Rethinking Shiloh: Myth and Memory/Milliken's Bend: A Civil War Battle in History and Memory

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original size of 16 by 24 inches, these large black-and-white reproductions allow scholars and map enthusiasts to follow the route of Lieutenant Gouverneur Kemble Warren and his party up the Missouri River as they noted the vegetation, sand bars, tributaries, bluffs, islands, towns, and native villages along their route.

As the compilers note in their introduction, many sections of the river depicted have since been dammed or heavily channeled, making the publication of these manuscript maps a boon to scholars trying to make spatial sense of contemporary travelers’ accounts. The maps also provide descriptions of the botany along the river, frequently noting specific plant species, as well as a variety of human-made features such as Indian villages, thus offering a unique record of the ecological and cultural landscape. Readers of the Annals of Iowa will be particularly interested in the depiction of Sioux City, which, according to Plate 10, contained only eight buildings at the time of the expedition. These maps are for more than just researchers, however; anyone interested in the history of the Missouri River or cartography can be transported as they follow Warren’s dotted line up the river.


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The chaos of a Civil War battlefield was daunting. The swirls of smoke and haze clouded the field of vision of the soldiers and officers who charged forward. The thundering roar of artillery, combined with the cacophony of musket shots, deafened the men engaged in battle. Horses and men scrambled from place to place. No wonder so many battles are filled with misinformation and misremembering of specific details. Thankfully, over the past decade Civil War historians have been actively using memory to unravel the sometimes contradictory and often entangled details of battle. Thus, any memory study of a major Civil War battle, as seen in these two new and thought-provoking
books, is a welcome addition to the growing literature of memory and war.

On April 6 and 7, 1862, two massive armies clashed along the banks of the Tennessee River by a tiny church called Shiloh. More casualties accumulated at Shiloh than in all of America’s previous military conflicts combined. The battle remains dominant in our memory of the Civil War, especially with iconic places like the peach orchard and bloody pond and the death site of Confederate General Albert Sydney Johnston. However, as historian Timothy Smith argues, only four major books have appeared on the battle (compared to Gettysburg, which seems to have a new one every week). Furthermore, we have forgotten and misremembered crucial details about the famous battle, which Smith tackles in his collection of nine essays accompanied by numerous useful maps.

Smith examines a wide variety of topics. He surveys the terrain at Shiloh and describes how the roads, fields, and forests shaped where the heaviest fighting took place throughout the two days. Other essays cover the death of Albert Sydney Johnston, the march of Lew Wallace, Mississippi secession delegates who fought at Shiloh (which seems out of place), and the civilian population’s interaction with the federal government during the creation of the battlefield. The volume appropriately concludes with pieces on how the New Deal shaped the battlefield and the legacy of the film shown in the park’s visitor center.

The most provocative section of the book seeks to diminish the importance of the famed Hornet’s Nest, which Smith does not see as the critical juncture of the battle. “The soldiers themselves stated as much, the position of troops does not support the idea, and the casualties and burials firmly argue against such a notion,” he argues (61). The de-emphasis of the Hornet’s Nest also results in an essay that diminishes the actions of Benjamin Prentiss, the Union officer long lauded as the hero who saved the day at that critical spot. The argument presented here runs counter to the traditional understanding of the battle. Furthermore, other primary sources counter the evidence presented here. More work needs to be done on the Hornet’s Nest before it vanishes from its prominent perch in Civil War memory.

Unfortunately, all of the essays here have been previously published in other magazines or journals, with only minor revisions from time to time, so those familiar with Smith’s work will not learn anything new. For readers interested in the history of Iowa, there are only casual references to the Iowa men who fought at crucial stages in the battle. There is no extensive discussion of the Iowa monument, located near the visitor center, which, in my opinion, is one of the grandest on
the battlefield. The book would have benefited from a deeper examination of the monuments, which play a critical role in the construction of memory. For anyone interested in the battle and its legacy, however, Smith’s collection is certainly worth exploring.

While many have at least heard of Shiloh, the same cannot be said for Milliken’s Bend, a ferocious engagement on the west bank of the Mississippi River on June 7, 1863, a site now underneath the river. Civil War narratives rarely mention the conflict, even though it was an important engagement for African American troops, who composed the majority of Union forces at the battle. At Milliken’s Bend, black soldiers fought with such tenacity that reports of their participation, combined with similar reports from Fort Wagner and Port Hudson later that summer, helped eradicate the racial stereotype that black men could not handle their blue uniform. The battle also produced a heap of controversy, as accusations fervently stated that Confederate forces executed black Union soldiers. Linda Barnickel’s exhaustively researched book helps rescue this important battle from being merely a footnote in the history of the Civil War.

In addition to providing lots of solid details about the battle, Barnickel has framed her study through a much larger cultural examination of the men who fought, the civilians who resided in the region, and those residents’ impressions about slavery. Many white Southerners feared that the Civil War would unleash a massive slave rebellion; a culture of fear permeated the Louisiana residents along the west bank of the Mississippi. The Confederate soldiers who participated in the battle also grew up in a culture of violence that established a racial order through a violent pattern of keeping African Americans in a subordinate position. Barnickel also points out the inherent racial problems in northern society, particularly the view that African Americans could not handle military service. Yet the tenacious fighting came at a heavy price, as accusations flew after the battle that black Union soldiers had been executed. Barnickel examines how Union leadership could use reports of black executions to recruit other black men for a revenge mission or use them to shut down the prisoner exchange system. The author admits the difficulty in discerning the truth about whether or not executions took place, as post-battle accounts and memories directly conflicted with one another, and the records of what happened to the captured black Federal soldiers vanished. Nevertheless, it is hard to completely deny the reports that indicated some executions, which creates a persistent historical mystery.

Barnickel concludes her study by looking at racial violence in eastern Louisiana during Reconstruction and the memory of the battle
in the modern era. Historians mostly ignored the battle until the 1980s, but the National Park Service has helped resurrect the battle in modern memory through film, museum exhibits, and the Mississippi African American monument at Vicksburg National Military Park.

Readers interested in Iowa history will benefit from a lengthy discussion of the Twenty-third Iowa regiment, which participated in the battle. The author criticizes Union Commander Ben McCulloch’s claim that the Iowans did not exhibit any courage during the battle. The appendixes include a list of casualties for the regiment and a brief biographical sketch of the unit.

The book is an excellent example of the importance of persistent research, following every lead and overturning every stone where an important fact might be hidden. The author admits that more work remains to be done on Milliken’s Bend, but her book serves as a benchmark reminding us of the loss incurred by forgetting critical moments in history.


Reviewer Patrick G. Bass is professor of history at Morningside College. His research and writing have focused on the Civil War.

In 1867 the Wisconsin Historical Society (WHS), courtesy of collector Edwin B. Quiner, came into the possession of ten scrapbooks full of clipped letters sent to Wisconsin newspapers from soldiers and others at the front. In 2010 the society digitized these approximately 10,000 missives, making them available gratis online. As indicated in WHS Deputy Director Michael Edmonds’s able foreword to _This Wicked Rebellion_, the original set of sources is tantalizing, much used—and problematic: no one knows how much different newspapers altered these 10,000 letters before printing them.

_This Wicked Rebellion_ is a print selection of these letters, edited and organized by John Zimm, a WHS employee. Zimm has arranged his chosen subset by six primary themes, interspersed with subthemes, with a slight emphasis on the darker sides of the conflict. Zimm’s stated criteria for selection are laudable: he includes lesser known letters, offer divergent views, shorn of flowery prose, revealing the variety of experiences of the people of Wisconsin during the Civil War. In particular, his chapter devoted to Wisconsin letters about slavery, emancipation, and race is interesting and well ordered; the chapter titled “War is Hell,” about wounds and sickness, is also gripping.