

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield
Educational Booklet
Grades 9-12

By

Kenneth Elkins

This fourth edition of the Educational Booklet for high school students was revised in 2008 by Kenneth Elkins, Jeff Patrick, and the staff of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield.

INTRODUCTION/CONTENTS

HOW TO USE YOUR SCHOOL PACKET FROM WILSON'S CREEK NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

A. INTRODUCTION:

This packet is organized to help you make the most of your study of the Battle of Wilson's Creek and/or visit to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. Feel free to pick and choose from the provided materials depending upon your particular circumstances and/or needs. To reserve a dvd or one of our four traveling trunks or to acquire one of the other educational packets, please see the EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS REQUEST FORM in the *EDUCATORS' GUIDE TO THE BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK*.

B. CONTENTS:

1. EDUCATIONAL GROUP RESERVATION FORM.

This form is necessary if your class(es) are going to visit Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. Please note the guidelines at the bottom of the sheet.

2. WILSON'S CREEK NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD TROOP MOVEMENT MAPS.

The six detailed maps herein chronologically show Troop locations and movements during the Battle of Wilson's Creek. Available upon request.

3. "THE STRUGGLE FOR MISSOURI: LYON'S CAMPAIGN AND THE BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK."

This short but detailed account by Leo Huff of the Events and personalities that led to the Battle of Wilson's Creek provides the necessary background for the academic activities included in this packet.

4. "THE BATTLE: A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF WILSON' CREEK."

This short account by Kenneth Elkins provides a somewhat different perspective on the people and events that led to and were involved in the Battle of Wilson's Creek than Huff's account. It will also prove useful to those completing the activities in this packet. Please feel free to copy this and Huff's account as necessary

5. OUTLINE OF THE TRAVELLING TRUNK PROGRAM.

For those teachers who cannot visit the park, or who wish to reinforce concepts learned either before or during their battlefield visit, four Traveling Trunks are available for loan. Each trunk contains a collection of reproduction items suitable for demonstrations and/or hands-on activities related to the daily life of common soldiers during the Civil War. Also included are descriptions of the uses of each specific item as well as some suggested classroom activities. Please call the battlefield about reserving one of these trunks.

6. PRE-VISIT ACTIVITIES.

Activities numbered one through seven are organized in order of increasing complexity for grades 9-12. Beyond copying them as necessary, please feel free to adjust or expand these as appropriate to suit your particular classroom situation.

7. OUTLINE OF BATTLEFIELD VISIT.

National Park Service personnel will be glad to answer any questions you might have during your visit.

8. VISIT ACTIVITY.

As with the other activities, this is optional. It might, however, allow some or all of your students to make better use of their tour of the Visitor Center.

9. POST-VISIT ACTIVITIES.

As with the activities above, use Activities nine and ten as appropriate.

10. SUGGESTED READINGS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

If you are interested in other aspects of the Civil War, National Park Service personnel will be glad to refer you to additional written works and/or bibliographical materials.

11. COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

To help us better serve you in the future, please take a moment to complete this short form and return it to the park. Further, if you have any immediate concerns during your visit, do not hesitate to share them with National Park Service personnel.

EDUCATIONAL GROUP RESERVATION FORM

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield

6424 W. Farm Road 182
Republic, Missouri 65738
(417) 732-2662

Date reservation requested:

Reservation received by:

Name of teacher: _____

Name of school: _____

Address of school: _____

Phone number of school: _____

CONFIRMATION FOR VISIT TO WILSON'S CREEK NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD:

Date of Visit: _____ Time: _____

Grade(s): _____ # of Students: _____ # of Adults: _____

Picnic Area: Yes ___ No ___ Self-guided Auto Tour: Yes ___ No ___

Special Needs: _____

VISIT GUIDELINES:

- *The teacher(s) is(are) responsible for the conduct of their students and must remain with their students during their visit.
- *The school will provide one adult for each ten students.
- *The entrance fee is waived for educational groups, see below.
- *If you need to reschedule or cancel your visit, please contact the battlefield as soon as possible.
- *If you are interested in reserving a video, a grade-specific educational packet, or one of our traveling trunks before your visit to Wilson's Creek, please use the following Educational Materials Request Form.
- *The staff at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield is looking forward to your upcoming visit. We hope that it will be a most enjoyable and educational experience.

I have read the program guidelines listed above and agree to comply with these standards during our visit. I also request a waiver of the entrance fee for my group, as our visit to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield is educational in nature.

Signature

Date

THE BATTLE

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK, ITS SIGNIFICANCE, AND THE CIVIL WAR IN MISSOURI

By Kenneth Elkins

On the cold, clear night of February 7, 1861, Captain Nathaniel Lyon led his company of U.S. infantrymen from Fort Riley, Kansas, off railroad cars at Union Depot in St. Louis, Missouri and marched them to the Federal Arsenal, which local Unionists feared might fall under the control of Southern sympathizers. Just two months later the first shots of the American Civil War were fired at Fort Sumter in South Carolina and almost four months after that Lyon, with only three months experience as a newly appointed general, and hundreds of other men, were killed in a brutal battle along Wilson's Creek in southwest Missouri on a scorching morning in August. While Lyon undoubtedly was "an obscure infantry captain" before the war began, perhaps as much as any other man, he was responsible for bringing the war to Missouri. Unfortunately, the struggle for Missouri did not end with the deaths at Wilson's Creek. By war's end, Missouri not only had seen more military actions than any other state except Virginia and Tennessee, but the people of Missouri had also endured a bitter guerrilla struggle that cost over 25,000 civilian lives.

Prior to the Battle of Wilson's Creek President Abraham Lincoln instructed Major General John Fremont, before he assumed overall command of Union forces in the West in late July, that "you must use your own judgment, and do the best you can." Fremont considered possession of Missouri a key part of controlling the Mississippi River Valley, which would allow the Union to "hold the country by its heart." In other words, according to the historian Shelby Foote, while "Missouri was only a starting point," it was "essential to the plan" to control the Mississippi River to the gulf, including the vital cities of Vicksburg and New Orleans. Further, beyond the need to protect Missouri's Unionists, the state was important to the Union because of the manpower and agricultural produce it could contribute to the war effort, as well as serving as a potential staging point for a later invasion of the South. Finally, Missouri was crucial because by 1860 it supplied over 60% of the nation's lead. Later, after the Battle of Wilson's Creek, G. W. Clark, the Confederate Quartermaster at Fort Smith, Arkansas informed Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin that he believed that lead mines in southern Missouri could "furnish all that is wanted for the Confederate Army." Aside from these logical reasons for securing control of Missouri, Lyon's fanatical devotion to preserving the Union drove him to purge the state of those who were not of like mind.

From the time of his arrival in St. Louis, Lyon showed little interest in compromising with anyone who held Southern sympathies. In the weeks before the battle at Wilson's Creek, he had the weapons in the St. Louis Arsenal moved to a safe place, took prisoner hundreds of pro-secession Missouri militiamen gathered nearby at Camp Jackson, seized control of the capital in Jefferson City, refused to negotiate with pro-Southern leaders such as Missouri Governor Claiborne Jackson, routed Rebel forces at Boonville, Missouri's first battle, in mid-June, and then pursued them into southwest Missouri in mid-July. There, after more hard marching and inconclusive skirmishes, Lyon decided for three reasons to attack the Southern force camped on Wilson's Creek: nearly half of his men were at the end of their ninety day enlistment; to protect the pro-Union element in Springfield; and simply because it galled him to retreat without doing any serious damage to the Rebel cause in Missouri. Ironically, Southern leaders planned to march on Springfield the evening before but a local thunder shower forced them to remain in camp, though they failed to set adequate sentries.

Lyon's plan was as audacious as it was simple. After marching through the night, on the morning of August 10th, a Saturday, he attacked the Southern camps on Wilson's Creek from the north with 4200 troops while Colonel Franz Sigel's 1200 men struck from the south. By dividing his small force Lyon hoped to surprise the larger Southern army, damage it seriously, and drive it off before its leaders could bring their 12,000 men to bear on the attacking Federals. If it had not been for the murderous delaying fire of Captain William Woodruff's Confederate artillery battery at the outset of the battle and then Sigel's disastrous rout at 8:30 A.M. at the hands of Southern troops mistaken for gray-clad Iowans, Lyon might have succeeded. But the Confederate and Missouri State Guard forces under the leadership, respectively, of Generals Ben McCulloch and Sterling Price, refused to yield and, with Sigel's troops gone from the field, Lyon's men faced their enemies alone.

Though few of the troops on either side had seen full-scale combat, the two armies stood, with the glaring exception of Sigel's rout, in the worst of conditions and fought at close quarters on both sides of Wilson's Creek. The roar of battle was heard miles away, while on the high ground west of the creek, thereafter known as Bloody Hill, clouds of gunpowder smoke shrouded the wounded and the dead strewn across a devastated landscape. Lost in the searing sights and sounds of war, the two armies faced off in the merciless heat for what must have seemed like an eternity, though the battle actually lasted less than six hours and was broken by three clear lulls. One Union officer recalled after the battle that by 9:00 A.M. the "engagement . . . [became] almost inconceivably fierce along the entire line." While rallying his troops to meet this determined Southern assault, General Lyon, already twice wounded, died when a bullet

found his heart, though few were aware of his loss.

During the two hours after Lyon's death at 9:30, according to the senior Union officer, the "most bloody engagement of the day" occurred, during which the Federal line held "with perfect firmness" despite "the contending lines being almost muzzle to muzzle." By noon, Major Samuel Sturgis, who did not assume command of Union forces for nearly a half hour after Lyon's death because of the poor communications and confusion so common to the warfare of that day, ordered his exhausted troops to retreat after their ammunition ran low, leaving the field to the equally exhausted Rebels who, upon attacking for the fourth time, found only the wounded and the dead on Bloody Hill.

Despite their inexperience and the miserable conditions in which they strove, the opposing armies, with but a few exceptions, fought well. General John Clark, a division commander in the Missouri State Guard, exclaimed the morning after the battle while surrounded by the awful debris of war, "But didn't my men fight, though? Didn't they fight like devils?" Such sentiments were common on both sides. Edwin Nash, Adjutant for the 1st Kansas Regiment, in a letter informing Mrs. Hattie Jones of the death of her husband, First Lieutenant Levant Jones, wrote that "while our boys were being cut down by the dozens they never flinched a hair but stood their ground like old veterans." Sadly, in the course of such brave efforts, both veterans and the inexperienced suffered and died in the indiscriminate slaughter of the battle.

So ferocious was the fighting at Wilson's Creek, it is little wonder the casualty rates were so high. Over 530 men were killed during the battle while more than 1800 were wounded, many of them severely. Henry Martyn Cheavens, an infantryman with the Missouri State Guard, was struck by Federal artillery fire during the battle. A canister ball nearly severed the muscles and nerves in his right thigh while breaking the bone just above the knee. Though a friend endured two amputations and suffered "immensely" before dying six weeks later, inexplicably Cheavens avoided the deadly infections that too often resulted in further amputations and death. A clue to his survival, however, is suggested when Cheavens later wrote that "maggots crawled over me and in my wound and up my back till the bedclothes were just filled." Not until the early Twentieth Century would doctors understand that in terrible wounds such as his, maggots ate only the dead flesh and thus reduced the chances of infection. Though Cheavens and others survived their wounds, too many men went unattended for hours after the battle and died alone. But after the battle there would be little time to grieve for the dead or reflect on the fate of the wounded because the machinery of war had been set in relentless motion and would grind on for many months and years to come.

Southern forces at Wilson's Creek failed to take advantage of their hard-won victory and strike the Federal forces before

they retreated to Rolla and then St. Louis. Soon thereafter, while regular Confederate forces under General McCulloch returned to Arkansas, General Price led the Missouri State Guard north where, in mid-September, they captured and temporarily held the small community of Lexington on the Missouri River before retreating to the south. Thus, in the long run, Lyon's gamble at Wilson's Creek paid off; Southern forces were prevented from gaining control of all or part of Missouri in 1861 and the stage was set for the Union's decisive victory at Pea Ridge in northern Arkansas the next spring. Meanwhile, many of the men who fought at Wilson's Creek went on to fight in hundreds of other battles during the war, many of which would prove to be much like the one at Wilson's Creek: bitterly contested, costly, and too often inconclusive. Finally, and beyond the consequences of regular military actions, civilians in Missouri faced nearly three more years of grim guerrilla warfare during which marauding bands from both sides killed thousands of civilians and drove many others from their homes and farms. The legacies of that guerrilla warfare, as well as our memories of the men on both sides who fought valiantly in the bloody battle at Wilson's Creek, still remain with us.

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OUTLINE OF THE TRAVELLING TRUNK PROGRAM

Any of the Traveling Trunks can be used as a self-contained educational activity or in conjunction with other activities and/or your visit to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. Each of our four trunks, whether for the United States Regular soldier, the 1st Iowa infantryman, the Missouri State Guard soldier, or the 3rd Louisiana infantryman, will have a list of contents which should be checked off against the items in the trunk upon receipt and before its return to the park. The list below is provided to give you some idea of the contents of these trunks and as such is more representative than complete. Please feel free to copy any of the printed materials in the trunk.

Outline of Contents:

- A. Checklist of contents.
- B. List of contents with associated descriptions bound in a folder.
- C. Clothing: including but not limited to different types of coats, shirts, hats, shoes, etc.
- D. Personal items: including but not limited to such items as mirrors, wallets, combs, pipes, cards and/or dice, writing materials, cooking and eating utensils, soap, tin cups, candles, toothbrushes, etc.
- E. Regularly issued military materials: cartridge and/or cap boxes, bayonet scabbard, haversack withhardtack crackers, canteen, etc.
- F. In the U.S. Regular trunk only: drill manual (*Hardee's Tactics*), selected excerpts.

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PRE-VISIT OBJECTIVES/MATERIALS NEEDED

Any or all of the following activities may be selected by the teacher as appropriate pre-visit (or whenever they best serve your purposes) lessons for her/his particular class(es). Teachers may either use their copy/copies of this packet and/or the *EDUCATORS' GUIDE* as an instructional tool and/or copy sections from either packet as appropriate for regular class activities.

I. Activity One, Parts One through Three:

Upon completing this activity, the student will be able to:

1. identify and list the major events and locations before and during the Battle of Wilson's Creek.
2. identify and consider those individuals who played significant roles in the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

Materials needed: For historical background, see the enclosed copy of Leo Huff's "The Struggle for Missouri" and/or Kenneth Elkins's account "The Battle." The OFFICIAL MAP AND GUIDE for Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, also in the *EDUCATORS' GUIDE*, may also be useful. Feel free to copy these materials as necessary.

II. Activity Two:

Upon completing this activity, the student will be able to:

1. identify, in correct chronological order, the major events corresponding to the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

Materials needed: Use and copy as necessary Huff's "The Struggle for Missouri," Elkins's "The Battle," and/or the OFFICIAL MAP AND GUIDE.

III. Activity Three:

Upon completing this activity, the student will be able to:

1. identify, list, and discuss some of the possible ways the people of Wilson's Creek, Springfield, and southwest Missouri were affected by troop movements and battles during the Civil War.

Materials needed: In addition to the materials listed above, you might also consult either August Klapp's *The Ray House* and/or Edwin Bearss' *The Battle of Wilson's Creek*, both available at the battlefield.

IV. Activities Four, Five, Six, and Seven:

Upon completing these activities, the student will be able to:

1. critically analyze primary source documents to determine the course of historical events and their effects on individuals.
2. Identify and understand how historians use primary sources to draw conclusions about the past.

Materials needed: In addition to the short accounts of the Battle of Wilson's Creek listed above, you will need the excerpts included below from E. F. Ware's personal account of Lyon's campaign in 1861, Colonel Franz Sigel's two reports on his involvement in the Battle of Wilson's Creek, Michael Fellman's history of guerrilla warfare in Missouri, *Inside War*, and U.S. Census data on slavery and slave ownership. Feel free to make copies as necessary.

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Activity One, Part One

Fill-in-the-blank. Please complete the following historical statements by writing the appropriate term in the space provided to the left.

- _____ 1. Elected in 1860, . . . was the pro-secessionist governor of Missouri at the beginning of the Civil War.
- _____ 2. Early conflicts between the radically pro-Union Captain Nathaniel Lyon and Southern sympathizers took place in the city of
- _____ 3. The first true battle of the Civil War in Missouri took place in . . . on June 17, 1861.
- _____ 4. The skirmish at . . . on August 2 not only led Confederate leadership to distrust General Price's Missourians, but also gave General Lyon a false impression of the fighting ability of the Rebel forces in southwest Missouri.
- _____ 5. A light rain shower on August 9 kept Southern forces from attacking Lyon's army in the city of
- _____ 6. Federal reports referred to the August 10 battle as Wilson's Creek, while the Rebels knew it as the Battle of
- _____ 7. General Lyon was killed while leading Union forces in the area that came to be known as
- _____ 8. During the Battle of Wilson's Creek, the . . . lost a higher percentage of its men engaged in the battle than its opponent.
- _____ 9. Technically, Wilson's Creek was a victory for the Army because it held the field at the end of the battle.
- _____ 10. The Battle of Wilson's Creek and the Battle of . . . in March 1862 are generally considered to be the two most important Civil War battles west of the Mississippi River.

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Activity One, Part Two

True/False: Please read carefully each statement below. If the entire statement is true, please circle the "T" in the left column. If any part of or the entire statement is false, please circle the "F" in the right column.

- T or F 1. By December 1860, the vast majority of the people of Missouri were violently pro-Confederate and thus eager to secede.
- T or F 2. General Lyon's uncompromising attitude and zeal in opposition to Governor Jackson's equally stubborn pro-secessionist stance, not only forced Missourians to take sides but also made bloody civil war a bitter reality in Missouri.
- T or F 3. On May 10, 1861, pro-Southern Missouri State Militia forces killed 28 Union sympathizers in St. Louis.
- T or F 4. General Lyon decided on a simultaneous, two-sided attack on Confederate forces at Wilson's Creek rather than an immediate retreat to Rolla.
- T or F 5. Union forces at the Battle of Wilson's Creek outnumbered Confederate forces by over 2 to 1.
- T or F 6. Colonel Sigel's troops were routed when they mistook the gray uniforms of the Confederate 3rd Louisiana for those of the 1st Iowa, a Union unit.
- T or F 7. The heaviest fighting during the Battle of Wilson's Creek took place in John Ray's cornfield.
- T or F 8. Neither Union nor Confederate artillery units played a significant role in the Battle of Wilson's Creek.
- T or F 9. Lyon was the first Union general to die in combat during the Civil War.
- T or F 10. Missouri had both Union and Confederate governments during the Civil War.

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Activity One, Part Three

Matching Names: Please match the individuals on the left with their description on the right by placing their associated letters in the appropriate spaces at the far left.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|----|---|
| ___ | Frank Blair, Jr. | A. | Overall commander of Southern forces during the Battle of Wilson's Creek. |
| ___ | Sterling Price | B. | Missouri politician and staunch Unionist who supported Lyon's actions in St. Louis. |
| ___ | N.B. Pearce | C. | Commander of Arkansas State troops at Wilson's Creek. |
| ___ | Benjamin McCulloch | D. | General Lyon's immediate superior, he refused to send reinforcements to southwest Missouri. |
| ___ | Samuel Sturgis | E. | A former Missouri governor, he commanded the Missouri State Guard at Wilson's Creek. |
| ___ | John C. Fremont | F. | He assumed command of the Union forces at Wilson's Creek after the death of General Lyon. |

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Answer Key: Activity One

Part One (Fill-in-the-blank):

1. Claiborne Fox Jackson
2. St. Louis
3. Boonville
4. Dug Springs
5. Springfield
6. Oak Hills
7. Bloody Hill
8. Federals or Union
9. Southern or Confederate
10. Pea Ridge, Arkansas

Part Two (True/False):

1. False
2. True
3. False
4. True
5. False
6. True
7. False
8. False
9. True
10. True

Part Three (Matching):

- B--Blair
- E--Price
- C--Pearce
- A--McCulloch
- F--Sturgis
- D--Fremont

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Activity Two

Instructions: Listed below are some major events that took place in Missouri between February and October 1861. Organize them in their correct chronological sequence from earliest to the most recent and list them at the bottom of the page.

1. Skirmish at Dug Springs
2. Siege of Lexington.
3. Confederate Missouri admitted as 12th member of the Confederacy.
4. Battle of Wilson's Creek.
5. Lincoln called for volunteers after the fall of Fort Sumter.
6. Battle of Carthage.
7. Congressman Blair and General Lyon met with General Price and Governor Jackson.
8. Battle of Boonville.
9. Camp Jackson Affair and riot in St. Louis in which 28 civilians were killed by Lyon's troops.
10. Missouri Convention voted 89 to 1 to remain in the Union.

The Civil War in Missouri in 1861:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

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Answer Key: Activity Two

The Civil War in Missouri: chronological sequence (with dates).

1. Missouri Convention voted 89 to 1 to remain in the Union (March 9).
2. Lincoln called for volunteers after the fall of Fort Sumter (April 15).
3. Camp Jackson Affair and riot in St. Louis in which 28 civilians were killed by Lyon's troops (May 10).
4. Congressman Blair and General Lyon met with General Price and Governor Jackson (June 11).
5. Battle of Boonville (June 17).
6. Battle of Carthage (July 5).
7. Skirmish at Dug Springs (August 2).
8. Battle of Wilson's Creek (August 10).
9. Siege of Lexington (September 12-20).
10. Missouri admitted as 12th member of the Confederacy (November 28).

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Activity Three

INSTRUCTIONS: Depending upon your class situation, have your students identify and list a given number of ways the people of Wilson's Creek, Springfield, and southwest Missouri were affected by the Civil War.

This activity is intended to provoke thought, therefore there is no one correct answer or answers. A few of the possible ways civilians were affected might include:

1. Loss of crops and/or livestock due to military appropriation.
2. Damage to property from military use, either peaceful or during combat. Examples: the use of split rails for firewood and/or the loss of orchards due to gunfire.
3. Interruption of commerce.
4. The loss of loved ones, either by disease or as casualties of war.
5. The dire need for civilians to provide short and long term medical aid for wounded military personnel.
6. Civilian injury and/or death due to military activities.
7. Polarization of popular support for opposing sides due to real, exaggerated, or imagined military injustices.
8. The disruption of local law enforcement with a resultant rise in criminal activities, often thinly veiled as legitimate military actions (i.e., guerrilla activities).
9. The disruption of educational activities.
10. Immediate political chaos with resultant long-term bitterness that would hamper the political process for years to come.
11. Conscription into the armed forces.
12. The need for civilians to provide food and other material support to troops in the field as well as pay taxes.
13. Employment opportunities for civilians, such as work in arsenals and factories, or attached to the armies, such as teamsters and sutlers.
14. War time inflation and the rise in the cost of living, along with war profiteering.
15. Interruption of communications.
16. Restriction on personal freedoms: speech, press, travel, habeas corpus.
17. Displacement of civilians, refugees fleeing advancing armies.
18. In Missouri many slaves fled in response to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, issued late in 1862. Some slaves, such as Mark Sharp, chose to fight for the Union.

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Activity Four: Parts One and Two

INSTRUCTIONS: After students have read below Eugene Ware's first person accounts of (Part One) his perspective on why men in his Iowa community were so eager to enlist at the beginning of the war as well as (Part Two) his recollections of his own combat experience during the Battle of Wilson's Creek, have them respond as appropriate to the set of questions that follow.

These excerpts are from Ware's *The Lyon Campaign in Missouri*, pages 72-79 and 315-327. Within a few days after the Civil War began in April 1861, Ware voluntarily enlisted in the First Iowa Infantry. After extensive training, in mid-June his unit joined Union forces in Missouri under General Nathaniel Lyon. Through the sweltering summer months of July and August, Lyon's small army pursued the pro-Southern governor of Missouri and his State Guard forces moving to join regular Confederate forces in southern Missouri. After a series of maneuvers, skirmishes, and engagements, the two armies finally met in bloody battle at Wilson's Creek on August 10, 1861. Later Ware would write at length about "one of the bloodiest pitched battles ever fought on American soil" and his experiences in that battle.

Activity Four, Part One: Why Men Fought:

My old grandfather came along . . . the fence and asked, "What are you trying to do?" I said: "I am learning to throw up earth-works. What do you think of the prospect of war?" He said: "I have been expecting it for twenty years. The country is all gone to smash. The Constitution is of no use anymore. . . . [t]here never will be any more such good times as there used to be. About everybody's going to get killed unless something stops it, and I don't see what there is that can stop it. It is State against State, and it will be family against family and man against man. I don't never expect to live to see the end of it. . . . I said to him: "I expect I will be in the war. Nobody seems to think it will last long; some say it won't last over ninety days." My old grandfather said: "Oh, ninety days ain't no time. You can't get ready in ninety days; but," he said, "I guess you might as well go as anybody. *War is a great school.* It is a mighty good school, or it is a mighty bad school, according to the way you take it." . . . When I found out that I had been selected as one to go to the war . . . my happiness knew no bounds. My sister was very proud of it, and her many young lady friends congratulated me. I felt that I might become a favorite, and might ultimately be considered by the young ladies generally as being a good deal of a fellow. . . . [after my selection it was] the happiest day of my life, and those who were successful all felt similar elation. . . . Cash was frequently

offered by outsiders for a place as private soldier in the company. When I announced to my parents that I had been accepted in the Zouaves, things seemed to change with them. . . . There was a constant stream of secession talk in Northern newspapers, and a constant iteration of the fact that any parent could take any boy out of the army, under twenty-one. That was what made it hard for me to get in, and the question with me was whether or not my parents would take me out. . . . My father's demeanor changed a very great deal when he found that I was in. He was not half as profoundly stirred up over slavery as he had been before. I was his only grown son. My mother took a very sensible view of things. She cried some, but said that if I wanted to go I ought to go. She said that I must write her every week if I went, and she very sensibly said, "Now you want to be careful and not do anything that would make you ashamed to come back." . . . As soon as our company had been organized, we who were uniformed were marched down to a church where a sermon was to be preached. . . . I shall never forget that sermon. I do not remember the name of the minister. . . . He told us that, if we were called upon, we must uphold the country and the flag, and he made the distinct statement that the Lord Almighty had organized the United States for the purpose of keeping out kings and kingdoms. . . . the great curse of the world. . . . [The U.S. government] was to be a beacon-light in the world, and if we lost our lives in the supporting of the government we would go right straight to Heaven as soon as we were killed. I remember what a very assuring effect that had. I was beginning to have a little doubt upon the subject at that time, but the sermon seemed as if it had been prepared in a very sensible, scientific, patriotic and politic way to give the boys enthusiasm. It was without doubt all prearranged, although we did not then understand it. At any rate, the sermon had a very fine effect, and as the church was large, and all the girls in town were there, the boys marched out very pompously and felt that they were going either down to the tropics or to heaven, and it was safe either way. . . . [later] The German company was organized under an old German officer as captain. . . . [who was] one of the best men. . . . I ever knew. . . . [and] was idolized by everybody who knew him. He was a thorough lover of liberty, a brave and capable man. . . . Before we were accepted a couple of our men changed their views and politics, and became "secesh" and would not go in. It was not to be wondered at that under steady disloyal persuasion a young man here and there should yield. There were hundreds of open secessionists and hundreds of "Southern sympathizers," and they were all at work doing what they could to tie the hands of the North and of the soldiers of the Union. . . . [Still], the new soldiers whenever they marched felt that they were keeping step to the music of the Union. . . . [and] our company was probably the prettiest-looking lot of young men who ever stood up in a row.

Activity Four, Part Two: The Fight at Wilson's Creek:

This later excerpt from *The Lyon Campaign in Missouri* provides the reader with Ware's very personal recollections of his combat experience at Wilson's Creek on August 10, 1861.

We all laid down on this rock to get rested. The cool, dewy night air made me feel chilly in the "linings" which I was wearing; but the radiating heat which the rock during the day had absorbed, was peculiarly comfortable. I went to sleep in from five to ten seconds and slept deliciously. I had made up my mind that if we were going to have a battle I certainly would not get killed, but might need all my strength and ability in getting away from the enemy's cavalry. . . . In a short time we found that the enemy were alive and active. . . . As we marched up the hill, it came in my way to step over one of the skirmishers who was shot right in front of us. He was a blue-eyed, blonde, fine-looking young man, with a light mustache, who writhed around upon the ground in agony. While I was walking past, I asked him where he was shot, but he seemed unable to comprehend or answer. . . . As we started up the ridge a yell broke from our lines that was kept up with more or less accent and with slight intermissions for six hours. . . . Across the creek, which was not very far, perhaps about a third of a mile, a battery of artillery made a specialty of our ranks, opening out thunderously. . . . When we saw the puff of the artillery we dodged and went down flat, and in the course of fifteen minutes gained so much confidence that we felt no hesitation in walking around and seeing what we could see, knowing that we could dodge the artillery ammunition. . . . Considerable damage was done to our artillery, but they were not silenced. One of the large roan artillery horses was standing back of the gun over the crest of the hill. A shell from the battery in front of us struck this horse somehow and tore off its left shoulder. Then began the most horrible screams and neighing I ever heard. . . . [T]he voice of this roan horse was the limit; it was so absolutely blood-curdling that it had to be put to an end immediately. One of the soldiers shot the horse through the heart. . . . In a little while, in front of us, appeared, advancing in the meadow, a body of men that we estimated at about one thousand. . . . As they got nearer to us, their own artillery ceased to fire, because it endangered them. When they got close the firing began on both sides. How long it lasted I do not know. It might have been an hour; it seemed like a week; it was probably twenty minutes. Every man was shooting as fast, on our side, as he could load, and yelling as loud as his breath would permit. . . . Finally, the field was so covered with smoke that

not much could be known as to what was going on.

At one time we were charged by a large detachment of Louisiana troops. They made the most stubborn fight of the day. . . . During that fight Corporal Bill [William J. Fuller] received a minie ball on the crest of the forehead. The ball went over his head, tearing the scalp, sinking [into] the skull at the point of impact about one-eighth of an inch. He bled with a sickening profusion all over his face, neck, and clothing. . . . From that depression in the skull, wasted to a skeleton, he, an athlete, died shortly after his muster-out, with consumption. How could it be?

About this time we heard yelling in the rear, and we saw a crowd of cavalry coming on a grand gallop, very disorderly, with their apex pointing steadily at our pieces of artillery. We were ordered to face about and step forward to meet them. . . . We kept firing, and awaited their approach with fixed bayonets. Our firing was very deadly, and the killing of horses and riders in the front rank piled the horses and men together as they tumbled over one another. . . . Some few spasmodic efforts were made to dislodge us, all of which we repulsed. Finally the hostile artillery in front ceased firing, and there came a lull; finally the last charge of the day was made, which we easily repulsed, and the field was ours. . . . [We] sat down on the ground and began to tell the funny incidents that had happened. We looked after the boys who were hurt, sent details off to fill the canteens, and we ate our dinners. . . . We regretted very much the death of General Lyon, but we felt sanguine over our success, and thought the war was about ended.

After a little while we moved forward about one hundred feet. . . . We supposed that we were going to chase the enemy down Wilson's creek, but instead of this an order came for us to wheel to the right, and take up a position in the rear. . . . We were the last off the field and never had a shot fired at us. . . . The boys were highly pleased that they had got through with the day alive, and there was no idea that the day had gone against us.

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

Questions: Activity Four, Parts One and Two

Reasons Why Men Chose to Fight in the Civil War and The Experience of Combat:

Instructions: During the Civil War men decided to join the military and fight in the war for different reasons. Most men, however, found the experience of combat to be quite different from what they had expected. After reading Eugene F. Ware's personal accounts above, please answer the following questions.

1. Please identify and briefly discuss three possible reasons why many men were so eager to join volunteer units and fight during the first year of the war.
2. What do you think Ware's grandfather meant when said that "War is a great school?" How might the choices men made while in the military help determine whether the experience of war was a good one or a bad one for them?
3. With respect to his combat experience, why do you think Ware wrote about these particular events? Why does he seem to know so little about the overall events and results of this battle?
4. Does Ware write anything about being afraid? Why or why not? In your opinion, would Ware have been more or less afraid during subsequent battles? Why or why not?
5. Why is it important for students and historians to have primary sources, or personal accounts, like that of Eugene Ware's for us to better understand the American Civil War?

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

Answer Key: Activity Four

1. Possible reasons why men enlisted during the Civil War.
 - 1) Ware "expected" to be in the war. He implies that involvement in the war was probably unavoidable, though he also implies that it would end quickly, perhaps in less than ninety days. His grandfather had also been "expecting it for twenty years," though he did not expect it to end so quickly.
 - 2) Since the war might last less than ninety days, Ware implies that if one wanted to experience war one should enlist immediately.
 - 3) Ware's grandfather told him that war could be "a great school" if one took it the right "way." In other words, one could learn much that was valuable by experiencing war as long as you had the right attitude and made the right choices.
 - 4) Ware was happy about enlisting and being selected by such a flashy and recognizable group as the Zouaves, Union and Confederate regiments that modeled their bright uniforms and drill on the original Zouaves of the French colonial armies. Here his motive seems to be mostly a desire for adventure, excitement, and public attention.
 - 5) Ware hoped to gain the favor of his sister's "many young lady friends" by enlisting voluntarily and quickly. While he might have been looking forward to marriage, it would seem he was more interested at that time in becoming more popular with young women and interacting with them socially. Further, the historian Michael Fellman (see Activity Six below) argues persuasively that many wives, girlfriends, and sisters put a significant degree of pressure on the men in their lives to fight.
 - 6) Young men often wanted to join the military because so many were doing so, either to be with friends or simply to be a part of what their peers were jumping into. Some were so interested in joining military units that "Cash was frequently offered by outsiders for a place as private soldier in the company." Please note that during the first few months of the war so many men wanted to enlist, especially in the South, that some had to be turned away, a problem that was much less common after the first few major battles were fought with their high casualties.
 - 7) To a different extent, his parents supported his enlistment, or at least did not oppose it. His mother seems to have believed that her son could make the right choices and "not do anything that would make you [Ware] ashamed to come back."

- 8) Local religious leaders often encouraged men to serve. Not too long after his enlistment, Ware heard one minister claim from the pulpit that God "organized" the United States government to end rule by kings throughout the world and that, thus, men willing to fight and die for their government would "go right straight to Heaven as soon as we were killed."
- 9) Men sometimes enlisted because they were attracted to a strong leader, such as Ware's "old German officer" who was "one of the best men and one of the bravest officers" he had ever known and who "was idolized by everybody who knew him."
2. Ware's grandfather seems to have believed that war could, "if properly used," teach much about duty, honor, friend-ship, and discipline to those that experienced it. In other words, if one was strong and made the right choices, war could teach its participants much about human life. It could also be "a mighty bad school" if one chose unwisely.
3. Because these were the things he saw and heard that made a lasting impression on him. In the midst of all the struggle, smoke, noise, and confusion on the battlefield, it would have been easy to miss much.
4. Ware does not mention being afraid. For some unexplained reason, he claims to have convinced himself that he would not die that day. But he did make note of those that were wounded or killed. Eventually, like nearly all other soldiers, he would have realized that death could come to any man on the field of battle, including himself. Even worse, men would have become painfully aware that they might be terribly wounded. Consequently, it is little wonder that desertions became much more common by the end of the war than at the beginning.
5. Because primary sources are eyewitness, firsthand evidence about what people in other historical periods experienced and believed. In other words, they are windows to the past. While such sources must be used cautiously because of the limited, often faulty, and sometimes self-serving nature of human memory, they are still some of our best sources of information about the motives and actions of men and women in the past.

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

Activity Five: Contrasting Eyewitness Accounts

INSTRUCTIONS: Read carefully the following excerpts, both of which were written by Union Colonel Franz Sigel about his role in the Battle of Wilson's Creek. What discrepancies exist between Sigel's first account, written eight days after the battle, and the second account, written over twenty years later? What might be some possible reasons for these discrepancies? Second, drawing on both these eyewitness accounts, write a short version of Sigel's part in the battle. What precautions should we observe as historians when using such first-hand accounts, or primary sources? Why is it advantageous to have more than one first-hand account of a historical event? Finally, why must historians be careful with accounts written at such different times?

ANSWER KEY: Results will vary on this assignment, but note how Sigel's second account lessens considerably his portion of the blame for the rout of his men. As for precautions, one should always be aware that first-hand accounts can be problematic because of personal biases and/or agendas, the limited perspective of individuals caught up in sweeping historical events, and the frequently dubious nature of human memory. We can, however, by drawing on more than one first-hand account, eliminate inconsistencies and create a more factual narrative of past events.

Activity Five: First Account

Excerpt from the report of Colonel Franz Sigel in The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Series I, Volume III, pages 87-88. Report dated August 18, 1861.

"This was the state of affairs at 8:30 o'clock in the morning, when it was reported to me by Dr. Melchior and some of our skirmishers that Lyon's men were coming up the road. Lieutenant Colonel Albert, of the Third, and Colonel Salomon, of the Fifth, notified their regiments not to fire on troops coming in this direction, whilst I cautioned the artillery in the same manner. Our troops in this moment expected with anxiety the approach of our friends, and were waving the flag, raised as a signal to their comrades, when at once two batteries opened their fire against us, one in front, placed on the Fayetteville road, and the other upon the hill on which we had supposed Lyon's forces were in pursuit of the enemy, whilst a strong column of infantry, supposed to be the Iowa regiment, advanced from the Fayetteville road and attacked our right.

It is impossible for me to describe the consternation and frightful confusion which was occasioned by this unfortunate event. The cry, 'They (Lyon's troops) are firing against us,' spread like wildfire through our ranks; the artillerymen, ordered to fire and directed by myself, could hardly be brought forward to serve their pieces; the infantry would not level their arms till it was too late. The enemy arrived within ten paces from the mouth of our cannon, killed the horses, turned the flanks of the infantry, and forced them to retire. The troops were throwing themselves into the bushes and by-roads, retreating as well as they could, followed and attacked incessantly by large bodies of Arkansas and Texas cavalry. In this retreat we lost five cannon, of which three were spiked, and the color of the Third Regiment, the color-bearer having been wounded and his substitute killed. The total loss of the two regiments, the artillery and the pioneers, in killed, wounded, and missing amounts to 292 men, as will be seen from the respective lists.

In order to understand clearly our actions and our fate, you will allow me to state the following facts:

- 1st. According to orders, it was the duty of this brigade to attack the enemy in the rear and cut off his retreat, which order I tried to execute, whatever the consequences may be.
- 2d. The time of service of the Fifth Regiment Missouri Volunteers had expired before the battle. I had induced them, company by company, not to leave us in the most critical and dangerous moment, and had engaged them for the time of eight days, this term ending on Friday, the 9th, the day before the battle.
- 3d. The Third Regiment, of which 400 three-months men had been dismissed, was composed for the greatest part of recruits, who had not seen the enemy before and were only insufficiently drilled.
- 4th. The men serving the pieces and the drivers consisted of infantry taken from the Third Regiment, and were mostly recruits, who had only a few days instruction.
- 5th. About two-thirds of our officers had left us. Some companies had no officers at all; a great pity, but the consequences of the system of the three months service."

Activity Five: Second Account

Excerpt from Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Volume I, 1887, pages 305-306.

"All these circumstances--the cessation of the firing in Lyon's front, the appearance of the enemy's deserters, and the movement of Reid's artillery and the cavalry toward the south--led us into the belief that the enemy's forces were retreating, and this opinion became stronger by the report of Dr. Melcher. . .that 'Lyon's troops' were coming up the road and that we must not fire. So uncertain was I in regard to the character of the approaching troops, now only a few rods distant, that I did not trust to my own eyes, but sent Corporal Tod, of the 3rd Missouri, forward to challenge them. He challenged as ordered, but was immediately shot and killed. I instantly ordered the artillery and infantry to fire. But it was too late--the artillery fired one or two shots, but the infantry, as though paralyzed, did not fire; the 3d Louisiana, which we had mistaken for the gray-clad 1st Iowa, rushed up to the plateau, while Bledsoe's battery in front and Reid's from the heights on our right flank opened with canister at point-blank against us. As a matter of precaution I had during the last moment brought four of our pieces into battery on the right against the troops on the hill and Reid's battery; but after answering Reid's fire for a few minutes, the horses and drivers of three guns suddenly left their position, and with their caissons galloped down the Fayetteville road, in their tumultuous flight carrying panic into the ranks of the infantry, which turned back in disorder, and at the same time received the fire of the attacking line. . . .

I remained with the right wing, the 3d Missouri, which was considerably scattered. I re-formed the men during their retreat into 4 companies, in all about 250 men, and, turning to the left, into the Fayetteville road, was joined by Captain Carr's company of cavalry. After considering that, by following the left wing toward Little York, we might be cut off from Springfield and not be able to join General Lyon's forces, we followed the Fayetteville road until we reached a road leading north-east toward Springfield. This road we followed. Captain Carr, with his cavalry, was leading; he was instructed to remain in advance, keep his flankers out, and report what might occur in front. . . . So we marched, or rather dragged along as fast as the exhausted men could go, until we reached the ford at James Fork of the White River. Carr had already crossed, but his cavalry was not in sight; it had hastened along without waiting for us; a part of the infantry had also passed the creek; the piece and caissons were just crossing, when the rattling of musketry announced the presence of hostile forces on both sides of the creek. They were detachments of Missouri and Texas cavalry, under Lieutenant Colonel Major, Captains Mabry and Russell, that lay in ambush,

and now pounced upon our jaded and extended column. It was in vain that Lieutenant Colonel Albert and myself tried to rally at least a part of them; they left the road to seek protection, or make good their escape in the woods, and were followed and hunted down by their pursuers. In this chase the greater part of our men were killed, wounded, or made prisoners, among the latter Lieutenant Colonel Albert and my orderly, who were with me in the last moment of the affray. I was not taken, probably because I wore a blue woolen blanket over my uniform and a yellowish slouch-hat, giving me the appearance of a Texas Ranger. I halted on horseback, prepared for defense, in a small strip of corn-field on the west side of the creek, while the hostile cavalymen swarmed around and several times passed close to me. When we had resumed our way toward the north-east, we were immediately recognized as enemies, and pursued by a few horsemen, whose number increased rapidly. It was a pretty lively race for about six miles, when our pursuers gave up the chase. We reached Springfield at 4:30 in the afternoon, in advance of Sturgis, who with Lyon's troops was retreating from the battlefield, and who arrived at Springfield, as he says, at 5 o'clock. The circumstance of my arrival at the time stated gave rise to the insinuation that I had forsaken my troops after their repulse at Sharp's house, and had delivered them to their fate. Spiced with the accusation of "plunder," this and other falsehoods were repeated before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and a letter defamatory of me was dispatched to the Secretary of War (dated February 14th, 1862, six months after the battle of Wilson's Creek). I had no knowledge of these calumnies against me until long after the war, when I found them in print.

In support of my statements, I would direct attention to my own reports on the battle and to the Confederate reports, especially to those of Lieutenant Colonel Hyams and Captain Vigilini, of the 3d Louisiana; also to the report of Captain Carr, in which he frankly states that he abandoned me immediately before my column was attacked at the crossing of James Fork, without notifying me of the approach of the enemy's cavalry. I never mentioned this fact, as the subsequent career of General Carr, his cooperation with me during the campaigns of General Fremont, and his behavior in the battle of Pea Ridge vindicated his character and ability as a soldier and commander."

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

Activity Six: Women in Civil War Missouri

Instructions: Please read the following excerpt from Michael Fellman's *Inside War; The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War*, pages 193-195. In this short passage, Fellman considers different ways women responded to the Civil War in general and guerrilla warfare in Missouri in particular. Please note that as a historian Fellman sees women's motives for supporting the war as much more complex and for more ideological reasons than did the young Eugene F. Ware when he wrote about why young men entered the war in 1861.

* * *

Women as well as men carried romantic preconceptions into war. War meant sacrifice, but this was a noble means to achieve victory---peace with honor. Women would be brave and supportive of their warrior husbands, fiances, fathers, and sons. They would remain true and loving, patient yet eager to welcome home their conquering heroes.

At the end of the evening of December 29, 1861, Adelia Allen sat by her fireside in Princeton, Illinois, writing to her "dear friend" Dan Holmes, who had gone soldiering through rural Missouri. She recalled their having sat together late one evening by such a fire She reminded Dan of dinner parties other evenings with their chums, when "fine sentiment--polished wit--keen sarcasm--and charming originality--" flew around the table. In a similar schoolgirl-pretentious tone she also exhorted him to fight the noble war: "strike till the last armed foe expires . . . we do hope you will succeed in crushing this unholy rebellion. I am glad you see it your duty to stiffen the sinews and summon up the blood." Dan was killed by guerrillas in 1862.

This was a conventional war letter to a soldier in the field from a young woman back home. Recalling happy times, . . . [it] also promised a future worth fighting to preserve. Such domestic anticipation was explicitly linked to the higher morality of the war. Adelia was preparing Dan and herself for his possible sacrifice, which was all the more reason to intensify general war aims in such personal, emotional ways. For Dan and Adelia, death could have value, and this meant that life could have more meaning as well.

In some cases, women were more ideologically committed than their male friends and kin whom they pushed into war. Lizzie Brannock wrote to her brother from the village of Chapel Hill concerning her southern principles and behavior. For her, the

Republicans were abolitionist rebels who had captured and destroyed the "dear old government with all its rights and privileges," most especially the right of freedom of thought. "I think every man is entitled to his honest opinion and no one has a right to interrupt or disturb him for his sentiment." The Union had turned barbarian, burning and plundering her county to impose an alien antislavery ideology upon it. Lizzie wrote that she had come to these secessionist conclusions five months prior to her husband, and that only on August 15, 1862, had he "voluntarily" gone South to join J. O. Shelby's cavalry regiment rather than submit to an oath and enlist in the local Union militia. He had become "an honest Christian soldier from principle and conscience battling for what we think the right." Lizzie Brannock was clearly in the political lead and not merely by five months. "Mr. Brannock would be willing to live on as a loyal citizen if he could, but I am not willing he should take an oath that he desires the north to triumph over the south, [an oath] which would be against conscience and it would be guilty before God and man." Political correctness, conscience, and Christianity were all activating appeals made by his wife to Mr. Brannock, who had preferred to stay home and take it easy. His wife defined the cause in which he had to fight.

I am not arguing that most women were so eager to send their male kin into war nor that many men were so much more reluctant than their women relatives to go off and fight, but rather that there was a constellation of values--traditional liberty, Christian conscience, defense of the domestic realm--which were generally held ideals leading many women to conclude that this war was just and necessary. There is no reason to believe that women were intrinsically more pacifistic than men in defense of this configuration of values and feelings, even if later generations of suffragists, often citing the Civil War, argued that such was the case in nature and society. War as a traditional defense of cherished institutions and intimate relationships was as necessary to women as to men, and these women did not see themselves as victims but as participants.

Other women, even among those who preferred one side to the other, believed that the war was not worth fighting and that their male relatives would be well off out of it. An inelegant, if common, expression of this form of antiwar sentiment, one far more widespread in the North than copperheadism, was written by Lucy Thurman of Pine Oak to her cousin Larkin Adamsay. "Do come home if you can get out of old Abe's clutches, for I think you have served the old ape long enough. We are getting along first rate since the [slave] . . . stealers are all gone to Dixie to whip the southern boys. I tell you they can't do it for they have not the pluck to whip a swarm of gnats." Antiwar northerners as well as Southerners commonly enough referred to Old Abe as "old ape" and as leader of the "black Republicans" and to the North as an effeminate society during most of the war.

Doubtless, there were as many such reluctant Union participants as there were those committed to the higher cause.

In a civil war of such great dislocations and carnage, in the daily grind of a region experiencing guerrilla war, ideological and moral commitments were put under just as severe a strain for women as for men. Women were left behind on farms when their husbands joined armies or went into the bush. They tried to remain loyal to their beliefs, but they also had to survive at any cost, had to come to terms with wildly contradictory pressures. Women had somewhat more leeway than men in being able to "get away" with the expression of overt opinion, as soldiers on both sides were generally horrified about the implications of making war on women; yet women too were severely injured by guerrilla war. In this sense they were compelled to be full participants in the war and to use all the cunning they could muster to the great goal of survival.

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

Questions: Activity Six

Womens' Views on the Civil War and How Their Lives Were Affected by the War.

Instructions: During the last two decades historians have started to reassess the attitudes and roles of women in the American Civil War. Men were generally seen as having a much more ideological perspective of why the war should be fought. After reading Michael Fellman's account of women's views on the Civil War in general and on guerrilla warfare in Missouri in particular, please answer the following questions.

1. Please identify and briefly discuss two possible reasons why many women encouraged or pressed their husbands, sons, brothers, or boyfriends to enlist and fight during the Civil War.
2. According to Fellman, why was it more necessary for women in Missouri to make tough choices about their beliefs and actions during the Civil War?
3. How does Michael Fellman use primary, or first hand, sources to support his arguments about women's roles in the Civil War?

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

Answer Key: Activity Six

1. In Activity Four, Eugene Ware suggests that some women, like his sister, encouraged men to join and fight because it made women proud and, perhaps, because it honored their families. Some young women may have encouraged their male peers to join because it made the young men appear brave and exciting. Fellman, on the other hand, believes some women had more complex reasons. Some wanted their men to protect cherished traditional values such as freedom of thought; others believed God was on their side and thus men willing to fight were doing God's will. Many, especially in the South, wanted men to protect their families, homes, and way of life. And some women, perhaps four hundred or more, took men's identities and joined combat units because they wanted to fight for what they believed.
2. Because they were in the middle of not only the war but also an even more bitter guerrilla conflict that devastated much of southern Missouri. In many ways, then, their beliefs and moral commitments, as well as their very lives, were too often as threatened if not sometimes more threatened than those of their men.
3. Fellman supports each of his arguments with clear, specific quotes from women who lived during the war. When Adelia Allen wrote to her "dear friend" Dan Holmes that he should fight "till the last armed foe expires . . . [and he and the North had succeeded] in crushing this unholy rebellion," one is left with little doubt about how strongly she felt about the justness of the North's cause or how much pressure she put on her male friend to do his duty, even unto his death.

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

Activity Seven

Southern Slave Owners & Slaves in Greene County The Uses of Statistical Evidence

Instructions: Most of those who have read about and studied the Battle of Wilson's Creek are aware that John Ray owned a few slaves, specifically Aunt Rhoda and her children. Very likely most believe that the Ray family's situation was representative of slavery in Greene County and Missouri, perhaps with the exception of the area known as Little Dixie, a stretch along the Missouri River in northern Missouri that most closely resembled plantation life in the deep South. And yet, statistical evidence from the 1860 U.S. Census suggests that slavery was a much larger part of life in Greene County and significantly closer to the overall numerical reality of slavery in the South as a whole. Please review the following statistics on slavery in the South as a whole and in Greene County in particular, then answer the questions that follow.

1850: Slave Owning Families in the American South

347,525 Southern families, or approximately 1,725,000 people, owned slaves or were related to someone who did own slaves. And thus, over 6 million white southerners, 75% of all southern whites, neither owned slaves nor were related to someone who did. Of those whites who did own slaves, over 70% of these owned fewer than ten slaves.

1,733 families (.5%) owned 100 or more slaves each.
6,196 families (1.8%) owned 50-99 slaves each.
29,733 families (8.5%) owned 20-49 slaves each.
54,595 families (15.8%) owned 10-19 slaves each.
80,765 families (23%) owned 5-9 slaves each.
105,683 families (30%) owned 2-4 slaves each.
68,820 families (20%) owned 1 slave each.

1860: Slave owning families in Greene County, Missouri.

According to the U.S. Census of 1860, Greene County had an overall population of 13,186 people: 11,509 whites (87%), 9 free blacks (.07%), and 1668 slaves (12.6%). All three of these groups were almost evenly split male and females. A total of 338 whites owned slaves.

86 whites (25%) owned 1 slave each
59 whites (17%) owned 2 slaves each
37 whites (11%) owned 3 slaves each
32 whites (9%) owned 4 slaves each
24 whites (7%) owned 5 slaves each
19 whites (6%) owned 6 slaves each
13 whites (4%) owned 7 slaves each
15 whites (4%) owned 8 slaves each
7 whites (2%) owned 9 slaves each
31 whites (9%) owned 10-14 slaves each
6 whites (2%) owned 15-19 slaves each
6 whites (2%) owned 20-29 slaves each
1 white (.3%) owned 30-39 slaves each
2 whites (.6%) owned 40-49 slaves each

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

Questions: Activity Seven Southern Slave Owners & Slaves in Greene County

Instructions: Before responding to these questions about the statistical aspects of U.S. slavery and slavery in Greene County, please keep in mind that statistics such as these tell us very little about the human elements and costs of slavery in antebellum America. Please see the bibliographies in your curriculum guides for more specific, insightful accounts of the human aspects of American slavery.

1. In the South as a whole, approximately 25% of whites either owned slaves or were related to someone who owned slaves. The ratio for this was approximately 5-to-1, individuals to families. What percentage of whites in Greene County owned slaves in 1860? How would this number change if we looked at the same 5-to-1 ratio of family ownership as in the South? How does this percentage in Greene County compare to the same general percentage in the South as a whole?
2. While approximately 85% of whites in Missouri neither owned slaves nor were related to someone who owned slaves, approximately half of Missouri's eligible males eventually fought for the Southern cause. If most of these Missourians did not fight to protect the institution of slavery, why else might they have fought?
3. While nearly 75% of Southern white slaveholders, that is, those that owned slaves, owned fewer than ten slaves, what percentage of slaveholding whites in Greene County owned less than ten slaves? Why do you think such a high percentage of slaveholders in both the South and Missouri owned fewer than ten slaves?
4. While most Missouri slaveholders owned fewer than ten slaves, what percentage of Missouri slaveholders owned ten or more slaves? How does this compare with the same percentage for Southern slaveholders? Which was the larger percentage? Why?
5. Nearly 70,000 Southern families (20%) owned only one slave, while the Greene County equivalent number of families (25%) of slaveholders owned only one slave. For what reasons might slaveholders in both regions have owned only one slave?

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

Answer Key: Activity Seven

1. 338 of 11,509 Missouri whites owned slaves, or 3%. If you use the same 5-to-1 ratio as that used above for Southern slaveholders from individuals to families, this would be 15%. Thus, by comparison, a significantly higher percentage of white families in the South (25%) owned slaves in comparison to Missouri slaveholder families (15%).
2. Very likely most fought for states rights rather than the institution of slavery. Simply put, too many Missourians believed that the Federal government had become too oppressive and thus the only solution was to secede and fight for the Southern, and thus, Missouri's cause.
3. Approximately 86% of Missouri slaveholders owned fewer than ten slaves, probably for a number of reasons. Most would have purchased no more than they needed (few landowners in Missouri owned large estates), depending on age, gender, and physical condition, slaves were, by the economic standard of that day, very expensive. And cotton was not as common a crop in Missouri as in the rest of the South, hence there was less demand for slaves in Missouri.
4. 14% of Missouri slaveholders owned ten or more slaves as compared to the South as a whole, where some 27% of white slave owning families owned large numbers of slaves. Probably such greater ownership was due to the greater amount of cotton raised in the South and thus a higher demand for slaves, there were generally greater economic assets available in the more established states, and a much higher number of slaves in the South, thus more children.
5. Slaves were very expensive, and many families only needed or could afford one slave. Many of these singly owned slaves were used as house slaves. And some single slaves were purchased more as status symbols than for any real need.

HARD TIMES/HARD WAR

OUTLINE OF THE BATTLEFIELD VISIT

Please note that those activities marked with "*" below are either dependent upon staffing or self-directed. Check with park personnel before including them in your itinerary.

I. Visitor Center

Your trip to Wilson's Creek National Battlefield should begin at the Visitor Center. Its museum displays, programs (a new 26-minute dvd and a updated 8-minute battle map program), and bookstore take a minimum of 45 minutes to view, and will enhance your understanding of your visit to the battlefield.

II. Ray House*

Your group may have the opportunity to view the inside of the Ray House and ask questions. If available, either National Park Service personnel or volunteers will provide a short presentation that will focus on the pre-war lives of the Ray family and their slaves, the fighting in the Ray corn-field, the use of the Ray house for medical purposes, and the political and economic effects of the Battle of Wilson's Creek and the Civil War on the Ray family.

III. Living History Demonstration*

If available, either National Park Service personnel or volunteers will present a brief program explaining the use of personal equipment and military uniforms at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, culminating in the loading and firing of a reproduction Civil War musket. Students may also be offered an opportunity to practice Civil War artillery drill (non-firing) utilizing a full-scale artillery piece.

IV. Bloody Hill Tour*

Your group will have the opportunity to tour on its own the Bloody Hill area of the battlefield, scene of the heaviest fighting on August 10, 1861 and the death of Union General Nathaniel Lyon. You can decide on the duration of your tour. Beyond a full tour, there are also guidelines available for a one-stop or a four-stop tour of Bloody Hill. These guidelines will discuss the events which took place on Bloody Hill, as well as the tactics and personalities that influenced these events. Your tour could take from ten-fifteen minutes to an hour or more.

V. Battlefield Tour

The rest of the tour is self-guided and thus dependent upon the amount of time available to your group. The park brochure and numerous wayside exhibits located on the battlefield provide helpful insights into the events of August 10, 1861. Park rangers will be happy to offer suggestions about ways to expand your exploration of Wilson's Creek.

VI. Miscellaneous

Picnic tables are available near the Visitor Center on a first come, first served basis. Rest rooms and water fountains are available at the Visitor Center. There are no rest rooms or water fountains along the Tour Road. Appropriate clothing and footwear are essential if your group plans to do anything outside the Visitor Center.

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Visit Activity

Activity Eight: Museum Detective

Instructions: Have your students play museum detectives while they view the Visitor Center museum displays in order to answer the following questions. Students could do this either individually or in teams.

1. What groups did Nathaniel Lyon fight against in his army career before the Civil War?
2. At what time in the battle did General Lyon die?
3. What group in what city purchased a presentation sword for General Lyon in 1861?
4. Who was the first Union general killed in battle during the Civil War?
5. How long did the Battle of Wilson's Creek last?
6. What skirmish on August 2, 1861 preceded the Battle of Wilson's Creek?
7. How many Union field guns were used during the battle? How many Confederate guns?
8. What was the name of the Federal commander defeated at the Battle of Carthage?
9. On what date did General Lyon first arrive in Springfield?
10. Where did General Price win a battle in September 1861 after the Battle of Wilson's Creek?
11. Where did the pro-Confederate faction of Missouri's government secede from the Union in October 1861?
12. Name at least two battles (other than Wilson's Creek) fought in Missouri and the year they took place.
13. What was the name of the pro-Confederate governor of Missouri who led the Missouri State Guard from Jefferson City to Boonville, and who fought at Carthage?
14. Approximately how many men were wounded in the Battle of Wilson's Creek?
15. What did most Missouri State Guardsmen wear as a uniform during the first year of the war?
16. What was the name of the road in front of John Ray's house?
17. Why did the Confederates stop their march on Springfield on the evening of August 9, 1861?
18. When was the bombardment of Fort Sumter?

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Activity Eight: Museum Detective Answers

1. The Seminole Indians in Florida and the Mexican Army during the Mexican War.
2. August 10, 1861.
3. Pro-Union citizens of St. Louis.
4. Nathaniel Lyon.
5. About 6 hours.
6. Dug Springs.
7. 16 Union, 15 Confederate.
8. Franz Sigel.
9. July 13.
10. Lexington.
11. Neosho.
12. Westport (1864), Lexington (1861), Athens (1861), or Fort Davidson (1864).
13. Claiborne Fox Jackson
14. More than 1800.
15. Their everyday clothes.
16. Wire Road.
17. It rained, which would get ammunition wet.
18. April 12, 1861.

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Post-visit Activity Nine

OBJECTIVE: Upon completing this activity, the student will be able to:

1. recall and respond correctly to factual questions in a short quiz about the events surrounding the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

MATERIALS NEEDED: Material for this quiz was drawn from the short histories of this battle written by Huff and Elkins as well as museum displays in the Visitor Center. Many of the answers can also be located in standard Civil War reference materials. Feel free to copy the attached quiz as needed.

INSTRUCTIONS: All or part of the attached quiz may be administered for either regular or extra credit points. You may want to copy the entire quiz or just give part of it orally.

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Post-Visit Activity Nine
BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK QUIZ

1. Why did the Rebel army camp at Wilson's Creek?
2. When did the Civil War begin and when was the Battle of Wilson's Creek fought?
3. What was the weather like on the day of the Battle of Wilson's Creek?
4. What was the Confederate name for the Battle of Wilson's Creek?
5. Where did the Telegraph, or Wire, Road come from and go to?
6. What was the uniform of the Missouri State Guard?
7. At what time did the Battle of Wilson's Creek start and how long did it last?
8. Who won the Battle of Wilson's Creek?
9. Who buried the dead and took care of the wounded when the fighting was over at Wilson's Creek?
10. Name the four commanding generals who led the troops at the Battle of Wilson's Creek.
11. After the Battle of Wilson's Creek was Missouri a Union or Confederate state?
12. Abraham Lincoln was a member of what political party?
13. List four reasons why both the Confederacy and the Union wanted to control Missouri?
14. Was Wilson's Creek the biggest Civil War battle in Missouri?
15. Name three "border" states during the Civil War.

BONUS QUESTION: Name one of the Wilson's Creek generals who led troops at the Battle of Pea Ridge.

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ACTIVITY NINE QUIZ ANSWER SHEET

1. By camping at Wilson Creek they had easy access to water, food (from the Ray, Sharp and other farms) as well as an easier march on the Wire Road to attack Springfield.
2. Officially, the war began April 12, 1861, with the Rebel attack on Fort Sumter, Charleston, South Carolina. Wilson's Creek was fought nearly four months later on August 10, 1861.
3. Humid with a temperature near 100 degrees Fahrenheit.
4. The Union named battles after nearby bodies of water, while the Confederacy named battles after nearby geographical features/towns. Its Southern name was "Oak Hills."
5. The Telegraph Road ran south from Jefferson City through Fayetteville to Fort Smith, Arkansas. It was the only major road in southwest Missouri in 1861.
6. A trick question--the MSG had no uniforms. Due to a lack of money and time, the state did not furnish its soldiers with uniforms.
7. The fighting began at 5:00 A.M. (first light) and continued for about six hours.
6. Technically, the South won, since the Union forces retreated and left the field of battle to the Southerners.
9. Both sides cared for the wounded while burying the dead normally fell on whoever won a battle. The Confederates spent six days burying most of the dead at Wilson's Creek.
10. Nathaniel Lyon, Sterling Price, Ben McCulloch and Nicholas Pearce.
11. Both. Missouri had two state legislatures as well as two national legislatures in both Washington and Richmond.
12. Lincoln was a member of the Republican Party.
13. Missouri was strategically located along the vital waterways of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers and the mouth of the Ohio River. It shared common borders with both 3 Union states and 2 Confederate states. Missouri was also a rich source of agricultural products, minerals, and manpower.
14. No. The largest was the Battle of Westport, fought in late 1864 near Kansas City, involving over 29,000 troops.
15. Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware.

BONUS: Ben McCulloch or Sterling Price.

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Post-visit Activity Ten

OBJECTIVE: Upon completing all or part of this activity, the student will be able to:

1. demonstrate an understanding of and the ability to analyze the social, political, economic, and military repercussions and results of the Battle of Wilson's Creek, in either oral or written form.

INSTRUCTIONS: Depending on the time available to you, as well as the grade level, interests, and academic abilities of your students, you may want to pick and choose from the following list of discussion areas and then devote as much time to each as you feel is appropriate. These areas might be covered in classroom discussion or assigned as research projects for individual or group research.

DISCUSSION/RESEARCH AREAS:

1. In what ways might the Battle of Wilson's Creek have affected the inhabitants in the area of Wilson's Creek either before, during, or after the battle?
(Focus: Economic, social and political results)
2. Would the inhabitants of Springfield and/or southwest Missouri have been affected any differently than those of The battle area? Why or why not?
(Focus: Same as #1 above)
3. Why were so many officers wounded or killed at the Battle of Wilson's Creek and throughout the Civil War? What might have been the possible results of such tremendous losses?
(Focus: Military results)
4. Why was the Battle of Wilson's Creek so important during the early part of the Civil War? What might have happened if the Confederate forces would have followed up their victory at Wilson's Creek in larger numbers?
(Focus: Military and political results)
5. Why do civil wars tend to be even more bitter than other wars? Draw on examples from the Battle of Wilson's Creek, as well as the balance of the Civil War.
(Focus: Social, political, economic, and military aspects and results)

6. Was General Lyon's militant actions to preserve the Union in Missouri during the period of time before the Battle of Wilson's Creek justifiable? How might things have been different if General Lyon had been more diplomatic and willing to compromise?
(Focus: Political and military aspects)
7. What can we gain from studying our own Civil War? Could the United States have another civil war? What might be some possible causes and results for another American civil war?
Focus: Political, economic, social and military aspects)

SUGGESTED READINGS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Refer first to the bibliographies of the Battle of Wilson's Creek and Greene County contained within the *Educators' Guide*. For additional readings please see below.

Boatner, Mark Mayo, III. *The Civil War Dictionary, Revised Edition*. New York: David McKay Co., 1959, 1989. One of the best Civil War reference works.

Billings, John D. *Hardtack and Coffee: The Unwritten Story of Army Life*. Boston: George M. Smith and Co., 1887. Reprinted, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1993. Still a good read and on par with the Bell Irwin Wiley books on common soldier life.

Brownlee, Richard. *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-65*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958. A complementary but more general work than Castel's *Quantrill*.

Castel, Albert. *William Clarke Quantrill: His life and times*. New York: Frederick Fell, 1962. Objective work on not only Quantrill but also the guerrilla war in Missouri.

Fellman, Michael. *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. A detailed but very useful study of the guerrilla war.

Hinze, David C. and Karen Farnham. *The Battle of Carthage: Border War in Southwest Missouri, July 5, 1861*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., Inc., 1997. The only full-length account of this early battle in Missouri.

Ingenthron, Elmo. *Borderland Rebellion*. Branson, MO: The Ozarks Mountaineer, 1980. Book III in the Ozarks Regional History Series, this work extensively covers the war along the Arkansas-Missouri border.

Kennedy, Joseph C.G. *Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864. Excellent source of statistics on slavery in the U.S. in the last decade before the Civil War.

- Klapp, August K. *The Ray House*. Springfield, MO: Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Foundation, 1987. Brief account of the Ray House, its family, and slaves before, during and after the Battle of Wilson's Creek.
- Lathem, Frank B. *The Dred Scott Decision, March 6, 1857: Slavery and the Supreme Court's "Self Inflicted Wound."* (Grades 9 and up). Informative account of the pre-Civil War case that helped set the stage for the Civil War.
- Linderman, Gerald F. *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War*. New York: The Free Press, 1987. A work that offers insights not only into what combat was like for the individual during the Civil War, but how their expectations about war were so different from the grim realities of combat, and how they reconciled these differences.
- Oakes, James. *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. A balanced, well-written, well-researched, and interesting account of who the slaveholders were and were not.
- Piston, William Garrett & Richard W. Hatcher. *Wilson's Creek: The Second Battle of the Civil War and the Men Who Fought It*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000. The most recent and thorough account of the battle as well as a fascinating account of the men who fought here and the communities they represented.
- Robertson, James I. *Soldiers Blue and Gray*. New York: Warner Books, 1988. A thorough, updated account about the life of the Civil War common soldier.
- Rozwenc, Edwin C. *Slavery as a Cause of the Civil War*, revised edition. Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1963. Insightful use of primary sources that represent both sides of this ongoing argument.
- Stanley, Caroline Abbot. *Order Number 11, a Tale of the Border*. (Grades 9 and up). Deals with Union efforts to stop Confederate guerrilla raids and their results for civilians along the Missouri-Kansas border.

Wiley, Bell Irvin. *The Life of Billy Yank*. Baton Rouge:
Louisiana State University Press, 1952, 1994.

_____. *The Life of Johnny Reb*. Baton Rouge:
Louisiana State University Press, 1943, 1995. Wiley's
classic works on the lives of common soldiers during the
Civil War are still the standard reference sources and
delightful to read.

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Comments and Suggestions

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, 6424 W. Farm Road 182,
Republic, Missouri, 65738, telephone (417) 732-2662.

The staff of Wilson's Creek National Battlefield would once again like to thank you and your students for participating in our educational program. Because our major focus is to provide the best possible learning experience for our visitors, whether as individuals or in groups, your assessment of our program will be most helpful. Please take a moment to evaluate each of the phases of our program in the section below and then make any general comments or suggestions in the space provided. We would also appreciate learning about any ideas or activities that you have that effectively convey the Civil War to your students. Your ideas and constructive criticisms will help us improve our educational program and thus benefit your group, as well as many others in the future.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

| AREA OF EVALUATION | POOR | GOOD | VERY GOOD | EXCELLENT |
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|--------------------|------|------|-----------|-----------|

Initial contact/
Educational Guide

Pre-visit materials

Battlefield visit

Post-visit materials

Traveling Trunk

Video

YOUR COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS: