

NEW YORK STATE AND The CIVIL WAR

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1962

THE ULYSSES S. GRANT ASSOCIATION

THE THREE STATES that figured most in the career of the Civil War general who became president of the United States have formed the Ulysses S. Grant Association. Founded by the Civil War Centennial Commissions of Illinois, Ohio and New York, the association is collecting to publish a two-volume selection of Grant letters, to be followed by a comprehensive edition of Grant's works.

Grant papers and correspondence, including much as yet unpublished, have never been completely collected and catalogued. Hence, the task facing the Grant Association is historically important. In time it will be regarded as a great, lasting achievement of the Civil War Centennial.

Association president is Ralph G. Newman, of Chicago. Vice presidents include Bruce Catton, David C. Mearns and T. Harry Williams. Robert S. Harper is secretary, and Clyde C. Walton, treasurer. In addition to Chairman Catton being named a vice president, the NYCWCC is represented on the Board of Directors by John Hope Franklin, vice chairman, and Carl Haverlin, secretary.

Allan Nevins, national chairman, Civil War Centennial Commission, heads the editorial board, with Dr. John Y. Simon, on leave from Ohio State University faculty, as executive director. Association headquarters are located in Ohio State Museum, Columbus.

Grant was born in Ohio, left Illinois to enter the Civil War, and lived, died and was buried in New York. Hence, the joint undertaking of the Grant Association by these three states is appropriate.



EMANCIPATION CENTENNIAL ISSUE

**NEW YORK
STATE
and
THE
CIVIL WAR**



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COVER PICTURE: With impressive military precision, Army guards convey original draft of Emancipation Proclamation past statue of the great humanitarian who wrote it. This was a dramatic moment in the Emancipation centennial observance that took place at Lincoln Memorial in Washington on September 22.

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E D I T O R I A L

AT its First Assembly a year and a half ago, the New York Civil War Centennial Commission defined as its basic purpose "to affirm through appropriate observances, and to teach through appropriate media, the fact that the Civil War was not fought as an isolated struggle for power, but as part of the continuing American aspiration to achieve our national goal of individual freedom and dignity for all our people."

The culmination of four recent interrelated programs, covered in this combined September-October issue, shows that the NYCWCC does indeed adhere to its clearly defined course. These events may have done as much as anything in the last century to blow the dust of antiquity off the Emancipation Proclamation, and awaken new and widespread interest not only in the history of this profound document, but its significance to our time and the American future.

On September 2, in a program planned by this commission, the New York State Battle Monument at Antietam was rededicated in tribute to New York men who fought and died there — and because, in its ultimate meaning, the outcome of the battle determined the first public announcement of Emancipation by Abraham Lincoln.

A week later, at a gathering in New York City arranged by the NYCWCC, the State officially, as well as men and women from civilian walks of life, reaffirmed allegiance to Lincoln's pledge of freedom.

Then came the national observance of the centennial of Emancipation, in which New York State proudly took part, in a stirring commemoration on the steps of Lincoln Memorial in Washington on September 22.

Simultaneously, our Emancipation Proclamation Shrine Planning Committee announced acceptance on the final design (see Page 2) for enshrinement of Lincoln's own, original hand-written draft. To be built for the ages, this shrine in Albany will likely impress on those who see it the sense of individual responsibility that in the end will make freedom more than a half-truth in our Nation.

Today's college freshman was 10 years old when the U. S. Supreme Court decreed an end to segregation in the public schools. Events since our First Assembly in April, 1961, reveal that the goal of "freedom and dignity for all people" is still, as stated then, a "continuing American aspiration."

In devoting this issue to the Emancipation centennial, the NYCWCC asks each reader no more than it asks of itself . . . to work toward making full Emancipation no longer an aspiration, but a lasting reality. And this is as applicable in our own State as anywhere in the land.

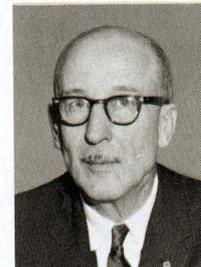


Francis Keally, F.A.I.A.

Acceptance of this design for an Emancipation Proclamation Shrine has been announced by Dr. Harlan Hoyt Horner, chairman of Shrine Planning Committee. Architect's sketch shows shrine as it will appear in State Library rotunda in Albany. Here, Lincoln's original draft that foretold doom of slavery in this land will be displayed and preserved for centuries to come.

'Thenceforward And Forever Free'

By BRUCE CATTON



This article, adapted from *Centennial History of the Civil War* under preparation by Mr. Catton for Doubleday & Co., appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* September 16, 1962. Copyright by *The New York Times*. Reprinted by permission.



ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO . . . on Sept. 22, 1862, Abraham Lincoln issued the preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, which sounded the doom of chattel slavery, changed the meaning of the American Civil War and established a new and infinitely broad foundation for the entire democratic experiment.

Until that moment, the Federal Government was fighting solely to restore the Union; officially, slavery had nothing at all to do with the war. Once the proclamation was signed, the Government was also fighting for human freedom. The danger that European powers might intervene vanished. The nation committed itself to a cause that would require its best efforts, not merely while the war lasted but on and on into the remotest future, until freedom and equality ran all across the board.

Considered coldly, the Emancipation Proclamation was an odd document. One of the greatest of American state papers, it appears on superficial analysis to be one of the weakest.

It was conceived, to begin with, strictly as a military measure. Abraham Lincoln clearly had doubts about the legality of emancipation. He had always felt that the Federal Government had no power to interfere with slavery, and he based this proclamation on the wholly undefined war powers of the President; to win the war, he believed, the President might do things which ordinarily he would have no power to do.

In addition, the proclamation applied to the Confederate states but did not touch slavery in states which had remained in the Union. It would have effect, in other words, only in those states where the Government had no power to enforce it; where it could have been enforced, it would not apply. And, finally, the proclamation did no more than announce that another proclamation would be issued 100 days later unless the Confederates quickly laid down their arms.

So it is easy to show that the proclamation was a lot of weak-talk. And yet . . . there was a war on, and thousands of men were dying for intangibles no more solid than the look of a flag adrift in the wind, or the ring of a phrase that touched something in their hearts; and between Canada and the Rio Grande there were more than three million people who lived in bondage and knew of freedom only by hearsay; and when the President of the United States declared, with whatever qualifications, that these people should then, thenceforward and forever be free, his words would have the echoing reach of a great trumpet call in the night.

IT WAS THE CHANGE which grew out of this which Lincoln had in mind when, in his Second Inaugural, he confessed that, at the war's start, no man expected it to bring "a result so fundamental and astounding." The war became greater than the men who started it intended, and this proclamation was the instrument of its change.

When the war began, both the President and the Congress agreed that the Federal Government was fighting solely for reunion. Slavery was not an issue, and the Government would in no way interfere with it. Its ultimate fate would remain, as always, with the individual states.

Yet slavery obviously lay at the bottom of all the trouble. The Southern states would never have seceded if they had not considered Lincoln's election an intolerable threat to the "peculiar institution" on which Southern society rested. They were fighting for their independence, but they would not be doing it if it had not been for slavery; if the Federal Government was not fighting to abolish slavery, the war nevertheless was *about* slavery.

Furthermore, before the war had gone very far, Union soldiers and the Federal Government alike realized that the whole Southern war effort was supported by slavery. Slave labor raised the cotton with which the Confederacy bought munitions and other supplies abroad, raised much of the food the Confederate soldiers ate, played an important part in war production and built most of the fortifications which guarded Southern seaports. It was extremely hard to wage an effective war on the Confederacy without at the same time hitting slavery.

Union armies which invaded the South confiscated or destroyed property that helped their foes — baled cotton, railroad tracks, factories, stores of food, and the like. Precisely because the slave was admitted to be property, it seemed logical to remove him from his secessionist owners; quite early in the war Maj. Gen. Ben Butler announced that slaves who fled from Confederate masters were "contraband of war" and could be confiscated like other contraband, and the War Department accepted his view.

Nevertheless, the official line remained unchanged for nearly a year and a half: the Federal Government was not fighting to free the slaves. This was partly because President Lincoln and most other Republican

leaders — including as devoted a foe of slavery as Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase — believed that the Government had no constitutional right to interfere with slavery, and partly because some very important slave states remained in the Union and contributed powerfully to the war effort. These were the vital "border states" — Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware and Missouri. A majority in these states would fight for the Union, but almost certainly would not care to fight to destroy slavery. In addition, the Northern Democrats, who were numerous and influential and whose continued support was essential, had no use at all for abolitionist doctrines.

THUS THE WHOLE AIM OF LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION was to "put down the rebellion" and restore the country precisely to the condition it had in 1860. In the fall of 1861, Lincoln told Congress he was extremely anxious to keep the war from turning into "a remorseless revolutionary struggle." If he could have won the war in the spring or early summer of 1862, the revolutionary slavery issue would have remained submerged, presumably to be disposed of through leisurely postwar discussion.

The trouble was that the war was not won so soon.

In the middle of the spring of 1862, it looked as if it might be. Federal armies held New Orleans, largest city in the South, had driven the Confederates out of Kentucky and Missouri, held western Tennessee, northern Arkansas and an important strip of northern Alabama and Mississippi. The Mississippi River was open all the way down to Vicksburg; the Carolina coast had been largely sealed, half of Virginia had been overrun, and a large Federal army led by Gen. George B. McClellan was at the gates of Richmond. Final victory looked very near.

Then the military picture changed abruptly and disastrously. In both the East and the West, Union armies missed their opportunities and lost the initiative.

The chance to open the Mississippi was muffed. A Union army which had been planning to enter eastern Tennessee was badly outmaneuvered by the Confederate Gen. Braxton Bragg, who marched boldly off to invade Kentucky and compelled the Union Gen. Don Carlos Buell to follow in fruitless pursuit. In the East, Robert E. Lee roundly defeated McClellan and began a counter-offensive which presently transferred the seat of the war all the way to the upper Potomac. The Confederacy, which had been so near defeat, now began to look like a winner, and there was grave danger that Great Britain would recognize it and would provide the help that would insure Southern independence.

THUS, THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION had to recast all of its ideas. Obviously, ordinary military reverses were not going to make the Confederacy quit; it had had plenty of them and it had bounced back to turn the war upside down. The Confederacy would not quit until it had been made incapable of fighting any longer; if the Civil War were to be

won by the North, it would have to be total war, as that term was understood in the nineteenth century.

In other words, the Federal Government would have to destroy slavery in order to destroy the Confederacy.

Congress pointed the way. On July 12, it passed a new confiscation act, providing sterner penalties for secession and saying flatly that slaves who escaped from, or were captured from, masters engaged in rebellion "shall be forever free of their servitude and not again be held as slaves." To meet the objection that Congress legally had no power to do anything at all about slavery, there was a proviso stating that such slaves were war captives and hence the property of the Government — which, of course, could dispose of its own property in any way it chose.



Governor Rockefeller shows thoughtful interest as Francis Keally, famed architect, explains shrine model displayed publicly for first time at Emancipation centennial program in New York City. Five months previously, Governor signed measure for planning permanent shrine.

THIS WAS NOT EXACTLY EMANCIPATION, but it was a significant step in that direction.

Abraham Lincoln needed no prodding. His determination to do whatever needed to be done to win the war was unabated. He warned one correspondent: "It may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed." He pleaded vainly with Senators and Congressmen from the border states to support compensated emancipation, a plan under which the Federal Government would reimburse, at the rate of \$400 a head, any state which would adopt a program of gradual emancipation. And he spent a good deal of time in a little War Department office which he used as a hide-away, writing a sentence or two, meditating on what he had written, putting the result in a desk drawer and then returning a day or two later to write a bit more. Here, a line at a time, the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation took form.

Lincoln presented his draft to the Cabinet on July 22, saying that he did not exactly want anybody's advice because he had already made up his mind about the course he was taking, but adding that he would be glad to listen to any comments. Then he read the draft.

It began as a simple recital of the fact that Congress had passed a new confiscation act, and it warned people affected by that act to take note of it and be guided accordingly. It served notice that at the next session of Congress the President would again push the compensated emancipation idea, and it went on to say that the sole purpose of the war remained what it had always been — to restore and maintain "the constitutional relation between the United States, and each of the states, and the people thereof, in which states that relation is, or may be suspended or disturbed."

Then came the meat of it:

"That on the first day of January in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

THE CABINET WAS JUST A LITTLE TAKEN ABACK, but it was receptive. Postmaster General Montgomery Blair warned that such a document might cost the Republican party the fall elections, and Secretary Chase feared that it might lead to bloody slave uprisings, but in the main the Cabinet voiced warm support. Secretary of State William H. Seward did have a word of caution: The war had been going badly of late and, if this proclamation came out now, it might sound as if the Government were asking the slaves for help rather than offering its help to them. Lincoln saw the point at once. The proclamation could not be issued until some Federal army had won a victory. Until then it would lie in a pigeonhole.

BY ONE OF THE GREAT IRONIES OF THE WAR, the essential victory was at last provided by a soldier who had no sympathy at all with the Emancipation Proclamation and would undoubtedly have been glad to have it stay in its pigeonhole forever — General McClellan, a strong anti-abolitionist and in private life a conservative Democrat who detested most of the Republican leaders and had very little regard for President Lincoln himself.

After brilliant maneuvers had compelled the withdrawal of McClellan's army from the James River and had beaten a second Federal army that tried to advance on Richmond overland, General Lee took his army to northern Virginia and, early in September, crossed the Potomac into Maryland bound on an invasion of the North. McClellan followed him and brought him to battle on Sept. 17, on the hills overlooking Antietam Creek, on the edge of Sharpsburg, Maryland.

This was the bloodiest single day's fight of the entire war, costing McClellan 13,000 casualties and Lee more than 10,000 and, although it was tactically a draw, it was a definite strategic victory for the Union. Compelled to abandon his plan of invasion, Lee retreated into Virginia — and Lincoln, seizing the opportunity, issued the preliminary proclamation.

He appears to have spent Sunday, Sept. 21, writing a new draft, working from the first draft he had put together earlier in the summer. On Monday, Sept. 22, he called the Cabinet together, read the revised draft, accepted one or two minor corrections in phrasing, and then signed the document and had it published. It appeared in the press on the following day.

The profound effects which the proclamation ultimately had were not visible at once; indeed, the immediate effect seemed to be unfavorable to the Union cause.

THE CONFEDERATES WERE AROUSED to a new grimness. It seemed to them that the proclamation was nothing better than an attempt to excite a slave insurrection; it confirmed all their worst suspicions about the "black Republicans," and Jefferson Davis called on the South to resist to the death.

In the North, the Republicans met a sharp setback in the fall elections, retaining a working majority in Congress by the narrowest of margins. Simple war-weariness was no doubt a factor here, and so was the political axiom that the party in power always suffers a decline in the mid-term Congressional elections, but the proclamation undoubtedly offended many Democrats and cost the Administration a substantial number of votes.

Over the long pull, however, the proclamation had decisive importance.

It changed the climate of the war, broadening its objectives and giving the Northern people reason to feel that the terrible sacrifices exacted by battles like Antietam would finally be justified. After all, a majority of



Rear view of Emancipation Proclamation shrine will focus attention on Edwin Markham's noble ode "Lincoln, the Man of the People" inscribed on red granite, poem will be surmounted by insculpture of wilderness cabin recalling the humble birth of Lincoln.

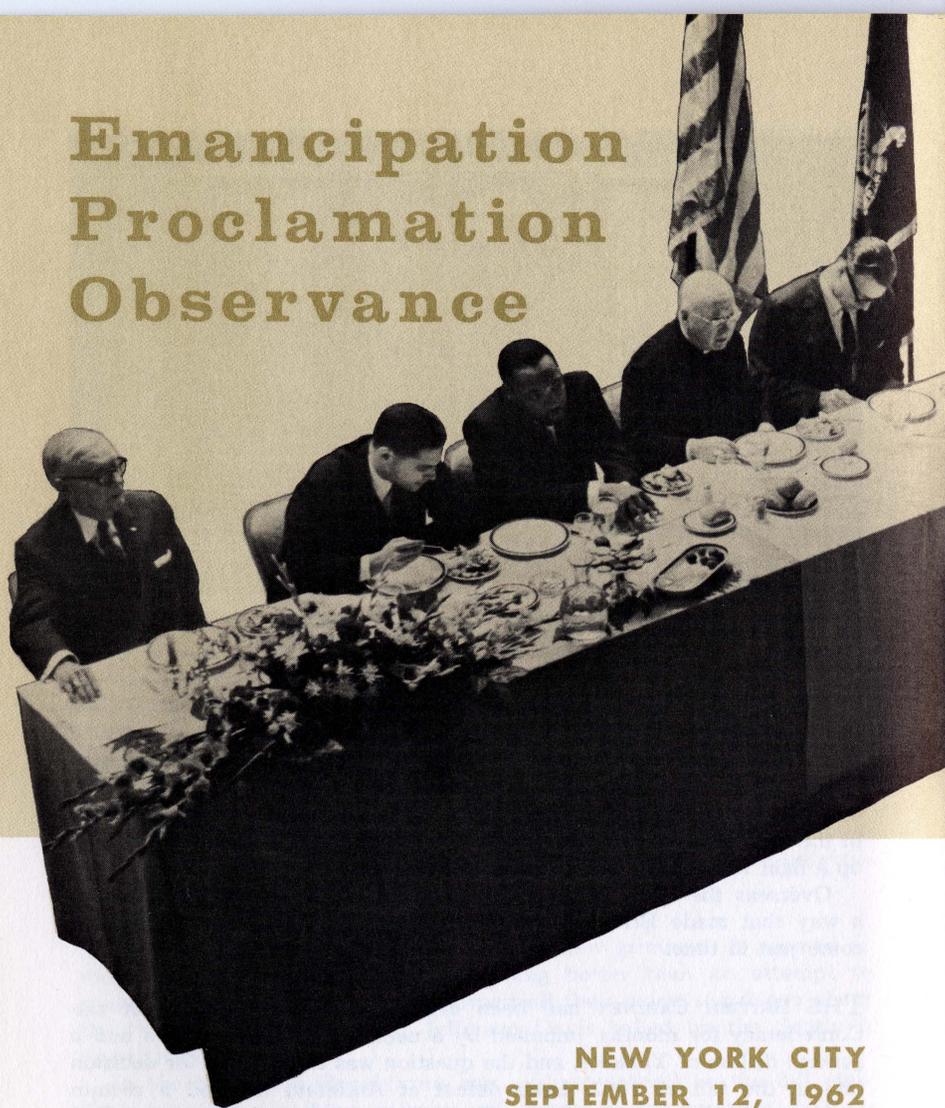
Northerners — the majority that had elected Lincoln in 1860 — had deep anti-slavery convictions. This majority had been willing to tread softly as a matter of tactics; it had agreed that the central Government could not lawfully interfere with slavery in peacetime; but, in a showdown, it would support emancipation with everything it had. It might, in the end, have given up a fight solely for reunion; it would never give up a fight for reunion and for human freedom.

Overseas the effect was equally profound. The war had changed in a way that made British intervention impossible, and the change had come just in time.

THE BRITISH CABINET had been drifting toward recognition of the Confederacy for months, impelled by a need for Southern cotton and a general dislike of Yankees, and the question was to come up for decision late in the fall of 1862. Lee's defeat at Antietam induced a certain caution; and then, suddenly, the Emancipation Proclamation persuaded the British public that this American war was not a simple attempt to keep certain states from having their independence but was a war to end slavery. Once that idea took hold, no British cabinet could recognize the Confederacy.

It was a different war, once the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. The words which ordained freedom for those who had been slaves could not be recalled once they had been spoken. They would go on and on, generation after generation, broadening the nation's ideals and changing its life — then, thenceforward and forever.

Emancipation Proclamation Observance



**NEW YORK CITY
SEPTEMBER 12, 1962**

Spiritual, educational, business and entertainment leaders joined with Governor Rockefeller to commemorate centennial of President Lincoln's immortal Emancipation Proclamation. Owned by State, priceless original document written in Lincoln's hand and shown in front of lectern, was a feature of NYCWCC program. At head table were Dr. Harlan Hoyt Horner, Chairman, Shrine Planning Committee; Rabbi Ronald Bernard Sobel, of Temple Emanu-El, New York City; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Francis Cardinal Spellman; Governor Rockefeller; Carl Haverlin, Secretary of NYCWCC; Jackie Robinson; Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., NYS Commissioner of Education; Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Editor, Christian Herald, and Miss Shirley Verett-Carter, concert artist. On following pages are remarks of principal speakers: Governor Rockefeller, Dr. King and Dr. Allen.



An Educator speaks . . .

One of the nation's leading educators has praised the plan to enshrine President Lincoln's original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation at the gateway to the State Library in Albany, "where the child, the parent, the scholar and the statesman may see it . . . and be inspired by the ideals it sets forth." Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., president, University of the State of New York and Commissioner of Education, speaking at the Emancipation Proclamation Centennial observance in New York, said:

IT is fitting that the shrine for the Emancipation Proclamation should be in a building dedicated to education. The words of great men in great causes are most valuable tools for the educator.

We look to education for the understanding and preservation of human freedom. When we have enshrined this document in a permanent, imperishable home where it will always be accessible to the American citizen, indeed to citizens of all the world, we shall have given to education a powerful asset in its efforts to transmit the ideals of freedom to coming generations.

The great value of this document is that it serves as a tangible reminder of the ideals which inspired and motivated Abraham Lincoln. Set forth in his own handwriting, the convictions he expressed have an aliveness, a power which cannot but help to create in the viewer a sense of urgency for their continuance.

A proclamation could not, of course, solve all the problems which had been generated by centuries of human slavery. We have inherited from that era patterns of social discrimination which rise again and again to plague the educator — and all in our society who share a concern for human welfare.

One hundred years after the Proclamation, we find ourselves still far, far short of the goals of freedom and equality therein envisioned. Our goal in education in New York State is to provide each of the more than 4,000,000 boys and girls of school and college age with an equal opportunity for a good education.

Many conditions now limit the attainment of this goal. One of these conditions is the existence of segregated and non-integrated schools. Studies have indicated that minority group children in such schools, especially Negro children, are educationally disadvantaged. Thousands more are educationally handicapped by the effects of low socio-economic conditions and detrimental home backgrounds.

The Regents and the Education Department, with the support of the Governor and the Legislature, are intensifying our efforts to bring about the conditions in our schools and colleges which not only eliminate the barriers but extend and improve the opportunities for all of our young people.

It is my hope, and I am sure, the hope of all who now honor the Emancipation Proclamation Centennial, that this manuscript, this great landmark of freedom, on exhibition for all to see, will remind the viewers of the precious heritage of freedom in America which this document symbolizes; that it will inspire all of our citizens to accept individual responsibility for this freedom; that seeing this proclamation of equality and freedom in a building dedicated to education, the people will better understand the need, the urgency of the efforts we are making to ensure the equality of educational opportunity for all.

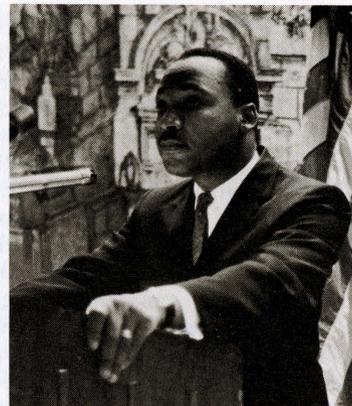
We can do no greater honor to the Centennial of the Emancipation than to dedicate ourselves to the determination that the celebration of the Bi-Centennial . . . a hundred years hence . . . will see, long established, in full measure, the goals of equality of opportunity for which we are now striving.

Martin Luther King speaks . . .

"Mankind through the ages has been in a ceaseless struggle to give dignity and meaning to human life." With these words the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., of Atlanta, Ga., who has forged to the front as an integration leader of international prominence, began his memor-

able Emancipation Proclamation Centennial address. A condensation of his talk follows:

IF our nation had done nothing more in its whole history than to create just two documents, its contribution to civilization would be imperishable. The first of these documents is the Declaration of Independence and the other is that which we are here to honor tonight, the Emancipation Proclamation. All tyrants, past, present and future, are powerless to bury the truths in these declarations, no matter how extensive their legions, how vast their power and how malignant their evil.



Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Declaration of Independence proclaimed to a world, organized politically and spiritually around the concept of the *inequality* of man, that the dignity of human personality was inherent in man as a living being. The Emancipation Proclamation was the offspring of the Declaration of Independence. It was a constructive use of the force of law to uproot a social order which sought to separate liberty from a segment of humanity.

Our pride and progress could be unqualified if the story might end here. But history reveals that America has been a schizophrenic personality where these two documents are concerned. On the one hand she has proudly professed the basic principles inherent in both documents. On the other hand she has sadly practiced the antithesis of these principles.

If we look at our history with honesty and clarity we will be forced to admit that our Federal form of government has been, from the day of its birth, weakened in its integrity, confused and confounded in its direction, by the unresolved race question. We seldom take note or give adequate significance to the fact that Thomas Jefferson's text of the Declaration of Independence was revised by the Continental Congress to eliminate a justifiable attack on King George for encouraging slave trade. . . . Jefferson knew that such compromises with principle struck at the heart of the nation's security and integrity. In 1820, six years before his death, he wrote these melancholy words:

"But this momentous question (slavery), like a fire bell in the night awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. I regret that I am now to die in the belief that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776 to acquire self-government and happiness to their country is to be thrown away, and my only consolation is to be that I live not to weep over it."

The sombre picture (of the condition of the American Negro today) may induce the sober thought that there is nothing to commemorate about the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. But tragic disappointments and undeserved defeats do not put an end to life, nor do they wipe out the positive, however submerged it may have become beneath floods of negative experience.

The Emancipation Proclamation had four enduring results. First, it gave force to the executive power to change conditions in the national interest on a broad and far-reaching scale. Second, it dealt a devastating blow to the system of slaveholding and an economy built upon it, which had been muscular enough to engage in warfare on the Federal government. Third, it enabled the Negro to play a significant role in his own liberation with the ability to organize and to struggle, with less of the bestial retaliation his slave status had permitted to his masters. Fourth, it resurrected and restated the principle of equality upon which the founding of the nation rested.

When Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation it was not the act of an opportunistic politician issuing a hollow pronouncement to placate a pressure group.

Our truly great presidents were tortured deep in their hearts by the race question. Jefferson with keen perception saw that the festering sore of slavery debilitated white masters as well as the Negro. He feared for the future of white children who were taught a false supremacy. His concern can be summed up in one quotation, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just."

Lincoln's torments are well known, his vacillations were facts. In the seething cauldron of '62 and '63 Lincoln was called the "Baboon President" in the North, and "coward", "assassin" and "savage" in the South. Yet he searched his way to the conclusions embodied in these words, "In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve." On this moral foundation he personally prepared the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, and to emphasize the decisiveness of his course he called his cabinet together and declared he was not seeking their advice as to its wisdom but only suggestions on subject matter. Lincoln achieved immortality because he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. His hesitation had not stayed his hand when historic necessity charted but one course. No President can be great, or even fit for office, if he attempts to accommodate to injustice to maintain his political balance.

The Emancipation Proclamation shattered in one blow the slave system, undermining the foundations of the economy of the rebellious South; and guaranteed that no slave-holding class, if permitted to exist in defeat, could prepare a new and deadlier war after resuscitation.

The Proclamation opened the door to self-liberation by the Negro upon which he immediately acted by deserting the plantations in the South and joining the Union armies in the North. Henry Wadsworth

Longfellow, seeing a regiment of Negroes march through Beacon Street in Boston, wrote in his diary, "An imposing sight, with something wild and strange about it, like a dream. At last the North consents to let the Negro fight for freedom." Beyond the war years the grim and tortured struggle of Negroes to win their own freedom is an epic of battle against frightful odds. If we have failed to do enough, it was not the will for freedom that was weak, but the forces against us which were too strong.

We have spelled out a balance sheet of the Emancipation Proclamation, its contributions and its deficiencies which our lack of zeal permitted to find expression.

There is but one way to commemorate the Emancipation Proclamation. That is to make its declarations of freedom real; to reach back to the origins of our nation when our message of equality electrified an unfree world, and reaffirm democracy by deeds as bold and daring as the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation.

* * * * *

The Negro will never cease his struggle to commemorate the Emancipation Proclamation by making his emancipation real. If enough Americans in numbers and influence join him, the nation we both labored to build may yet realize its glorious dream.

There is too much greatness in our heritage to tolerate the pettiness of race hate. The Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation deserve to live in sacred honor; many generations of Americans suffered, bled and died, confident that those who followed them would preserve the purity of our ideals. Negroes have declared they will die if need be for these freedoms. All Americans must enlist in a crusade finally to make the race question an ugly relic of a dark past. When that day dawns, the Emancipation Proclamation will truly be commemorated in luminous glory.

There is something in this universe that justifies Carlisle in saying, "No lie can live forever." There is something in this universe that justifies William Cullen Bryant saying, "Truth crushed to earth will rise again." This is the faith that will carry us on. And with this faith we will be able to adjourn the councils of despair, and bring new light into the dark chambers of pessimism. We will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. This is the faith that will help us solve the problem. We have a long, long way to go before it is solved. But all of us can at least think of the fact that we have made some strides.

I close by quoting the words of an old Negro slave preacher who didn't quite have his grammar right but uttered words of solemn profundity, in the form of a prayer:

"Lord, we ain't what we oughta be. We ain't what we want to be. We ain't what we goin' to be. But, thank God, we ain't what we wuz."



Contributing eloquently to NYCWCC program commemorating Emancipation were Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., noted integration leader, and Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, who stressed New York's civil rights progress and aims.

Governor Rockefeller speaks . . .

The centennial of Emancipation calls for more than celebration — it demands new action today. In his message at the New York dinner, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller spelled out what has to be done in the field of civil rights to fulfill Lincoln's pledge of human freedom.

THIS is at once a happy occasion, an occasion tinged with sadness, and above all an occasion for profound rededication. This is a happy event in that it marks the 100th anniversary of a great American document of human freedom.

We observe the passage of a century since the stroke of a Presidential pen proclaimed the doom of human slavery in this nation. It celebrates the beginning of a new era of progress in human affairs that has occurred since the Emancipation Proclamation was issued.

That this progress has been considerable cannot be denied . . . and this is most especially true of recent years. But that this progress has been imperfect, has been far from complete, is yet a far cry from achieving our spiritual heritage as a people, is still a long way from making human freedom a living reality for every American, is equally incapable of denial.

And here, plainly, is why this occasion engenders a profound regret as well as a spirit of elation . . . why it must inspire a spirit of rededication to the full meaning of this historic document . . . why it demands new action today in the spirit of the man who set his name to this pledge of human freedom, Abraham Lincoln.

We know that eight years have passed since the Supreme Court of the United States decreed an end to segregation in the public schools. We know that progress toward fulfillment of this historic decision, though occurring steadily, has yet been painfully slow, in places vehemently resisted, and in some places has still not occurred at all. We know that when the further progress of school integration this fall was most notable for the fact that this time it occurred without violence or public disturbance, then we also know that we yet have a long way to go.

We know, too, that five years have elapsed from passage of the first federal civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, that some additional civil rights legislation has since been passed and much more has been promised, but that the federal government itself still permits discrimination in federally-assisted housing and in other ways where not banned by state law.

We know among the states that many still discriminate and segregate by statute as well as by custom, that New York State's pioneering in the field of civil rights legislation, although outstanding among all the states, covers only the last seventeen years of the century since Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation. And we know that the full meaning of this Proclamation of Lincoln's will not come to pass until these failures to fulfill Lincoln's spirit, Lincoln's meaning to the course of human events in this Nation, have been corrected by deeds as well as by words.

Thus we cannot observe this historic anniversary without mixed feelings . . . not until:

. . . EVERY AMERICAN IS ABSOLUTELY GUARANTEED THE RIGHT TO VOTE;

. . . ALL AMERICANS HAVE EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES;

. . . ALL AMERICANS ENJOY EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES;

. . . EVERY AMERICAN IS ABLE TO LIVE WHERE HIS HEART DESIRES AND HIS MEANS PERMIT;

. . . EVERY AMERICAN HAS EQUAL OPPORTUNITY OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT AND EQUAL ACCESS TO PUBLIC FACILITIES.

This is the shape of the great unfinished business before the American people. This is the outline and these are the objectives of the great social revolution of our times that is now occurring among us.

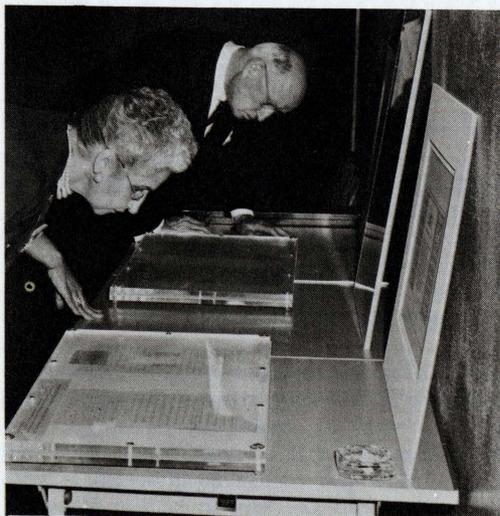
We are fortunate and we are honored that an inspiring symbol and a front-line leader of this profound social change in America is with us tonight in the person of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

And America is fortunate indeed that this man who symbolizes to his people the march toward full emancipation is a man of such dignity and inner resources, such unswerving dedication to non-violence, such belief in the triumph of the spiritual over the material, such faith in the ultimate victory of human nobility over human hatred. With leadership such as his, the emancipation proclaimed in this document shall indeed come to pass, for he is armed with the greatest power known to man — the power of love. No man's inner resources have been tested more severely than those of Dr. King.

But not even such outrages as the burning of churches used to help Negroes exercise their voting privileges as Americans, nor shots fired in the night, nor personal assault and other deliberate affronts to personal dignity, can stay the progress toward justice for all Americans of which Dr. King is in the vanguard. While his foes are determined, his friends are many . . . and Dr. King is among many of those friends tonight.

We in New York are proud of the progress we have been making toward giving more complete meaning to this Proclamation. We are proud that our two United States Senators led the successful struggle, just completed, to triumph over all obstructionism and win Senate confirmation of Judge Thurgood Marshall . . . for this is a symbol of our attitude toward all such matters in this field.

But our pride can only be tempered by comparison with Dr. King's example under far greater difficulties. It is therefore most appropriate that as we hail this anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, we have with us in Dr. King the best possible inspiration for doing everything we can to give this document total validity for every American.



Wherever shown, Lincoln's handwritten draft of Emancipation document elicits intense interest. Here it is examined by James A. Farley, former Postmaster General, and Mrs. Whitney North Seymour, of New York City.

Prayers For Freedom

COME into the midst of us, Almighty God, Lord of all nations and Father of all men, as we gather this evening to honor our great President and Patriot, Abraham Lincoln, and to commemorate the Centenary of his immortal charter of liberty.

Humbly we thank Thee that in our Nation's hour of peril Thou didst give us a leader to proclaim courageously the inherent dignity of man as Thy child and as our brother.

Grant unto us a loving reverence for the God-given rights of others, and may our lives each day proclaim in deed the freedom and equality of all.

May our beloved Nation, under Thee, remain ever free and undivided, with malice toward none and charity for all. Amen.

*Francis Cardinal Spellman
Archbishop of New York*



COME and let us reason together about this matter. This was the tone of Abraham Lincoln's addresses to the American people. He was a champion of freedom, a man who assumed that the Democracy can think. Mr. Lincoln was not in the habit of saying, This is my opinion or my theory, but rather, This is the conclusion to which in my judgment the time has come, and to which accordingly the sooner we come the better for us. His policy was a policy of public opinion, based on adequate discussion and on the timely recognition of contemporary history as it forged the horizon of tomorrow. Almighty and all merciful God, grant unto us the strength that we might reason together. Fervently we raise our voices in prayer that the day may soon come when bigotry and prejudice shall give way to purity and goodness. May all of mankind come to recognize that indeed they are brethren. And may we, one in spirit and one in fellowship, be forever united before Thee. Then shall Thy kingdom be established on earth, O God, and man will have learned to live in peace. Amen.

*Rabbi Ronald Bernard Sobel
Temple Emanu-El, New York*

GOD of our fathers, and our God, we thank Thee for this great freedom, and we pray that here and now there may come in us and in our great land, Thy kingdom of the spirit as it is with Thee always and forever. To this end, may we understand clearly, as did that great one, Abraham Lincoln, that freedom cannot at last survive divided . . . that it must be for all if it is to be at all. The Lord bless you and keep you, the Lord make His face shine upon you and be gracious unto you, the Lord lift up the light of His countenance upon you and give you peace with justice and with power. Amen.

*The Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling
Editor, The Christian Herald*



SEPTEMBER 22, 1962:

Nation Hails Lincoln

ENE HUNDRED YEARS TO THE DAY after Abraham Lincoln issued the preliminary draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, President Kennedy called on the Nation to move closer to the goal of individual freedom embodied in that document.

President Kennedy's message climaxed ceremonies that drew an overflow crowd of 3,000 observing the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington on September 22.

Lincoln's original draft of the Proclamation, owned by the State of New York, was presented by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller to Allan Nevins, chairman of the Civil War Centennial Commission, main sponsor of the Lincoln Memorial program. The occasion marked the first time in nearly a century that this historic "Magna Carta of human freedom" was returned to the national capital since the Civil War president issued it. It will remain in Washington for a month-long display at the Library of Congress before being returned to New York State.

In making the loan presentation, Governor Rockefeller called on all Americans to rededicate themselves to the determination to bring about racial equality in this country.

United Nations Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, in a major address, spoke of racial strife in the United States and an increasing Communist hold on Cuba, and called individual freedom the "great unfinished business of the world today." He urged his hearers not to accept the "cloudy rhetoric" that depicts the United States as the untarnished champion of freedom, and said: "Our defense of freedom will be all the stronger for being based not on illusions but upon the truth about ourselves and our world."

President Kennedy was not present, but his pre-recorded message, with other parts of the program, was carried nationwide by the television facilities of CBS and NBC (and later beamed to the world by Telstar). He stressed that the centennial observance of the proclamation that freed the slaves should be regarded not as an end, but a beginning. "Much remains to be done to eradicate the vestiges of discrimination and segregation," he said, "to make equal rights a reality for all our people, to fulfill finally the Declaration of Independence."

Other participants included Federal Judge Thurgood Marshall; Archibald MacLeish, former Librarian of Congress, who read a poem he wrote especially for the centennial; and Composer Ulysses Kay, whose commissioned work, "Forever Free: A Lincoln Chronicle", was given its premiere performance by the Marine Corps Band. Mahalia Jackson stirred the gathering with the spiritual quality of her singing, for which she is noted.

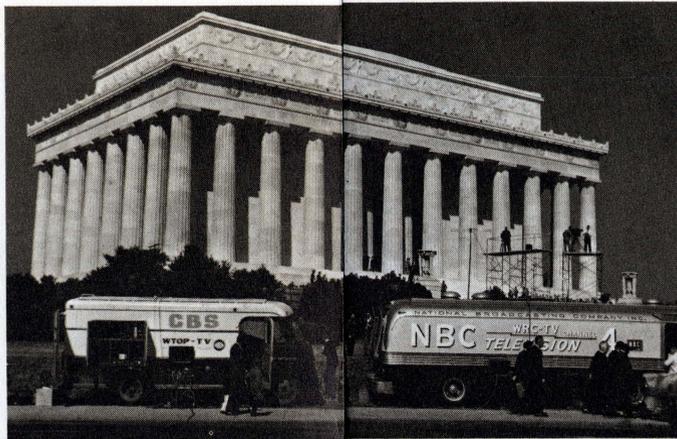


Chairman Allan Nevins of National CWCC introduces Governor Rockefeller, who termed Lincoln draft of Emancipation (held by Army guard) New York State's "most treasured possession".

In the throng that sat and stood entranced as the program unfolded in front of the sun-drenched white marble memorial to Lincoln, were members of the Planning Committee who have worked since last spring to develop a shrine for the display and preservation of the original Emancipation Proclamation, in Lincoln's own handwriting, in Albany. The day previously, they completed their task at a meeting convened in Washington, when their chairman, Dr. Harlan Hoyt Horner, announced acceptance of the shrine design shown on Page 2.

Within that door
 A man sits or the image of a man
 Staring at stillness on a marble floor.
 No drum distracts him nor no trumpet can
 Although he hears the trumpet and the drum.
 He listens for the time to come.

Archibald MacLeish



News Center of the World . . . September 22, 1962

This dramatic photo captures feeling of all who journey to Washington to see world-famed sculpture of Lincoln "staring . . . on a marble floor." Visibly moved by the "image of a man" are Rep. Fred Schwengel, Iowa, Vice Chairman, National CWCC, and New Yorkers Carl Haverlin, Elmer Carter, Senator Kenneth Keating, Bruce Catton, Governor Rockefeller and Hubert Delaney.

They came from all walks of life to see and read "greatest document penned by mortal man." Within seconds after Lincoln's original draft was exhibited in Washington for first time, Americans lined up four and six abreast to see instrument that became the law of the land.



A small boy gets the eye of Mahalia Jackson as she and singer William Warfield chat with Robert Kennedy.

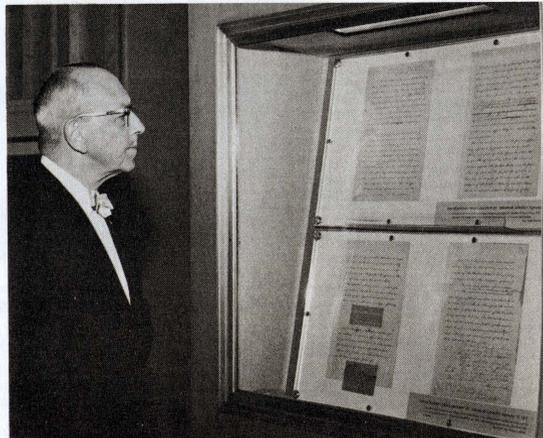


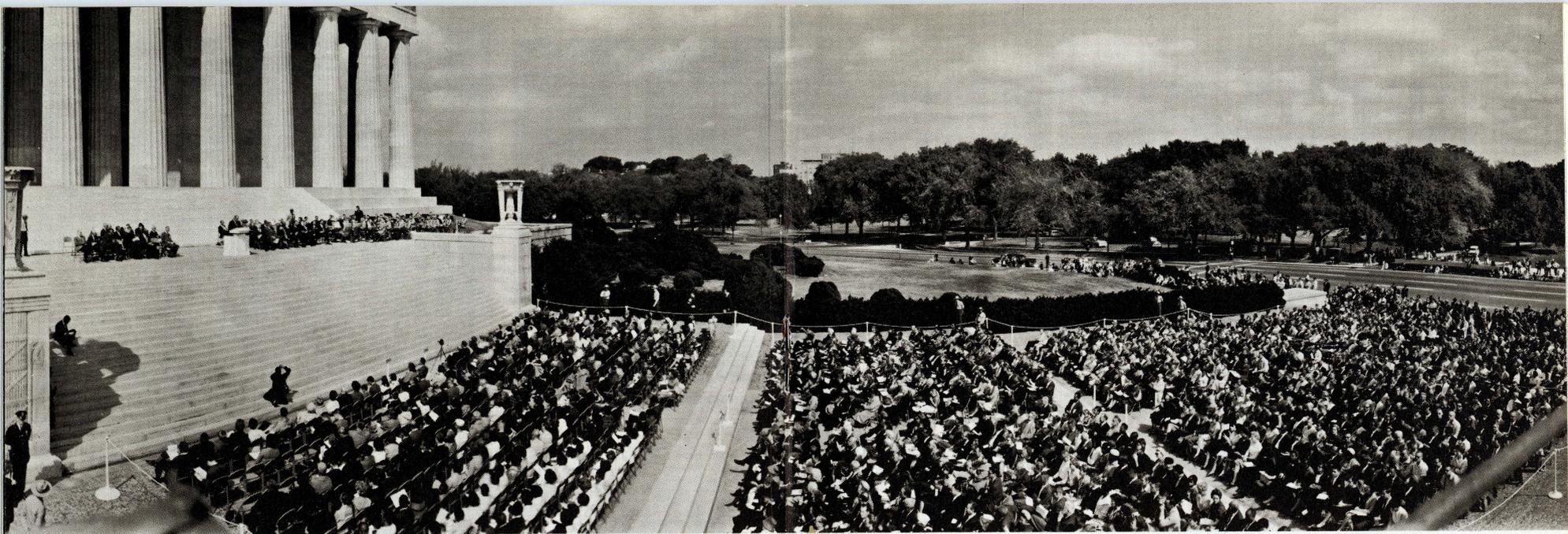
Photo by City News Bureau, Washington
 Lincoln proclamation on loan to Library of Congress is studied by its Lincoln expert, Dr. David Mearns.



Photo by Hy Reiter
 Mahalia Jackson and Composer Ulysses Kay flank Carl Haverlin who congratulates them on their music.



UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, main speaker, gets warm greeting from Governor Rockefeller.



Capitol Photo Service, Inc., Washington, D.C.

This sweeping panoramic view captures solemnity and magnitude of ceremonies marking hundredth anniversary of Emancipation, at Lincoln Memorial in Washington. United Nations Ambassador Adlai Stevenson here told crowd of 3,000 that overflowed into street, and millions more by television and radio, that human freedom is the great unfinished business of the world today.

'God Give Us the Love, The Courage, The Understanding...'

Here in this hallowed place, we meet today in the spirit of our founding fathers who in this great nation created man's supreme expression of the Judeo-Christian heritage dedicated to the worth and dignity of each and every individual.

How fortunate we are as Americans to live in a nation blessed with this spiritual heritage!

For this nation lives by a concept that is not racist, not nationalistic, but universal, and is dedicated to the Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of God.

Abraham Lincoln gave meaning to this spiritual concept in the Emancipation Proclamation whose 100th anniversary we celebrate here today. It is an historic milestone along the road to the ultimate fulfillment of this spiritual heritage.

The State of New York is proud indeed to make available for exhibit here in our nation's capital the original draft of that Proclamation, in Lincoln's own hand. It is our State's most treasured possession.

The very existence of this document stirs our conscience with the knowledge that Lincoln's vision of a nation truly fulfilling its spiritual heritage is not yet achieved.

May this occasion therefore be one to inspire us all, as Americans, to rededicate ourselves — that we shall make a living reality of the basic belief in the worth and dignity of the individual and the right of each to full and equal opportunity in sharing the American dream.

May God give us the love, the courage, the understanding to see in perspective ourselves and the times in which we live — and to make the faith that lies behind this Proclamation truly live for all men in all places of our land.

— GOVERNOR NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

THE COLONEL DIED WITH HIS MEN...



Led by Shaw, Negro Troops Proved Courageous And Reliable Under Fire

By REV. RICHARD K. MacMASTER, S.J.

Col. Robert Gould Shaw commanded first Negro regiment (54th Massachusetts) from the North. Source of this rare wartime photograph of him is a memorial volume presented by his mother to the State Library of Massachusetts in 1897.

ON JULY 15, 1863, THE DRAFT RIOT was raging in New York City. Negroes fled from howling mobs who had already left the Colored Orphan Asylum a smoking ruin and butchered hundreds of innocent victims in the streets.

Over on Staten Island, friends brought word to Francis G. Shaw that a mob had gathered in West New Brighton and would soon be on its way to burn his house. The home of the founder of the National Freedmen's Relief Association was a natural target for the rioters. Shaw had only time to send his wife and daughters to a place of safety. By the 18th of July some of the family were staying with relatives in Westchester County, while others were with Mrs. Shaw's brother in Roxbury, Massachusetts. Shaw and his son-in-law George W. Curtis kept up an armed patrol with their neighbors for several days, but the rumored attack was never made.

While his family were fleeing into the night from their Staten Island home, Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and the Negro soldiers of his 54th Massachusetts regiment were at James Island, South Carolina, under Confederate fire for the first time. In the early morning hours of the 16th of July, after sporadic firing all night, their pickets were driven in and forced to fall back on the main body. A company commanded by 18-year-old Captain Cabot Jackson Russel of New York City "was entirely cut off and driven into a marsh, where they were slaughtered, but fought like demons." The 54th rallied and drove the Confederates back, but with heavy losses.

After dark on the night of the 16th, the Union forces evacuated James Island and prepared for their attack on the Confederate stronghold at Fort Wagner on Morris Island. Colonel Shaw's 54th led the advance, marching single file through a driving rain. They lay in the open, with no rations except hardtack and coffee, through the following day and night, waiting for the rain to subside and the order for the attack to be given.

The coming battle meant a great deal to Colonel Shaw and every man in the regiment. It would prove to the people of the United States that Negro soldiers would fight as well and as bravely for their country as any other Americans. Shaw's letters to his wife and family repeated these ideas over and over again. "I want to get my men alongside of white troops, and into a good fight . . . to have their worth properly acknowledged."

As night was falling on the 18th, the order was finally given to advance. About six hundred yards from Fort Wagner the 54th Massachusetts formed in line of battle, with Shaw at the head of the first battalion. It was to be a night assault and the 54th was to lead the attack. When Shaw's men were about one hundred yards from the fort, the Confederates opened fire with devastating effect. For a moment, the first battalion wavered. Then Shaw dashed forward, waving his sword, and with a shout the 54th surged forward again. They fought their way over the ditch and parapet. "Colonel Shaw was one of the first to scale the walls. He stood erect to urge forward his men, and while shouting for them to press on, was shot dead and fell into the fort."

The attack on Fort Wagner was a shambles. The Rebel fire was withering. In the darkness no one could clearly tell friend from foe. The 6th Connecticut became confused and fired into the 54th. Losses were staggering and the assault was a failure. The heroism of Robert Gould Shaw and the officers and men of the 54th Massachusetts cannot disguise the harsh fact that they were slaughtered at Fort Wagner without gaining any appreciable military advantage.

A failure from a military point of view, the attack on Fort Wagner proved precisely what Colonel Shaw hoped it would prove. By their courage under enemy fire the men of the 54th showed that Negro troops were in no way inferior to other American soldiers. That was enough.

On July 30, 1863, President Lincoln issued General Orders No. 252. "It is the duty of every government to give protection to its citizens of whatever class, color, or condition, and especially to those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service." If the Rebels refused to recognize Negro soldiers as prisoners of war and sold them into slavery, he continued, the United States government would retaliate man for man.

Colonel Charles Russell Lowell wrote to his wife, a younger sister of Robert Gould Shaw, a few days later: "It is a satisfaction to think that the President's order is the result of your father's letter, — one immediate good out of Rob's death and out of the splendid conduct of his regiment."

This is the familiar story, almost an American legend — the gallant young colonel leading his regiment over the steep and slippery embankment to certain death; Lewis Douglass, the brilliant son of the Rochester editor, abolitionist and ex-slave, Frederick Douglass, snatching the national flag and planting it for one heroic moment on the parapet of Fort Wagner; the boy-officer Russel lying in his own blood and repeating "Move on, follow your colors, move on." It has been sung in the poetry of Lowell and a dozen others, and enshrined in the bronze of Saint-Gaudens. The man, Robert Gould Shaw, is less known.

He was born in the city of Boston on October 10, 1837, the only son of Francis George and Sarah (Sturgis) Shaw. His father was at the time employed in the office of his own father, Robert Gould Shaw, Sr., reputedly the wealthiest man in New England, whose ships all but monopolized Boston's Mediterranean trade. In 1840 Francis Shaw retired from active partnership and when young Robert was five years old purchased an extensive country estate in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, not far from Boston. The adjacent property was "Brook Farm" and Robert Gould Shaw's formative years were spent in the literary atmosphere of the famous experiment in communal living.

Francis Shaw was never a member of Brook Farm, but as an active exponent of Fourierist communism and a writer himself, he and his wife entered wholeheartedly into the life of the community and their children grew up there, studying the piano with John Wright, learning their letters at the school kept by Horace and Mary Peabody Mann and exposed, at least, to the round of concerts, lectures and readings at Brook Farm. From the first, the future colonel preferred horses to lectures.

Robert Gould Shaw was nine years old when the family moved again, this time to Staten Island. Contacts with Boston were by no means broken; there was a constant exchange of visits with their numerous relations, including Sturgis uncles who had shipped before the mast and spent their youths as company factors in Canton and Manila, cousin Francis Parkman and uncles Quincy and Coolidge Shaw, the latter a Catholic priest, who had traveled around the world with him. There were also games and parties on the lawn with the poor Irish children of the neighborhood, for Francis Shaw was a firm believer in social equality. And for Robert Gould Shaw, there was Mr. Marschalk's School and the rudiments of Latin grammar.

The boy was unhappy with Mr. Marschalk and in 1848 his father took him to the Jesuit Fathers at St. John's College, Fordham (now Fordham University), to be enrolled in the preparatory school. Robert Gould Shaw remained there as a boarding student until the family sailed for Europe in the spring of 1851.

The Shaws remained in Europe until 1855, but the children's education was not interrupted. The girls attended the Sacred Heart convent-school in Rome, while Robert after a few months of travel was sent to



Frank Vizetelly, prolific Civil War artist, sketched this scene of "Dead Negro Soldiers at Fort Wagner". Slaughter of troops extended over three fourths of a mile. Shaw, their colonel, was killed as he led charge up breastworks. The artist's rendering is owned by Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., through whose courtesy it is reproduced here.

a private academy in Neuchatel, Switzerland. He remained there until the summer vacation in 1853. He then spent about a year with his family in Florence. In July, 1854, when young Shaw was sixteen, his parents allowed him to go to Germany, while they remained in Italy. He studied for some months in Hanover, travelled with some student friends in Sweden and Norway in the spring and summer of 1855, then returned to Hanover, where he remained at his studies until May, 1856.

It was during these years in Europe that Robert Gould Shaw first began to show an interest in American slavery. His family, particularly their cousin John Murray Forbes of Boston, had associated themselves with the cause of abolition, and their European acquaintances were frequently critical of the "peculiar institution" in America, so it was a natural development. Robert Shaw was reading the newly-published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at his Swiss school in 1852 and a few months later wrote: "Have you heard anything about the new slave law in Illinois? I think it is much worse than that of 1850. Have you read the 'Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin'? It is a collection of all the facts she [Harriet

Beecher Stowe] drew her story from." As he grew older these references in his letters became more frequent and more mature.

When Robert Gould Shaw returned to his Staten Island home in 1856, the presidential campaign was under way and General John C. Fremont, the Republican candidate, was a frequent house guest. George W. Curtis, editor and Republican campaign orator, had married Shaw's older sister in 1855 and rented a neighboring house. In this atmosphere Shaw's interest in the political campaign was natural, but he was also preparing for his entrance examination for Harvard under the direction of Francis Channing Barlow, the future Major General, whom the Shaws had known since Brook Farm. General Barlow later married another of his sisters.

At Harvard Robert Gould Shaw debated in the Institute, rowed with the Pierian Boat Club, played football, invited his Forbes and Sturgis cousins and some of their friends to promenade-concerts and did most of the other things that make college enjoyable, but he was not a student. Like his father before him, Robert Shaw withdrew in his junior year and went to work in a business house in New York.

The firm he chose after leaving Harvard in 1859 was headed by B. R. Robbins, a transplanted Yankee who had begun his own career on Salem ships trading with India. A letter written in 1861 sums up Robert Shaw's business career: "Mr. Robbins said he thought I was mistaken in thinking I wasn't fitted for business, and that I had, as yet, had no chance to show what I could do; and also, that if I had more confidence in myself I should get along a good deal better."

In the 1860 campaign Shaw was firmly behind Lincoln. Like many anti-slavery Northerners, he had sometimes spoken and written in favor of dissolving the Union, if that were the only way to lift the curse of slavery, but as soon as the Southern states began to secede, he joined the 7th Regiment N.Y.S.M. and drilled twice a week at their armory.

When Sumter fell and the President called for volunteers to defend the Union, Shaw's regiment was one of the first to respond. The story of the 7th Regiment's dash to Washington has often been retold, most recently in William J. Roehrenbeck's *The Regiment That Saved the Capital*. Shaw marched down Broadway with the 7th, encumbered with gifts from Mr. Robbins and other friends. The riot in Baltimore on April 19th led to a change in route and left the 7th at Annapolis under the command of Ben Butler, "an energetic, cursing and swearing old fellow," while some of Butler's men repaired the railroad engine that would take them to Washington.

On April 25th Shaw and his comrades were quartered in the House of Representatives and "dined in detachments at the different hotels in the city." He stood guard at the Capitol and went with Augustus King to meet Seward and Lincoln. After the regiment had transferred its camp to Meridian Hill, Shaw wrote, "We have all lost sight of what we came for, and seem to be on a grand picnic."

He had scarcely gotten to Washington when he decided, "If they want us for a longer time than thirty days I shall vote to stay." When it was clear that the 7th would return to New York, he wrote to his uncle James Sturgis for help in getting into a three-year regiment. Three days later, May 10, 1861, Robert Gould Shaw was commissioned as 2nd Lieutenant in Colonel George H. Gordon's 2nd Massachusetts.

Shaw reported to Colonel Gordon at Boston on May 18th and was ordered to take his newly recruited company to Camp Andrew, the site of the Brook Farm community. "It was pretty hard to manage them in town, as the new ones were brought in more or less drunk."

Hard work and constant drill was needed to make a regiment out of a crowd of patriotic young men. The 2nd remained at Camp Andrew until early July. Shaw was kept busy, but it was still something of a "grand picnic."

On July 12, 1861, the 2nd Massachusetts forded the Potomac, after marching down from the railroad junction at Hagerstown, Maryland, and went into camp at Martinsburg, West Virginia. They were attached to Major General Robert Patterson's command and marched and counter-marched in the futile effort made to prevent Johnston's union with Beauregard that led to the defeat at Bull Run.

Patterson was replaced by Banks and the regiment moved to Harper's Ferry, then across the Potomac to Sandy Hook, and finally to Darnestown, Maryland. The regiment guarded ferries and ferries. There was little to do and much time to ride, read and talk. One of the officers Shaw chatted with was Major R. Morris Copeland.

"Copeland told me he had had a long talk with General Banks about making use of the negroes against the Secessionists. I thought it was a waste of breath, but we hear today that Banks has offered him a place on his staff, which shows that he thinks a good deal of his opinion. Copeland's sole subject of thought, now, seems to be slavery, and he is always fuming and raging about it."

Major Copeland eventually brought Shaw to his own way of thinking. Copeland recorded a conversation in March, 1862, in which both he and Lieutenant Shaw tried to convince Captain James Savage of the importance of bringing Negro soldiers into the army.

Shaw's experience was a reflection of the changes that Civil War brought to America. He was an enemy of slavery, when many Northerners still spoke in its favor; he praised Fremont's emancipation proclamation, although Lincoln had to disavow it as premature; but he was not yet ready to admit either Southern ex-slave or Northern freedman into the equality of the Union army ranks. Once convinced, he gave his life to bring public opinion one step further.

The winter and early spring were passed without any real change in the routine of camp life and short marches and counter-marches. On April 21, 1862, his sister recorded in her diary: "Letters today from Rob. He seems rather blue, owing, I suppose, to his doing nothing, and

. . . THEIR ROUTE WAS LIT BY BLAZING WAGONS

the feeling that at Corinth and Yorktown, laurels may be won. We hear today that Banks pushes on and has occupied New Market. I hope for the boys' sake that they may be in action before the war is finished, for they would feel dreadfully to come home without seeing a battle."

Lieutenant Shaw did return to Staten Island in May for a brief visit. He had been sent with Copeland on the expedition to get reinforcements for Banks in the Shenandoah Valley through civilian channels that led to Major Copeland's tragic dishonorable discharge. When Shaw rejoined his regiment, it was time for Stonewall Jackson to close the trap he had been preparing.

The removal of Shields' division, 10,000 strong, from Banks' command left him with a scant 8,400 men and forced him to fall back as far as Strasburg. At the very moment that Major Copeland was trying vainly to have Banks reinforced, Jackson's Confederates marched out of the Shenandoah Valley and, screened by the Massanutton mountains, moved to attack Banks on his exposed left flank at Front Royal. On the afternoon of May 23rd, Kenly's 1st Maryland was annihilated at Front Royal and Jackson and Ewell camped between Front Royal and Cedarville.

F Company of the 2nd Massachusetts was guarding a bridge between Front Royal and Strasburg and when the company, commanded by Captain Charles R. Mudge and Lieutenant Robert Gould Shaw, was alarmed at five o'clock. It was the closest Federal unit to the main Confederate force. "We got our company in line immediately and took the best position we could find." They stood guard all night, but there was no attack.

In the morning they were ordered back to the main body of the regiment and detailed to guard Banks' wagon train when they finally caught up with the division in its retreat towards Winchester. The 2nd Massachusetts engaged the enemy twice on the 24th and at nightfall was left as a rear guard. They were three times attacked by Confederate cavalry and finally, through a tragic blunder, by the 5th New York Cavalry. In the early morning hours, their route lit by blazing wagons, they limped back to Winchester. At dawn on the 25th, they held the right wing of Banks' line against Taylor's Louisiana Brigade until two Pennsylvania regiments broke and ran. The 2nd fell back in good order through the streets of Winchester, while the Confederates advanced along parallel streets and civilians fired from the windows of their houses. In the street-fighting Captain Mudge was badly wounded and Lieutenant Shaw had to carry him. The pursuit continued for three miles beyond Winchester, then eased off. The remnants of Banks' army staggered into Martinsburg, on the Potomac, at dawn. They had marched 60 miles in two days, without food or sleep. Shaw was proud to tell his family that the 2nd Massachusetts received credit for saving the army, but it was a costly first battle. A hastily written report in the Shaw Papers in the New York Public Library signed "Robert G. Shaw Lieut. Comdg. Co. F 2

Mass" lists 37 casualties in a company of 69 men.

Shaw was attached to Brigadier General George H. Gordon's staff in July, 1862. Gordon was the former colonel of the 2nd and commanded the brigade to which it belonged. At the Battle of Cedar Mountain on August 9, Shaw was bringing up an artillery battery to support Gordon's brigade, when it was beaten back with very heavy losses.

In the Antietam campaign in September, 1862, Gordon's brigade was attached to Mansfield's corps. They did not participate in the fighting at South Mountain, but marched through the gap to Boonsboro the same day. Shaw was now commanding a company in the 2nd. He was awakened by the artillery at dawn and almost immediately the regiment was hurried forward to make the second attack in the neighborhood of the Cornfield and Dunkard Church. Captain Shaw was wounded in the early morning fighting in the vicinity of the East Woods. Towards evening the 2nd Massachusetts crossed the Cornfield, filled with dead and wounded of both sides. They did what they could for the wounded. At last they lay down exhausted among the bodies of the slain.

In his description of Antietam in a letter to his family, Shaw wrote: "I never felt before the excitement which makes a man want to rush into the fight, but I did that day. Every battle makes me wish more and more that the war was over. It seems almost as if nothing could justify a battle like that of the 17th, and the horrors inseparable from it."

During the relatively inactive winter months, Robert Gould Shaw was seriously tempted to resign his commission. He was engaged to be married. Perhaps he had served long enough. It was at that moment that Francis G. Shaw brought his son an offer from Governor John Andrew of Massachusetts of a commission as colonel of a regiment of Negro soldiers, the first regularly authorized Negro regiment in the Civil War. Shaw hesitated, accepted, wrote to decline the offer, finally telegraphed his acceptance on February 5, 1863. A few days later he wrote: "I feel convinced I shall never regret having taken this step . . . for while I was undecided I felt ashamed of myself, as if I were cowardly."

Colonel Shaw went into camp with his new regiment at Readville, Massachusetts, on February 16th. Another new regiment, the 2nd Massachusetts Cavalry, was also encamped at Readville. It was under the command of Colonel Charles Russell Lowell. Lowell wrote to a friend: "Our black regiment is likely to provoke discussion also, and in that way, if no other, to do good. Bob Shaw comes as Colonel . . . and Pen Hallowell as Lieutenant Colonel. I have no idea that they can get a full regiment in New England, but think they can get enough intelligent fellows here to make a *cadre* for one or more regiments to be raised down South. . . . I think it very good of Shaw (who is not at all a fanatic) to undertake the thing. The Governor will select, or let Shaw select, the best white officers he can find, letting it be understood that black men may be commissioned as soon as any are found who are superior to white officers who offer. In the Committee of Consultation

are Forbes and Lawrence; in New York, Frank Shaw; in Philadelphia, Hallowell's brother. You see this is likely to be a success, if any black regiment can be a success. If it fails, we shall all feel that *tout notre possible* has been done. . . . You remember last September, upon somewhat the same ground, we agreed in approving the (Emancipation) Proclamation, however ill-timed and idle it seemed to us."

The 54th Massachusetts was mustered into the service of the United States on March 30, 1863. Shaw noted in a letter: "The mustering officer who was here today is a Virginian, and always thought it was a great joke to try to make soldiers of 'Niggers', but he tells me now that he has never mustered in so fine a set of men."

The 54th left Boston on May 28, 1863, and was immediately ordered to Port Royal, South Carolina. The Sea Islands on the South Carolina coast had been taken early in the war. They were now to be the base for an attack on Charleston.

Colonel Shaw's regiment was attached to the command of Colonel James Montgomery of Kansas, an ordained minister and former associate of John Brown. "Montgomery who seems to be the only active man in the Department, is enormously energetic, and devoted to the cause, but he is a bush-whacker in his fighting, and a perfect fanatic in other respects. He never drinks, smokes or swears, & considers that praying, shooting, burning & hanging are the true means to put down the Rebellion."

In June, 1863, the 54th was operating with Colonel Montgomery in the Georgia Sea Islands. Against Colonel Shaw's expressed wish, a company of the 54th was used in Montgomery's raid on Darien, Georgia. The burning of Darien deeply disturbed Shaw, as it was not military necessity, but simple hatred of the Southerner, that led to the destruction of the town. Shaw's correspondence with relatives, friends and military superiors was taken up with the question of destroying civilian property until the day of his death. He succeeded in having Colonel Montgomery reprimanded, and in 1870 St. Andrew's Episcopal Church at Darien was rebuilt largely at the expense of the Shaw family.

Later in June Shaw and the 54th returned to Port Royal, where preparations for the attack on the outer defenses of Charleston were going forward. They participated in the capture of Morris Island in Charleston Harbor and then moved forward to the assault on Battery Wagner, where Colonel Robert Gould Shaw was killed July 18, 1863.

While the regiment was still at Boston, Colonel Shaw was married on May 2, 1863, to Anne Haggerty of New York City. In one of his last letters to his young wife, he wrote: "Shall we ever have a home of our own, do you suppose? I cannot help looking forward to that time, though I should not; for when there is so much for every man in the country to do, we ought hardly to long for ease and comfort. I wish I could do my share; i.e. that I had as much talent and ability to give to it as I want."

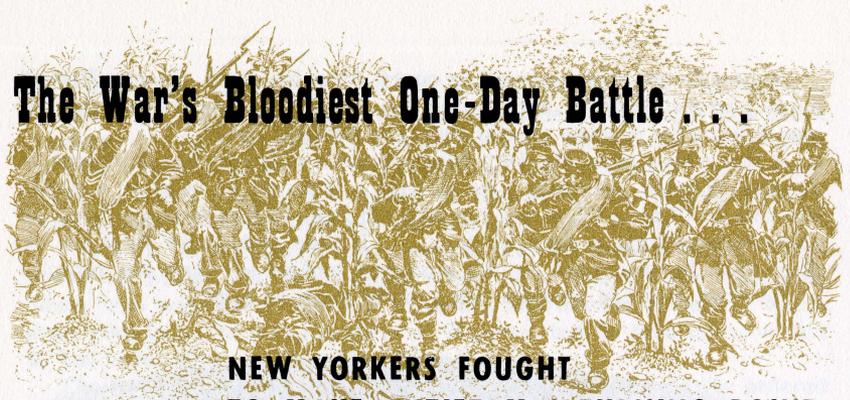
Robert Gould Shaw gave all he could. After his death, Charles Russell Lowell wrote: "Will it not comfort his Mother a little to feel that he was fighting for a cause greater than any national one?"

A few weeks after the 54th Massachusetts made its heroic charge at Battery Wagner, Abraham Lincoln sent a letter to be read at a public meeting in Illinois. "You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you. . . . If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motive — even the promise of freedom. And the promise being made, must be kept."



The sculptor, Augustus St. Gaudens, took 12 years to complete this inspired bronze for the monument that stands on Boston Common in tribute to Shaw and his "black rank and file" of patriot soldiers. Shaw and many of his men were buried in common grave at Ft. Wagner, S. C.

The War's Bloodiest One-Day Battle . . .



NEW YORKERS FOUGHT TO MAKE ANTIETAM A TURNING POINT

By BRIG. GENERAL CHARLES G. STEVENSON
Adjutant General, NYARNG

EDITOR'S NOTE: Out of the great, confused battle that was Antietam, General Stevenson has drawn a factual account, regiment by regiment, of some 25,000 participants from New York State. His purpose is not to provide a dramatic narrative such as has been done in countless books and articles — rather, to give deserved recognition to New York outfits that were there and some of whose deeds of valor are now as dimmed as their battle flags. Interspersed in General Stevenson's account are selections (in *italic*) from the book MR. LINCOLN'S ARMY by Bruce Catton, sounding some of the timeless overtones of Antietam.

WHERE the cornfield used to be there is a macadamized roadway flanked by gleaming, archaic-looking monuments and statues, with little markers here and there unobtrusively beckoning for attention. But in the fall of 1862 no one was dreaming of statues, and because they had had good growing weather the corn was in fine shape — more than head-high, strong, richly green, the tall stalks waving slowly in the last winds of summer.

And over and above all of this perfection of peace and quiet, on the sixteenth of September, there was a silent running out of time and a gathering together of the fates, as issues that reached to the ends of the earth and the farthest borders of national history drew in here for decision.

The Battle of Antietam fought on September 17, 1862, in the vicinity of Sharpsburg, Maryland (by which name the battle is known in the history of the Confederacy), was the bloodiest single day's battle of the Civil War. According to the tablet on the New York State Monument on the battlefield, the State of New York was represented in the Antietam campaign by 67 regiments of infantry, 5 regiments of cavalry, 14 batteries of artillery and 2 regiments of engineers.

Initially, the Confederate line ran generally north and south along the Hagerstown Pike, from the D. R. Miller farm and his 30-acre cornfield on the north, to the village of Sharpsburg on the south. In order to meet the threat to his left flank, Stonewall Jackson deployed his divi-

sions facing north in the cornfield and East Woods, which lie east of the Pike, and in the West Woods, west of the Pike. The West Woods surrounded the Dunkard (or Dunker) Church on three sides, north, west and south. The church stands on the west side of the Pike, some 500 yards to the southwest of the cornfield.

Now this country town, together with the streams and the principal roads, had names before the armies came together there, because men have to have names for such places in the daily routine of living. But most of the landscape lay nameless, except for purely local, informal titles like Piper's cornfield, or Poffenberger's wood, and it serenely and happily lacked history and tradition. Nothing had ever happened there except the quiet, undramatic, unrecorded round of births and deaths, christenings and weddings, cornhuskings and barn-raising, the plowing of the ground in the spring and the harvesting of fat crops in the fall. Life moved like the great tide of the Potomac a mile or so to the west — slowly, steadily, without making a fuss, patiently molding the land to its own liking.

The battle was fought in three main phases. The first was the attack of the Union forces against the Confederate left. The battle seesawed back and forth in the cornfield and in the West Woods. The Dunkard Church was the main Federal objective in this part of the battle. The second phase was fought in the center and was featured by the sanguinary fight for what became known as Bloody Lane. The final phase was an attack on the Confederate right across the Burnside Bridge, which received its name from the Union commander in that phase of the battle. This attack penetrated into the outskirts of Sharpsburg but was stopped by Rebel reinforcements arriving from Harper's Ferry.

New Yorkers were prominently engaged in all three phases. This account will mention only highlights of New York's participation in each phase. Two corps commanders (Sumner, Second Corps, and Porter, Fifth Corps), six division commanders and 19 brigade commanders were New York natives or residents, according to the tablet on the State monument.

FREE-FOR-ALL IN THE CORNFIELD

There was no solid connected battle line neatly ranked in clear light; there was a whole series of battle lines swaying haphazardly in an infernal choking fog, with brigades and regiments standing by themselves and fighting their enemies where they found them, attack and counterattack taking place in every conceivable direction and in no recognizable time sequence, Northerners and Southerners wrestling back and forth in the cornfield in one tremendous free-for-all.

The battle opened at 6 a.m. about two miles north of Sharpsburg. New Yorker General Abner Doubleday's division of General Hooker's First Corps attacked south astride the Hagerstown Road against Stonewall Jackson's troops on the Confederate left. General Doubleday, a native of Ballston Spa, Saratoga County, grew up in Auburn before entering West Point in 1838. Gibbons' newly named Iron Brigade of the West, including the 6th Wisconsin, was on the right, straddling the Pike. The brigades of Patrick and Phelps supported Gibbons' brigade. Colonel Walter Phelps, Jr., and Brigadier General Marsena R. Patrick were natives of New York. Patrick was a West Pointer.

Hoffman's brigade (the Second Brigade of Doubleday's division) protected the artillery located in the vicinity of the North Woods. This brigade included the 76th and 97th New York Volunteers. One of the batteries supported by the brigade was Battery L, 1st New York Light Artillery, commanded by Captain John A. Reynolds of Fairport, Monroe County. This battery was one of the first to open fire on the Confederates. (Later made a general, Reynolds was grand marshal of the parade at the dedication of the New York State Monument on September 17, 1920).

The 6th Wisconsin entered the cornfield and was hit by enfilading fire from the West Woods. The 14th Brooklyn State Militia Regiment (the 84th N. Y. Volunteers) was ordered into the cornfield with Phelps' brigade to reinforce the 6th Wisconsin. Major William H. Debevoise commanded the 14th in this battle. The 14th's present successors in the New York Army National Guard are the 187th Artillery of Brooklyn and the 142nd Armor of Long Island.

Men of New York and Wisconsin fused into a common mass in a desperate struggle to dislodge the Confederates. The 14th, conspicuous by their red trousers, and the 6th Wisconsin fought at such close range that at times it seemed as though their muskets were blazing in the faces of the enemy.

Phelps' regiments lost heavily in killed and wounded but held their position in the cornfield until ordered to the rear upon the arrival of General Sedgwick's division of the Second Corps. In commemoration of the service and sacrifices of the 14th Brooklyn in this battle, the State of New York erected a 14-foot monument on Cornfield Avenue which runs across the site of the cornfield.

In addition to the 14th Brooklyn, Phelps' brigade, totaling only about 450, included the 22nd, 24th (First Oswego) and 30th N. Y. Volunteer Infantry Regiments, and the Second U. S. Sharpshooters, commanded by Colonel Henry A. V. Post, a New Yorker, who after the war made his home in Babylon, Long Island. Colonel Post was wounded in the battle. His grandson, of the same name, still lives in Babylon.

Phelps' brigade was the original Iron Brigade but lost that designation to Gibbons' Iron Brigade of the West when the former was reorganized in 1863 upon the expiration of the terms of service of Colonel Phelps

and his two-year regiments, the 22nd, 24th and 30th New York.

General Patrick's brigade consisted of the 20th New York State Militia (80th N. Y. Vols.), and the 21st, 23rd and 35th N. Y. Volunteer Infantry regiments. (The 20th, which came from Ulster County, is now the 156th Artillery, New York Army National Guard, of Kingston and Poughkeepsie). It was detached from the brigade to support Battery B, 4th U. S. Artillery, commanded by Captain Joseph B. Campbell, located on the right of the Pike in Miller's barnyard. Known as the Ulster Guard, the 20th had a strength in the battle of about 150 officers and men. It's right wing took position in rear of Battery B. The left wing, under Major Jacob B. Hardenbergh, advanced down the Hagerstown Pike and supported the 6th Wisconsin's hot fight in the cornfield.

Doubleday sent Patrick's brigade (the 20th N.Y.S.M.) into the West Woods on the right flank of Gibbons' brigade on the extreme right of the Federal line. Together with two regiments of the Iron Brigade, Patrick's brigade made a wide sweep or envelopment of the enemy left until they were moving almost due east, or perpendicular to the original Union attack. This brought them up to the Pike, facing east towards the cornfield across the road. In his Official Report, General Patrick said that he held the road "firmly for some time, the Thirty-fifth Regiment capturing the colors of the rebel regiment advancing on our battery."

The Confederate records show that Law's brigade of Hood's division was one of the two brigades which were counter-attacking north up the Pike and through the cornfield at this point in the battle. Law's brigade



Where today's motorists speed along the Hagerstown pike, this was the scene shortly after start of the Battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862. Among first to fall were these men of "Stonewall" Jackson's Confederate Corps. Hooker's ferocious attack on them began battle.

included the 4th Alabama Regiment. The State Military Museum in the Capitol at Albany, under the jurisdiction of the Division of Military and Naval Affairs, possesses a Confederate battle flag of "the Alabama regiment" which, according to the Museum records, was "captured at Antietam by Pvt. Stanislaus Berreaux of Company E, 35th N. Y. Vol. Infantry." Pvt. Berreaux enlisted at Watertown on September 14, 1861, at age 19. The 35th was the Jefferson County Regiment. Tying together the reports of locations of units in the battle, as shown in the Official Reports and other histories, and correlating them with the records of the State Military Museum, it would appear fairly certain that the Confederate flag in question was captured by the 35th N. Y. Vols. from the 4th Alabama on or near the Hagerstown Pike between Miller's farmhouse and the Dunkard Church in the opening phase of the battle.

While Doubleday's division was fighting in the West Woods and in The Cornfield (as the name has been immortalized), Ricketts' division on the left flank of the First Corps front came through the East Woods into The Cornfield and drove the enemy back. The Confederates counter-attacked. The fight raged back and forth. Finally, Ricketts was relieved by units of the Twelfth Corps. This part of the first phase died down about 7 a.m. Brigadier General (later Major General) James B. Ricketts was a New Yorker. He graduated from West Point in 1839.

Hartsuff's brigade was especially conspicuous in the fighting by Rickett's division. Brigadier General George L. Hartsuff, U.S.M.A., Class of 1852, was a native of New York. His brigade included one New York regiment, the 9th N. Y. State Militia (83rd N. Y. Vol. Inf.), commanded by Lt. Colonel William Atterbury, now the 244th Artillery, NYARNG, for many years stationed in New York City but now located in Nassau County, Long Island.

In Christian's brigade of Ricketts' division were the 26th and 94th New York. Duryee's brigade of that division consisted of the 97th, 104th and 105th N. Y. Vols. The 104th was known as the Wadsworth Guards, from Wyoming County. Brigadier General Abram Duryee had been Colonel of the 7th Regiment, New York State Militia, for some years prior to the war. At the outset of hostilities he organized the 5th New York Volunteers, widely known as Duryee's Zouaves. The 26th and 97th Regiments were from the Adirondack foothills in Oneida County. Colonel William H. Christian, of Utica, raised the 26th Regiment, the Second Oneida, in the early days of the war.

The next Union attack was made at about 7:30 a.m. by General Mansfield's Twelfth Corps. Williams' division charged through the East Woods and The Cornfield. It was heavily counterattacked by the Confederates who fought back to the Hagerstown Pike. Greene's division, less Goodrich's brigade, attacked across the Mumma farm towards the Dunkard Church. It held on to its position in the West Woods throughout the morning. In Greene's division were the 102nd N. Y. of Stainrook's brigade and the 60th New York and 78th New York of

Goodrich's brigade. The latter brigade was sent to assist Sedgwick's division of the Second Corps. In Crawford's brigade of Williams' division, Twelfth Corps, was the 28th New York whose strength was down to 65 men prior to the battle. The 107th New York, a new regiment, was in Gordon's brigade of Williams' division.

The entire battle was a classic example of disregard by the Union commanders of the maxim of war that battles should not be fought piecemeal. On the Rebel side of the coin, the battle was a classic example by General Lee of using his interior lines to best advantage, shuttling brigades from sector to sector to meet the Union's successive attacks.

After the Twelfth Corps attack was spent, the Second Corps under General Sumner went into action. This was soon after 9 a.m. Sedgwick's division crossed The Cornfield and the Hagerstown Pike heading due west. The left flank of the division was hit by Confederate fire in the West Woods. In effect, the division ran into an ambush. The left of Sedgwick's line broke and fell back to the Hagerstown Pike. Sumner's two other divisions, those of French and Richardson, had lost contact. Sumner appealed for help and Goodrich's brigade of the Twelfth Corps was sent to Sedgwick's right. It made some headway but the fire was so heavy that it had to retire to the Hagerstown Pike. Colonel William B. Goodrich, of Canton, whose original regiment was the 60th New York, a St. Lawrence County regiment, was mortally wounded in this attack. Sedgwick's attack and retreat consumed less than an hour and was finished by about 10 a.m.

This was the end of the first phase. Hooker's First Corps withdrew to the ridge north of J. Poffenberger's farm, where it had camped the night before. The First Corps had suffered a loss of nearly 2,500 men killed and wounded of about 9,000 who started the battle. Hooker himself was wounded in the foot and was succeeded in command of the Corps by General Meade.

New York regiments in Sedgwick's division were the 34th N. Y. Vols. (another regiment from the Adirondack foothills), Second N. Y. State Militia (82nd N. Y. Vol. Inf.), 42nd (the Tammany Regiment) and 59th N. Y. Vol. Inf. Regiments. A monument to the 59th was dedicated on the battlefield on the same day as the New York State monument. Included among those killed in the 59th was its lieutenant colonel, John L. Stetson of Plattsburgh, whose brother, Francis L. Stetson, erected a monument on the field in memory of John.

After 10 a.m. there was not much fighting on the right flank of the Union Army, except for the attack of Irwin's brigade.

In his report on the battle, General Hooker, First Corps commander, said: "Every stalk of corn in the northern and greater part of the field (The Cornfield) was cut as closely as could have been done with a knife, and the slain lay in rows precisely as they stood in their ranks a few minutes before . . . It was never my fortune to witness a more bloody, dismal battlefield."

How far they had marched, those soldiers — down the lanes and cross-lots over the cornfields to get into position, and from the distant corners of the country before that; they were marching, really, out of one era and into another, leaving much behind them, going ahead to much that they did not know about. For some of them there were just a few steps left: from the rumpled grass of a bed in a pasture down to a fence or a thicket where there would be an appointment with a flying bullet or shell fragment, the miraculous and infinitely complicated trajectory of the man meeting the flat, whining trajectory of the bullet without fail.

SUNKEN ROAD BECOMES BLOODY LANE

The second phase of the Battle of Antietam took place in the center of the line. The fighting there was by the French and Richardson divisions of the Second Corps. These divisions were supposed to have followed Sedgwick's division in his attack into the West Woods, but French veered off to the left or south in order to pass Greene's left and got into a fight of his own. Richardson arrived an hour later on French's left which was still further to the south of the line of attack of Sedgwick's division.

French's division attacked in a southwesterly direction from Antietam Creek and drove the Confederates out of their position at the Roulette farmhouse which stood between the Hagerstown Pike and the creek. The Rebels were forced back into a sunken road in which they reformed and fought literally "to the last ditch." The road was strewn with their dead. It became known as Bloody Lane. The lane joins the Hagerstown Pike about 500 yards south of the Dunkard Church and runs east, then slightly southeast about 1,000 yards and finally turns south. The first 1,000 yards was the Bloody Lane.

A terrible frenzy of battle descended on the fighting line. Men were possessed by a hysterical excitement, shouting furiously, bursting out in shrill insane laughter, crowding up to the fence to fire at the rebel line. A survivor of this attack, recalling the merciless fire that greeted the men at the line of the fence, wrote: "Men, I cannot say fell — they were knocked out of ranks by the dozen." Cartridges were torn with nervous haste. Muskets became foul from much firing, so that men took stones to hammer their ramrods down. Wanting to fire faster than ever before, they found they could not — a nightmare slowness was upon them as the black powder caked in hot rifle barrels. Some soldiers threw their pieces away and took up the rifles of dead men.

The Irish Brigade of Richardson's division came in on the left of French's division and fought its way up the slope of the hill which led to the Bloody Lane. Despite heavy losses, the Irishmen pressed forward.

The Irish Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Thomas F. Meagher, consisted of the 69th New York, now the 165th Infantry,



This battle-fogged picture taken of fighting at Antietam appears in MILLER'S PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR, which makes this claim for it: "There probably exists no finer picture of an actual engagement than this remarkable photograph." Action is off to right; waiting artillery caissons are lined up in meadow. This was part of "war's bloodiest day".

NYARNG, of New York City, the 63rd New York and the 88th New York (Mrs. Meagher's Own), in addition to the 29th Massachusetts. General Meagher's horse was felled by a cannonball. The general was injured in the fall and Colonel John Burke took over the Irish Brigade.

At the height of the battle, Caldwell's brigade (Richardson's division), held in reserve, was sent in to support the Irish Brigade, whose ammunition was exhausted. Units of Brooke's brigade were fed into Caldwell's brigade. In the end, Caldwell's brigade, reinforced by Brooke, held possession of Bloody Lane. The fight was continued south of the road in Piper's fields and around his house until both sides were exhausted.

The fight in the center lasted about three hours. It was over between 12:30 and 1 p.m. The Union Second Corps, less Sedgwick's division, held the position in the center of the line until the end of the battle.

In the desperate battle for Bloody Lane, Colonel Francis E. Barlow, leading the combined 61st New York and 64th N. Y. Vols. in Caldwell's brigade, charged on one part of the lane and captured over 300 prisoners. He opened a gap in the Confederate line which could have led to a total Union victory if it had been exploited by higher headquarters.

Due to his youthful appearance (he was 28 but looked younger), Colonel Barlow later became known as the "Boy General" and was one of the best. Prior to and after the war he was a New York City lawyer. A native of Brooklyn, he enlisted in 1861 as a private in the 12th Regiment, N. Y. State Militia, now the 212th Artillery, NYARNG, formerly of New York City but presently stationed in Westchester County. Among the important public positions General Barlow held after the war were those of Secretary of State and Attorney General of the State of New York.

In Brooke's brigade (Richardson's division) were the 52nd, 57th and 66th New York Volunteers. Included in Caldwell's brigade of the same

division were the 7th New York and the 61st and 64th N. Y. Vols., which fought under one commander, Colonel Barlow, until he was wounded, and then under Lt. Colonel Nelson A. Miles, who became a lieutenant general after the Spanish American War. The artillery of Richardson's division included Battery B of the 1st New York Light Artillery, commanded by Captain Rufus D. Pettit.

THE CHARGE OF IRWIN'S BRIGADE

At about noon, General Franklin's Sixth Corps arrived on the field. Irwin's brigade of Smith's division of this corps went into action some distance north of French's division and charged towards the Dunkard Church. It met the enemy almost in a face to face counter charge. Irwin's men prevailed until hit by flanking fire from the West Woods. The brigade then rallied behind the crest of a hill east of the church. It held that position until the end of the battle. The New York State monument was erected on this hill.

In Irwin's brigade were the 20th (the Turner Rifles of New York City), 33rd (the Ontario Regiment), 49th (the Second Buffalo Regiment) and 77th (the Saratoga Regiment) New York Volunteer Infantry Regiments and the 7th Maine. The 20th New York lost 145 men in



This graphic Antietam combat scene is the work of Thure de Thulstrup, Swedish-born artist. It is believed to depict charge of Irwin's brigade, which included four New York regiments, past Dunkard Church shown in background. Church became a great landmark of this battlefield. Original painting, small water color completed in the 1880's, is one of ten Civil War scenes by Thulstrup owned and displayed by 7th Regiment Armory (107th Inf., NYARNG), N. Y. C.

this battle. It was recruited from German-Americans of the Turn-Verein Society, mostly in New York City but with some from Brooklyn. Their battle cry was "Bahn Frei", meaning "Clear the way." The State erected a monument in the regiment's honor about 50 yards south of the State battle monument. Veterans of the 20th erected a second monument in the National Cemetery in Sharpsburg where some of their dead are buried.

Irwin's action was not strictly part of the first phase which concluded with Sedgwick's reverse. His attack took place two or three hours later while the second phase at Bloody Lane was reaching its climax. Captain (later Brevet Major General) Emory Upton, a New York West Pointer, commanded the artillery of Slocum's division. His artillery was of "inestimable value," according to Irwin's official report, in supporting the attack of the brigade. The artillery on both sides wreaked terrible destruction in all phases of the battle.

Hancock's brigade of Smith's division, Sixth Corps, was placed in support of Sumner's Second Corps batteries. The 43rd N. Y. Vols. was in this brigade.

Slocum's division of the Sixth Corps came on the field after noon but it was ordered not to advance. This decision was made by General Sumner, senior officer on that part of the field. General McClellan, commander of the Army of the Potomac, came to look at the situation and did not countermand General Sumner's orders.

Major General Edwin V. Sumner was 66 years old at this time. He had had over 40 years service in the Regular Army. His home was in Syracuse where he died. A great great grandson, Brig. Gen. Samuel Sumner Verbeck, State Reserve List, who served for many years in the New York Army National Guard, lives in Waterford.

Major General Henry W. Slocum was born in Delphi, Onondaga County. He was a West Point graduate. After Antietam he became a corps commander. He commanded a corps at Gettysburg and later under Sherman in the West and in Georgia. He had in his division at Antietam the 16th and 27th New York Vols. in Colonel Bartlett's brigade, and the 18th, 31st and 32nd New York Vols. in General Newton's brigade. Bartlett was a New Yorker who was a major at First Bull Run in the 27th N. Y. Vols. under Slocum, original colonel of that regiment when it was organized in 1861 at Elmira. These regiments were under heavy artillery fire but remained in the same position for nearly 40 hours.

It may be that life is not man's most precious possession, after all. Certainly men can be induced to give it away very freely at times, and the terms hardly seem to make sense unless there is something about the whole business that we don't understand. Lives are spent for very insignificant things which benefit the dead not at all — a few rods of ground in a cornfield, for instance, or temporary ownership of a little hill or a piece of windy pasture;

and now and then they are simply wasted outright, with nobody gaining anything at all. And we talk glibly about the accidents of battle and the mistakes of generalship without figuring out just which end of the stick the man who died was holding.

THE DRAMA OF BURNSIDE BRIDGE

The third and final phase of the battle took place on the Union left where the Ninth Corps was stationed opposite the Burnside Bridge. An initial attempt to cross the bridge by a Connecticut regiment of Rodman's division was unsuccessful. A second unsuccessful attempt was made by two other regiments. General Burnside, in command of the Union left flank, then issued peremptory orders that the bridge must be taken. The task was given to Sturges' division. General Sturges selected the 51st New York, a New York City regiment, commanded by Colonel Robert B. Potter, and the 51st Pennsylvania of New Yorker Brigadier General Edward Ferrero's brigade to make the crucial attack. They succeeded, crossing the bridge at double time with fixed bayonets. This was between noon and 1 p.m.

Sturges' entire division then forced its way across the bridge and up the slope on the far side of the creek. At about 3 p.m. Burnside ordered a general advance of his whole line on the village of Sharpsburg. Just when it looked as though the attack would be a complete success, General A. P. Hill's Confederate Light Division, coming up by forced march from Harper's Ferry, with the leading units in blue uniforms captured there, attacked the left flank of the Ninth Corps, which crumpled. Withdrawal of the Union line to the lower part of the hill was ordered. No further infantry attacks were made by either side, and night fell.

In Rodman's division of the Ninth Corps was New York Colonel H. S. Fairchild's brigade composed of the 9th (Hawkins' Zouaves), 89th and 103rd New York Volunteers. The 9th New York under Lt. Col. Edgar A. Kimball advanced with great bravery on the enemy's lines and captured McIntosh's battery, but in the withdrawal was compelled to abandon the guns to the Confederates. Pvt. Thomas Hare of Company D, 89th N. Y. Vols., captured a stand of South Carolina colors in this fight. Pvt. Hare was killed later.

Wilcox's division of the Ninth Corps had two brigades commanded by Colonel Christ and Colonel Welsh, respectively. Welsh's brigade included the 46th New York Volunteers. The 79th Highlanders (79th N. Y. Vols.), New Yorkers of Scottish descent commanded by Lt. Col. David Morrison, were in Christ's brigade. They were used as skirmishers for the brigade and entered the eastern end of Sharpsburg, going almost to the hill where the National Cemetery is now located, before being withdrawn.

Included in the unattached troops at the battle were eight companies of the 6th New York Cavalry, commanded by Colonel Thomas

C. Devin, and Battery L of the 2nd New York Light Artillery Regiment, commanded by Captain Jacob Roemer. This battery was formed mainly from members of the artillery company of the 15th New York State Militia Regiment and was recruited in Flushing, Queens County. Two companies of the 6th New York Cavalry were in the Headquarters Escort of General Sumner's Second Corps.

General Fitz-John Porter's Fifth Corps was held in reserve on the east side of Antietam Creek near General McClellan's headquarters and did not participate in the battle in a major way. Included in the Fifth Corps were the 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 25th and 44th New York Volunteer Infantry regiments; also the 5th New York (Duryee's Zouaves) and the 10th New York (National Zouaves). The artillery reserve of the Fifth Corps included, among others, Batteries A, B, C and D, 1st New York Light Artillery.

The 1st N. Y. Cavalry was in the 4th Brigade of Brigadier General Alfred Pleasanton's cavalry division. The 8th N. Y. Cavalry was in the 5th Brigade. The 8th, recruited in the vicinity of Rochester, maintained a cavalry tradition from Civil War days until the horse disappeared from the Army in World War II. The 8th was commanded by Colonel Benjamin F. Davis, a Mississippi-born West Pointer. It was in the trap at Harper's Ferry surrounded by Rebel troops three days prior to the Battle of Antietam. Davis obtained permission to fight his way out with the 8th and other cavalry units. He succeeded in the escape, capturing Longstreet's reserve ammunition train en route to Greencastle, Pa. He rejoined Pleasanton's cavalry division after the Union surrender at Harper's Ferry on September 15, 1862. The cavalry division was not significantly employed in the Battle of Antietam.

THE WAR WAS TRANSFORMED

All summer Lincoln had been waiting for a victory. Here it was, now: an uncertain victory, looking very much like no victory at all, but for all that, and with all of its imperfections, a victory, the all important victory which he had to have if the war was to be won. One week later he issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, and the war was transformed.

Like the battle itself, the Proclamation at first seemed an achievement of doubtful value. It was just words, promising much but doing nothing. They were not even bold, straightforward words, it seemed. Perversely, they ordained freedom in precisely those places where the Union armies could not make freedom a fact and left slavery untouched elsewhere. They infuriated all sympathizers with secession — Gideon Welles noted glumly that "this step will band the south together" — and they left the abolitionists unsatisfied. They seemed to be neither hot nor cold, a futile attempt to find a middle course in a struggle which had no middle course — and in the end they had more power than a great army with banners.

A fitting epilogue for this or any account of the Battle of Antietam may be found in the words of the late General Ezra Carman, superintendent of the battleground site many years ago. General Carman, then colonel, commanded the 13th New Jersey Volunteers in the battle. Standing at the Dunkard Church once, after the war, he swept his hands to all points of the compass and said:

"Take five hundred yards on either side of this central point, just at the church, and you will see the bloodiest spot of ground in the United States. Nearly twenty-five thousand men were lost in the battle by both armies, and right here, in the area of a thousand yards, fifteen thousand men went down. It tells the story of the fighting that was done here and makes it hallowed ground."

Their triumph was not the winning of a battle, for this battle seemingly was not won by anybody; to all appearances it was simply a stalemate that wrecked two armies. Yet victory was in it. After it had been fought — because it had been fought — history came to a turning point. Indecisive tactically, the battle shaped all the rest of the war: meant, at the very least, that the war now must be fought to a finish. There could no longer be a hope for a peace without victory. The great issues that created the war were going to be settled, at no matter what terrible cost. This fight was decisive.

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Fifty-five original flags carried in Antietam battle by New York regiments are presented during rain-drenched rededication of State monument on the ground where "history reached a turning point." Protected by covers, century-old banners are held by members of 165th Infantry, NYARNG. Regiment grew out of 69th New York that fought with valor at Antietam.

THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM

SEPTEMBER 17, 1862

This map depicts the major actions covered in the preceding article by Brig. General Charles G. Stevenson.

