

THE CIVIL WAR MONITOR

VOL. 12,
NO. 1

A Harvest of Death

They're among the most iconic images of the Gettysburg battlefield. But where were they shot? Modern technology may have helped figure it out.



**BROTHER VS.
BROTHER**

P. 42

SPRING 2022 * \$6.99



DEPARTMENTS

Salvo

{Facts, Figures & Items of Interest}



VOICES 8

Mother Bickerdyke

PRESERVATION 10

The "Final Assault"

FIGURES 12

Johnny Reb

FACES OF WAR 14

A Michigander's Fate

COST OF WAR 16

*Lieutenant Ward Brooks
Frothingham's Pocket Watch*

IN FOCUS 18

Atlanta Before the Torch

Columns

FIGHTING WORDS 20

Grapevine Telegraph

CROSSROADS 22

Braxton Bragg at McLemore's Cove

Books & Authors

THE FIVE BEST BOOKS ON CIVIL WAR MEMORY 61

BY MATTHEW CHRISTOPHER HULBERT

VOICES FROM THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, PART 3 64

BY GARY W. GALLAGHER

In Every Issue

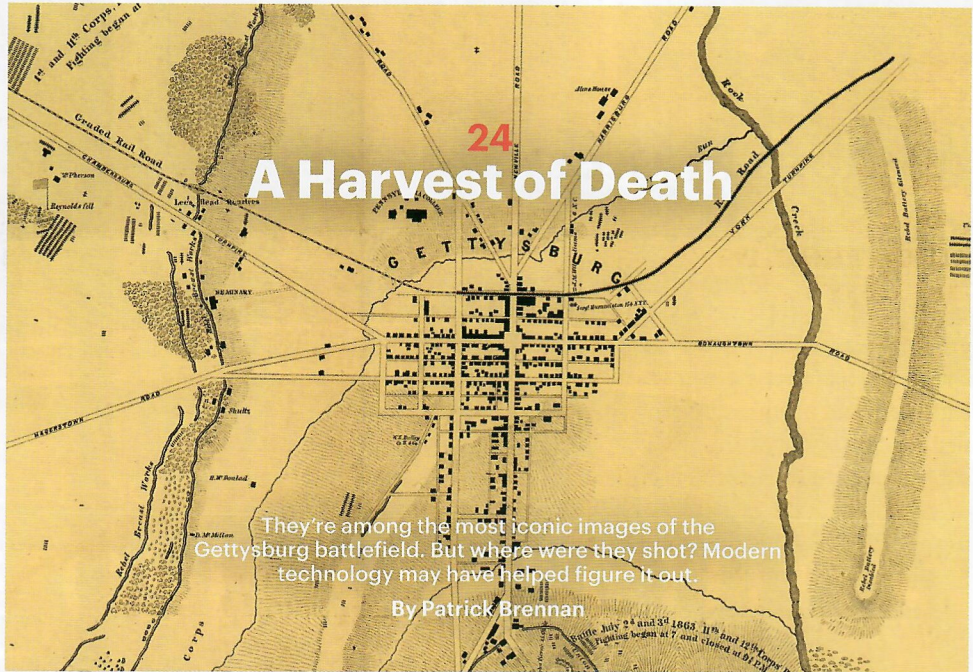
EDITORIAL 2

A Photo Mystery Solved?

PARTING SHOT 72

Patriots' Game

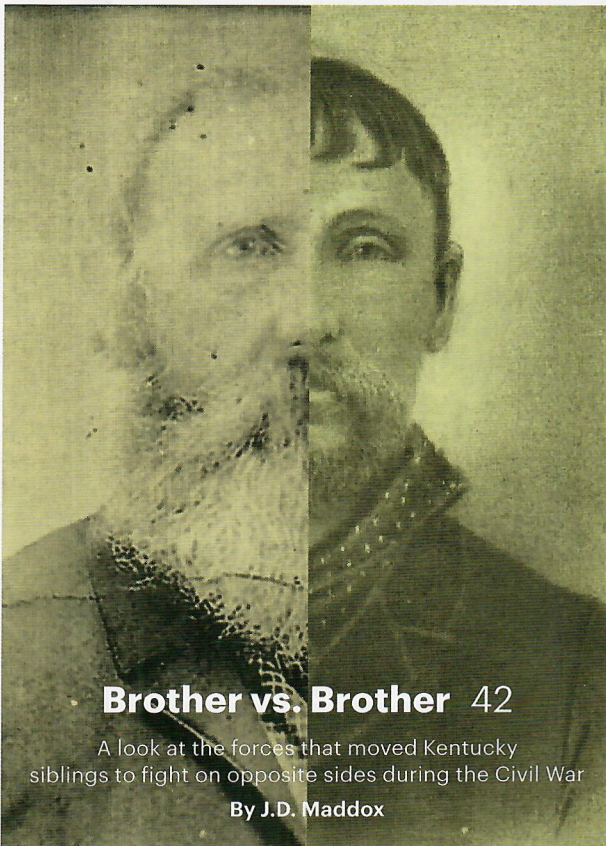
FEATURES



A Harvest of Death

They're among the most iconic images of the Gettysburg battlefield. But where were they shot? Modern technology may have helped figure it out.

By Patrick Brennan



Brother vs. Brother 42

A look at the forces that moved Kentucky siblings to fight on opposite sides during the Civil War

By J.D. Maddox



Every Time I Feel the Spirit 52

Abraham Lincoln's lifelong love affair with music

By Christian McWhirter



ON THE COVER:

Dead soldiers on the Gettysburg battlefield. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress. Colorized by Patrick Brennan.

A look at the forces that moved Kentucky siblings to fight on opposite sides during the Civil War BY J.D. MADDOX



BROTHER

MADDOX FAMILY PAPERS (2)

V



JOSEPH (LEFT) AND WESLEY
MADDOX AS THEY APPEARED
AFTER THE CIVIL WAR.

BROTHER

2

S

Lloyd's Official MAP OF THE STATE OF KENTUCKY

Compiled from **Actual Surveys** and **Official Documents**.

Showing **Every Rail Road & Rail Road Station** with the distances between each station.

Also the **Counties and County Seats, Cities, Towns, Villages, Post Offices, Wagon Roads, Canals, Ports, Fortifications, &c.**

1862.
New-York, **J. T. LLOYD, Publisher,** 164 Broadway.
AND LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

Price, 50 Cents each, Covered in Sheets, or Four Copies for 1 Dollar.
Pocket edition Plain One Dollar, or with linen back Army Officers \$ 1.50.

Sent by Mail anywhere on receipt of the Price.

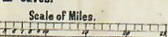
Agents wanted in every part of the country for all Lloyd's Great Military Maps.

A. B. No Connection with any other Maps.

Map Division
MAY 20 1916
Library of Congress

Reference.

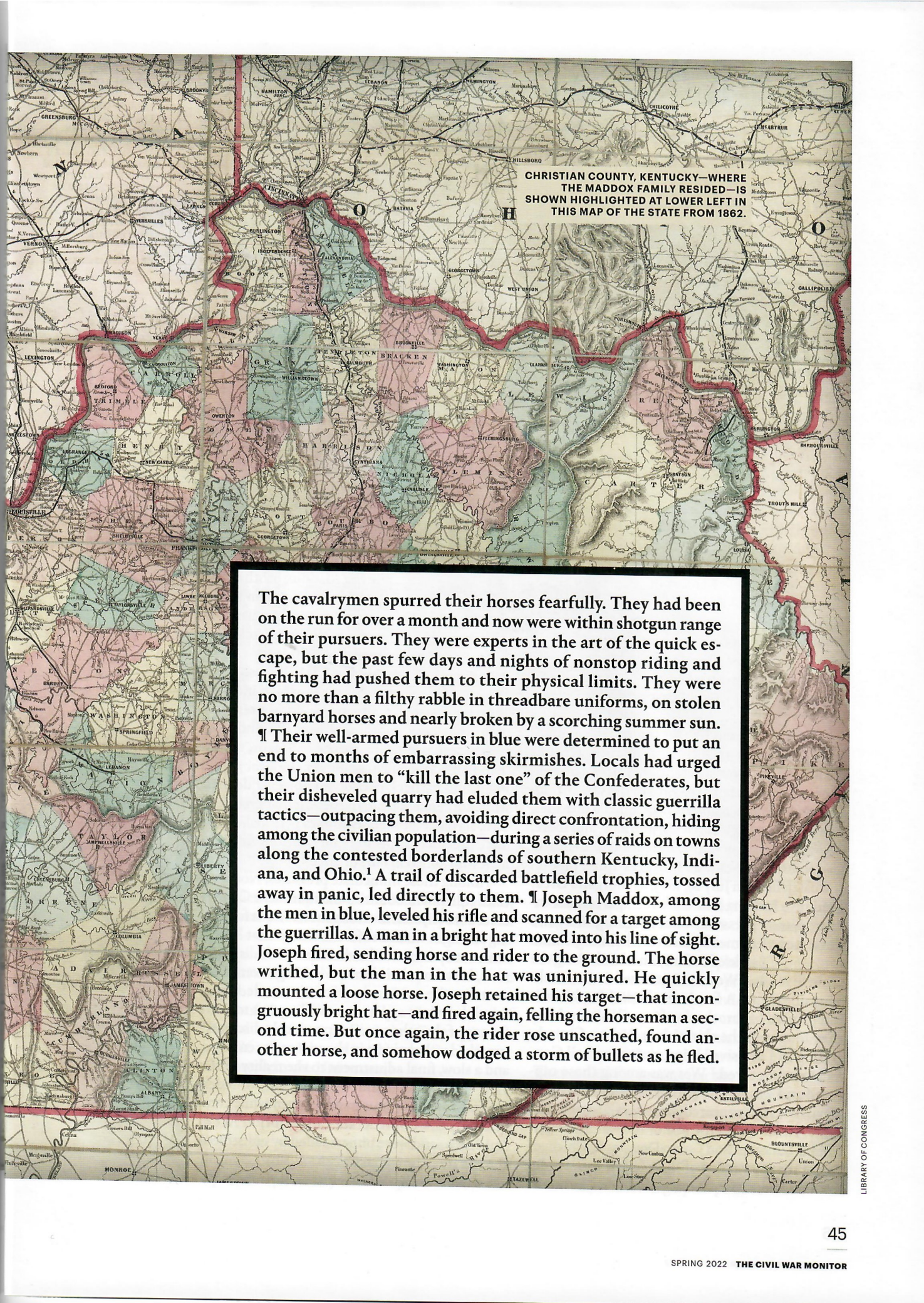
- ✕ A Coal & Iron Mines.
- ⊙ Salt Works.
- ⊠ Cities.
- ⊠ County Seats.
- Towns & Villages.
- Wagon & Post Roads.
- Rail Roads.
- Canals.
- ⊙ Mills.
- ⊙ Caves.



Ready
Lloyd's Steel Plate Military Map of the Southern States and Counties of Southern Country. Price 50 Cts.
Lloyd's Steel Plate Map of Missouri. Price 25 Cents.
Lloyd's \$100,000 Topographical Map of Virginia. Price 25 Cts.
Lloyd's United States R. R. Map. Price 25 Cents.
Agents wanted in every County.

St Nicholas Hotel, New York. Completed six years ago and universally pronounced the most magnificent structure and thoroughly equipped with all the latest improvements in this continent. It is without a rival in its class in the world. It is the general rendezvous of comfort. The Hotel has accommodations for 1000 guests.





CHRISTIAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY—WHERE THE MADDOX FAMILY RESIDED—IS SHOWN HIGHLIGHTED AT LOWER LEFT IN THIS MAP OF THE STATE FROM 1862.

The cavalymen spurred their horses fearfully. They had been on the run for over a month and now were within shotgun range of their pursuers. They were experts in the art of the quick escape, but the past few days and nights of nonstop riding and fighting had pushed them to their physical limits. They were no more than a filthy rabble in threadbare uniforms, on stolen barnyard horses and nearly broken by a scorching summer sun. ¶ Their well-armed pursuers in blue were determined to put an end to months of embarrassing skirmishes. Locals had urged the Union men to “kill the last one” of the Confederates, but their disheveled quarry had eluded them with classic guerrilla tactics—outpacing them, avoiding direct confrontation, hiding among the civilian population—during a series of raids on towns along the contested borderlands of southern Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio.¹ A trail of discarded battlefield trophies, tossed away in panic, led directly to them. ¶ Joseph Maddox, among the men in blue, leveled his rifle and scanned for a target among the guerrillas. A man in a bright hat moved into his line of sight. Joseph fired, sending horse and rider to the ground. The horse writhed, but the man in the hat was uninjured. He quickly mounted a loose horse. Joseph retained his target—that incongruously bright hat—and fired again, felling the horseman a second time. But once again, the rider rose unscathed, found another horse, and somehow dodged a storm of bullets as he fled.

If Joseph could have seen through the chaos, he might have cheered fate's intervention. He would have recognized the man he had shot at as none other than his older brother, Wesley Maddox.

● ●
The Civil War is rife with tragic stories of “brother against brother,” but a story of a brother actually shooting at his own brother might never have been documented. The story of Joseph shooting at Wes had been passed down as oral history through four Maddox generations, since the men gathered in an Illinois farmhouse after the war to tell their stories.² Joseph, who had served as a soldier in the Union army's 3rd Kentucky Cavalry, told stories of chasing Colonel John Hunt Morgan's Raiders—Confederate cavalrymen who conducted raids throughout the western theater in 1861–1864.³ Wes, who had served as a soldier in the Confederate 10th Kentucky Cavalry, part of Morgan's Raiders, listened intently.⁴ So did their uncle Davis Maddox, who had served with Wes as one of Morgan's Raiders in Colonel Basil Duke's 2nd Kentucky Cavalry.⁵

When Joseph finished his story, his brother Wes rose from his seat and barked at him, “You son of a bitch, that was me!”⁶

What may seem like an improbable coincidence—brother shooting at brother without knowing it—is now substantiated after painstaking research in original records of the war, including service and pension records, official histories, contemporary news articles, journals, and more, allowing us to pinpoint the location of their storied fight. The Maddox brothers' units met on the battlefield on July 19, 1863, as Morgan's Great Raid into Indiana and Ohio fell apart under intense Union pressure. That morning Morgan's horsemen were met by an overwhelming Union force at the Battle of Buffington Island, along the Ohio River, and Wes' unit retreated to the northwest under fire. A few hours later, Joseph's unit intercepted his brother's a few miles inland and they fought in the skirmish at Bashan Church, ending in a decisive Union victory and all Confederates captured.⁷ Wes was among those captured and was sent to prison.⁸ He and his uncle Davis, who was captured a few days later at Salinville, would spend the rest of the war in the notorious Union prison Camp Douglas in Chicago, where they saw many of their fellow Raiders die from disease, abuse, or starvation.⁹



JOHN HUNT MORGAN

Combatants in the Civil War, like in any war, were often compelled to fight by forces outside their control. In 1862 in Christian County, Kentucky, the Maddox brothers' home, the societal pressure to join the Confederacy was acute and men who voiced support for the Union were physically threatened, at least by one account. The personal letters of Samuel McDowell Starling, who lived just five miles south of the Maddoxes, show that he was so afraid to be caught as a Union sympathizer that “during the spring of 1862 he slept in the woods every night for nearly a month to avoid being seized,” and eventually escaped to Louisville to join the Union army.¹⁰ Under these conditions, peacefully sitting out the war in bucolic Christian County became increasingly risky. Wes and Joseph were eventually *forced* to take a side.

Historians have come to various conclusions about why men would choose either side. Gerald Linderman proposed that men joined the Confederacy as an act of courage. Reid Mitchell reasoned that ideology led men to enlist, a finding that other historians, chief among them James M. McPherson, agreed with. But the Maddox brothers' actions seem to confirm the assessment of another historian, Kenneth Noe, who acknowledged the difficulty of generalizing Civil War soldiers' motivations—which included

“hatred, a taste for adventure, local pressures, pomp, packages containing women's undergarments designed to shame the recipient, the demands of honor and masculinity, the legacy of the Founding Fathers, patriotism however defined, white supremacy, [and] the determination to hold on to slaves.” Noe inclines toward personal, immediate pressures as primary motivations for those men who joined in 1862 or later.¹¹

Among those immediate pressures, Noe identifies enlistment bounties and imminent Confederate conscription as strong motivations for joining the fight in mid-1862. He writes that “What tentatively seems to have united such disparate men, based on their limited writings, were their roots in the more reluctant to secede Upper South [...], their apparent unwillingness to serve for any of the other reasons previously discussed, a marked unhappiness in the army once enrolled, and a slow, final adjustment to the reality of service.”¹² But Joseph and Wes avoided Confederate enlistment for four months, even while compelled by the Confederate Conscription Act of April 1862, and were unpersuaded by enlistment

► To view this article's reference notes, turn to page 70.

THE MADDOX BROTHERS, LIKE OTHER RESIDENTS OF PRO-UNION AND PRO-SLAVERY CHRISTIAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY, FACED MYRIAD PRESSURES TO ENLIST IN EITHER THE UNION OR CONFEDERATE ARMY. RIGHT: A MEMBER OF THE 3RD KENTUCKY CAVALRY, THE REGIMENT JOSEPH MADDOX JOINED IN AUGUST 1862.



bounties. If they had Confederate sympathies, they were probably aware of Kentucky House Bill No. 36—the so-called “Bloody Bill” issued by the Legislature in September 1861—that threatened “confinement in the penitentiary not less than one nor more than five years” for enlistment in the Confederacy.¹³ It was only with the arrival of Confederate forces in Christian County in August 1862 that Wes enlisted in the Confederate and Joseph in the Union army.

● ●
Before the war, Wes and Joseph lived on their father’s prosperous tobacco and corn farm in a picturesque valley near Hopkinsville, in the

southwest corner of Kentucky. By all accounts, the military-age men of Christian County were influenced by three main sources of external information: newsmen in Hopkinsville and Louisville, circuit-riding Baptist preachers, and the occasional military commander’s recruitment poster nailed onto a tree at a crossroads.¹⁴

At the war’s onset, Christian County’s newsmen and preachers were strongly pro-Union. They called for preserving the Republic and its economic guarantees. But this pro-Union stance shouldn’t be confused for an anti-slavery stance; Kentucky was almost entirely pro-slavery and believed that preserving the Union would also preserve the “peculiar institution” for the South. Kentucky whites largely despised Lincoln.¹⁵ The

popular Unionist politician Joseph Holt pleaded in local papers that only the Union could enforce policies like the Fugitive Slave Act—ironic only in retrospect.¹⁶

The Maddox brothers were Baptists like their father, whose minister John Bobbitt had been known as a strong conservative.¹⁷ Baptists like Bobbitt sometimes preached that slavery was acknowledged in the Bible, and thus rejected abolitionism as unnatural and contrary to their religion. They sometimes repeated the sermons of the deeper South, which were reprinted in booklets and distributed for sale throughout the country.¹⁸ A Georgia sermon in 1861, for example, infamously described a “divine warrant” for slavery based on scripture.¹⁹ These dictums were repeated in popular religious newspapers in Christian County such as the *Baptist Recorder*.²⁰ But according to historian Luke Harlow, in a study of religion among white Kentuckians, the people and preachers of the area simultaneously “labored to remain detached” from the political divisiveness of the day.²¹ The people wanted to avoid war.

When the war began in April 1861, the state quickly claimed neutrality and stood up pickets (guards) at most towns and other important points, with the goal of defending against military incursions by either side. Confederate forces sporadically attacked and temporarily controlled the area for three months in the winter of 1861–1862. When Union forces regained control from the Confederates, the people of Christian County often viewed them as occupiers upending their way of life. One Hopkinsville diarist, Ellen Wallace, was enraged when she saw emancipated African Americans living freely among the Union forces. In late November 1861 she complained of “two negro men taken from the farm by the soldiery to be employed as waggener for the army without even giving their master notice.” And later she redoubled her complaints, when she described “the appearance of the town and people so different from what it was before the war. Negroes passing on horse back in squads of three or four yelling and laughing as they prance along on fine horses, as if they had in reality changed places with the white man.... Oh what a sad picture of a once free people All liberty gone.”²² This alteration—former slaves in positions of independence—was a radical disruption to a long-established way of life for the whites of Christian County.²³ The Maddoxes owned no slaves, but were probably as shocked by their being freed as everyone else around them seems to have been.²⁴

The men of Christian County were targets of enlistment drives by both sides of the war, and Joseph and Wes resisted the tide of recruitment even during Union occupation of Hopkinsville through mid-1862. The Union would have posted recruitment advertisements on every available pole in the area and in every newspaper, demanding that men fulfill their patriotic duty, defend their countrymen, or prove their manliness.²⁵ They also would have personally visited homes throughout the county, searching for conscripts. Some men hid to avoid enlistment.



In the late summer of 1862, a force of Confederate “partisan rangers” swept into Christian County, including the area of the Maddox farm, and on August 16, 1862, took temporary control of Hopkinsville.²⁶ These men, led by a charismatic commander named Adam Rankin Johnson, restored a familiar order to the town. Johnson claimed in his memoirs to have been hailed by “all the papers,” and that might have been true of the pro-Confederate newspapers of the area. However, the pro-Union *Owensboro Monitor* wrote only that “Hopkinsville is reported as captured by Adam Johnson,” and in a few weeks the pro-Union



ADAM RANKIN JOHNSON

Louisville Courier-Journal featured a front-page note from Hopkinsville declaring that “every rebel, or his sympathizer, ought to be driven from the State.”²⁷ The newspapers only reflected the mixed allegiances of the county in general.

Johnson replaced Union recruitment material with his own. He “took the printed circulars of [his superiors, Confederate generals] Bragg and Harris [to Hopkinsville], pledging to the people of Kentucky that they had come to release her from captivity....” His posters took the same plaintive tone as Morgan’s posters that summer, one of which promised to “rescue my native state from the hands of your oppressors” and, in a plea for enlistment, assured readers like Joseph and Wes that “Your gallant fellow citizens are flocking to our standard.”²⁸ Johnson’s notices also likely echoed the urgency of recruiting placards being hung in the area by Confederate guerrilla leader James Brown Clay, declaring: “The time for hesitation has passed! You have now to fight, either for the Yankees, who will press you into their service or for Your Homes! Your firesides! Your Property and your Liberty!”²⁹

In the atmosphere of banditry that Johnson brought with him (even the pro-Confederate di-

arist Wallace decried the extrajudicial activities of Johnson's guerrillas, calling the area a "theater of terror and wild confusion"), Joseph Maddox finally chose to enlist in the Union cavalry. Two days after Johnson's guerrillas had taken the area, on August 18, 1862, he joined up—after a year of resisting war cries from newsmen, ministers, and soldiers. In this regard, his choice seems to have been less a product of the hawkish propaganda all around him than it was of personal pressures by the people around him.³⁰

Johnson would later claim that "Never, perhaps, during the entire war was recruiting so easy" as during that time. Recruiters could leverage the new authority of the Confederate Conscription Act of April 1862, which made any white male between 18 and 35 years old liable to three years of military service, to press local men into his service. His guerrilla force quickly grew from just three scouts in 1861 to about 300 cavalymen the next summer, including Wes Maddox, who joined Johnson's Company K in late August 1862. Wes was among the very last available fighting-age men in Christian County.³¹ His service record indicates that he enlisted on August 27 at nearby Camp Coleman to serve "3 yrs or war" and that he was never paid, implying that he was conscripted.³² He had to have known that he would end up fighting against his brother in some way.

There are no journals, local newspaper accounts, or family stories that explain the brothers' reasoning behind joining opposing sides. To understand those decisions we must rely on fragments of their information environment, but there are limitations to understanding those factors (all Christian County newspapers of the time have been lost and the Confederates burned the county courthouse in 1864). On the other hand, their yearlong resistance to the local and national calls to arms offers probably the strongest explanation: The local presence of troops—the unavoidable, direct demand for their participation in the war—finally forced their hands.

That Joseph and Wes never showed up in official dispatches by their commanders reinforces the suggestion of their reluctant participation in the war. Their names are nowhere to be found in the dozen or so memoirs and official records of their units, except in muster rolls. They probably obeyed orders, but never attained the honorifics that would have required proactive participation. They were not hailed as heroes, but they also never deserted like so many others. Their enlistment

and pension records have little to say other than statements of fact of their good conduct. They luckily avoided the violent deaths visited upon many of their friends and neighbors. In their reluctance to fight, Wes and Joseph represent the silent majority so often compelled to participate in the tragedy of war.



Joseph Maddox's enlistment into the Union's 3rd Kentucky Cavalry in August 1862 put him under the command of "Sherman's Fighting Major" Lewis Wolfley, whose troops participated in the constant fight for control of Kentucky. That month, the regiment sought to overcome their image as "new troops" and "bandbox soldiers"—insults hurled at them when they entered Lexington in August—by defending Lexington and then chasing Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry in Tennessee. They would earn a reputation for bravery at the Battle of Stones River that winter.³³ Then, in July 1863, Wolfley's men were commanded to join the pursuit of Morgan's guerrillas as they raided towns along the Ohio River. The two forces twined like snakes along the river and through nearby valleys, occasionally biting at each other in short-lived combat.



LEWIS WOLFLEY

Wes and his uncle Davis' enlistment with Morgan's unit in 1862 means they participated in his 1862 Christmas Raid from Tennessee into Kentucky, and his June-July 1863 Great Raid into Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio—both of which earned Morgan a reputation for fierce irregular warfare. But it's difficult to find much strategic value in their raids from southwest Kentucky, through Indiana and then Ohio, culminating in the skirmishes at Cheshire and Bashan. Johnson, Wes' brigade commander, and Basil Duke, Davis' brigade commander, bragged in their memoirs that their soldiers had successfully drawn a disproportionate number of Union fighters and resources away from the main fight in the East (such as the Battle of Gettysburg that same month), demonstrated the effective tactics of Confederate horsemen, and certainly offered a moral victory to the South.³⁴ The Great Raid of 1863 probably did, if nothing more, complicate the Union's plans.³⁵ Most of Morgan's Raiders were killed or captured and taken off the battlefield for the rest of the war.

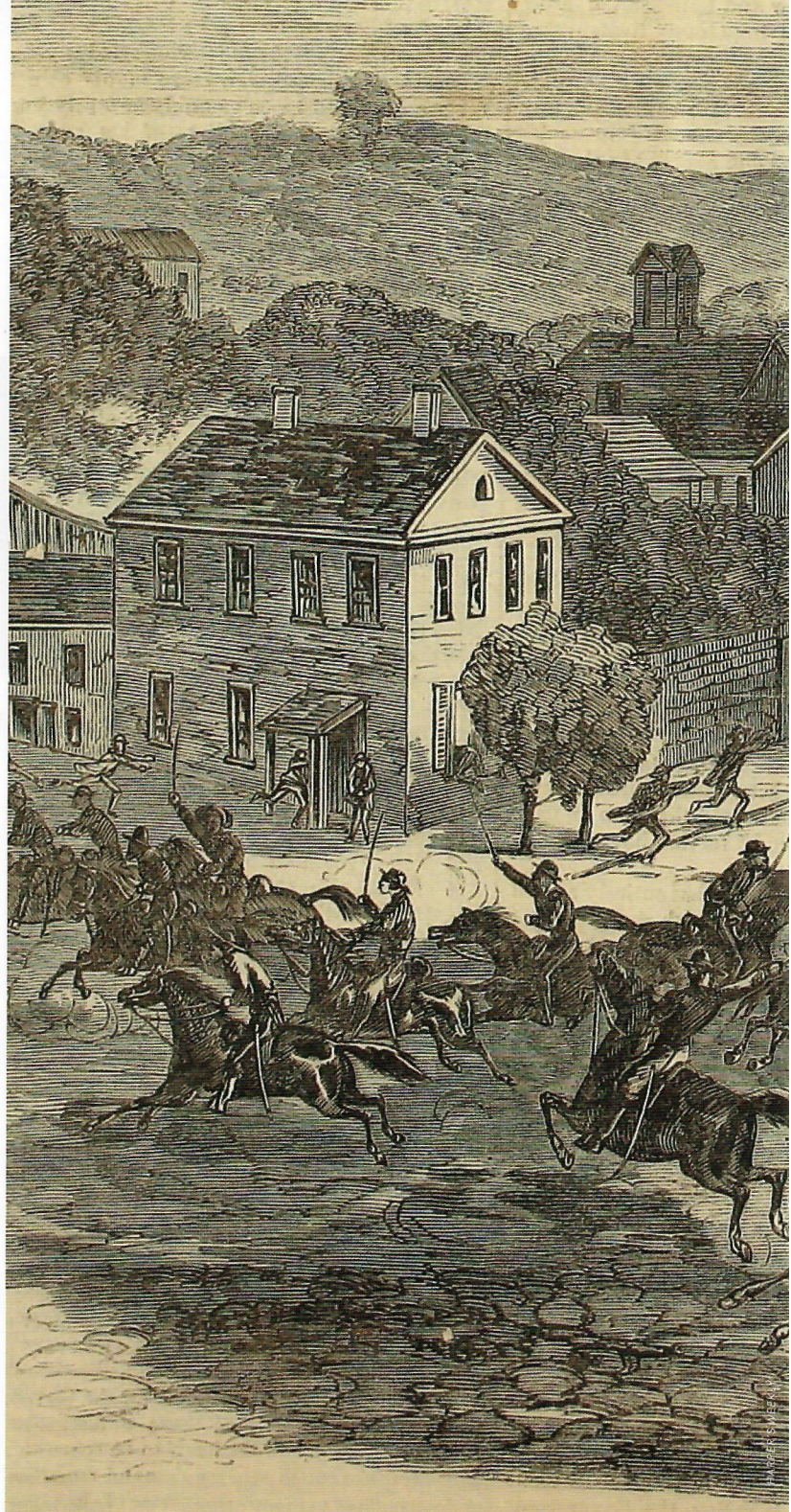
The superhuman propulsion of the Raiders awed the press. The Raiders were a regular subject of news articles throughout Kentucky, Indi-

ana, and Ohio, and they were even featured in an illustrated front-page story in *Harper's Weekly*, published in faraway New York City.³⁶ Among sympathetic readers, the sensationalism of the Raiders' actions—taunting the enemy, hiding in plain sight, and burning and pillaging Union resources—earned Morgan and his men a reputation of chivalric righteousness among some. *The Vidette*, the Raiders' own camp newspaper, made the most of their commander's reputation in playful and threatening articles.³⁷

After the war, Morgan's dramatic reputation dominated historical portrayals of the Raiders, ennobled by the passage of time and the pliability of memory. But the commitment to "the cause" by his average soldier has been mostly indistinguishable from historical depictions of the colonel's own dedication. In her important assessment of Kentucky's transition from wartime Unionist state to postwar sympathizer for the southern cause, historian Anne E. Marshall writes that later Kentuckians concretized this sense of uniform commitment to the Confederacy when they "built Confederate monuments, published sectional periodicals, participated in veterans' organizations and historical societies, and produced literature that portrayed Kentucky as Confederate."³⁸

The reality was quite different from this later interpretation. The banality of the individual soldier's experience at the skirmish at Bashan Church was captured by Private Curtis Burke, of Co. B, 14th Kentucky Cavalry. He shared the battlefield with Wes and Joseph Maddox. He wrote in his journal that "A shell or two passed over us about tree top high showing that the Yanks were determined to shell us as long as [we] were within range. We still had hopes of getting with the balance of the command. The Yanks came up and fired into our rear. Co. A dismounted and fought them till the balance of the regiment reached a rize in the woods, and formed a line. We dismounted to fight and advanced about twenty-five yards. We stood behind trees waiting for the enemy to come up again. There was about two hundred stragglers from other regiments with us. They attempted to get away while we were in line, but they did not go more than a few hundred yards when a sharp fire was opened on them from the front and they came back in a hurry. Nothing coming up in the rear we mounted our horses, but had hardly done so when the Yanks came up and fired into us. We moved back slowly firing a few shots. I saw one Yankee horse loose in their front without a rider. No one hurt on our side. We soon found out that we were surrounded and cut off from the command entirely. Some of the officers by order of Col. Dick Morgan who had been lost and just got with us, raised a white flag in the shape of a handker-

JOHN HUNT MORGAN'S RAIDERS, WITH WHOM WES MADDOX SERVED, CAPTIVATED THE PRESS DURING THEIR GREAT RAID INTO KENTUCKY, INDIANA, AND OHIO IN THE SUMMER OF 1863. HARPER'S WEEKLY PUBLISHED THIS ILLUSTRATION OF THE ARRIVAL OF MORGAN'S MEN AT WASHINGTON, OHIO, ON THE FRONT PAGE OF ITS AUGUST 15, 1863, EDITION.





CROSSROADS

CONTINUED FROM P. 67

division. Bragg later inserted Buckner, another corps commander, into this leadership equation while leaving Hindman in nominal charge of the operation. Bragg defined none of these command relationships explicitly, nor did he explain his reasoning for this odd arrangement; rather, he seems to have expected his subordinates to work out the details themselves as the situation unfolded. Further, Bragg granted Hill broad discretion to act—or not—as the Carolinian saw fit through the early stages of the operation. But he didn't tell either man what he expected them to do to achieve his desired goal. So Hindman, given this much latitude and uncertainty, marched part of the way to his objective and then sat idle.⁶

By the time the Confederates had ironed out their command problems, Negley's and Baird's divisions were already withdrawing from McLemore's Cove, leaving Bragg, Hill, Hindman, Buckner, and the rest of the bewildered Army of Tennessee leaders to bicker among themselves about yet another squandered opportunity. That evening Bragg rode down and joined Hindman and the others at Davis' Cross Roads. By most accounts the meeting was highly unpleasant, with Bragg demanding to know where the enemy had gone and receiving no good explanation from Hindman.⁷

The truth of the matter is that the failure at McLemore's Cove resulted from Bragg's inability to manage people, to command his subordinates—whether they liked him or not—to carry out his orders. Moreover, the unreliable and haphazard command-and-control methods customary to Civil War armies served as subtext to these failures, amplifying any existing problems within the Army of Tennessee's leadership. Bragg's command failure in September 1863 revealed his greatest leadership weakness: an inability or unwillingness to account for the human element in his evolving and often dysfunctional relationships with his subordinates. **M**

ANDREW S. BLEDSOE IS ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT LEE UNIVERSITY IN CLEVELAND, TENNESSEE. HE IS THE AUTHOR OF *CITIZEN-OFFICERS: THE UNION AND CONFEDERATE VOLUNTEER JUNIOR OFFICER CORPS IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR* (LSU PRESS, 2015).

BROTHER VS. BROTHER

CONTINUED FROM P. 50

chief on a ram rod.”³⁹ Just like that, it was over for them.

Many of the descendants of Morgan's Raiders—called Morgan's Men—continue to gather to preserve the Raiders' legacy and the legacies of their adversaries. Morgan's Men recently met for two days of guided tours, tracing the movement of the Raiders and their pursuers on the last day of Morgan's Great Raid, terminating at Buffington Island, Ohio—including the site of Wes and Joseph's fateful battlefield exchange.⁴⁰

During that gathering, Dave Mowery, an expert on the battle at Buffington Island, meticulously explained the skirmishes and movements that led to Morgan's final defeat and the capture or death of hundreds of men over those frenetic days.⁴¹ Although a few in the crowd wore hats reminiscent of their ancestors' Confederate uniforms, the event stopped short of the bloodless grandeur of battlefield reenactment. Asked about the unusual experience of Wes and Joseph Maddox, Mowery offered exacting details of what they might have experienced that day. But he offered no commentary on the righteousness of either side.

A caricature of the southern sentimentalist has emerged over the past few decades, with authors profiling southern fantasists, reenactors, or flag-draped rejectionists. These characters may exist, but none were to be found among the Morgan's Men society at Buffington Island. Instead, the descendants of the Raiders seemed genuinely curious, intent on uncovering the harsh reality of their ancestors' experiences on the battlefield—and they did not outwardly express any moral judgment against either side. There was only a kind of resignation to the facts of the war—a departure from the cliché of chivalric fantasy that has been assigned to the South. Their apolitical perspective seemed to reflect the Maddox brothers' own approach to the conflict. **M**

J.D. MADDOX IS AN ADJUNCT PROFESSOR OF NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES AT GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY AND A NATIONAL SECURITY CONSULTANT. HE IS A FORMER U.S. ARMY SOLDIER AND CIA OFFICER. HE DESCRIBED HIS OWN EXPERIENCE OF WAR IN A *NEW YORK TIMES* ARTICLE, “THE DAY I REALIZED I WOULD NEVER FIND WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN IRAQ” (2020).

EVERY TIME I FEEL THE SPIRIT

CONTINUED FROM P. 58

performed “Twenty Years Ago” to match Lincoln's melancholy mood. Lamon did indeed sing “Picayune Butler,” but only later in an attempt to lift his friend's spirits.

The Democratic press' misrepresentation of the incident incensed Lamon and he wrote a blistering reply. Upon reading it, Lincoln advised Lamon to put it away and crafted another response, which also never went to the newspapers. Ultimately, the story didn't damage Lincoln's reelection campaign, but it shows how minstrelsy was a complicated part of his story.³¹

Lincoln's presidential interactions with music were not confined to minstrelsy. He amplified “Dixie”'s popularity for sure, but other musical voices too. Although we now regard “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” as the Union's primary war anthem, it was an obscure song during the conflict and its melody was mostly associated with “John Brown's Body.” Lincoln witnessed two performances of Julia Ward Howe's hymn in early 1864 and 1865 at Christian Commission events in the House of Representatives. On both occasions, one of the song's main popularizers, the “singing chaplain” C.C. McCabe, sang the song and Lincoln responded with great enthusiasm, possibly weeping. After the 1864 performance, McCabe reported Lincoln cheered out “Sing it again!” almost echoing his reaction to first hearing “Dixie” four years earlier.³²

Lincoln's only recorded interaction with African-American music is even more illuminating. It has long been noted how contact with the African-American community in Washington and the bravery of the United States Colored Troops inspired Lincoln's evolving views on race. This musical performance captured him in the midst of that evolution.

“Aunt” Mary Dines was “leader of songs” for a Washington contraband camp when she heard Lincoln was coming to hear her choral group sing. She was so nervous that it “nearly killed her,” but surely recognized how any opportunity to perform before a white audience held the potential to influence