of battle. General James Longstreet had been ordered to hit the Union left flank, as yet not anchored on the Little Round Top. A raging battle across what became known as "the Wheatfield" and "the Peach Orchard" delayed long enough to allow General Joshua Chamberlain to position his (now) immortal 20th Maine on Little Round Top. Loss of the round top would have turned the Federal left flank, but the 20th held against repeated assaults by a numerically superior band of Alabamans. With a failure to bend the Union right flank, Day 2 at Gettysburg ended in a draw.

Day 3 has been immortalized in the annals of famous battles fought everywhere on the globe. "Longstreet's Assault" or "Pickett's Charge" has been the subject of debate for the past century and a half. After World War II, Generals Eisenhower and

Montgomery walked the field where Pickett's 15,000 charged the center of the Union line. (I have examined the field 8 times in the last 50 years.)

John B. Bachelder, a Civil War historic topographer of that time, arranged the setting for the artist James Walker to sketch the most accurate picture yet recorded as a print of "Longstreet's Assault." The Schiele Collection includes this outstanding steel engraving which was displayed at the end of Chapter 3, Illustration 24. Although produced a year after the war, the impact of that battle still resonates today as it did in the mid-1860s. People who studied that picture were given a close-up view, a grandstand seat to one of the most significant battles in U.S. history, an engagement that turned the tide of war.

Pickett's 15,000 had no real chance of breaching the Union line, reinforced by artillery that saved their best shots until the enemy was right on them. The Confederate assault was riddled before it reached the stone wall where Confederate General Armistead led a brave band of infantry over the wall where Armistead died and most of the infantry that followed was killed or captured. The other significant picture in the Schiele Collection shown in this chapter is the Kurz & Allison chromolithograph showing Confederate prisoners being led off of the field following the assault on the Federal line.

"They (Pickett's 15,000) briefly cracked the stone wall and smoke swallowed them. The Federals wouldn't give and Lee had no more to offer."[85]

President Abraham Lincoln took thoughtful and careful measure of what lay ahead in a land half slave and half free. He had already proclaimed in the debate with Stephen Douglas of Illinois in 1858 that, "I believe this government cannot endure

permanently half slave and half free . . . It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spiral of it, and place it where the public minds shall reset in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South."

During the second year of the war that raged between the states, in the summer of 1862, the Emancipation Proclamation was not put on the table by Lincoln with the idea of saving the Union. It was never conceived by Lincoln for that purpose. But Abraham Lincoln had thought about just such an instrument since his first inauguration as president and shortly after Confederate shore batteries lit up the night at Fort Sumter in Charleston Bay in April 1861. The Emancipation Proclamation was Lincoln's. The conception was his, and the enormous risk of backlash that would come from declaring slaves in the rebellion states of the South "forever free" was Lincoln's risk. He was told that the backlash could include the loss of the border states of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware. Proclaiming emancipation of slaves in any part of the United States was a gamble carrying unknown consequences both in the North and the South. Even though a cadre of Lincoln's generals favored freeing slaves that could enter the depleted ranks in the army, adverse consequences could well compromise the Lincoln's administration's ability to carry out the war at any level.

In my opinion, Lincoln's desire to save the Union was secondary to his commitment to end slavery in the United States. This is also the opinion shared by American historians James McPherson, Sean Wilentz, and Eric Foner. In his 2010 book, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery*, Foner writes that "when it

came to slavery, while from time to time he asked the Cabinet's advice, he would decide policy himself."[86] Whereas Lincoln made it clear before he was inaugurated and after he became president that he would uphold the Constitution, which did not outright prohibit slavery (where it existed), that he would oppose the extension of slavery in the territories and then "insisted on permanence of the Union."[87] As the war between North and South escalated from what had appeared to be an insurrection that could be handled in a few weeks to a full blown series of battles of immense proportions, Lincoln resolved to carry out total war with the purpose of ending slavery. This was made abundantly clear in *Fiery Trial* by Foner's description of the intricate steps Lincoln took to compose the final and permanent version of the Emancipation Proclamation. The first two renderings of that document, in fact, a presidential order, contained other information concerning compensation directed to owners of freed slaves. The Emancipation Proclamation that was issued on January 1, 1863 was a clear war document backed up by the army, that abolished slavery in those parts of the Confederacy that were still in rebellion.

"Nonetheless, the Emancipation Proclamation, as the *New York Herald* commented, marked a watershed in American life, 'a new epoch which will decisively shape the future destinies of this and of every nation on the face of the globe.'"[88] The first giant step toward forever abolishing slavery had been made and would be followed by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution two years later (Ill. 48). One of Eric Foner's principal themes in *Fiery Trial* is the manner in which public opinion from 1858-1862 was moved to believe that slavery was the principal reason that North and South grew apart and became the cause of the "irrepressible conflict." In an address at

Washington University in St. Louis in February 2011, Professor Sean Wilentz of Princeton University said, “Slavery was the (ultimate) cause of the Civil War.”

The Proclamation struck an almost decisive blow to the hopes that remained in the South that the institution of slavery would live on as a way of life in the Confederacy. That it would be stillborn in the territories was determined by the first volleys fired on Fort Sumter. But a *Compromise With the South* (Ill. 28, Ch. 3) would have left slavery, where it existed, in place. The Proclamation declared to combatants on both sides that the war would continue. It succeeded in convincing Europe that intervention in United States internal affairs was no longer a foreign policy option. And possibly most importantly, the Proclamation bolstered the resolve of the North to continue the fight. It gave meaning to many of Lincoln’s words, most dramatically to the ones he would speak in November of 1863 when he said, “that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that this government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.” The ability of words and illustrations that would enhance the meanings had a profound influence on public opinion, especially on public feelings about government.

The Lincoln administration had a big challenge in September of 1862 at the conclusion of the single bloodiest day in American history at Sharpsburg, Maryland, where an estimated 6,500 American soldiers laid down their lives in the battle known in the North as Antietam. Explaining why so many casualties occurred was one thing; using the Battle of Antietam as a mechanism to launch the Emancipation Proclamation was another. But following advice of Secretary of State Seward to follow a battlefield victory with the announcement, Lincoln put the Proclamation in motion. There was risk

involved, but according to James McPherson, who considered Antietam the landmark battle in the war, and wrote the following passage in his 2002 book entitled, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam*.

> The tremendous shock of that collision in the battle of Antietam near the village of Sharpsburg *changed the course of the war* (writer's italics). Union victory at Antietam, limited though it was, arrested Southern military momentum, forestalled foreign recognition of the Confederacy, reversed a disastrous decline in the morale of Northern soldiers *and civilians* and *offered Lincoln the opportunity to issue a proclamation of emancipation* (writer's italics). In a war with several crucial turning points, the battle of Antietam was the pivotal moment for the most crucial of them all.[89]

McPherson goes on to cite the 15,000 men wounded on that September day in 1862 that would recover, in addition to the 6,500 on both sides who died. "I was on the battlefield yesterday where we were engaged, wrote a Union artillery officer . . . and the dead rebels strewed the ground and in several places were on top of each other . . ."[90]

I have walked that battlefield. I have seen the "Bloody Lane" where Confederate dead lay on top of each other. The importance in the war of Antietam has been addressed; the intensity of the fight speaks to the confidence of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia that invaded north following his momentous victory over McClellan on The Peninsula in Virginia and to the dedicated defense of northern soil displayed by an Army of the Potomac that had yet to win anything. I have summarily placed it among the three battles fought on United States soil in the latter half of the 19th century that most

influenced the course of American history through that period. I have spoken to the significance of the Emancipation Proclamation. It succeeded in taking the uncertainties surrounding slavery in the United States out of that dilemma and into the public eye where the end of slavery was in sight. Thereby, the future of slavery became very clear for the first time. Antietam lit the fuse that sent the message to North and South. Slavery in the Confederate states had reached its end.

Gettysburg was the second significant battle. On the field of battle, and of the hundreds of battles fought over the four exhausting, tragic years of conflict, Gettysburg brought the military fortunes of the North into a place where they could remain on top and the South could only hope for some form of stalemate. In truth, the end of the third day at Gettysburg provided the "high tide" of the Confederacy, never to be matched again. Lee's tormented retreat south to Virginia, though unchallenged, represented the beginning of the end for the Army of Northern Virginia. The Kurz & Allison chromolithograph dramatically reminded the next generation of Americans that the South had suffered an irreversible loss on the field. The public was again reminded of the Confederacy's futility and of the war's devastating effect on the human resources of both sides.

Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer's defeat at the Little Big Horn River in June 1876 was the third of the trilogy that significantly influenced public opinion on the movement of events that formed the course of history in the last quarter of the 19th century. As shown in the final chapter, the battle itself was insignificant in the numbers of troops engaged and even in the loss of 225 in Custer's direct command. But the reaction of the public to the articles that they read and to the wave of pictures that

followed over the next two decades was never put at rest. Public policy helped dictate the destruction of Indian tribes that chose not to settle in an assigned reservation and live according to the strict regulations imposed in the reservation. Perhaps these policies would have been in place without Custer's unfortunate intervention. But the Little Big Horn effectively served as the catalyst that previewed the final movement west through the territories that became populated by citizens that brought statehood and the laws of the United States along with them. An aroused public not only endorsed, but encouraged, whatever steps had to be taken to assure "Manifest Destiny."

BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

47

EXCITING SCENE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 31st, 1865, ON THE PASSAGE OF THE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION ABOLISHING SLAVERY FOR EVER.

350–351

50

Chapter 5

From Custer to the Sea

The final chapter examines aspects of the last quarter century that carried westward expansion to completion. I have decided to incorporate some information about events that led up to 1876, so I shall look back from that time in to the era of post-war America. The last quarter century opens with the Indian Wars, Custer's commands, and some insight into American Indian tribes that had lived in the Western lands for centuries.

Lt. Colonel George Armstrong Custer's assault on a series of Sioux Indian tipi villages on the Little Big Horn River in June 1876, resulting in an engagement most popularly known as Custer's Last Stand, was the epic event that ended the third quarter of the 19th century. It set the stage for the final movement west, as the United States entered the 20th century. The Last Stand signaled the end of an era, the end of Reconstruction, and of President Ulysses S. Grant's last days in the White House. It heralded the beginning of the final great movement of settlers into the western territories.

All Indian tribes, in addition to those of the Sioux, were vanquished in a series of pitched battles with the U.S. Army that had actually begun in 1848. The action stopped during the Civil War but resumed in 1868 and ended a quarter of a century later at the site of the massacre at Wounded Knee.[91]

Prior to 1848, Americans had, for the most part, been provincial in the way that they led their lives. Sectionalism had dominated the lives of Americans. Making a living behind a plow on a farm, earning a factory wage, or working in any number of desk jobs in a city, represented just a few of the shafts of light that made up an entire spectrum of

destinations in the young country. The door to new opportunities was open only to the white population. Indian tribes, original settlers in America dating back hundreds of years, had been displaced from their environments by a series of administrative decisions going back to the early 19th century.

Those four million blacks enslaved in the South were possibly the only Americans who had seriously considered what "liberty" meant to them. Equal opportunity and political rights had been denied to them under the working terms of the "peculiar institution"; slavery had become an institution that was accepted in the South and largely, but not completely, ignored in the North. If the injustices of slavery was an issue in the North, it was given attention principally in those communities where abolitionists held forth. The *Harper's* print depicting "Abolitionists and Negroes" (1860), illustrated by Winslow Homer, is an example of an abolition meeting held in Boston in 1860 that met stiff opposition (see Ill. 40, Ch. 3).

The Abolition movement had received its share of attention since the first quarter of the 19th century but by mid-century had become a flaming issue. The *Harper's* print would have opened eyes in Boston and kept the abolition fires burning brightly, but news via weekly publications that carried pictures with them served to open eyes beyond the eastern seaboard. Slavery in the territories became a hot topic following passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the reintroduction of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, which permitted runaway slaves to be hunted down in the North and returned to their owners. The national debate over the expansion of slavery into the territories reached a boiling point sometime during the Lincoln-Douglas debates. What is certain was the influence of printed illustrations where readers could better hone their opinions.

By 1860, political and sectional lines were being drawn tighter. The impact of Abraham Lincoln's election as President of the United States on November 6, 1860, was headlined in *Harper's* by a Winslow Homer full front page illustration of Lincoln. Only weeks later in December 1860, *Harper's* printed pictures of the seceding South Carolina delegation led by Jefferson Davis. Public opinion was moving rapidly in two directions. A new separatist government had moved to secede from the Union; the government of the United States, led by President Lincoln, vowed to preserve the union. Under the banner of "The Union Forever," Lincoln led the nation to a war to preserve the union following secession and the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861.

Several epic battles of the Civil War, which lasted four years and claimed some 630,000 soldiers in the North and South from a total population of 34 million, were covered in Chapter 4. When the war virtually came to a close at Appomattox Court House on April 10, 1865, with the surrender of General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, General Joseph Johnston's surrender to General William Tecumseh Sherman shortly afterwards ended hostilities.

Periods of martial law took hold in the South to enforce the newly enacted 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Their enactment constitutionally guaranteed equality in the United States regardless of race, religion, or previous servitude.[92]

During Ulysses Grant's two terms as president, 1868 to 1876, an unsettled period known as Reconstruction established unpopular rules of governance in the South. The intention of Reconstruction, in some ways, monitored by armed troops, was to further ensure that equality of the races would not be denied. Volumes have been written about

Reconstruction. Reconstruction ended with the last year of Grant's administration by compromises between Republicans and Democrats following the contentious election of Rutherford B. Hayes to the presidency.

The even more contentious national issue of slavery in the territories, which was resolved by the war, was now replaced by expansion throughout the remainder of the western territories. I feel compelled to discourse on the Native American reaction to expansion at this time because it was such a significant part of the manifest destiny that influenced the hearts and minds of Americans, perhaps in the same way that the war had become such a large part of their lives. Westward expansion became an inflamed national issue following Custer's defeat at the Little Big Horn. How big was the event? Written accounts appeared days after the news was received, and illustrations followed. Over the rest of the century, over 1400 known pictures were printed by white artists and illustrators as well as Native American artists.

The accounts and illustrations that reached the public encouraged and further moved Washington, D.C. to either confine all Indians in the west to reservations, or at that point in time, to destroy them. The motivating factor was the destruction of all 225 men under Custer's direct command. Custer had been the most popular and publicized cavalry officer in the Civil War (Ill. 52). On October 23, 1983, 241 marines were killed by an Islamic terrorist attack on a marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon. Little has been written about this incident that so tragically took those lives within minutes of the explosion of 12,000 pounds of TNT from a truck that breached the security surrounding the barracks. Shortly after this massacre, President Reagan withdrew the American troops from Lebanon.[93]

The incident failed to bring public opinion even close to the boiling point that Custer's last battle precipitated. Because of Custer's impact on 19th century American history, and his ever presence in libraries, bookstores, and new listings,[94] I have chosen to expand on this topic and introduce some original material gathered just recently that expresses opinions of the Sioux tribes as well as of a contemporary Sioux Indian artist.

Maxine Noel is a full-blooded Dakota Sioux and a direct descendent of Red Cloud on her mother's side and possibly Sitting Bull on her father's side. They were important Dakota Sioux chiefs in the middle to late 19th century in the western territories of the United States. Sitting Bull was the acknowledged spiritual leader of the Sioux tribes that defeated Colonel George Armstrong Custer and the 7th U.S. Cavalry at the battle of the Little Big Horn in June 1876. Different interpretations of Custer's battle plans and his motives are still being discussed, debated and published in the 21st century. The battle will be reviewed by military historians as long as United States military history is under review.

To date, of the hundreds of books and papers that have been published on the defeat of the 7th U.S. Cavalry at the Little Big Horn River, most accounts are told from the cavalry side. There are several well written accounts by descendants of Sioux tribesmen. I have had the privilege of interviewing Maxine Noel, whose Native American and Canadian name is Mahpiya Ioyan Mani. Translated, it means "to walk in the aura of heaven." Maxine was born and raised in Manitoba, a western province of Canada. Parts of the family have always lived in Manitoba and reside there today. After being educated in Native Canadian schools in Manitoba, Mahpiya moved to Ontario at

age 18, worked as a legal secretary in Toronto until 1979 and then began a fulltime career as an artist, focusing on the Native Canadian culture.

Pictured at the end of Chapter 2 is a 5 stone chromolithograph, created in 1980 of a spiritual female figure who is making an offering (Ill. 19). Sitting Bull, Mahpiya's Dakota Sioux kinsman, is shown in the accompanying illustration (Ill. 54). Another illustration in this series pictures Frederick Remington's interpretive print of "Custer's Last Stand" (Ill. 53). It stands in contradiction to one of the stories that the Dakota Sioux tell about how that battle was fought and how it ended. Both reach the same conclusion; the cavalry vanished, but although the ending is the same, the stories, as mythologized on both sides, are quite different. Traditionally, in scenes of "Custer's Last Stand," he stands in a circle of troopers, carbine or Colt at the ready, waiting for the final assault of an attacking force of mounted Sioux warriors. As possibly more accurately summarized by a national park historian at the Little Big Horn, it is uncertain where Custer fell, but once the Sioux had the remainder of the 7th Cavalry surrounded, they picked the troopers off one at a time and more than likely did not charge in full force. There was no reason to do that. Frederick Remington's print is classic American. It fully dramatizes the moment in time when an era was coming to an end. The Grant administration was in its final months; the power of a Sioux nation was at its threshold and would decline in the years to come. Sitting Bull would begin a diaspora into Canada that extended over almost two decades until he met his death while imprisoned in a U.S. Army fort.

Though a stunning defeat by the well conceived counterattack of Sioux warriors at the Little Big Horn, the epic battle brought to an end the power of the Sioux in the western territories. Without necessarily commenting on the rationale given by the federal

government on western expansion during the last quarter of the 19th century, after Custer's fall, the U.S. Army intensified its campaign to drive the Indians in the far west into smaller and smaller reservations, where many remain today. The final move west brought a population streaming into lands that had not been deemed suitable for communities or homesteading. The significance of that seminal battle remains on a loft of its own, and perhaps that is why so much has been written, studied, debated and critiqued.

I thought it might be appropriate to lend commentary from a book entitled *The Dakota Sioux in Canada*, authored by a Canadian missionary priest, Gontran Laviolette. Following that, I have written some results of an interview that I had in August 2010 with Maxine Noel. The following quotations from *The Dakota Sioux* provide a capsule of critique from the author followed by an eyewitness account from a 15-year-old Native American boy. *The Dakota Sioux* was recommended by Maxine Noel as an authentic Native American account of the episode at the Little Big Horn.

From *The Dakota Sioux in Canada*

In 1874, Gen. Philip Henry Sheridan put George A. Custer in command of an expedition to the Black Hills . . . the agency Indians were ordered to return to their reservation . . . they were physically unable to do so for lack of food and fuel . . . they were accused of disobedience.

President Ulysses Grant, in Nov. 1875 . . .sent them an ultimatum . . . to disperse—or be treated as enemies of the State. . .

In the spring of 1876, three armed expeditions were sent against the Tetons—one under General George Crook, one from the west, under General John Gibbon and a third from Fort Abraham Lincoln, under Generals Alfred N. Terry and George A. Custer. (p. 185)

Heading the Hunkpapa warriors was Sitting Bull (Ill. 54); . . .

Sitting Bull was prominent as a chief and as a medicine man. Born in 1836, he was to become one of the great figures in American Indian history. He was elected as a Teton war chief at a council held in 1867 . . . in Dakota territory.

Through his courage and spirit of independence, he exemplified the spirit of resistance to the white man's oppression . . .

On June 17, 1876, Sitting Bull with his Hunkpapa warriors and Crazy Horse, with the Oglalas defeated Crook in Rosebud Valley, driving him and his men back to the Missouri River . . .

Unaware of Crook's defeat, Generals Gibbon and Terry advanced to meet the fugitives. With Terry was Custer at the head of the Seventh United States Cavalry. Terry wanted Custer to sweep down on the Lakotas . . . while Crook attacked from the other end. (p. 186)

Such were the positions on June 24, 1876, the eve of the day the Tetons annihilated Custer's men, an event wrongly called "massacre" instead of "Custer's Battle" . . .

. . . Custer had witnessed many attacks on white trespassers by Sitting Bull . . . On the eve of battle, nearly 6000 Tetons and allied tribes had gathered in the Little Big Horn Valley. . . . Altogether, there were between 1900 and 2500 warriors. . . . Custer moved with 225 men towards the large Indian encampment on the Little Big Horn River June 25, 1876 (Gen. Custer had dispatched part of his command to other positions) but disappeared into the hills following a long circuitous route to the rear of the Teton camp. . . . Then he came over the top of the hill, flags flying—into a small tableland on one side of which were numerous ravines.

. . . Chief Gall moved in behind Custer's troops while Crazy Horse hid under the tableland's bank. Crazy Horse stormed the troops from the front while Chief Gall came in from the rear. Custer was shot and killed early in the battle which lasted about an hour. Sitting Bull did not take part in the battle but spent his time praying for victory. (pp. 186-7)

Charlie Cunwinyuksa (1861-1937) as a boy of 15, was an eyewitness to the battle in which Custer was slain. Here is his story.

"On the night before the battle, 5000 painted warriors gathered at the headwaters of the Little Big Horn waiting for General Custer to spring . . . a surprise attack.

"It wasn't so much a surprise to us as Custer intended it to be.

"Shortly before 9:00 as Custer and his men crossed the Little Big Horn, *we were upon them before they knew it.* (author's italics) In the late afternoon we saw Custer fall. He was no coward. He fought to a finish. No one could take Custer's scalp, for he, too, was just one of a butchered and bloody mass of dead soldiers . . ." (end of recollection)

Source: Gontran Laviolette, *The Dakota Sioux in Canada* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: DLM Publications, 1991 (book is out of print).

Maxine Noel (Mahpiya-Ioyan-Mani) learned her Indian history from her grandfather, who spoke only the (old) Sioux language. When I inquired about the "big battle," she replied that it was incorrectly described as a massacre. The army fort, according to her grandfather, had sent out the soldiers. "The Sioux warriors lured the soldiers into a coulee." A coulee is like foothills—a circular shape where the soldiers were surrounded by the Sioux warriors (there was no escape). (Maxine Noel's drawing of "the coulee" is in the back of this chapter, Ill. 55.) The warriors then took the soldiers' shoes, guns and horses and sent the soldiers (barefoot) back to the fort.

That was the essence of Noel's grandfather's tale of what occurred on June 25, 1876 at the Little Big Horn. He also told that "counting coup" did not entail taking a scalp, as commonly perceived by white people, but "holding an enemy to the ground and letting him go—no scalping."

Sitting Bull led his Dakota Sioux tribe to Canada twice following the battle. The Indians never recognized a boundary between Canada and the United States. They considered a journey to Canada as simply an extension of the great northwest that knew no boundaries. "Though the 49th parallel divides Canada and the U.S. the Sioux traveled both sides of the line because the Queen Mother (Victoria) said that Sioux could live in peace in Canada."

Perhaps that is a good line to end this tale of westward expansion in the United States that brought both triumph and tragedy to both sides. Frederick Remington's pictures helped transmit some real life images in the Ghost Dance (Ill. 51), a performance that helped seal the fate of Indian life on the plains. The cultural landscape in the United States had been dominated by the cultural domains in North and South. Differences that were perceptibly irresolvable were resolved in reality by war, occupation of the defeated South's land, and three amendments to the Constitution that spelled out the new rules of citizenship. In too many studies of mid-19th century America, the lives and roles of Indian tribes are left behind for separate consideration. By bringing it into perspective in the last years of the century, I have attempted to at least remind the reader of its impact.

What has been introduced on these pages was not conceived in the past year. These characters have been major players in my mind's eye, if not in my life, for the past three quarters of a century. I looked at pictures of Custer at the Little Big Horn, Meade at Gettysburg at age five, the same year that I watched descendants of Dakota Sioux perform "the Indian War Dance" in the school gym. I grew up in a tightly segregated city and understood where the lines were (still) drawn, 70 years after passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. The last half of the 19th century was a critical

time in this nation's history, because the landscape might have forever remained divided between industrialists and farmers, slave and free, darkness and light. Change came swiftly, the final results of change are still being sorted out 150 years later. It remains difficult terrain, but Lincoln's words resonate: The United States (still) remains as the "last great hope on earth."

THE GHOST DANCE BY THE OGALLALA SIOUX AT PINE RIDGE AGENCY, DAKOTA.—Drawn by Frederic Remington from Sketches taken on the Spot.—[See Page 947.]

51

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

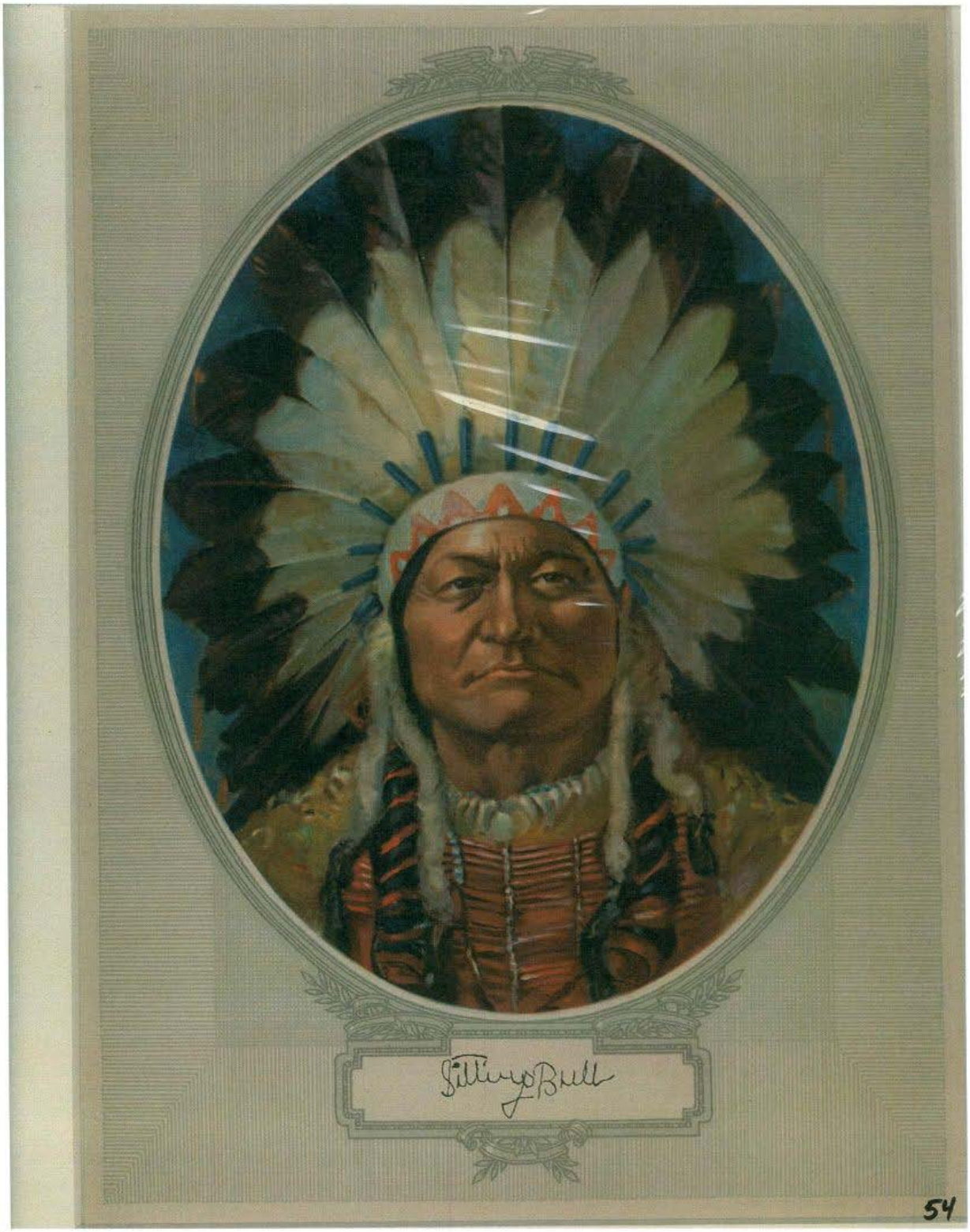
VOL. VIII.—No. 377.] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1864. [$1.00 FOR FOUR MONTHS. $3.00 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE A. CUSTER.—PHOTOGRAPHED BY BRADY.—[SEE PAGE 187.]

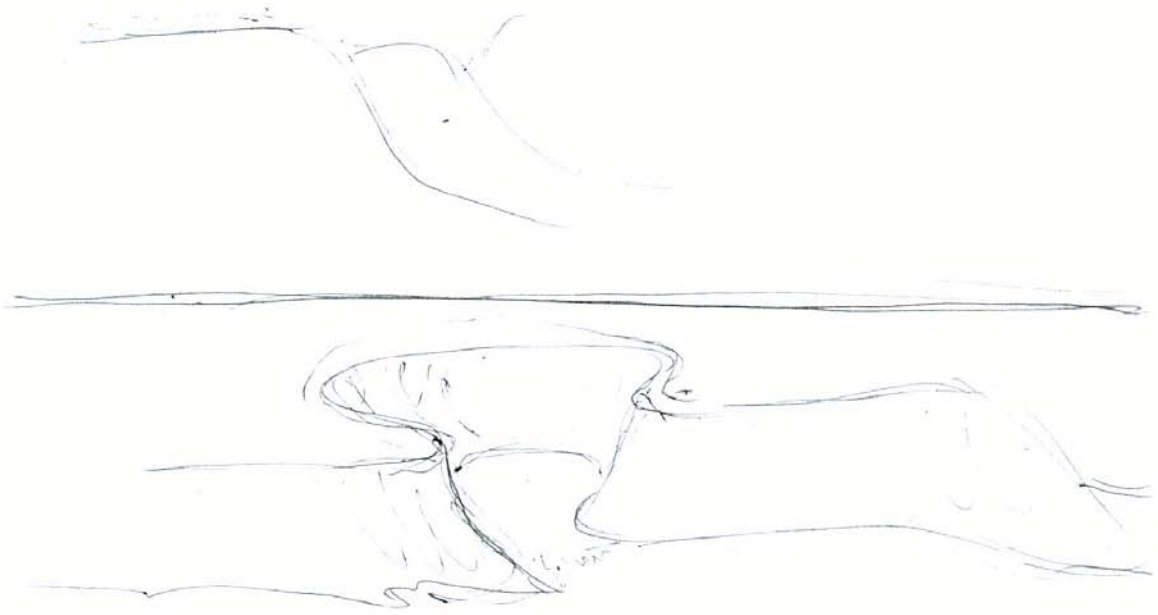
52

THE LAST STAND.—By Frederic Remington.—[See Page 25.]

53


Sitting Bull
54

BATTLE OF THE LITTLE BIGHORN June, 1876,
from a description given to Jim Schiele
by Maxine Noel, August, 2010.
The land in the center of the sketch has
been described as a coulee in which the 7th
US Cavalry was surrounded by Sioux Warriors.



Makpiya Toyan Mani
Maxine Noel

55

Appendix

A Large Mural at Muhlenberg College of the Battle of Gettysburg

Louis Kurz, an Austrian immigrant who arrived in the United States in 1848, was known in his career as a portraitist and landscape artist. Having settled in Wisconsin, his clientele was Midwestern until his partnership with Allison in 1880 catapulted the lithography firm of Kurz & Allison into national prominence with the production of thirty-six 10 stone chromolithographs of significant battles of the Civil War.

Louis Kurz intended to convince his Northern audience, including Union veterans that the battles fought were the products of bravery, unflinching loyalty, dedication to the flag, and with the rare exception of the battle of Bull Run, that the Union cause would somehow prevail. To achieve this end, Kurz's scenes often reflect a wave of creative imagination not shown by the war artists of the day.

Then, along came the 6-1/2 foot by 12 foot oil on canvas painting of the Battle of Gettysburg, now permanently installed in the Hoffman House at Muhlenberg College, in Allentown, Pennsylvania. At a glance, the wonderful action filled painting closely resembles the 17-1/2 inch by 27 inch Louis Kurz chromolithograph of that battle, which was completed and copyrighted by the Kurz & Allison partnership in 1884. However, two questions emerge that have not been definitely answered to date:

1. Did Louis Kurz paint the mural?
2. And if Kurz *did* paint the mural, which came first, the print or the painting?

The many times I have studied the original print (which is housed along with the other 35 original prints of Civil War battles produced by Kurz and Allison at Washington University in St. Louis) the first thing that catches the eye is the prisoners on the far bottom right being led out of the picture, out of the war and into a different place, where

the conflict has been resolved, the end of the war is in sight; the Union is forever. It represents the final stage of a trilogy of events that have occurred at different times in the print. (The first stage was the bombardment of the Union position and the second was Pickett's charge that momentarily breached the Union line.)

In the painting, the eye is drawn toward the trilogy of the events that are happening at the moment in the center of the picture. Confederate General Armistead has been shot from the saddle at center right, a Confederate soldier, who has breached the Union line further than anyone else, has raised his musket like a club against a background of white gunpowder smoke; the advance of the Union second line of reserves led by an officer on the rearing dapple gray, left center, completes the group of three. The Confederate soldier with musket raised is at dead center. He has represented the high tide of the confederacy; he is defiant, alive, a soldier in the attacking army who is upon the center of the Union army. The outcome of the battle is still very much in doubt in spite of the prisoners going off on the far right. In the painting, Union dead and dying are far more in evidence than they are in the print; they are a more significant part of the picture.

To add to the question of the battle's outcome, the gray lines moving on the Union center are far more threatening than in the print and the fallen Confederate soldiers are less conspicuous. The sheer size of the painting allows for additional detail of Confederate officers on horseback, battle flags, advancing columns of troops.

In the Kurz & Allison chromolithograph, *The Battle of Bull Run*, Kurz underscored the magnitude of defeat of the fledgling Union army by vividly displaying the rout that began with the retreat of the Union Zouve regiment and the Stars and Stripes

on the ground. The Battle of Gettysburg print displays a Union Victory by clearly showing the repulse of Pickett's Brigade at the center and the prisoners going off on the bottom right. I believe that this portrayal was his original intent. I also firmly believe that the print was completed before the painting, assuming that Louis Kurz painted the picture. In the reproduction cycle, paintings ordinarily come before prints, which was why some analysts assumed that the painting came first. It is known, that only the Gettysburg painting was created from just one of the 36 Kurz & Allison chromolithographs. There is no reason to believe that Louis Kurz selected one painting from which to create a print. It was more likely that Louis Kurz was given a commission to paint a Battle of Gettysburg mural for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair from the 1884 chromolithograph, arguably, one of his finest.

I also believe that the mural (though unsigned) was the work of Louis Kurz. Although some have speculated that the painting came out of "the Meissonnies School, prominent in France during the middle of the 19th century",[†] the spirit of battle resides in the heart and soul of Louis Kurz. With the 6-1/2 x 12 foot mural to his advantage, Kurz could add to that frame what had been limited in a 17-1/2 x 27 inch lithograph. For example, General George Meade and his staff take on more prominence and luster on the far left; that detail may well have been lost on another artist's brush.

There is a keen sense of Louis Kurz that permeates the canvas in this one-time event that will add to his reputation and carry it to yet a higher level. Why he chose not to sign the painting shall forever cast a shadow of doubt as to origin, but only on those

[†] "Muhlenberg Week," Muhlenberg College, Allentown, PA, April 12, 1956.

who have not studied Kurz's works long, often and intimately enough to catch the stately movement of the forces that were his signature.

James Schiele

July 2008

52

Description of Illustrations

Illustration # **Description**

1 *Lincoln, Proclamation of Emancipation*. Watts, Kellogg Publishing Co., Hartford, CT. This hand-painted lithograph is a rare print. A curator from the Connecticut Historical Society that had assisted in compiling all of the Kellogg prints advised that they had no record of this particular print.

2 *Reading the Emancipation Proclamation*. This hand-painted lithograph pictures a Union soldier reading the Emancipation Proclamation to a slave family in a slave cabin by the torchlight. It is highly stylized because most stone cabins did not have either wood floors or high ceilings. The clothes worn by the slaves are not typical.

Chapter 1

3 *Number of Periodicals Published in the United States, 1820-1960*. Courtesy of Professor Doug Dowd, Washington University in St. Louis. This chart helps explain the meteoric rise of illustrations published in the United States.

4 *Slave Sale in Charleston, S.C. (Illustrated London News, 1856).* This engraving was sketched by an illustrator on the scene. It depicts an auctioneer selling slaves in the slave market in Charleston, S.C.

5 *John Brown*. Lithograph signed by John Steuart Curry from which this lithograph was made hangs in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.

6 *Charles Sumner*. Henry Schile, 1874. Hand-colored lithograph. This beautiful portrait of Charles Sumner, the most avid abolitionist in the United States Senate, is a rare print. The only other known copy resides in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston

7 *Harriet Beecher Stowe*. This is an engraving of a young Harriet Beecher Stowe. It is a somewhat rare print insofar as the only other place I have seen it is in the Harriet Beecher Stowe House in Hartford, CT.

8 *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. T.W. Strong, hand-painted lithograph. First meeting of Uncle Tom and Eva, scene from *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

9 *Eminent Opponents of the Slave Power*. A black and white lithograph showing twelve of the leading abolitionists of the period, including Charles Sumner, William Lloyd Garrison, and Henr Ward Beecher.

10 *Henry Ward Beecher*. Metal plate engraving. Henry Ward Beecher was a minister and the brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

11 *William Lloyd Garrison*. Metal plate engraving. Garrison was considered the most radical of the well-known abolitionists. He was the publisher of the abolitionists' newspaper, *The Liberator.*

12 *Political "Blondins" Crossing the Salt River*. Lithograph by Currier & Ives, 1860. The controversy over slavery in the United States is explicit in this political cartoon.

Chapter 2

13 *The Bird*. The first known "white line" wood engraving produced by Thomas Bewick.

14 *Freedom to the Slaves*. Currier & Ives. In this black and white lithograph, Lincoln is shown granting freedom to slaves, surrounded by a slave family.

15 *Battle of Fredericksburg*. Kurz & Allison. Of the 36 battles of the Civil War by Kurz & Allison, *Fredericksburg* is the rarest print. The battle was a decisive victory for the Army of Northern Virginia. It stood as one of Robert E. Lee's signature victories and one of the Army of the Potomac's most disastrous defeats.

16 *Custer*. J. Rogers from Brady photo. Metal plate engraving. Before the introduction of photography into the press, it was common practice for illustrators to create their images from photos.

17 *Lincoln Elected*. Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, December 1860. *Harper's Weekly* was able to publish this picture shortly after Lincoln's election because the image could be quickly engraved from a photo by Brady.

18 Battle of Chancellorsville. Kurz & Allison.

19 *The Offering*. A modern print by Maxine Noel, 5-stone chromolithograph. I have chosen to include this modern print with commentary in Chapter 5 as an illustration of modern printing techniques based on the lithographic technology.

Chapter 3

20 *Harper's Ferry*. Kurz & Allison black and white lithograph. A landscape of the town in which John Brown carried out his raid on the U.S. Arsenal in 1859. Shortly after this event, John Brown was hanged.

21 *Battle of Bull Run*. Kurz & Allison 10-5 chromolithograph. In my opinion, Louis Kurz's *Battle of Bull Run* was one of his finer artistic endeavors. It clearly depicts the trauma of an army in retreat.

21a *Retreat of Our Troops from Bull Run, By Moonlight, Colonel Blenker's Brigade Covering*. *Harper's Weekly*, August 10, 1861.

22 *The Bombardment of Fredericksburg by the Army of the Potomac*. *Harper's Weekly*, December 27, 1862.

23 *The Battle of Gettysburg*. Kurz & Allison, 10-stone chromolithograph. Commentary on Gettysburg is in Chapter 4.

24 *Gettysburg (Repulse of Longstreet's Assault)*. James Walker, artist, 1876. H.B. Hall, Jr., engraver. Picture arranged by Bachelder.

25 *Major General G. Meade at the Battle of Gettysburg*. Currier & Ives, hand-colored lithograph. A classic pose that brings out the strong blue uniforms of the Union Army shown in other Currier & Ives illustrations.

26 *Storming Fort Wagner*. Kurz & Allison, 10-stone lithograph. This historic picture shows the first all-black regiment in the Union Army engaged in battle.

27 *The War in America: Assault on Fort Wagner (Illustrated London News)*. Wood engraving.

28 *Compromise With the South—Dedicated to the Chicago Convention*. Thomas Nast, *Harper's Weekly*, 1864. Wood engraving.

29 *Arrival of a Federal Column at a Plantation House in Dixie*. Thomas Nast, *Harper's Weekly*, April 4, 1863. Wood engraving.

30 *This Is a White Man's Government.* Thomas Nast, *Harper's Weekly*, September 1868. Wood engraving displaying the unholy alliance of "New York Irish," a Confederate veteran and Boss Tweed of New York City.

31 *Army of the Potomac—The Struggle for the Salient Near Spotsylvania, Virginia*. Alfred Waud, *Harper's Weekly*, May 12, 1864. Description appears in body of text.

32 *Contrabands Coming Into Camp in Consequence of the Proclamation*. Alfred Waud, *Harper's Weekly*. Description appears in body of text.

33 *Scene On a Mississippi River Steamer—*"*The Parting Song*." Alfred Waud, *Harper's Weekly*, November 9, 1867. Description appears in body of text.

34 *Gen. Robert E. Lee Leaves McLean House. . .* R. Houlihan. Possibly appeared in *American Heritage* in the 1960s.

35 *On the March to the Sea*. F.O.C. Darley, artist, A.H. Ritchie, engraver. Metal Plate engraving, ca. 1868.

36 *Robert E. Lee at the Battle of Chancellorsville*. Dubois Tesselin, steel engraving. Published by Goupil, Paris, based on oil painting by L.M.D. Guillaume, ca. 1863-1865.

37 *McClellan at Antietam*. Christian Schussele, artist, 1863.

38 *Emigrants Crossing the Plains*. F.O.C. Darley, metal plate engraving. Description in body of text.

39 *Massachusetts Militia Passing Through Baltimore*. F.O.C. Darley, metal plate engraving. Description in body of text.

40 *Expulsion of Negroes and Abolitionists*. Winslow Homer. *Harper's Weekly*, December 1860. Description in body of text.

41 *A Bivouac Fire On the Potomac*. Winslow Homer. *Harper's Weekly*, December 1861. Description in body of text.

42 *The War for the Union*. Winslow Homer. *Harper's Weekly*, July 1862.

Edwin Forbes

43 *The Pontoon Bridges*. Edwin Forbes, etching circa 1876. *The Pontoon Bridges* is described in the text.

44 *A Cavalry Charge*. Edwin Forbes, etching circa 1876. The print is described in the main body of the text.

45 *Going into Action*. Edwin Forbes, etching. As shown in the text, *Going into Action* describes part of Forbes' experience at Gettysburg.

Currier & Ives

46 *Rumsey's Darktown Hook and Ladder Corps*. Currier & Ives, hand-painted lithograph. Detailed description in text.

47 *Battle of Gettysburg, PA, July 3rd, 1863*. Currier & Ives. Quoting from the print: ". . . conflict between the gallant Army of the Potomac, commanded by their great General George G. Meade, and the hosts of the Rebel 'Army of the East' under General Lee . . ."

48 *First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation Before the Cabinet.* Francis Bicknell Carpenter, metal plate engraving. William Seward is the central figure.

Chapter 4

49 *Battle of Antietam*. Kurz & Allison, 10-stone chromolithograph. The battle is described in the text.

50 *Exciting Scene in the House of Representatives, Jan. 31, 1865, on the Passage of the Amendment to the Constitution Abolishing Slavery For Ever*. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated London Newspaper*, 1865.

Chapter 5

51 *The Ghost Dance*. Frederick Remington. *Harper's Weekly*, December 1890. See explanation of the Ghost Dance in the "Notes" section.

52 *Brigadier General George A. Custer*. Edwin Forbes. *Harper's Weekly*. Custer is shown leading his cavalry troopers in battle during a critical stage of the war. However, Custer's finest moment during the Gettysburg campaign was his fearless leadership in preventing Confederate General Jeb Stuart from intervening on the main battleground during the decisive third day. Stuart's cavalry outnumbered Custer's by two to one.

53 *The Last Stand.* Frederick Remington. The image of Custer at the final moments of battle in July 1876 is purely fictional. Custer was probably already dead at the end of the engagement according to Sioux Indian sources. The ring of troopers are defined by sabers forming a circle; Custer did not issue sabers for the attack because they were both heavy and they made noise, two good reasons that they were left behind. Also, he had not visualized them as being of any use.

54 *Sitting Bull*.

55 *Battle of the Little Big Horn—The Coulee*. Maxine Noel's sketch of the coulee where Custer's 7th Cavalry was trapped and defeated, but not, according to Maxine's grandfather, killed, at the battle of the Little Bighorn, July 1876.

Appendix

56 *The Gettysburg Mural at Muhlenberg College*. See Appendix.

Final Pages

57 *General Sherman (with signature).*

58 *General Grant (with signature).*

Back Cover

59 *On the Southern Plains in 1860*. Frederick Remington, 1907. A wonderfully crafted picture of United States cavalry in action on the plains prior to the Civil War. At that time, there were but 16,000 Regulars in the army. Remington was an expert at sketching horses in action. This particular print hangs in the Remington Museum in Ogdensburg, New York.

Bibliography

An Album of American Battle Art, 1755-1918 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1947).

The Art Quarterly, Detroit Institute of Art, vol. 10, 1947.

Battles of the Civil War, the Complete Kurz & *Allison Prints* (Birmingham, Ala.; Oxmoor House, Inc., 1976).

"The Battle of Gettysburg, an appropriation for John B. Bachelder for his work on the Battlefield," *New York Times,* May 23, 1880.

Beckman, Thomas, "Louis Kurz: The Early Years," *Imprint:Journal of the American Historical Print Collectors Society,* vol. 7, no. 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 14-25.

Blair, William A., and Karen Fisher Younger, eds., *Lincoln's Proclamation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

Chicago Illustrated: 1830-1866, illustrated by the Chicago Lithography Co., Chicago: Jevni & Almini, 1866-67.

Cikovsky, Nicolai, Jr. and Franklin Kelly, *Winslow Homer* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1995).

Dowd, D.B., and Todd Hignite, eds., *Last Strips, Toons, and Bluesies* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004).

Eastman, Charles, *The Soul of the Indian* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911).

Foner, Eric, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010).

Foner, Eric, and Olivia Mahoney, *A House Divided: America in the Age of Lincoln* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, in association with W.W. Norton & Company, 1990).

Forbes, Edwin, *Thirty Years After: An Artist's Memoir of the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993).

Gelman, Barbara, ed., *The Wood Engravings of Winslow Homer*, with an Introduction (Bounty Books, 1969).

Guelzo, Allen C., *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004).

Guernsey, Alfred H., and Henry Mills Alden, *Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1866, originally titled, *Harper's Pictorial History o[the Great Rebellion in the United States*)*;* 1894 facsimile published in 27 numbers by Star Publishing Co., Chicago; 1977 facsimile published by Fairfax Press, a Division of Barre Publishing Co., Inc., distributed by Crown Publishers, Inc.

Gwynne, S.C., *Empire of the Summer Moon* (New York: Scribner, 2010).

Ivins, William M., *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, MA: First MIT Press Paperback Edition, 1969).

Jones, Howard, *Abraham Lincoln and a New Birth of Freedom* (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

Keegan, John, *The American Civil War* (London: Hutchinson, 2009).

Keller, Morton, *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

Kurz, Louis, Papers, 1856-1938, Louis Kurz Collection, Chicago Historical Society Research Center, Chicago, Ill.

Laviolette, Gontran, *The Dakota Sioux in Canada* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: D.L.M. Publications, 1991).

Logue, John, and Karen Phillips Irons, eds. *Battles of the Civil War, the Complete Kurz* & *Allison Prints* (Birmingham, Ala.: Oxmoor House, Inc, 1976).

McGrath, Daniel, "America's Colorplate Books: The Gaudy Days of Chromolithography," University of Michigan Dissertation, 1966.

McPherson, James, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

_____, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

_____, *This Mighty Scourge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Meschutt, David, "Waud, Alfred R.," *American National Biography Online*, October 2002, American Council of Learned Societies (Oxford University Press, 2002).

The Museum of Modern Art, Department of Prints and Illustrated Books, New York, NY. Date of publication unknown.

Nast, Thomas, *Thomas Nast Cartoons and Illustrations* (with text by Thomas Nast St. Hill) (New York: Dover Publications, 1974).

Nicolay, John G., *The Outbreak of Rebellion (*New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 188l).

Oates, Stephen B., *The Approaching Fury, Voices of the Storm, 1820-1861* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997).

Peters, Harry T., *Currier & Ives. Printmakers to the American People* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1942).

Philbrick, Nathaniel, *The Last Stand* (New York: Viking Press, 2010).

Report of the DOD Commission on Beirut International Terrorist Act, October 23, 1983.

Russell, Don, *Custer's Last* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1968).

Sandoz, Marie, *The Battle of Little Big Horn* (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1966).

Schultz, Duayne, *Custer* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Simkin, Colin, ed., *A Currier & Ives Treasury* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1955).

Stoker, Donald, *Strategy and the U.S. Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Tatham, David, *Winslow Homer and the Pictorial Press* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

Ten items (one folder), two letters in German; naturalization certificate; stock certificate; two documents dissolving the partnership between Kurz and Allison, 1903; 1909 announcement in German; note about Kurz's death, 1921; certificate of burial; condolence letter to family from Mayor Kelly of Chicago on death of Kurz relative, 1938.

Utley, Robert M., *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1967).

Waldman, Carl, *Atlas of the North American Indian* (New York: Checkmark Books, an imprint by Infobase Publishing, 1985-2009).

Webster, Sally (attributed to), "Darley, Felix Octavius Carr," in *American National Biography Online*, February 2000, American Council of Learned Societies (Oxford University Press, 2000).

Wilentz, Sean, ed., *The Best American History Essays on Lincoln* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Williams, Hermann Warner, Jr., *The Civil War: The Artists' Record* (Boston: Corcoran Gallery of Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1961).

Wills, Gary, *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).

Woodward, C. Vann, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

NOTES

Introduction

[1] Keegan, John, *The American Civil War* (London: Hutchinson, 2009).

Chapter 1

[2] Speech given by William Henry Seward in Rochester, NY, on October 25, 1858.

[3] A copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* published in Korean and a copy published in Chinese may be found in the book section of the Schiele Historic American Print Collection, Special Collections, Olin Library, Washington University.

[4] Foner, Eric, and Olivia Mahoney, *A House Divided: America in the Age of Lincoln* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, in association with W.W. Norton & Company, 1990), p. 46.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[6] This chart, furnished by Professor Doug Dowd, Sam Fox School of Visual Arts at Washington University, demonstrates the extraordinary explosion of wood engravings that appeared in weekly publications in America at mid-19th century.

[7] Foner and Mahoney, *A House Divided*, pp. 40-41.

[8] Foner and Mahoney, *A House Divided*, p. 43.

[9] Abraham Lincoln's "Right Makes Might" speech at the Cooper Union, New York, February 27, 1860.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

Chapter 2

[12] D.B. Dowd and Todd Hignite, editors, *Strips, Toons, and Bluesies* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006). In 1380, "the earliest known woodcut block in the West is drawn and cut," and in 1440, "Gutenberg develops a reliable method of printing from moveable type." The advent of copper engraving occurred in 1420 as reproductions from flat metal pieces was born. In 1513, "Urs Graf produces the first etching plate by coating copper with wax, scratching through it, and dunking the metal in acid. The resulting chemically produced grooves are filled with thick black ink. The plate is printed intaglio by smashing soft wet paper into the grooves, which read as lines on the print." In 1600, etching becon[redacted].

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] Ivins, William M., Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication*, 9th edition (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996), pp. 1-2.

[16] *Ibid*., p. 99.

[17] *Ibid*., p. 99.

[18] *The Museum of Modern Art*, Department of Prints and Illustrated Books, New York, NY. Date of publication unknown.

[19] McGrath, Daniel, "America's Colorplate Books: The Gaudy Days of Chromolithography," University of Michigan Dissertation, 1966, p. 143.

[20] *Museum of Modern Art*.

Chapter 3

Louis Kurz

[21] This article is based upon a paper submitted to Professors Iver Bernstein and Angela Miller of Washington University in St. Louis in 2006 by the author, with assistance from Roseanna Herrick. It originally was edited by Susan Rainey and published in *Imprint: Journal of the American Historical Print Collectors Society*, vol. 33, no. 1 (Farmingdale, NY: American Historical Print Collectors Society, Spring 2008), pp. 10-20.

[22] Beckman, Thomas, "Louis Kurz, The Early Years," *Imprint: Journal of the American Historical Print Collectors Society*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Farmingdale, NY: American Historical Print Collectors Society, Spring 1982), p. 15.

[23] Such as *Century Magazine's* "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" 1883-1887 series, later published as a book, and *Famous Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York: Mrs. Frank Leslie, 1896).

[24] "Introduction," *Battles of the Civil War, the Complete Kurz & Allison Prints*, ed. by John Logue and Karen Phillips Irons (Birmingham, Ala.: Oxmoor House, Inc, 1976), p. 11.

[25] It is likely that more portraits were produced, but only these three have been positively verified. They are part of The James E. and Joan Singer Schiele Collection at Olin Library, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. I have been unable to find a listing of all of Kurz's portraits.

[26] Spears, Alex, *Battles of the Civil War, the Complete Kurz & Allison Prints*, p. 37.

[27] Using earlier sources was very common in this period, and Kurz probably did so throughout his career. According to Thomas Beckman, Kurz. & Allison's *Battle of Bunker Hill* "was copied from an engraving by Johann Gottard von Muller after a painting by John Trumbull" ("Louis Kurz," p.16).

[28] Outside of my collection, the only places I have seen Kurz & Allison's *Battle of Fredericksburg* are the Library of Congress, the New York Historical Society, and the Chicago Historical Society. Unlike Cold Harbor, another costly defeat of the Army of the Potomac, nothing was gained at Fredericksburg. At Cold Harbor, the army held fast and carried on the fight the following day.

[29] Nicolay, John G., *The Outbreak of Rebellion* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881), p. 208.

[30] Spears, *Battles of the Civil War,* p. 47.

[31] Thomas Beckman writes that Kurz's *The Battle of Gettysburg* was based on a 6-1/2 -by- 12 foot oil on canvas painting that Kurz produced for Muhlenburg College in Allentown, Penn. ("Louis Kurz," p. 25, note 62).

[32] A newspaper article in the *New York Times* May 23, 1880, reads as follows: "The Senate passed to-day, without debate, a bill giving to John B. Bachelder $50,000 for making, under the direction of the Secretary of War, a survey of the battle-field at Gettysburg, compiling the history of that engagement, and illustrating its progress by diagrams. Mr. Bachelder has devoted most of his time for the past 17 years to the study of this battle, and the results of his labor are very interesting. It appears that the Government has availed itself of Mr. Bachelder's data in constructing its maps of the battle-field, but the data remain in his possession, and because it is of the most perishable nature, it is said that it will be lost to history at his death, unless arranged by him and turned over to the Government. Mr. Bachelder visited the battle-field before the dead were buried, and passed 84 days in making plans and gathering information concerning the battle from those who had been actors in it. At the close of the war over 1,000 officers, 49 of them Generals, visited the field at his invitation, and aided him in his work by their recollections and reminiscences. The Secretary of War afterward employed him to apply his information to the preparation of maps which represent six phases of the battle. After the completion of these maps, hundreds of letters were received from officers of both armies urging the importance of putting into a volume the data which Mr. Bachelder had collected, and by which he was enabled to make the maps. Nineteen memorials have been presented to Congress asking that the same be done. It is proposed that the volume to be prepared shall be accompanied by a series of diagrams representing the changing positions of regiments and batteries."

[33] The Houghton Library, Harvard University, has a collection of Civil War drawings by Frank Vizetelly (1830-1883), 1861-1865, which includes "Assault on Battery Wagner, Morris Island, near Charleston, on the night of the 18th July—The rush of the garrison to the parapet."

[34] Beckman, "Louis Kurz," p. 18. Beckman's statements contradict assertions made by Kurz's earlier biographers. I believe Beckman's findings are more accurate than the promotional information issued by others. His statement that the "First Wisconsin Sharpshooters was a nonexistent" regiment is convincing enough.

Thomas Nast

[35] Keller, Morton, *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 3.

[36] *Ibid*., p. 3.

[37] *Ibid*., p. 177.

[38] *Ibid*., p. 181.

[39] *Ibid*., p. 181.

Alfred Waud

[40] "American Treasures of the Library of Congress," Exhibition, Washington, D.C..

[41] "Attack of the Louisiana Tigers on the Battery on the 11th Corps. at Gettsyburg," Alfred Waud, July 1, 1863, Library of Congress.

[42] Meschutt, David, "Waud, Alfred R.," *American National Biography Online*, October 2002, American Council of Learned Societies (Oxford University Press, 2002).

[43] *An Album of American Battle Art, 1755-1918*, Library of Congress, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1947.

[44] *Ibid*., Plate No. 81.

[45] *Ibid*., p. 175.

[46] *An Album of American Battle Art*, "Cemetery Hill Previous to Pickett's Charge," July 3, 1863, Plate No. 86.

[47] *Ibid*., p. 180.

[48] *Ibid*., p. 180.

F.O.C. Darley

[49] Attributed to Sally Webster, "Darley, Felix Octavius Carr," *American National Biography Online*, February 2000, American Council of Learned Societies (Oxford University Press, 2000).

[50] *Ibid*.

[51] *Ibid*.

Winslow Homer

[52] Gelman, Barbara, ed., *The Wood Engravings of Winslow Homer*, with an Introduction (Bounty Books, 1969), p. vii.

[53] Professor Doug Dowd, Sam Fox School of Design & Visual Arts, Washington University, edited this paper and furnished the chart referenced on p. 2 of this paper.

[54] Tatham, David, *Winslow Homer and the Pictorial Press*, first edition (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2003), p. 107.

[55] Tatham, *Winslow Homer and the Pictorial Press*, p. 116.

[56] *Ibid*., p. 119.

[57] Cikovsky, Nicolai, Jr. and Franklin Kelly, *Winslow Homer* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1995), p. 20.

Edwin Forbes

[58] *The Illustrated London News*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *Leslie's Illustrated News* were three of the news journals of the day that printed the majority of illustrations in antebellum, Civil War, and post-bellum America.

[59] Forbes, Edwin, *Thirty Years After: An Artist's Memoir of the Civil War*. Text and Illustrations by Edwin Forbes. Introduction by William J. Cooper, Jr. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), p. vii.

[60] *Ibid*., p. vii.

[61] *Ibid*., p. ix.

[62] *Ibid*., p. 13.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

Currier & Ives

[64] Peters, Harry T., *Currier & Ives. Printmakers to the American People* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1942), pp. 11-12.

[65] *Ibid*. Twelve plates listed in the above referenced "Currier & Ives . . ."

[66] Woodward, C. Vann, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 7.

[67] *Ibid*., p. 7.

[68] *Battles of the Civil War, the Complete Kurz* & *Allison Prints,* ed. by John Logue and Karen Phillips Irons (Birmingham, Ala.: Oxmoor House, Inc, 1976), p. 15.

[69] *Ibid*., p. 16.

[70] *Ibid*.

[71] *Ibid*.

[72] Response to Confederate Brigadier General Simon Buckner's request for terms of surrender after Northern victory at Fort Donelson on February 16, 1862.

[73] *Battles of the Civil War,* p. 31.

[74] *Ibid*., p. 32.

[75] McPherson, James, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam* (New York: Oxford University Press), 2002.

[76] *Ibid*., p. xvi.

[77] *Ibid*., pp. 3-4.

[78] Spears, *Battles of the Civil War,* p. 46.

[79] McPherson, James, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 648.

[80] *Ibid.*

[81] *Ibid*., p. 649.

[82] *Ibid*., p. 651.

[83] *Ibid*.

[84] Spears, *Battles of the Civil War,* p. 47.

[85] *Ibid*.

[86] Foner, Eric, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010).

[87] *Ibid*., p. 145.

[88] *Ibid*., p. 245.

[89] McPherson, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam*, p. xvi.

[90] *Ibid*., pp. 3-4.

Chapter 5

[91] The referenced massacre in 1891 by the U.S. Army of the tribe at Wounded Knee virtually ended Indian resistance to the western movement. It was precipitated by a performance of the "Ghost Dance," an event outlawed by the U.S. Army because it was feared that it would incite Indian assaults on whites. A Frederick Remington print of the Ghost Dance is cataloged in the back of this chapter.

[92] The 13th Amendment stipulates in part that: "Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude . . . shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Section I. The 14th Amendment stipulates in part that: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . are citizens of the United States . . . nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process or law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The 15th Amendment stipulates in part that: Section I: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

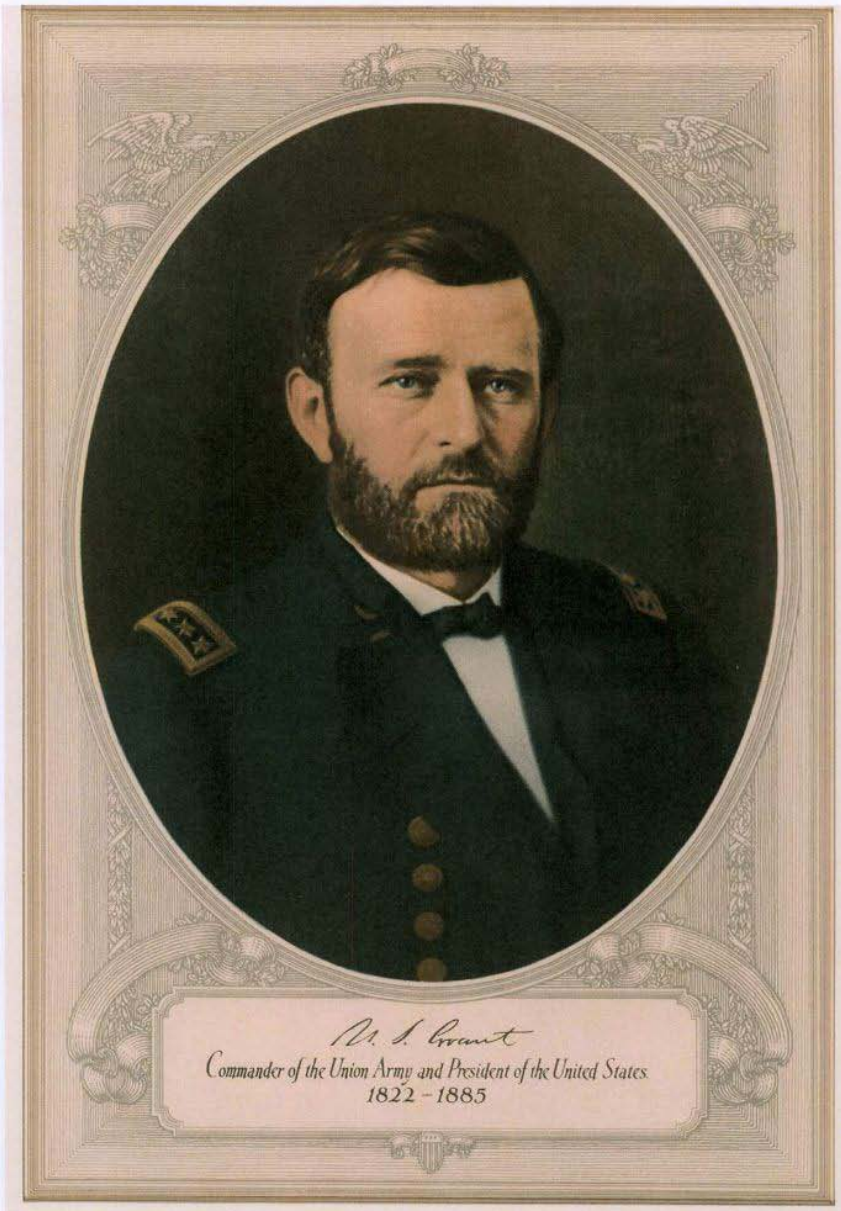
[93] Report of the DOD Commission on Beirut International Airport Terrorist Act, October 23, 1983.

[94] Schultz, Duane, *Custer: Lessons in Leadership* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

W. T. Sherman

Very truly yours
W. T. Sherman
General

57


U. S. Grant
Commander of the Union Army and President of the United States
1822 – 1885

58

On the Southern Plains in 1860