

# Sumter to Appomattox



American Civil War Round Table of Australia (New South Wales Chapter)

[www.americancivilwar.asn.au](http://www.americancivilwar.asn.au)

Patron: Prof the Hon Bob Carr

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## President's Message

Dear Round Table members,

Many members have told me that the last meeting was one of the best they have ever attended. A fascinating session with our two members Peter Zacharatos and Dan Howard presenting opposing the cases for secession Legal or Illegal?

In this newsletter our editor, Jannette Greenwood, has summarised each of these important cases. I recommend the following article to you.

At our next meeting we will hold a sale of Civil War books – so bring along some folding money for a chance to grow your library - at reasonable prices!

I look forward with anticipation to our next gathering of friends.

*Ian McIntyre*

On our **Website** you will always find the date of our next meeting. Our Facebook page is also [www.americancivilwar.asn.au](http://www.americancivilwar.asn.au)

## Our Next Meeting

Monday, 10 October 2022  
Roseville Club, 6:00 for bistro meal  
Talk at 7:00

## Topic: Siege of Petersburg

At our next meeting, our President, Ian McIntyre, will present on the Richmond–Petersburg campaign - also known as the "Siege of Petersburg", although it was not a siege in the classical sense since Petersburg was not fully surrounded, supply lines were not fully cut, and there were a number of actions not strictly directed at Petersburg. The campaign also represented the type of "Trench Warfare" that was to become synonymous with World War I. Importantly, there were several aspects that were to have lasting repercussions on modern warfare - especially the importance of supply and logistics.

### Call for short talks

Our short ten-minute presentations on a particular battle or person have been a great success in revealing the depth of talent within our group.

Remember that we are a group of friends and a friendly audience. I know there are several amongst us who have not yet broken cover but who would be interesting and insightful presenters.

Please do not hesitate to volunteer to myself or John Morrison on a topic of your choice, be it short or long.

Ian McIntyre

## Our Last Meeting

### Our Topic: 'Secession – Was it Illegal or Legal?'

A reminder of the issue as summarised by Dan Howard in our last newsletter:

*This was one of the defining points of disagreement between the North and the South. In the absence of any specific provision in the Constitution, it was a hotly contested area. The US Constitution of 1787 was only 73 years old when Abraham Lincoln was elected in 1860. The population and geographical size of the Union had dramatically increased in the meantime. Having voluntarily joined the Union, were States entitled to voluntarily leave that Union?*

*Lincoln was certain that secession was illegal. Jefferson Davis was certain that it was legal. It took a Civil War to settle the issue, or did it? The very same question still resonates today with a number of authors having postulated a possible break-up of the Union in our times.*

Peter Zacharatos and Dan Howard, both lawyers, presented the two sides of this issue (after tossing a coin to decide their side). It was agreed that this was not strictly a debate but a presentation of 'sides'.



Dan Howard and Peter Zacharatos

### Peter's Side That the Secession was illegal

Peter argued that the secession of the eleven southern states was both illegal and unconstitutional because the United States was founded as a 'perpetual' Union. The states never had any constitutional framework to secede from this Union. The decision in *Texas v White* ruled the secession of the Southern states to be illegal. Moreover, arguments in favour of secession's legality have their roots in a flawed interpretation of US law and Lost Cause mythology.

Peter established the context to his argument by referring to several important legal events that occurred with the formation of the Union. These were:

- **1774 – Articles of Association** – These articles founded a 'union' between the thirteen colonies to boycott goods produced by Great Britain.
- **1776 – Declaration of Independence**
- **1778 – Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of (list as at 1774).** This was the first governing document, enshrining the Union with the words: *the union shall be perpetual*. These Articles were created by the 13 colonies to form the Union; therefore, the Union predates the states (according to Lincoln).
- **1787 – US Constitution ratification signed** (Sept 17<sup>th</sup> at Philadelphia Convention and written mainly by James Madison (Madison)). **The 1787 Preamble** includes: *"We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union"*.

These events are summarised below:



From these events, Peter argued that the Union was America's oldest and most established political institution. The Union has been perpetual since the Articles of Confederation (the Articles) as the perpetuity of the Union is mentioned in the full title of this document and regularly conveyed throughout it.

The Articles would eventually prove inadequate to managing crises (such as Shays Rebellion); as such the Constitution of the United States was drafted to give the federal government greater power and to form a 'more perfect Union'. A more perfect Union under the Constitution means a 'more perpetual' one than the perpetual Union of the Articles.

Peter then argued that although unilateral secession is not expressly forbidden in the Constitution, the Confederate states lacked the legal power to unilaterally leave the Union.

The 'Supremacy Clause' of the US Constitution (Article VI Clause 2) which states that the *"Authority of the US is the supreme Law of the Land... and judges shall be bound by it..."*. Early judges interpreted the clause to mean that whenever state and federal law clash, Federal law prevails.

The importance of the Supremacy Clause is that, when Southern state legislatures passed their ordinances to leave the Union, these motions would have clashed with federal law. The Southern states lacked the constitutional power to unilaterally secede from the Union.

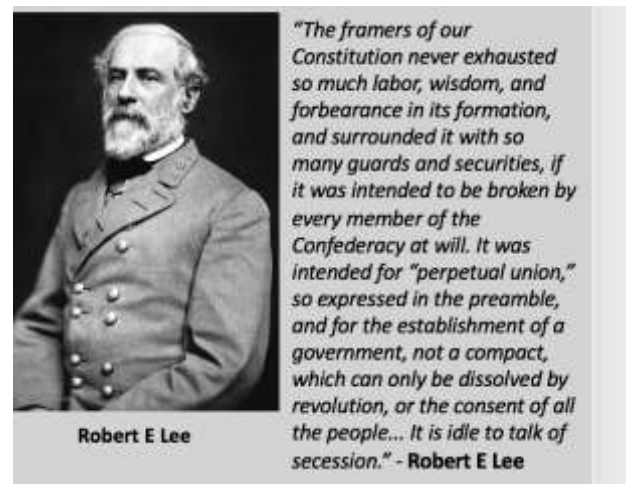


Peter then mentioned that in the *Texas v White* (1869) decision, the US Supreme Court ruled on the legality of session of the Southern states and ruled their actions to be illegal. The case involved the claim by the reconstruction government of Texas that bonds owned by the US were illegally sold by Confederate state legislature during the Civil War. The court ruled that Texas had always remained a US state ever since it first joined the Union despite joining the Confederacy and being under military rule at the time of the decision.

The court further ruled that the Constitution did not permit states to unilaterally secede. The ordinances of secession, and all the acts of the legislatures within seceding states, were *"absolutely null"* and *"without operation in law"*. This case is the current law today.

Peter then assessed the viewpoints of America's Founding Fathers and noted that Madison had had asserted that an 'essential condition for a state ratifying the US Constitution was that a state dispensed with the right to leave Union'.

This point of view was supported by Robert E Lee:



The following slide summarises his main arguments why secession was illegal:

The Union was America's oldest political institution and predated the states.	The Union was perpetual from its inception.	Federal law trumps state law
The Supreme Court ruled secession illegal.	The states dispensed with any right to leave the Union upon the ratification of the constitution.	The founders were hostile to the idea of secession.

The second part of Peter's presentation looked at some of the common arguments in support of secession and why they fail.

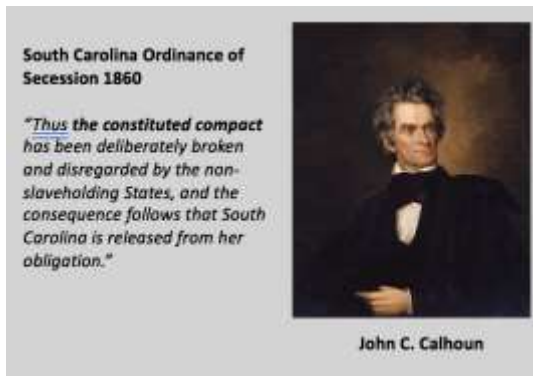
In general, the common argument is that the states agreed to enter into the Union, like a contract, so they could decide to leave and terminate at will. Although Peter acknowledged that on a prima-facie level this argument is flawed, he then assessed the legal reasoning behind this viewpoint.

In support of unilateral secession, the legal theory of "Compact Theory" is invoked, that is, the idea that the US is not a national government but is instead a compact between individual sovereign states, similar to the UN or the EU. Sovereign states can rescind treaties unilaterally, thus a state could theoretically rescind the Union unilaterally.

Compact Theory has a long and respectable pedigree in US politics. The theory was argued by Senator John C. Calhoun and articulated in South Carolina's Declaration of Secession in 1860.

Many common arguments in support of secessions legality derive from Compact Theory. For example, *Lost Cause* novelist Shelby Foote in the Ken Burns documentary series *The Civil War* stated that 'the Southern states would not have entered the Union if they thought they couldn't get out'.






Peter then put forward reasons why this argument fails:

- Compact Theory had been repeatedly rejected by the US Supreme Court in several cases between 1793 and 1819 – long before the secession crisis of the 1860s.
- The reasoning was that, although the Articles of Confederation may have been a 'compact' between states, the adoption of the US Constitution did away with this concept.
- In the Constitution's Preamble, it is stated that the Constitution draws its power directly from 'the people', establishing a new government with substantive new powers. The Constitution does not draw its power from the states. As such, the states are merely administrative bodies for the federal government and are not sovereign actors.
- Compact theory had no support from the US legal community in the 1800s.

## Why Compact Theory Fails

Chisholm v. Georgia (1793)  
 Martin v. Hunter's Lessee (1816)  
 McCulloch v. Maryland (1819)



Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States (1833)– Justice Joseph Story

**"We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."** – US Constitution Preamble

## US Declaration of Independence

*"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.... That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government."*

Another argument in support of secession is that Declaration of Independence allows secession because it allows revolution, and it could be argued they are the same. However, the ordinances of Secession from the Southern states avoided this term because of its negative connotations related to the European revolutions of 1848 and the Napoleonic Wars.

Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, himself stated that *"Ours is not a revolution"* and that the Southern states had seceded *"to save ourselves from a revolution"*. In fact, the Constitution of the Confederacy was almost identical to the US Constitution, including no right to unilateral secession. Thus, modern Southern apologists cannot rely on this argument when the Confederates went to great lengths to avoid conflating revolution and secession.

In modern times, illegality of secession has been affirmed at least three times by the courts as summarised in the following slide:

## Secession Today

<p><b>Elk Grove Unified Sch. Dist. v. Newdow, 542 U.S. 1, 6 n. 1, 124 S.Ct. 2301, 159 L.Ed.2d 98 (2004).</b></p> <p><i>"At the time, the phrase 'one Nation indivisible' had special meaning because there was never any question about whether a State could secede from the Union."</i></p>	<p><b>Justice Scalia - Former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States - 2006</b></p> <p><i>"If there was any constitutional issue resolved by the Civil War, it is that there is no right to secede."</i></p>	<p><b>Kohilaas v. State (2010) Alaskan Supreme Court</b></p> <p><i>"Lincoln's belief in a perpetual Union is reflected in what we have described as 'a plenitude of Supreme Court cases holding as completely null' the acts of secession by Confederate states."</i></p>
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Peter concluded that the illegality and unconstitutionality comes through at every level and he agreed with Lincoln, that secession was *"Rebellion, thus sugar-coated"*.

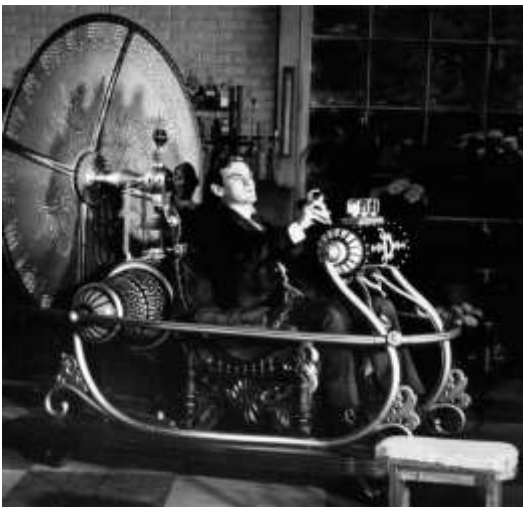
Peter then articulated that secession is ultimately not a legal question but a political question. If the Confederacy had won, the illegality of their actions under US law would have been rendered irrelevant, similar to the 1775 American Rebellion under British law.

The illegality of unilateral secession was ultimately affirmed when the Union won the Civil War; any legal and political question on the topic was resolved when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox in 1865.

## Dan's Side

### That Secession Was Not illegal

Dan began his presentation by noting that, whilst of course we all accept today that slavery is horrible and morally offensive, this was not the case back in the mid 1800's. It is not fair to judge the legality of secession by present day standards of law and morality. We must, in a sense, take ourselves back in a time machine, in order to judge the actions of the Southern states according to the laws of those times. Dan argued that, in fact, the laws of those times favoured the South and it was the Northern resistance and non-compliance to the laws that gave the South a legally valid rationale for seceding.



We need to go back in time in order to fairly judge the legality of secession

In putting his arguments that secession was illegal, Peter had relied on a number of positive law arguments to support his position that the Union under the Constitution was a binding and perpetual one. However, Dan argued that it is well known that positive law often works hardship - which is why we have courts of equity that apply doctrines of fairness to relieve the harshness of positive law.

There are many examples in history of terrible positive laws, such as those of the brutal Nazi regime in Germany. So, it is reasonable to consider this issue through the lens of other approaches to legal theory, namely, Natural Law theory.

The Confederate states, in fact, were getting out of a flawed arrangement. The Constitution from the outset was deeply flawed and the fact that it was amended immediately after the Civil War to end slavery and extend citizenship rights to former slaves underscored how flawed it was.

As formed under the Constitution, the Union was a time bomb that was at risk of exploding

at any point due to the 'original sin' of the framers, whose aim was to protect slaves as property and, the representation of the southern states in Congress by reason of the 'three-fifths' calculation that counted slaves as three fifths of person for the purpose of determining the number of representatives in Congress for each state.

Yet, it is very clear from the records of the debates of the Constitutional Convention that key Southern colonies would never have joined the Union without these provisions, and the very real threat of losing the rights that those provisions guaranteed, in their 19<sup>th</sup> century world view, gave them just cause to leave the Union. Remember, it is important that we judge the legality of their actions by the standards of the times.

Rather than taking a compact law approach to this question, it is more appropriate to look at Southern secession through the lens of Natural Law as developed by Enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau; by this standard, the right to revolution is acknowledged when the ruling authority is no longer serving the interests of the ruled. After all, in 1776, the 13 colonies had seceded from Great Britain, which they considered their right based on 'natural law' as expressed by Locke, who wrote: "all people have the right to life, liberty, and private property ... and could instigate a revolution against the government when it acted against the interests of citizens, to replace the government with one that served the interest of citizens".

Locke believed that governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed. The spirit of this natural law philosophy had been adopted in the Declaration of Independence which, perhaps more than the Constitution, should be regarded as America's founding document. The Southern states that seceded had reason to believe that their rights were being trodden on and it is not surprising that they harnessed this philosophy in justification of secession.



Natural Law theorist John Locke



The whole nature and structure of the country had undergone profound change since the Constitution had been adopted by the original 13 states. Vast new territories and 20 new states had been added by 1860, and the voting power of Southern states in the US Senate was clearly going to be further diminished with the addition of new non-slave states.



Massive changes and growth of the US occurred leading up to 1860



Northern, Border and seceding Southern states

At the time of the Civil War, slavery was lawful in those states which wanted it and was protected by the Constitution's 'Fugitive Slave' clause and Federal Fugitive Slave Legislation. Slaves were considered property under the laws of the time. By the Compromise of 1850, the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act were strengthened even further in favour of the South. It provided that an escaped slave, when detained, should be delivered up to the owner and there were strict sanctions for non-compliance. Officials who did not arrest alleged escaped slaves were liable to a fine of \$1000 (a fortune in those days).

Law enforcement officials everywhere were required to arrest those suspected of being escaped slaves on as little proof as a claimant's sworn testimony of ownership. Any person who aided a fugitive by providing food or shelter was subject to six months' imprisonment and a

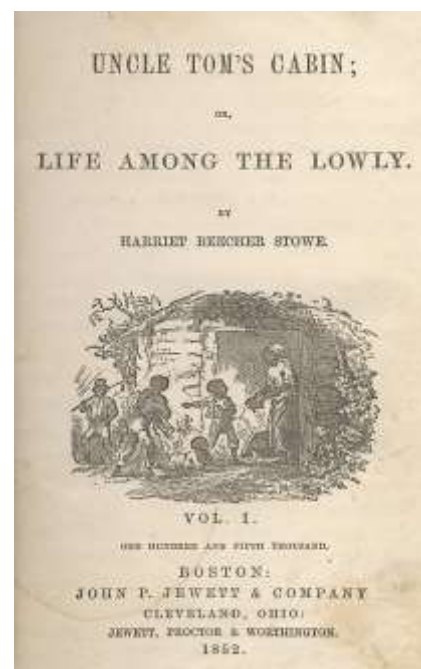
\$1,000 fine. Officers who captured a fugitive were entitled to a bonus or promotion. A Commissioner alone, rather than a jury, could decide the fate of an alleged fugitive, who had no right to testify. A Commissioner was compensated \$10 if the refugee was proved a fugitive but only \$5 if he determined that there was insufficient proof.

Whilst these provisions may seem extreme to us, they were the law of the land at that time.

These harsh laws caused a great deal of distress to many and enraged the North, especially abolitionists whose movement was growing even stronger with the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was inspired by the harshness of the 1850 Fugitive slave laws.



The strengthened 1850 Fugitive Slave Laws favoured the South



The 1850 Fugitive Slave laws inspired Harriet Beecher Stowe to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

Despite having the force of these harsh laws on their side, Southern states began to feel, with justification, that the North was “thumbing its nose” at these laws by passing state laws expressly designed to thwart them and by refusing to provide state resources to enforce them. Indeed, Abolitionists such as Wendell Phillips and others advocated the radical idea that the North should secede from the South.

A modern view of Secession is that “As a question of fact, people in any generation may disregard the laws passed by their predecessors or replace them with new ones; no legislative act can prevent a people determined to cast off their form of government from doing so” (Victor M. Muniz-Fraticelli, Associate Professor of Law and Political Science at McGill University, 2008).

In 1960, Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote a letter including the following: “... At the time of the War between the States, the issue of secession had remained unresolved for more than 70 years. Men of probity ..., both North and South, had disagreed over this issue as a matter of principle from the day our Constitution was adopted”.

In the end, the question was decided not by law but by war. But does the outcome or verdict of battle necessarily mean that the victor’s view of the law was correct? Winston Churchill famously noted that “History is written by the victors.”



“History is written by the Victors”

That this is so is illustrated by the Supreme Court’s 1869 decision in *Texas v White*, which solemnly declared that the Union under the Constitution was “perpetual”. But the lead judgment of the court was written by none other than Salmon Chase, an anti-slavery activist himself who had been a member of Lincoln’s Cabinet and Secretary of the Treasury.

Yet the word ‘perpetual’ does not appear in the US Constitution. How could the Union be regarded as ‘perpetual’ when some states (e.g.,

Virginia, New York and Rhode Island) only ratified the Constitution conditionally, on the basis that they reserved the right to withdraw from the Union? That’s why the word ‘perpetual’ does not appear. In fact, New York’s Ratification document (July 26, 1788) included the Resumption Clause: “That the Powers of the Government shall be resumed by the People, whensoever it shall become necessary to their Happiness”.

Further, nowhere does the Constitution prohibit a state from seceding. When a proposal was made at the 1787 Constitutional Convention to grant the new federal government the specific power to suppress a seceding state, James Madison himself rejected this proposal.

The right to secede was taught at West Point in 1826 where the textbook on constitutional law written by William Rawle ‘*A View of the Constitution of the United States*’ was in use. A passage in this book reads “...The states, then, may wholly withdraw from the Union, but while they continue, they must retain the character of representative republics”. Reference to Rawle’s text was made by several Civil War graduates of West Point including Fitzhugh Lee, Jefferson Davis and General Dabney Maury.



Constitutional Lawyer William Rawle

President Buchanan, shortly before the Civil War commenced, spoke in his last State of the Union Address of the impending danger caused by the agitation of the slavery question throughout the North. He spoke of the need for slave States to be “let alone and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them”.

Several dramatic events in the 1850s heightened Southern fears that their traditional way of life was in real danger: the creation of

new 'free' states in the West; Congressman Preston Brooks caning Senator Charles Sumner senseless; John Brown's murdering of settlers at Pottawatomie Creek and, most of all, John Brown's attempt to start a slave uprising by his raid on Harper's Ferry.

In the *Dred Scott* decision (1857), Chief Justice Taney insisted that the men who wrote the Declaration of Independence knew it would not include the "enslaved African race" and that "the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed by the Constitution". In a letter to Franklin Pierce in 1857, Taney wrote that "I hope that ... the North, as well as the South, will see that a peaceful separation ... is far better than the union of all present states under a military government, and a reign of terror preceded by a Civil War...".

Notwithstanding how controversial Buchanan's and Taney's views may have been, the South could legitimately point to the fact that the President of the United States and the Supreme Court agreed that their institutions should be left alone, yet Lincoln's election and the Republican Party's policy of not permitting any new slave states in the new territories seemed to Southerners to fly in the face of the President's views and the ruling of the Supreme Court, and of all of the compromises that had been agreed in the past, and in the face of the Constitution itself.

To conclude, judged by the laws, legal standards and authorities of their times, the secession by the Southern states was not illegal, but should be perceived as the exercise of a right that was supported by the very Natural Law theories upon which the United States had been founded.

*Thanks to Peter and Dan for their well-research and argued presentations, which were of great interest to the audience. It will also be informative for those who read this newsletter.*

This publication is the official newsletter of the American Civil War Round Table of Australia (NSW Chapter). All inquiries regarding the newsletter should be addressed to the Secretary of the Chapter  
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## Civil War Profile

**WALT WHITMAN (1819 – 1892)**



Walt Whitman, one of America's most famous poets, was born on Long Island in New York state. He left school at age 11 and learnt compositing and the printing trade, in which he worked in low paid jobs across many publications over a number of years. He wrote some articles and throughout the 1840's he contributed freelance stories and poetry to various periodicals.

From 1850 he commenced work on his famous '*Leaves of Grass*' – an anthology of his own humanist and experiential works mostly in the form of free verse, a style that he is sometimes referred to as being the 'father' of, although he was not the originator of the style. His style demonstrates a strong feeling for nature, not unlike Wordsworth. The first edition of *Leaves of Grass* was published by Whitman at his own



expense. The book was an ongoing work and continued to expand over his lifetime as he added to it (and sometimes deleted from it) and the final version was completed just a year before his death.

Whitman was large and tall with a florid complexion and was probably homosexual, if not necessarily a practising one. *'Leaves of Grass'* was controversial, being greatly admired by some, including Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, whilst some of its contents were regarded as offensive, sexualised and even obscene by others.

Here is a short poem from *Leaves of Grass*, titled *'No Labor-saving Machine'* in which he effectively tells the world that all he has to give is his poetry for friends and lovers:

### **No Labor-saving Machine**

No labor-saving machine,  
Nor discovery have I made,  
Nor will I be able to leave behind me any  
wealthy bequest to found  
hospital or library,  
Nor reminiscence of any deed of courage for  
America,  
Nor literary success nor intellect; nor book for  
the book-shelf,  
But a few carols vibrating through the air I  
leave,  
For comrades and lovers.

Whitman declared himself a 'free soiler' opposed to slavery in the new territories in the west and he was a delegate to the convention in 1848 that founded the Free Soiler party. His views towards African Americans were typical of the times, views we would regard as racist today; he regarded them as not fit to vote and intellectually inferior. Whitman became a great admirer of Abraham Lincoln.

When the Civil War came Whitman was 42 and did not volunteer for service. However, when he heard that his brother had been wounded at Fredericksburg, Whitman travelled there from New York, fortunately to find that his brother had only suffered a minor facial wound and fully recovered. However, in the process of looking for his brother, Whitman saw up close the horrors of military hospitals including many discarded amputated limbs and he was profoundly affected by the truly horrible suffering of soldiers in war.

As a result of this experience, he volunteered to nurse wounded soldiers in Washington, where his then part-time employment in the army

paymaster's office left him a good deal of spare time for this work. He visited and comforted the wounded, changed dressings for them, brought them food and newspapers, spoke with them and held their hands, sometimes saw them dying and even kissed them.

Whitman was inspired to write poems and prose about his wartime observations, and he is sometimes described as the 'Union Poet' in acknowledgement of these works. His collected poems in *Drum-Taps*, published in 1865, and war notes that he made and then published as *Specimen Days* (1882-1883) offer thoughtful, deep and emotional insights into the experiences of the war.

Here is a rather dark extract from *'Specimen Days'* entitled *'A Glimpse of War's Hell Scenes'* in which Whitman relates a dreadful incident in which a strong force of Moseby's mounted guerrillas attacked a train of Union wounded and, upon their surrender, proceeded to rob the train and murder and mutilate the Union prisoners. A following force of Union cavalry then intercepted the rebels, capturing some seventeen of them. Whitman describes how the cavalrymen rounded up the seventeen prisoners into a hollow square and, unbinding them, drew their pistols and ironically gave the chance to 'run for it'. Whitman writes:

*'But what use? From every side the deadly pills came. I was curious to know whether some of the Union soldiers, some few, (some one or two at least of the youngsters), did not abstain from shooting on the helpless men. Not one. There was no exultation, very little said, almost nothing, yet every man there contributed his shot.'*

*'Multiply the above by scores, aye hundreds – verify it all in the forms that different circumstances, individuals, places, could afford – light it with every lurid passion, the wolf's, the lion's lapping thirst for blood – the passionate, boiling volcanoes of human revenge for comrades, brothers slain – with the light of burning farms, and heaps of smutting, smouldering black embers – and in the human heart everywhere black, worse embers – and you have an inkling of this war.'*

Whilst Whitman's works are sometimes seen as an expression of American democratic values, egalitarianism and emerging modernism, some critics are less kind. Nathanael O'Reilly, in a 2009 essay on "Walt Whitman's Nationalism in the First Edition of *Leaves of Grass*", claims

that "Whitman's imagined America is arrogant, expansionist, hierarchical, racist and exclusive; such an America is unacceptable to Native Americans, African-Americans, immigrants, the disabled, the infertile, and all those who value equal rights." Thus, the controversy continues.

Whitman died at his New Jersey home at age 72. We will finish this very brief profile of him with two of his Civil War era poems. The first is from *'Drum Taps'* and titled *'1861'* and the second is his famous *'O Captain! My Captain!'* which is an extended metaphor mourning the death by assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Unusually for Whitman, this second poem is not free verse but in the more conventional style of the times.

### **1861**

ARM'D year! year of the struggle!  
No dainty rhymes or sentimental love verses for  
you terrible year!  
Not you as some pale poetling, seated at a desk,  
lispings cadenzas  
    piano;  
But as a strong man erect, clothed in blue  
clothes, advancing,  
carrying a rifle on your shoulder,  
With well-gristled body and sunburnt face and  
hands, with a knife in  
    the belt at your side,  
As I heard you shouting loud—your sonorous  
voice ringing across the  
    continent;  
Your masculine voice, O year, as rising amid  
the great cities,  
Amid the men of Manhattan I saw you, as one  
of the workmen, the  
    dwellers in Manhattan;  
Or with large steps crossing the prairies out of  
Illinois and  
    Indiana,  
Rapidly crossing the West with springy gait, and  
descending the  
    Alleghanies;  
Or down from the great lakes, or in  
Pennsylvania, or on deck along the  
    Ohio river;  
Or southward along the Tennessee or  
Cumberland rivers, or at  
    Chattanooga on the mountain top,  
Saw I your gait and saw I your sinewy limbs,  
clothed in blue, bearing  
    weapons, robust year;  
Heard your determin'd voice, launch'd forth

again and again;  
Year that suddenly sang by the mouths of the  
round-lipp'd cannon,  
I repeat you, hurrying, crashing, sad, distracted  
year.

### **O Captain! My Captain!**

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,  
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we  
sought is won,  
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all  
exulting,  
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim  
and daring;

    But O heart! heart! heart!  
    O the bleeding drops of red,  
    Where on the deck my Captain lies,  
    Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;  
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the  
bugle trills,  
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you  
the shores a-crowding,  
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager  
faces turning;

    Here Captain! dear father!  
    This arm beneath your head!  
    It is some dream that on the deck,  
    You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and  
still,  
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse  
nor will,  
The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage  
closed and done,  
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with  
object won;

    Exult O shores, and ring O bells!  
    But I with mournful tread,  
    Walk the deck my Captain lies,  
    Fallen cold and dead.

*With thanks to Dan Howard for this Profile*

## Quiz Time

How much do you really know about Civil War regulations?

What were the regulations in the Union Army?

1. How often should soldiers bathe?
2. What was the reward for capturing a deserter?
3. What was the punishment for disobeying a written order to safeguard a person or property?
4. When were troops mustered for pay?
5. How much was an officer without troops allowed to spend monthly for a room in New York? Detroit? San Francisco?
6. How much did a complete military sabre cost the army?
7. What was the punishment for a commissioned officer who used profanity?

With thanks to Len Traynor and Civil War Times ILLUSTRATED, Nov. 1981

Answers next newsletter



## Newspaper Extracts

From *The Chicago Times*, 4<sup>th</sup> November 1862

Think of the typesetters who had to set announcements and ads like these:



## New Members

We are delighted to welcome new members at our Roundtable.



Committee Member Bruce McLennan welcomes new member Andres Ferero Guzman

And also welcome to Peter Zacharatos Snr.