

## ADOLPH VON STEINWEHR: A NEGLECTED CIVIL WAR GENERAL

Almost 177,000 German-born men served in the Union army during the Civil War. Some entire regiments of volunteers consisted of German-speaking men only.<sup>1</sup> More than a dozen German-born men attained the rank of general. Among these Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel are well known.<sup>2</sup> Adolph von Steinwehr, on the other hand, has remained rather obscure. Primary sources of information on him are difficult to obtain, and references to him in the secondary literature are brief and sometimes incorrect. Some reference works which might be expected to have an article on him do not.<sup>3</sup> The present article aims to present a picture of his life as a whole, rather than focus on the details of his military service.

Baron Adolph Wilhelm August Friedrich von Steinwehr was born to Friedrich Franz Ferdinand von Steinwehr and his wife Ernestine, née von Glöden (1793-1873), on 25 September 1822, at Blankenburg/Harz.<sup>4</sup> (The town of Blankenburg was at that time part of the Duchy of Braunschweig, but is now part of the State of Sachsen-Anhalt.) His father had been born on 25 June 1781, at Berlin;<sup>5</sup> he was to die at Ferdinandsbrunnen, a spa near Helmstedt (the famous border crossing point 1945-1990), on 28 July 1841.<sup>6</sup> Friedrich von Steinwehr began his military career in Prussian service, but later entered the army of the small Duchy of Braunschweig, from which he retired in 1831 in the rank of major. He had seen action on the Iberian peninsula, where, in 1812, he was wounded at Simancas, and in the campaign of 1815.<sup>7</sup> Four brothers of Adolph's father served in the Prussian army: Karl Friedrich Christian (1769-1826), a colonel and director of the military academy

in Potsdam; Philipp Heinrich (1771-1846), a major; Wilhelm Ludwig Bogislav (1774—1854; *pour le mérite* 1807), a lieutenant general, and Friedrich Wilhelm Franz Ferdinand Leopold (1785-1860), a major. Yet another brother, Ernst Christoph Ludwig (1786-1809) died while serving in the "Freikorps" of Duke Friedrich Wilhelm of Braunschweig.<sup>8</sup>

Adolph's grandfather, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steinwehr (1733-1809), of the Deetz line of the von Steinwehrs, had been a lieutenant general in the Prussian army and had been decorated in 1778 with the order *pour le mérite* for his part in the War of the Bavarian Succession. He had fathered fifteen children (in two marriages), several of whom died before reaching adulthood.<sup>9</sup> Ultimately the noble von Steinwehr family can be traced back to one Johann von Steinwehr, who is mentioned in 1321. The family owned estates primarily in Pomerania, but spread also to other parts of Germany.<sup>10</sup> And Adolph von Steinwehr was not the only member, of this farspread family to make his way to America: Oscar Benno Carl von Steinwehr, Adolph's third cousin, came to America at about the same time and settled in Roane County, Tennessee.<sup>11</sup> Whether the two men knew each other or were in contact with each other is not known. There are two different escutcheons for the von Steinwehr family. One features an armor-clad leg on a blue field; the other, which was used by Adolph von Steinwehr's branch of the family, features two crossed stirrups on a silver field.<sup>12</sup>

Given the traditions of his family, it will not surprise many that the young

Adolph chose to follow the profession of soldier. He received his military training in the "Kadettenanstalt" (military academy) of Braunschweig, entering on 1 May 1839, and being promoted to the rank of "Porte-pee-Fähnrich" (officer candidate) on 23 November 1840. He became a second lieutenant in the sole infantry regiment of the ducal army (the "Feldcorps") on 18 April 1841. Probably seeing little chance for advancement, he left the Duke's service on 11 October 1846.<sup>13</sup>

Adolf von Steinwehr emigrated to the United States, where already on 16 January 1847, in the Common Pleas Court of Muskingum County, Ohio, he declared his intention to become a United States citizen.<sup>14</sup> He then, reportedly, joined a regiment of volunteers in Alabama, and participated in the Mexican War. At one point, while he was in Mexico, he was reportedly attacked by a drunk, machete-swinging mestizo, suffered an ugly wound on his right cheek, and was left with a noticeable scar.<sup>15</sup> That von Steinwehr had an ugly scar on the right side of his face is confirmed by another source, which, however, offers a different story of its origin.<sup>16</sup> These reports explain why in photographs we usually see his left profile. The scar is, however, clearly visible in one photograph in the files of the National Archives.<sup>17</sup>

Adolf was disappointed in his hopes of receiving a commission in the regular forces of the United States, but obtained an appointment in the Coast and Geodetic Survey. On 6 August 1851, in New Orleans he married a Mary Florence Murrell. In 1852 he returned to Germany, together with his wife and their first child, who was born on 1 April 1852.<sup>18</sup>

In 1854 von Steinwehr emigrated to America for the second time. He arrived in

New York City on 8 June 1854, on the ship "Bremen," having embarked at the port of Bremen. He was accompanied by his wife and two children.<sup>19</sup> He settled in Wallingford, Connecticut, and became a "Latin farmer."<sup>20</sup> From 1858 to 1860 he and his family resided in Albany, New York. The city directory and the 1860 census list him as an architect and civil engineer, with offices in the Exchange Building.<sup>21</sup> He designed a state arsenal, later called "armory," which was built in 1858 at the corner of Eagle and Hudson Streets.<sup>22</sup> In the same year, together with his partner William Hodgins, he redesigned Albany's North Dutch Church (today's First Church in Albany).<sup>23</sup>

When the Civil War erupted in 1861, von Steinwehr raised a regiment of volunteers among German immigrants, mostly in New York City. The regiment was the 29<sup>s</sup> New York Infantry, also called the "First German Infantry" or the "Astor Rifles."<sup>24</sup> The regiment saw action at the First Battle of Bull Run, the Second Battle of Bull Run, and the Battle of Chancellorsville.<sup>25</sup> Adolph von Steinwehr was commissioned as Colonel on 23 May 1861 and commanded the regiment until 12 October 1861, when he took command of the Second Brigade of the Third Division, a division commanded by another German-American officer, Louis Blenker.<sup>26</sup> He became acting Brigadier General on 13 October 1861, but that rank was made permanent only on 3 July 1862.<sup>27</sup> On 22 June 1862, he took command of the Second Division of the corps which was first designated the First Corps, Army of Virginia, and then the Eleventh Corps, Army of the Potomac, and was commanded first by Major General Franz Sigel and later by Major General Oliver O. Howard. The First Division of this corps was commanded

by Brigadier General (later Major General) Julius Stahel and the Third Division by Brigadier General (later Major General) Carl Schurz. Adolph von Steinwehr ably commanded the Second Division in the Second Battle of Bull Run, the Battle of Chancellorsville, the Battle of Gettysburg, and the struggle for Chattanooga. He is best remembered for his occupation of Cemetery Hill at Gettysburg; today the road which leads to that hill from the southwest is named Steinwehr Avenue. He never was granted promotion to the rank of Major General, although he was fully deserving of it and although both Julius Stahel and Carl Schurz had been promoted to that rank in March 1863. When in April 1864 the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were reorganized he was offered but declined the command of a brigade. He resigned his commission on 3 July 1865.<sup>28</sup>

His service record indicates that on several occasions he had been absent on leave because of illness, but there is no record of his having been wounded, although such a claim is sometimes made in the secondary literature. His failure to win promotion to the rank of Major General still rankled him many years later, as is apparent from a passage in a letter which he wrote, in German, to Franz Sigel on 12 December 1876.<sup>29</sup>

In the early 1870's the former general lived in New Haven, Connecticut.<sup>30</sup> From 1872 to 1873 he held an appointment at Yale University as instructor in military science. The university also awarded him an honorary M.A. degree.<sup>31</sup> From 1870 until his death he was occupied with producing and publishing various maps, atlases, textbooks in geography,<sup>32</sup> and a major work, impressive by its size and thoroughness, the *Centennial Gazetteer of the United States*, "a

geographical and statistical encyclopaedia of the states, territories, counties, townships, villages, post-offices, mountains, rivers, lakes, etc. in the American Union."<sup>33</sup> Many years earlier, in 1861, he had already demonstrated his competence in cartography by producing a "Map Showing the Distribution of Slaves in the Southern States," which was based on the 1860 federal census.<sup>34</sup> By 1876 he had moved his residence to Cincinnati.<sup>35</sup>

Death came to Adolf von Steinwehr on 25 February 1877, while he was on a business trip in Buffalo; the cause of death is given as lung congestion. The death was reported in the New York Times the next day; additional reports on the death and the funeral services were published in Albany, Buffalo and Cincinnati newspapers.<sup>36</sup> After lying in state in the Buffalo Arsenal, where members of the New York National Guard provided an honor guard, the body was taken by rail to Albany for burial. There it arrived on the morning of February 28 and was received with full military honors. After lying in state in the very arsenal which he himself had designed von Steinwehr's body was taken, later the same day, to the receiving vault of Albany Rural Cemetery for interment in the spring. None of the newspapers mention the attendance of family members. Newspapers in Braunschweig also reported on the death, claiming von Steinwehr as one of Braunschweig's own, but committing several errors in the biographical data.<sup>37</sup> On 25 February 1927, the 50th anniversary of von Steinwehr's death, the *Braunschweigische Landeszeitung* featured another column on him and repeated much of the wording as well as the errors.<sup>38</sup> Franz Sigel, upon learning of von Steinwehr's death, placed one of the newspaper obituaries in a notebook which he

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kept for such purpose and then penned a brief poem in honor of the deceased.<sup>39</sup>

The burial lot in Albany Rural Cemetery Lot 4, Section 4, was not in a choice location. The grave lay neglected and almost forgotten for many years, marked only by a small stone. Finally, in 1897, the German Veterans Association in Albany decided that a more appropriate burial should be provided. Accordingly, on April 18, 1898, according to the cemetery records, the remains were transferred to a much better location, Lot 13, Section 106. In the meantime a Steinwehr Monument Committee under the auspices of the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.), the most influential of the groups devoted to the concerns of veterans from the Union armies in the Civil War, was formed. Bernhard Gloeckner, a prominent Albany furniture dealer, served as chairman; his name and the names of the other four members of the committee are inscribed on a small tablet mounted on the back of the monument which now marks the grave site.

This imposing monument, designed by John Zeiser of Albany, takes the form of a massive granite prism; it stands 17 1/2 feet high, while its base measures seven feet square. Its top is decorated on all four sides with an American shield. The upper register bears on its face, enclosed in a wreath carved of stone, a bronze medallion with the general's likeness, bareheaded, in a three-quarters view facing left. This likeness is taken from a photograph on file in the US Army's Military History Institute. A larger memorial bronze tablet in the lower register bears the following inscription:  
IN MEMORY

OF  
ADOLPH W. A. F. VON STEINWEHR  
BORN IN BRUNSWICK GERMANY 1822.  
DIED IN BUFFALO, N.Y. 1877.

1861  
COL. 29TH REGIMENT N.Y.S. VOL.  
1862-1865  
BRIGADIER GENERAL  
AND COMMANDER OF 2ND DIV.  
11<sup>th</sup> CORPS U.S. ARMY  
ERECTED BY HIS  
COMRADES AND FRIENDS  
FROM ALBANY, PHILADELPHIA  
AND CINCINNATI.  
STEINWEHR POST NO. 19 G.A.R.  
NEW YORK CITY.  
GEN. VON STEINWEHR POST NO. 76 G.A.R.  
NEW HAVEN, CONN.  
MAY 30<sup>th</sup> 1898.

Plans for the construction and dedication of the monument had been announced in the *New York Times* already on 13 February 1898. The announcement indicated that both Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel were expected to give brief addresses. The monument was dedicated on Memorial Day, 30 May 1898, while patriotic sentiments were running strong because of the Spanish-American War. The dedication ceremony, held in the afternoon after the traditional Memorial Day parade, was attended by an estimated 3000 people; among these were Civil War veterans not only from Albany but also from New Haven, New York City, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. The guest of honor was William von Steinwehr, the general's son, who had come for the occasion from his home in Cincinnati, where he was a successful businessman. The program began with an overture played by the boys' band of the Catholic Protectory of New York City. While the overture was being played, twelve young ladies, all from Albany's German families, strewed flowers on the grave site. (Their names were carefully reported in the local newspapers.) Then the monument was unveiled, following which the Rev. E. A. Terry, appropriately also a Civil War veteran, offered a prayer. This, in turn, was followed by the *Eintracht*

Singing Society singing Beethoven's "Die Himmel rühmen des Ewigen Ehre" Presentation of the monument was by Bernhard Gloeckner, the chairman of the monument committee. A brief address was given by Francis J. Werneck, commander of the Steinwehr Post No. 192 of the G.A.R. in New York City. The major address was given by Gen. James R. O'Beirne of New York City. The program concluded with the Eintracht Singing Society and the audience singing the National Anthem. Gen. Franz Sigel had been scheduled to give a brief address but was prevented from attending.<sup>40</sup> One should also note the absence of Carl Schurz.

In 1995 the monument received a much-needed face lift through the efforts of the Col. George L. Willard Camp No. 154 of the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Mr. William Halpin, camp commander. It was then rededicated on Veterans Day, November 11, 1995, with appropriate ceremonies. The "Sons" continue to act as guardians of the grave. They have been unable thus far to recover a bronze eagle which was added to the monument at some time between 1898 and 1913 but was stolen in 1993.<sup>41</sup> Nearby the visitor may inspect the grave of President Chester A. Arthur and a large monument to the Grand Army of the Republic.

One would like to know more about Adolph von Steinwehr's family relationships. His parents were later divorced.<sup>42</sup> There was a sister, Ernestine Louise Adolphine Augusta Henriette, born at Blankenburg on 13 October 1824.<sup>43</sup> Her engagement on 22 May 1848, to Carl W. Leusmann, an "Amtmann" (magistrate), her marriage on 27 August 1848, and the birth of a daughter on 14 November 1849, were all announced in the *Braunschweiger*

*Anzeigen*.<sup>44</sup> By a fortunate coincidence Gen. Oliver O. Howard, Adolph von Steinwehr's former corps commander, reports in his autobiography having met this sister in 1884 in Düsseldorf in the course of his European travels.<sup>45</sup> We know little about von Steinwehr's wife, other than that her name was Mary Florence Murrell, and that she was born on 10 May 1826.<sup>46</sup> She was said to be "a New Orleans woman, fat and homely, but good and warm-hearted."<sup>47</sup> By 1860 five children had been born into the family. The 1860 federal census lists them as follows: Ernestine, age 10, born in Prussia; Bogislaus, age 7, born in Prussia; Hildegard, age 5, born in New York [state]; Fanny, age 3, born in New York [state]; and Guido M[aximilian] H[amilton], age 9 months, born in New York [state].<sup>48</sup> These data suggest that the family moved back from Germany to America in 1854. Steinwehr apparently named the oldest daughter after his mother, and the oldest son after one of his father's brothers. But Bogislaus later chose to call himself William. (His full name was Wilhelm Bogislaw Adolph Kuno; he was born on 17 March 1853, in Braunschweig.<sup>49</sup>) At times during the war the family was able to accompany the general. On 21/22 October 1862, a member of the 154<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry, writing home to friends from Fairfax, Virginia, mentions in passing that there were five children in the general's family, the youngest being about two years old.<sup>50</sup> This agrees neatly with the 1860 census. But Fanny, the youngest daughter, died at Fairfax shortly before 25 November 1862, and reportedly was taken to Albany for burial.<sup>51</sup> Adolph von Steinwehr is listed in the Washington, D.C., *City Directory* of 1862 (where his name is misspelled "Steinveer").

At the time of the general's death his wife and two surviving daughters were living in a villa near Koblenz, Germany. His wife was to survive him by many years; she never returned to the country of her birth. On 20 June 1899, and again on 18 December 1899, she applied to the U.S. government for a widow's pension. The application bogged down in a maze of bureaucratic wrangling involving the Pension Office, the U.S. Consulate General in Frankfurt/Main, and two lawyers and was initially rejected. At last a Special Act of Congress on 27 June 1902, authorized a monthly pension of \$30.00. Affidavits in support of the claim had been filed by four of von Steinwehr's former fellow-officers, Julius Stahel, Oliver O. Howard, Carl Schurz, and Franz Sigel. Payments ceased upon her death in Frankfurt/Main on 30 July 1905.<sup>52</sup>

When Mary Florence filed her application she was nearly blind, had little or no income, and was supported by her two daughters Ernestine von Werner and Hildegard von Meysenberg. There is no mention of her two sons, William and Guido. We also learn that she had been previously married and was divorced in 1850; a more specific date and the name of her former husband are not given. She was married to Adolph von Steinwehr in New Orleans, not in Mobile, Alabama, as is claimed in some of the secondary literature. The date of the marriage is said to be 6 August 1851, in three documents, but 7 June 1851, in another. Mary Florence was unable to provide her marriage certificate, claiming that it had been lost in a fire during the Civil War. Her oldest daughter, we shall see, was born on 1 April 1852, also in New Orleans. Her age in 1899 is said to have been 66, which, we must assume, is in error.<sup>53</sup> Some uncertain-

ty thus remains both about Mary Florence's date of birth and about her marriage.

Von Steinwehr left behind a loving but unfinished letter, in English, to his daughter Hildegard.<sup>54</sup> From this letter it can be learned that this daughter was moving in high society, was engaged to Baron Hermann von Meysenberg, and that her father was pleased.<sup>55</sup> We also learn that his son Guido, who was then about 18 years of age, was successful in his studies and that his father hoped to get him an appointment at West Point.<sup>56</sup> The oldest daughter, Ernestine, married Maximilian von Werner in Koblenz on 24 April 1878; she died on 8 June 1942, in Freiburg im Breisgau.<sup>57</sup> Fanny, as mentioned above, died in 1862 at Fairfax.<sup>58</sup> William von Steinwehr was a successful businessman in Cincinnati.<sup>59</sup> Fred(erick) C(harles) von Steinwehr, one of the three children of William, a Cornell University graduate, and a retired Cincinnati businessman, was killed in a hunting accident on 19 December 1931, according to the *New York Times* of 20 December 1931. Fred C von Steinwehr, in turn, had a son named Fred(erick) (1916-1992). A daughter of the latter, Ms. Randi von Steinwehr, lives in Princeton, Massachusetts.<sup>60</sup>

Unfortunately little of von Steinwehr's personality emerges very clearly from the scarce sources of information available. The turnout for the dedication of his monument, twenty-one years after his death, would indicate a man well thought of by his former comrades. Gen. Howard held him in high regard.<sup>61</sup> He was "an old friend" of Harriet Beecher Stowe, on whom he called in November 1862 and whose son Frederick William (Fred) served under his command.<sup>62</sup> He made a most favorable impression on Isabella Beecher Hooker, Harriet Beecher Stowe's sister, who called him "the

most charming Christian gentleman and soldier that ever I have seen" and "the most distinguished foreigner in our service." She also writes: "The Great Frederic [sic] of Prussia stood Godfather to his father. The latter was commander in chief of the Prussian army, as was his grandfather."<sup>63</sup> But these claims are not borne out by the evidence. H. A. Rattermann,<sup>64</sup> writing shortly after von Steinwehr's death, has words of praise for him: "He was a soldier in the true sense of the word, and a nobleman, not only by name and birth, but also in deed... He was a man of excellent education, of gentlemanly deportment, and of keen spirit in every kind of company." Rattermann knew von Steinwehr personally. In fact, the two men had met for the last time only three days before von Steinwehr was overcome in his hotel room. In this last meeting von Steinwehr had asked Rattermann to sponsor him for membership in Cincinnati's "Pionier-Verein."<sup>65</sup> In a letter to the National Tribune (the national organ of the Grand Army of the Republic) of 11 October 1888, one Adolphus F. Vogelbach has words of high praise for von Steinwehr: "To Gen. A. von Steinwehr, commanding the Second Division, Eleventh Corps, belongs the credit and honor of selecting and occupying Cemetery Hill. ... Steinwehr was a fine officer, accomplished and competent, and deserves more credit than he ever received. He is now dead. Modesty on his part, no doubt, prevented him from claiming the honor that was justly due him." Vogelbach was a veteran (Captain, Co. B) of the 27<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry.<sup>66</sup>

J. G. Rosengarten<sup>67</sup> likewise pays him a fine tribute: "His [Steinwehr's] character was marked by many manly qualities, and his name is an enduring example of German patriotism, soldiership, and culture." Gustav

Phillip Körner<sup>68</sup> writes that "among all the German generals von Steinwehr was recognized as one of the most capable, because he combined courage and determination with excellent military knowledge." Wilhelm Kaufmann<sup>69</sup> similarly says of him that he "was without question the most thoroughly trained of all the German officers in the Union army."

Another very positive assessment of Steinwehr's military abilities; was given recently by Christian B. Keller:<sup>70</sup> "He was a true soldier, whose greatest assets were his European military training and background coupled with an astute eye, which allowed him to scan battlefields and instantly recognize the strategic pressure points. His detailed knowledge of military history, experience in the Mexican-American war, engineering ability, and organizational skills combined to make him one of the most gifted ethnic commanders of the war." In the judgment of Harry W. Pfanz, author of three books on the Battle of Gettysburg, von Steinwehr "deserves much more attention than he has received."<sup>71</sup>

The Official Records of the Department of War<sup>72</sup> reveal a competent commander and capable military engineer, as do numerous references in other Civil War records, such as the memoirs of Carl Schurz.<sup>73</sup> But they say nothing about his personal relationships. It was professional jealousy, apparently, that prompted him to write, on 26 January 1863, to Gen. Sigel, asking for help in obtaining assignment to a different command and remarking that it was "a great humiliation" for him to be obliged to serve under Schurz.<sup>74</sup> (Schurz was briefly in command of the Eleventh Corps, 19 January-6 February 1863.) The same letter also suggests that there were misunderstandings and a measure of tension

in the relationship between von Steinwehr and both Schurz and Sigel. Not having received an immediate response, von Steinwehr wrote to Sigel again only three days later.<sup>75</sup> Disagreement between von Steinwehr and Schurz on a matter of policy becomes evident also in a letter written by von Steinwehr to General Howard on 5 April 1863.<sup>76</sup>

Von Steinwehr's work as a geographer and cartographer has earned him words of high praise. He was a man of many talents, but his frequent change of residence and profession suggests also a measure of restlessness. He appears to have felt at ease in American society, but maintained close links to his native Germany. He left no collection of papers, and many questions hence remain unanswered: What was the nature of his relationship to his wife and children?

Did he have strong religious beliefs? (The von Steinwehr family was Lutheran; one of his father's sisters, Wilhelmine Elisabeth Henrietta [1770-1843] was the head of a Lutheran "abbey" at Heiligengrabe in Brandenburg.<sup>77</sup>) How did he relate to Schurz, Sigel, and the other Forty-Eighters in the ranks of the Union army? He was not one of them, and his background was different. What was his position on the political questions of the day?<sup>78</sup> We may with a measure of surety conclude only that he was opposed to slavery. Did having a wife from the South affect his attitude towards the Confederacy? How did he reconcile the aristocratic traditions of his family with the democratic ideals of America? But without question it can be said that he served his adopted country with great distinction, both in peace and in war, and deserves a place of honor among German immigrants to America.

— Hans A. Pohlsander  
Delmar, New York



## Notes

1. Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 90-115. Joseph Wandel, *The German Dimension of American History* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Inc., Publishers, 1979), 173-82. An even higher count, 187,858, is given by J. G. Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1890), 195. Most recently, Stephen D. Engle gives an estimate of 180,000 to 216,000 Germans in the service of the Union and 3,500-7,000 in Confederate service: "German-Americans," in David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds., *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War: A Political, Social, Military History* (Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 2: 822-24. On the pro-Union sentiment prevailing among German-Americans see also Earl J. Hess, ed., *A German in the Yankee Fatherland. The Civil War Letters of Henry A. Kircher* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1983), 1-3. Of broader interest: William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments*, 2nd ed. (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 1998). Further literature in Wolfgang Hochbruck, compiler, *Bibliography; Germans in the American Civil War*, [www.uni-stuttgart.de/ilwam/civil/bibliography.htm](http://www.uni-stuttgart.de/ilwam/civil/bibliography.htm).
2. Chester Verne Easum, *The Americanization of Carl Schurz* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929). Joseph Schafer, *Carl Schurz: Militant Liberal* (Evansville, WI: Center Press, 1930). Claude Moore Fuess, *Carl Schurz: Reformer, 1829-1906* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1932). Hans L. Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1982). Stephen D. Engle, *Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz Sigel* (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1993). Adolf Eduard Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950).
3. Pertinent articles in Mark Mayo Boatner III, *The Civil War Dictionary* (1959 and 1991), Patricia L. Faust, *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (1986), and Stewart Sifakis, *Who Was Who in the Union* (1988), to list only a few, all contain inaccuracies. There are no entries at all on von Stein-
- wehr in the *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* (1988) or in the *American National Biography* (1999). An entry on him in the *Neue Deutsche Biographie* is forthcoming.
4. *Verzeichniß der Gebornen und Getauften, evangelisch-lutherische Kirchengemeinde Blankenburg*, pp. 286-89, no. 53. Courtesy of Mr. Effler, Stadt Blankenburg. Another copy of the same index in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel erroneously lists the name of the father as Friedrich Carl von Steinwehr.  
*Verzeichnisse der in den Jahren 1819-1875 in hiesiger Stadt geborenen Kinder. Stadt Blankenburg/Harz*, Museum Kleines Schloß, P III 1779.  
*Braunschweigische Anzeigen 1822/2899*; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel. There is a cardfile index for the years 1814-1855.  
 Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, microfilm 1760828.  
 The parents were married on 22 March 1818, in Blankenburg. The marriage was later dissolved by divorce, but the relationship between the two former spouses continued to be a friendly one. Adolph's mother eventually married a Professor Adolf Schleiter of Braunschweig (1792-1863): Personnel file von Steinwehr, Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, H VIII A: 4819; *Braunschweigische Anzeigen* 1818/1355; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel; Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung der Nachrichten über die Familie von Steinwehr, Deetzer Linie mit Berücksichtigung der heutigen Hannover'schen und Amerikanischen Linie," (Cologne, Spring 1916), 36; NW Staatsarchiv Münster, Sammlung von Steinwehr (Dep.), Manuskripten-Band 1.
5. Taufregister des Infanterie-Regiments von Winning Nr. 23, *Militärkirchenbuch* VIII. HA MKB, Nr. 392/3, Bl. 743; Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 35.
6. *Kirchenbuch Marienberg*, p. 146, no. 31; Evangelisch-lutherischer Kirchenverband, Kirchenverbandsamt, Helmstedt. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 35-36, erroneously gives July 27.

7. Gustaf von Kortzfleisch, *Geschichte des Herzoglich Braunschweigischen Infanterie-Regiments* (Braunschweig 1896 1903), 1: 242 and 354-55 and 2: 44 and 51. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 35.
8. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 32-38. Kurt von Priesdorff, *Soldatisches Führertum* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937), 2: 437-38, no. 914, and 4: 285-87, no. 1327. Duke Friedrich Wilhelm, the "Black Duke," died in the Battle of Quatrebas in 1815: Kortzfleisch, *Geschichte*, 2: 70-71. His sarcophagus stands in the crypt of the Cathedral of St. Blaise (Blasius) in Braunschweig.
9. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 26-28. Priesdorff, *Soldatisches Führertum* 2: 437-38, no. 914. Gustav Lehmann, *Die Ritter des Ordens pour le mérite* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1913), 1: 138, no. 781. Christian Zweng, *Die Ritter des Ordens pour le mérite 1740-1918* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1998), 91, no. 781. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 33 and 35, erroneously reports that, when Friedrich Wilhelm's son Wilhelm Ludwig Bogislav was baptized on 28 February 1774, and again, when his son Friedrich Franz Ferdinand was baptized on June 30, 1781, King Frederick II and Prince Heinrich of Prussia served as godfathers. If this were correct it would show that Friedrich Wilhelm was highly esteemed by the king. But the record of the baptisms makes no mention of the king or of the prince: Taufregister des Infanterie-Regiments von Winning Nr. 23, Bl. 610 and 743.
10. Leopold von Zedlitz-Neukirch, *Neues preussisches Adels-Lexicon* (Leipzig: Gebrüder Reichenbach, 1836-1843), 4: 234-35. Ernst Heinrich Kneschke, *Neues allgemeines deutsches Adels-Lexikon* (Leipzig: F. Voigt, 1859-1870; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1973), 9: 7-8.
11. He was born at Wesel on the Rhine on August 22, 1823. Like most of the von Steinwehrs, he, too, embarked on a military career, but left the service in 1846. Having emigrated to the U.S., he lived for many years in Kingston and then in Rockwood, both in Roane County, Tennessee. He became a United States citizen on 25 October 1852. On 17 October 1859, at Wartburg, Morgan County, Tennessee, he married Catherine Wilhelmina Henrietta Sienecht. The couple had six children, one of whom died on the day of birth. Oscar died on 1 December 1900. Data transcribed from the "Steinwehr Bible," Roane County Heritage Commission, Kingston, TN. [www.roanetnheritage.com/research](http://www.roanetnheritage.com/research).  
Roane County Circuit Minutes, vol. 8, p. 290. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 41.  
Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, microfilm 1553687.  
The common great-great-grandfather was Joachim Friedrich von Steinwehr; his son Philipp Christoph (1686-1740) became the father of Adolph's grandfather Friedrich Wilhelm (see note 9). Joachim Friedrich had another son, Franz Joachim (d. 1748); the latter's son, Gottfried Sigismund (1731-1797), fathered Carl Heinrich Gottfried (1774-1835), who in turn fathered Oscar Benno Carl.  
Pedigree chart of the von Steinwehr family, drawn by Kurt von Steinwehr, Staatsarchiv Münster, Bibl. 3 S 48. Information kindly provided by Frau Gabriele Kießling.  
Carl Heinrich Gottfried von Steinwehr was a "Hauptmann" (captain) in the 17<sup>th</sup> Prussian Infantry Regiment his wife was Charlotte Friederike von Iwonsky. Garrison-Gemeinde Wesel, Register of Baptisms 1820, no. 64, and 1823, no. 61; family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, microfilm 0492492.
12. J.T. Bagmihl, *Pommersches Wappenbuch* (Stettin, 1843-1855), 1: 154-59 and pl. LVIII. J. Siebmacher's *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*, new ed., Einleitungsband, Abtheilung B, bearbeitet von Maximilian Gritzner (Nürnberg: Bauer und Rappe, 1890), 141-42, s. v. "Steigbügel," and Sechster Band, Sechste Abtheilung, bearbeitet von Georg Adalbert von Mülvgrstedt, 162 and plate 105.  
Kurt von Steinwehr, "Nachrichten über die Familie von Steinwehr mit einem Vorwort über die Urgeschichte und das Wappen derselben unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Linie Deetz--Wellen" (Cologne and Koblenz, 1914/1915), 10-11; NW Staatsarchiv Münster, Sammlung von Steinwehr (Dep.), Manuskripten-Band 1.
13. Abschied für den Sekondelieutenant von Steinwehr vom Infanterie-Regiment, October 5 and 6, 1846; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv is Wolfenbüttel, 12 Neu 5 Nr, 5398, Bl. 171.

- Dienst-Etats der Officiers [*sic*] des Feld-Corps, 1. Heft, October 11, 1846; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel, 25B Neu 417, Nr. 34. Braunschweigische Anzeigen 1841/2105 and 1846/6305; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel. Günter Scheel, "Steinwehr, Adolph Wilhelm August Friedrich von," in Horst-Rüdiger Jarck and Günter Scheel, eds., *Braunschweigisches Biographisches Lexikon: 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), 592. Elke Niewöhner, "Friedrich Adolph [*sic*], Baron von Steinwehr — ein Mann mit vielen Talenten," in *Brücken in eine neue Welt*, exhibition catalog, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel 2000 (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz Verlag, 2000), 221-26. He did not, as is sometimes asserted, take a one year's leave of absence.
14. *Muskingum County Footprints 1: An Index: Declarations of Intention for Naturalization, Muskingum County, Ohio, 1809-1899*, by Sylvia Smedley Hargrove and Hilda E. Yinger (South Zanesville and Zanesville, OH, 1984), 48. Further information was kindly provided by Mrs. Yinger. It is not clear why von Steinwehr went to Muskingum County. Interestingly enough, his name is given as Schleiter von Steinwehr (see note 4). I have not been able to learn when and where he embarked for America, when and where he arrived, and when and where he became a citizen.
  15. H.A. Rattermann, "Adolph von Steinwehr," *Der deutsche Pionier* 9 (1877): 17-29 and 160-66 at 18. Rattermann claims to have been told the story of the scar by von Steinwehr himself. A synopsis of Rattermann's article in English is found in Clifford Neal Smith, *Early Nineteenth-Century German Settlers in Ohio, Kentucky, and Other States* (German-American Genealogical Research, Monograph Number 20, 1991), Part 4, Fascicle C: Appendices, 91-92.  
Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 44, remarks that von Steinwehr's life was full of adventures and that he was a good story teller. Was this story liberally embellished? I have been unable to find an official record of von Steinwehr's service in the Mexican War.
  16. Theodore Ayrault Dodge, *On Campaign with the Army of the Potomac: The Civil War Journal of Theodore Ayrault Dodge*, ed. Stephen W. Sears (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2001), 141: "The General ...is a fine looking man, small build, but with a noble head and a magnificent sword cut from the forehead across the right eye and cheek. He probably got this in the Revolution of 1848 in Germany." On this supposition Dodge is, of course, wrong, as von Steinwehr had left Germany well before 1848.
  17. Tim Engelhart, *Zu den Waffen! Deutsche Emigranten in New Yorker Unionsregimentern während des Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieges 1861-1865* (Zella-Mehlis/Meiningen, Thuringia: Heinrich-Jung Verlagsgesellschaft, 2000), 32. The author has kindly furnished me a good copy.
  18. Rattermann, "Adolph von Steinwehr," 18-19. Alfred Vagts, *Deutsch-amerikanische Rückwanderung, Beihefte zum Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, 6. Heft (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1960), 86. The evidence suggests that during his stay in Germany he lived in Braunschweig. At no time was he an instructor at the military academy at Potsdam, as is sometimes asserted. His marriage and family will be further discussed below.
  19. Ira A. Glazier and P. William Filby, *Germans to America* (Wilmington, DE.: Scholarly Resources, 1998 f.), 7: 265.
  20. Charles H.S. Davis, *History of Wallingford, Conn.* (Meriden, CT: published by the author, 1870), 541-42. A "Latin farmer" is one more knowledgeable in literature and the arts than in practical agriculture.
  21. Albany City Directories for 1858, 1859, and 1860. Federal Census for the City of Albany, January 2, 1860, p. 425.
  22. Albany newspapers: *Albany Evening Journal*, February 28, 1877; *Argus*, May 29, 1898; *Albany Morning Express*, May 30, 1898; *Times Union*, May 30, 1898. *New York Monuments Commission, Final Report on the Battlefield of Gettysburg: New York at Gettysburg* (Albany: J. B. Lyon, 1902), 3: 1346. When the building was no longer needed as an armory, due to the construction of a new one in 1891, it became the Catholic Union Building. It no longer stands today. For the history of the building see the following: Arthur James Weise, *The History of the City of Albany, New York* (Albany: E. H. Bender, 1884), 489-90; M. J.

- Louden, Catholic Albany (Albany: P. Donnelly, 1895), 61. Cuyler Reynolds, *Albany Chronicles: A History of the City Arranged Chronologically to the Present Time* (Albany 1906), 624. Morris Gerber, *Old Albany* (Albany 1961), 1: 156-57. John Wolcott of Albany kindly provided information and photographs.
23. Joel Munsell, *The Annals of Albany*, 2nd. ed. (Albany: J. Munsell, 1869), 10: 422-23. William Hodgins is listed as von Steinwehr's partner in the *Albany City Directory* for 1858, but separately for the years 1859-1863. On the history of this church see further Warren Roberts, "First Reformed Church of Albany," in Anne Roberts and Marcia Cockrell, eds., *Historic Albany: Its Churches and Synagogues* (Albany: Library Communications Services, 1986), 73-74.
  24. The name "First German Infantry" or "First German Rifles" was also claimed by the 8th New York Infantry: Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army*, 95; Rosengarten, *The German Soldier*, 218; Engelhart, *Zu den Waffen!*, 21.
  25. The regiment was mustered into the service of the United States on 4 and 6 June 1861. It was mustered out on 20 June 1863, then under the command of Col. Louis Hartmann, in New York City. Gen. von Steinwehr delivered a brief farewell address. Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865*, 3rd ed. (Albany: Weed and Parsons, 1912), 3: 2062-63 and 2076. Homepage of the regiment: [http://bowja01.home.mindspring.com/29thNY\\_Main\\_Page.htm](http://bowja01.home.mindspring.com/29thNY_Main_Page.htm). Engelhart, *Zu den Waffen!*, 30-33.
  26. Apparently having been absent from his command for a number of days, Steinwehr issued a "Brigade Befehl" on 8 November 1861 which reads: "Ins Hauptquartier heute zurückgekehrt, übernehme ich das Commando der 2ten Brigade." One should note the use of German even for such an official document. Military Service Record of Col. Adolph von Steinwehr, 29th N.Y. Inf., National Archives, Washington, D.C.
  27. Gen. Blenker recommended von Steinwehr for promotion on 3 December 3, 1861, and von Steinwehr himself, on 5 January 1862, requested Gen. George B. McClellan to convene a board of officers for the purpose of examining his qualifications for promotion. He writes, in part, "I have won the approbation of General Blenker and also of all those officers of this division who have received a thorough military education and have served in the regular armies in Germany." Military Service Record of Col. Adolph von Steinwehr; Military Service Record of Brig. Gen. Adolph von Steinwehr, 2nd Div., 11th Army Corps, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
  28. Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols., (Washington, D.C., 1880 ff.), passim. The Official Records can be searched on the Internet at <http://library5.library.cornell.edu/moa>.  
 Rattermann, "Adolph von Steinwehr," 19-29 and 160-63. Rattermann is anxious to defend the German element in the Union army (the "flying Dutchmen") against nativist prejudice and against the charges of incompetence and cowardice which were so often brought against it, and also to give von Steinwehr the credit which he deserves. Rattermann does not seem entirely objective himself.  
 On anti-German prejudice in the Union army see : David Delpech, "Le préjugé germanophobe dans l'armée nordiste," *Le Courrier de la Guerre d'Amerique* 36 (1995), 11-17; New York Monuments Commission, *Final Report*, 3: 1345-1346; Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 41-45 [This account seems to depend heavily on that of Rattermann]; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 530-31; Frank J. Welcher, *The Union Army 1861-1865: Organization and Operations*, 2 vols. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989-1993), passim; and Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg — Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 27 and 432, note 37.  
 There being an abundance of literature on the Civil War, I do not deem it necessary to describe military events in detail or practical to provide a more complete bibliography.
  29. "Your own letter, which you say you sent to Schurz, I have never seen, since you at that time generally limited your confidential communications to [Julius] Stahel and [Carl] Schurz. Indeed both of these shortly after this

- battle became major generals [in March, 1863], on your express recommendation (as Mr. Lincoln himself told me). But I, although I was the oldest of the three of us [the three division commanders of the Eleventh Corps], remained in my place as brigadier general. Under quite similar circumstances you have repeatedly submitted your resignation. I did not do that then, because Mr. Lincoln gave me his promise to correct the injustice; this, however, he forgot to do in the course of time and under the pressure of events. And after Chancellorsville there were no more promotions in the [Eleventh] Corps at all." The New-York Historical Society, Franz Sigel Papers. Quoted by permission [translation mine].
30. He is listed in the *New Haven City Directory* for 1871/72, 1872/73, and 1873/74, residing at 117 Elm Street. I do not know where he and his family resided in 1865-1870.
  31. Historical Register of Yale University, 1701-1937 (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1939), 526. His son William attended the Scientific School of Yale University in 1871-1873; courtesy of Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University.
  32. A complete list of the atlases, gazetteers, and texts on geography compiled or written by Steinwehr is found in the *National Union Catalog*, pre-1956, 567: 219-21.
  33. Philadelphia: J. C. McCurdy & Company, 1873, 1874, and 1876.
  34. Daniel Lord, *The Effect of Secession upon the Commercial Relations between the North and South* (New York: New York Times, 1861; repr. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966), insert. Original in the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. G3861 .E9 186- .S7 Vault.
  35. He is listed in the *Cincinnati City Directory* for 1876.
  36. *Albany Evening Journal*, 27 and 28 February 1877. *Argus*, 1 March 1877. *Evening Republic* (Buffalo), 26, 27, and 28 February 1877. *Cincinnati Gazette*, 27 February 1877. The death is not recorded in the Office of Vital Statistics, City of Buffalo.
  37. The Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, H VIII A: 4819, has two undated newspaper clippings reporting the death.
  38. Courtesy of Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel.
  39. The New-York Historical Society, Franz Sigel Papers.  
 "Warum so schnell? Du liebtest doch so sehr  
 Zu schwelgen in des Lebens Freudenmeer;  
 Im Studio wie in Deinem Kriegeszelt  
 Warst Du stets wohlgemuth — ein Mann der Welt!  
 Und jetzt, nachdem Du Dich erprobt im  
 Geisteskampf,  
 Und Deinen Muth bewährt in Feld und  
 Pulverdampf,  
 Rafft Dich hinweg von uns ein zäher  
 Herzenskampf,"  
 [Why so quickly? You so loved/ to frolic in the  
 ocean of life's joy;/ in the studio and your battle  
 tent/ you were always in good humor — a  
 man of the world!/ And now, having proven  
 yourself in intellectual battles/ and shown your  
 courage in amongst the powder smoke of the  
 battlefield/ you are snatched from us by tenacious  
 attack on the heart.]
- Sigel seems not to have harbored at this time any ill feelings against von Steinwehr because of the latter's somewhat intemperate letter of 12 December 1876, less than three months previously.
40. *Times Union*, 28 and 29 May 1898. *Argus*, 29 May 1898. *Albany Morning Express*, 30 and 31 May 1898. *Albany Evening Journal*, 28 and 30 May 1898. It is not likely that Sigel was kept away by serious illness, as he embarked on a voyage to Europe on 16 June 1898: The New-York Historical Society, Franz Sigel Papers.
  41. *Times Union*, 6 November 1995.
  42. See note 4 above.
  43. Personnel file von Steinwehr, Stadtarchiv Braunschweig, H VIII A: 4819. *Braunschweigische Anzeigen* 1824/3420; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 45, erroneously dates her birth to 1823.
  44. 1848/3175, 1848/5543, and 1849/7043; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel.
  45. *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard* (New York: The Baker & Taylor Company, 1907), 2:

## ADOLPH VON STEINWEHR, NOTES

- 537-38. But Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," reports that she died on 14 December 1873 at Stampen, Kreis Oels, Silesia, where her late husband had owned an estate. Was the lady whom Howard met perhaps not von Steinwehr's sister but his daughter? Since Howard does not indicate the age of the lady, it is possible that he was mistaken.
46. This date is provided by the record of the birth of her son Wilhelm Bogislaw; parish records of St. Andreas, Braunschweig, 1853, p. 393, no. 41; courtesy of Landeskirchliches Archiv Wolfenbüttel.
  47. Letter of Isabella Beecher Hooker, Harriet Beecher Stowe's sister, to her husband John Hooker, November 25, 1862. Isabella Hooker Collection, Stowe-Day Library, Hartford, Connecticut.
  48. Federal Census for the City of Albany, 1860, p. 425. Neither the ages of the children nor the places of their birth are necessarily correct. Thus Ernestine was born in New Orleans and Bogislaus in Braunschweig (which is not part of Prussia). Mary Florence von Steinwehr's age is erroneously given as thirty-one years. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 47, lists a sixth child, Arnold Bernhard, who was born in 1865 and died in 1867.
  49. *Braunschweigische Anzeigen* 1853/3547; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel. St. Andreas, Braunschweig; see note 46. He was baptized May 22, 1853. Professor Adolph Schleiter, who had married Adolph von Steinwehr's mother after her divorce from her husband (see notes 3 and 13), was one of the witnesses.
  50. Letter of Corporal George A. Taylor. Chataqua County Historical Society, Westfield, NY. Courtesy of Mr. Mark H. Dunkelman. Two other letters, also provided by Mr. Dunkelman, indicate that von Steinwehr had his family with him in May 1863.
  51. See note 47; but there is no record of the child's burial at the Albany Rural Cemetery.
  52. National Archives, Washington, D.C., application no. 700658/ 537358. The file consists of some thirty separate documents. Mary Florence's maiden name is given as "Murrell," not "Murrill" (Rattermann) or "Mürelle" (Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung"). Her address is at first Lauenau, a small town near Hannover, and then Frankfurt/Main, Feldbergstraße 42. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 44, dates her death to July 30, 1905.
  53. See note 49. "Fortsetzung," 41, giving October 14, 1835, must also be wrong. The federal census of 1860 (see note 47), given its general inaccuracy, must likewise be assumed to be in error.
  54. H.A. Rattermann, "Adolph von Steinwehr," 165-66. I do not know if the original of the letter is extant.
  55. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 47, reports that she married von Meysenberg in 1878, was later divorced, and died in 1907.
  56. Guido was married and divorced twice; he died in 1904, leaving no male offspring; Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 47. He is listed in the Cincinnati city directories for 1880-1882/83, as an attorney in 1880 and 1881. Whether he ever applied for admission at West Point is not known. He is not listed among the Academy's graduates: George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y.* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1891 ff.).
  57. Register of Marriages 1848-1887, Catholic Church of St. Kastor, Koblenz, p. 337, no. 27; Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, microfilm 0566360.; Sammlung Maltitz, no. 4616, Steinwehr; Herold, Verein für Heraldik, Genealogie und verwandte Wissenschaften, Berlin. Death notice of Ernestine von Werner, *Freiburger Zeitung*, 10 June 1942. Death records of Maximilian von Werner (29 December 1938) and Ernestine von Werner, Standesamt Freiburg im Breisgau; data kindly provided by the Stadtarchiv Freiburg im Breisgau; see also Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 46.
  58. See note 47.
  59. He is listed in the Cincinnati City Directories for 1895/96 1901/02. He had been born on 1 March 1853, in Braunschweig; his full name was Wilhelm Bogislaw Kuno Adolph. Braunschweigische Anzeigen 1853/3547; Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel. He married Mary Hofer, with whom he had three children. He died in 1915.

60. Personnel file Fred C. von Steinwehr, Cornell University Archives. Letter of Ms. Randi von Steinwehr.
61. Howard, *Autobiography*, 1: 372 and 2: 537-38; Pfanz, *Gettysburg—Culp's Hill*, 145.
62. Forrest Wilson, *Crusader in Crinoline: The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1941), 484, not giving von Steinwehr's name and erroneously stating that Fred was assigned to the staff of General Sigel [sic]; and Joan D. Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 305, erroneously giving von Steinwehr's name as "Steinwahr."  
James Tackach, "Frederick Stowe in the Shadow of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,'" *America's Civil War, Feature*, January, 1999; [http://www.thehistorynet.com/AmericasCivilWar/articles/1999/0199\\_text.htm](http://www.thehistorynet.com/AmericasCivilWar/articles/1999/0199_text.htm).
63. See note 47.
64. "Adolph von Steinwehr," 166. Quoted by H. F. Ruetenik, *Berühmte Deutsche Vorkämpfer für Fortschritt, Freiheit und Friede in Nordamerika* (Cleveland: Forest City Bookbinding Co., 1899), 392-93 [translation mine].
65. Rattermann, "Adolph von Steinwehr," 18 and 164-65.
66. This regiment, too, was an all-German unit. Being part of: the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, it fought under von Steinwehr's command both at Chancellorsville and at Gettysburg. I owe the reference to the kindness of Mark H. Dunkelman and Harry W. Pfanz.
67. *The German Soldier*, 228 [translation mine].
68. *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika 1818-1848* (Cincinnati: A. E. Wilde & Co., 1880; repr., with an English introduction by Patricia A. Herminghouse, New York, Berne, and Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1986), 153 [translation mine].
69. *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege (Sezessionskrieg 1861-1865)* (Munich and Berlin 1911), 470 [translation mine]. A complete English translation by Steven Rowan is now in print (Carlisle, PA: John Kallmann, 1999).
70. "Von Steinwehr, Baron Adolf [sic] Wilhelm August Friedrich (1822-1877)," in *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War*, 4: 238-392.
71. Letter to the author, 20 June 2001.
72. See note 28.
73. *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, 3 vols. (New York: McClure, 1907-1908).
74. Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 235; Trefousse, *Carl Schurz*, 131.
75. For the text of these letters see Appendix I and Appendix II. Whether Sigel responded to these appeals is not known.
76. The original letter is in the Library of Congress, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection. The text is given, in part, by Roy P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 6: 168, note 1.
77. Kurt von Steinwehr, "Fortsetzung," 32-33; Von Priesdorff, *Soldatisches Führertum*, 2: 437-38, no. 914, and 4-285 87, no. 1327.
78. In his early years he was, like most German immigrants, a Democrat; see *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896: Life Sketches Written at the Suggestion of His Children*, ed. Thomas J. McCormick (Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Press, 1909), 2: 206.



**A. von Steinwehr**

from

H. F. Ruetenik

*Berühmte Deutsche Vorkämpfer für Fortschritt, Freiheit und  
Friede in Nordamerika*

Cleveland 1899



## Appendix I

Washington Jan. 26th 1863.

Major General Fr. Sigel,  
Comdg Grand Reserve.

General,

Although my health is much improved, I would respectfully ask you to grant me a prolongation of my leave of absence of ten days. At the expiration of that time I shall be entirely restored. As I do not employ a physician but have adopted a dietetic cure, I do not enclose a surgeon's certificate. If you desire it however I shall forward one.

I am not quite sure yet, which course I ought to take under the present circumstances. You will readily admit, that it is a great humiliation for me to be obliged to serve under Schurz.—I hope to be able to obtain a transfer to another command, and I trust, General, you will lend me your aid for that object. —

I wrote to you a few days ago , but have not yet received a reply.—Please write to me by return of mail. —

When I recall the past I cannot but believe, that I have your confidence and good will. —For none have been more sincerely attached to you, than myself, from our first meeting in Winchester, and none have by a faithful performance of duty and an upright devotion to our great cause, more earnestly striven to command your appreciation and esteem. —

Please answer this soon.

Your obdt Servant

A. von Steinwehr,  
Brig. General.

Washington House,  
Washington, D.C.

[Franz Sigel Papers, MS. 3123, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio. Published by permission of the Society.]

Receiv[ed] 2<sup>nd</sup> Division  
"Copy, No. 3, November 13<sup>th</sup>"  
Approved & respectfully  
forwarded

A. v. Steinwehr

Brig. Gen. Comd[ing] 2<sup>nd</sup> Division

ADOLPH VON STEINWEHR'S SIGNATURE

IN AN OFFICIAL ARMY DOCUMENT

NOVEMBER 13, 1863

## Appendix II

Washington Jan. 29th 1863.

Major-General Fr. Sigel,  
Comdg' Grand Reserve

General,

A few days ago I wrote to you and applied for an extension of my leave of absence for ten days. I enclose herewith a Surgeon's certificate. —

I had yesterday an interview with the Secretary of War, who told me that I would not have been superseded, if you had reported favorably in regard to myself, but that you had not mentioned my name at all.—The order issued by the President that Gen'l Schurz is to have the Command of the Corps can of course not be rescinded, nor do I ask it. It is however important to my interests, that some testimonial of yours should be in the hands of the Secretary. —

I therefore beg of you General, to send me a paper expressive of your views as to my capacity and the manner in which I performed my duties. —Please forward it through the bearer of this Capt. Gittermann, who, will send one of my Aides de Camp with the same to me. —I am certain, that with such paper from your hand I will be placed in a position less painful than the one I am in at present.

I am General as ever  
Very truly and respectfully Yours

A. von Steinwehr  
Brig. General

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