

Answering Lincoln's Call

HAMLIN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND STAFF

— CONFRONT THE CIVIL WAR —

Frederick L. Johnson

AS THE MOMENTOUS election year of 1860 unfolded, the United States faced painful challenges to its unity. Decades of political division, failed compromise, and deepening hostility regarding American slavery and its expansion hastened the nation's drift toward disintegration. "The whole country is in a state of fearful agitation—disunion! disunion! is the cry," declared a concerned army officer on January 11. Writing earlier from Washington, DC, Henry M. Rice, soon to become a US senator from Minnesota, had informed Red Wing judge William H. Welch, a fellow Democrat, of "ill will between prom-

inent Democrats, that nothing but death can wipe out." He added, "The sectional hate is very strong."¹

Bitter regional political factions complicated matters by crowding the presidential ballot with sectional favorites. Candidacies of Stephen A. Douglas and John C. Breckinridge split Democrats into northern and southern contingents. John Bell led Constitutional Unionists and appealed to border state voters. Abraham Lincoln headed the Republican ticket that attracted northerners. And as voters went to the polls in November, they considered a daunting threat by rebellious southern leaders. These so-called fire-eaters, radical secessionists, declared that the election

of Lincoln, whose party opposed the expansion of slavery into new states, would leave them no choice but to abandon the union and form a confederacy of southern slave states.

Ominous talk of war reached remote Minnesota and Sarah Pettibone, a 21-year-old student at Hamline University in Red Wing. Pettibone's ardent suitor, Samuel Hasler, had left Red Wing in 1859 to search for business opportunities in Memphis and, later, Kansas City. As he traveled, Sam mailed letters to Sarah that, along with hints of his affection, apprised her of the gathering indications of war. Unlike Sarah, Sam was a northern Democrat who saw slavery as the South's business. Sarah preferred the Repub-



licans and Lincoln, who opposed the extension of slavery into the territories. Ambitious Sarah had opened her own private school in Red Wing at age 17 while working for her Hamline degree. When it came to politics, Sarah would make her own choice.²

Sam Hasler reported on southern slavery as he saw it in Memphis and across the Mississippi in Arkansas. He agreed with slaveholders that “[slaves] are better off in the condition they are than they would be free.” Hasler condemned northern opponents of slavery who “tell all the horrid stories that the imagination [sic] can invent and . . . the hypocritical Clergy [that] succeed in making the ignorant believe that every slave is longing for his freedom which I assure [sic] you is a base fabrication.”³

Apparently, Samuel Hasler’s beliefs about slavery did not sidetrack his long-distance relationship with Sarah. On October 19, 1860, a “mighty lonesome” Sam imagined a return to Minnesota to orchestrate a romantic elopement: “I expect it is a lucky thing that I am not in Red Wing just now for somebody might wake up some fine morning and find their only Daughter among the missing.” Yet Sam knew that the great distance between them meant “a union between a Douglas man and a Lincoln Beauty is not much to be feared.” Regarding the presidential election just 18 days off, Hasler mused forcefully, “And if Lincoln should be elected I sincerely hope and pray this Union May not be dissolved.”⁴

On November 6, Lincoln secured 39.8 percent of the popular vote, all from northern states; Minnesotans



Sarah Pettibone, at far right, with other Hamline students, about 1860. From left: Mary Gillette, Charles Harris, Helen Sutherland, Joseph Garrison, Ellen Gillette, W. D. Bennett.

supported him by a margin of two to one. Yet that total brought him 59 percent of the electoral ballots and the presidency. Douglas placed second, with 29 percent of the popular vote but a meager electoral yield of 12. John Breckinridge and John Bell collected, respectively, 72 and 39 electoral votes from the Deep South and middle border states. On December 20, South Carolina formally departed the Union, citing an increasing hostility on the part of the nonslaveholding states to the institution of slavery. This action resulted in a cascade of defecting Southern states.

As war clouds gathered, Sam Hasler, the Douglas Democrat who had preferred allowing the South to maintain slavery, changed course. It is not known if his sweetheart Sarah Pettibone agreed with his next big decision, but he enrolled with the Twentieth Ohio Volunteers, where he had friends. He would serve in that regiment until the Civil War’s end. Sarah also saw two older brothers

off to fight. Heman, also a Hamline student, joined the Third Minnesota Infantry Regiment; John enlisted in the Sixth Minnesota.⁵

Other young men at Sarah’s college were feeling the same urgency. In spring 1861, James A. Wright, a hardworking Hamline student, had committed “all of my surplus [funds] in trying to get an education” and was enjoying the experience. “[At Hamline] I met many others from various parts of the state, animated by like desires. Life was opening interesting and hopefully.” But on April 12, Southern secessionists commenced a thunderous bombardment of Fort Sumter, the US citadel in Charleston, South Carolina’s harbor. To Wright, Sumter “was almost like a personal challenge to fight, emphasized by a slap in the face.” In the knowledge that “It is no trivial thing to offer to die that the nation might continue to live,” diminutive 20-year-old Jimmy Wright resolved to enlist in the military at the first opportunity.⁶

FACING: Red Wing, as seen looking northwest from Sorin’s Bluff in 1860. The two largest buildings in the center of the image are the Goodhue County Courthouse (with a round dome) and Central School (with a square cupola). Hamline University, a two-story building, is to the right of the school and partly hidden by it.

In THE FIRST MONTHS of 1853, Red Wing was a Mdewakanton Dakota village; the next year, fueled by an influx of Yankees and Yorkers, it was a rapidly growing American hamlet. The US Senate had finally ratified the 1851 land treaties, triggering, in May 1853, an exodus of reluctant Eastern Dakota to a reservation along the upper Minnesota River. The Red Wing Mdewakanton were among them. In April 1854, unnamed settlers made a preemptive strike against the remaining Mdewakanton, who had not yet returned to their Red Wing lodges after winter hunts, setting fire to these riverside structures.⁷

That spring, thousands of Euro-Americans in search of opportunity crowded into riverboats bound for Minnesota. Besides its status as a river port, Red Wing boasted a unique attraction to these migrants. It held the territory's first university, the brainchild of the region's Methodist Episcopal Church leadership. In November 1854, 74 students walked into temporary classrooms as the institution called Hamline opened.⁸

Effective fundraising led by the school's namesake, Methodist bishop

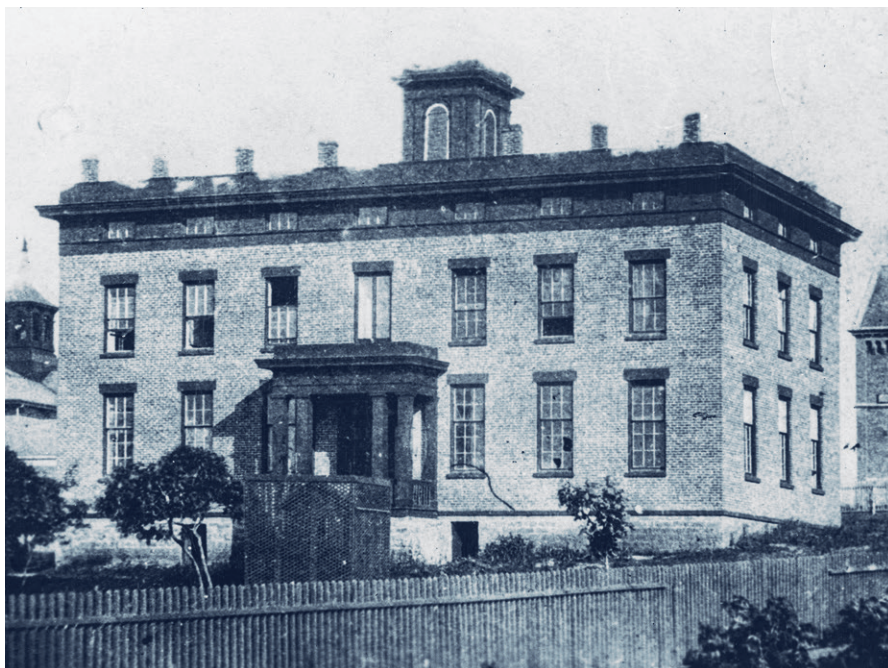


A Hamline class photo, probably 1860. Joseph Garrison is second from left, and Ed Welch stands at far right; Margaret Fraser Sumner is in the back row with braids.

Leonidas L. Hamline, produced money for a two-story brick main building. Hamline welcomed women students—its first two graduates were sisters Elizabeth and Emily Sorin—a policy followed by only a handful of other American collegiate programs.

Besides pursuing studies, the scholars made time to discuss the possibility of war. In April 1861 Levi Countryman, a student from Hastings, recorded in his diary an anxious restlessness on the campus. As the nation lurched toward war, many young men decided that if the conflict came, they would fight. On April 15, following the artillery assault on Fort Sumter and its surrender, President Lincoln called for volunteers to defend the nation; he had been in office for just five weeks.⁹

To deal with the escalating crisis, Red Wing leaders called for a mass meeting on Friday, April 19. It was, and arguably remains, the most consequential gathering in city history. The Goodhue County Courthouse, located directly across Fifth Street from the two-story Hamline building, was the venue. Two bands played patriotic music on Main Street sidewalks, and by late afternoon flags flew



Hamline University, about 1865. The school's cupola is visible at left.

and cannons boomed. The size of the downtown crowd mushroomed.¹⁰

The throng, liberally leavened with Hamline students, “came to the courthouse and swept like a black torrent up the broad stairs . . . and reaching the Court Room swelled in a living tide, and like the Mississippi stopped by an obstruction after filling the edifice, . . . benches were covered, and even the backs of the benches . . . sustained rows of excited and enthusiastic individuals.” At the appearance of the flag, “rapturous applause and deafening cheers” shook the building.¹¹

Audience members called for Judge William Welch, Minnesota’s former territorial chief justice (1853–58), to preside over the proceedings. Tears of emotion streamed down the judge’s face as he recalled the nation’s early history and reviewed its present condition. The jurist’s son, Abraham Edward Welch, a Hamline student of military age, was among the listeners. Ed Welch and his father, formerly Stephen Douglas Democrats, now agreed with the call to unify the North’s two major political parties. Audience members also called on Charles McClure to speak. As the city’s leading Republican and an attorney who also taught law at Hamline, he seconded the call for unity.¹²

Cries from the crowd for William Colvill echoed through the courthouse. Colvill appeared. He had edited the pro-Democrat *Red Wing Sentinel* and was known as a dedicated foe of Lincoln Republicans. The physically imposing man of the hour, 31 years of age, broad shouldered, and standing six feet five inches, towered over those near him by a half foot or more. Proclaiming he was on hand for “acts not words,” he challenged listeners to enlist in a Red Wing company of volunteers dedicated to saving the nation.¹³

An announcement that a military enrollment sheet had appeared at the



LEFT: Lieutenant Colonel William J. Colvill, about 1863. RIGHT: Abraham Edward Welch, about 1861. Thrice wounded in battle, Hamline’s brave but reckless Ed Welch was second in command of Company F at Bull Run and later, as a major, led the Third Minnesota at Wood Lake.

front of the room produced a stampede of volunteers eager to sign up. Ed Welch grabbed for the pen but was jostled out of the way. Colvill secured it, becoming the first to enroll, and Welch was second. Following a later election of officers, Colvill became the unit’s captain; Welch, 22 years old, would be first lieutenant, thus second in command; and Mark A. Hoyt, 20, second lieutenant. Methodist clergyman Benjamin Hoyt, Mark’s father, had become Hamline’s first treasurer. His son had enrolled at Hamline to study for a life in the ministry. Undeterred by that calling, Mark now readied to become a soldier.¹⁴

The Red Wing and Goodhue County unit, soon designated as Company F of the First Minnesota Volunteer Regiment, featured more than 20 Hamline recruits in the 100-man outfit, including Martin Maginnis, 20, and Henry Bevans, 22, sergeants, and Charley Harris, 22, a corporal. Future company Orderly Sergeant James (Jimmy) Wright, 22, who later authored a detailed history of the detachment and attended Hamline in part because his father was a Methodist minister, claimed,

“Nearly one-third of the whole [company] were—or had been—students at Hamline and were more or less acquainted.”¹⁵

Wright and other Hamline soldiers, present and future, would soon learn war’s true meaning. Historian John Hicks later observed, “Three successive [Hamline] senior classes were broken up by enlistments, and during the war the institution sent a total of 119 of its students to the front—practically every available man.”¹⁶

Hamline men studying for the Methodist ministry did not request exemption at war’s outbreak, and their presence was felt. In May 1861 the *St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat* observed, “The Red Wing company are models in some respects. About half of them are teetotalers and the same proportion members of churches. They hold a prayer meeting in their quarters every evening.”¹⁷

Mary J. Gillette, Hamline class of 1863, would write of her classmates who volunteered to fight,

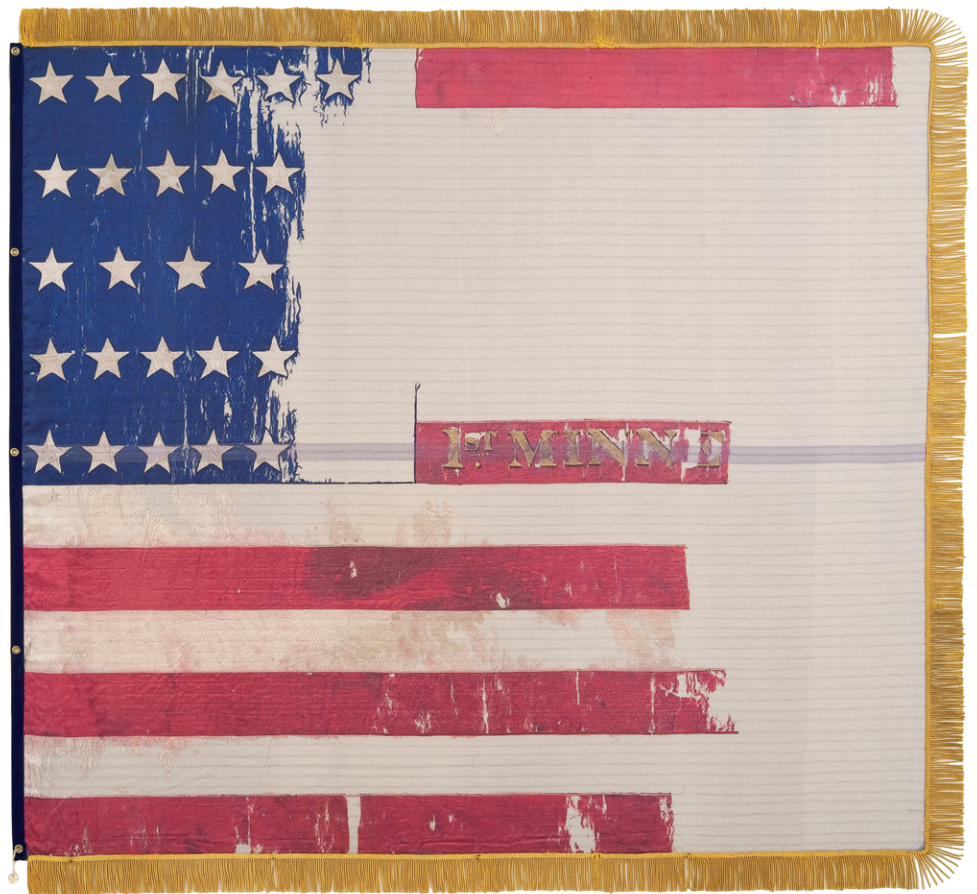
First among the names enrolled
were those of our student friends.
Their hearts were filled with

thoughts of noble daring and their souls burned with patriotic fire. They loved the proud ensign under which they were born. All their anticipations of renown, all the pleasant memories of student life—these all these they must sacrifice; but more than these, they loved their country's honor.¹⁸

In the days prior to their departure, Colvill drilled his men—they had few weapons and no uniforms—on Broadway, near Main. On April 27 Company F, the Red Wing and Goodhue County unit, headed north on a steamboat to Fort Snelling, where they received two months of military training. Company F and the remainder of the First Minnesota Volunteer Regiment headed for Washington, DC. On July 16, 1861, the Minnesota outfit became part of the 35,000-man Union Army advancing into northern Virginia and a confrontation with Confederate forces. Wrote Jimmy Wright, “I think none of us thought seriously of being defeated.”¹⁹

UNION AND CONFEDERATE armies collided at a creek called Bull Run on July 21. As battle lines formed, the First Minnesota settled in on the far right of the Union Army. Red Wing's Company F, along with Company A, now stood fast at the end of the entire Union Army line of battle. Early in the afternoon, the Minnesotans faced a heavy assault that dissolved into a bloody melee. Lieutenant Ed Welch and six comrades, including First Sergeant Henry Bevens, a Hamline friend, deployed

A snare drum used by the First Minnesota, Company F, during the Civil War. The drum was owned by Private James W. Imeson, a friend of the drummer. Imeson was taken prisoner at Bull Run, held in Richmond, and later exchanged in New Orleans.



A national battle flag carried by the First Minnesota, Company K. This is probably the flag that the women of Winona presented to the regiment in 1861; it was taken into battle at Bull Run, where it was damaged.

on the company's west flank and turned back two enemy charges. Welch, firing his pistol, shouted, “Stand fast for God's sake Company F!” A spent bullet knocked Welch off his feet as the First Minnesota took heavy casualties. The deadly struggle cost the regiment 49 killed, 107 wounded, and 34 missing, a casu-



alty rate of more than 20 percent. It proved to be the heaviest loss suffered at Bull Run by any US regiment.²⁰

In a letter written four days after the fighting, Captain Colvill gave Judge William Welch the latest news about his son Ed, who was missing. The Company F commander noted reports that Lieutenant Welch had been wounded twice but “not dangerously,” yet refused to leave the field. It appeared that Ed had been captured. Colvill mentioned two popular members of his unit, former Hamline students Sergeant Charley Harris and 18-year-old Private Fred Miller. A rebel bullet had torn through Harris's shoulder, a wound deemed fatal (he would survive), and Miller was missing.²¹

Hamline volunteers suffered more than their share of losses. Sergeant

The Red Wing Republican carried the Colvill and Maginnis letters reporting in graphic detail of the horrific losses suffered at Bull Run.

Martin Maginnis, who had been in the thick of fighting throughout the long afternoon, reported to Red Wing newspaper editor Lucius Hubbard that he had seen Company F men, including classmates, being hit:

[Hiram] Rush's neck was carried away by grape shot. Jimmy Underwood fell with a rifle ball in the forehead, [James] Salle was pierced through the heart, [John] Lee fell with a broken leg . . . the gallant [Joseph] Garrison fell severely wounded, and [George] McKinley received a ball in the hip at nearly the same moment.

Of former Hamline students, Maginnis noted Rush was killed in action and McKinley and Garrison succumbed to their wounds. Private Elijah F. Thomas, wounded and captured at Bull Run, died at a prison in Richmond six weeks after the battle.²²

Fred Miller had advanced farther than any man in the company and reluctantly joined the retreat. But as he reached a fence, Miller stopped, willingly making himself a target, coolly steadied his rifle, and fired a carefully aimed shot. Leaving the field, he stopped to assist in carrying a wounded comrade and was captured.²³

Corporal Jimmy Wright survived hand-to-hand combat at Bull Run and fulfilled promises he made to the badly wounded—assuming “the painful task of writing to their friends of their death.” Recalled Wright, “It is a sad duty. We had met in times of peace in the school room and the

lyceum, had mingled in society, and together had endured the hardships and privations of the camp and campaign . . . talking of home and friends in the past.”²⁴

THE RED WING REPUBLICAN carried the Colvill and Maginnis letters reporting in graphic detail of the horrific losses suffered at Bull Run. The accounts stunned Red Wing and the Hamline campus. The loss of Joe Garrison was a particularly hard blow to the Hamline community. His sister Ella, who also attended the university when he was there, recalled him as a happy, genial young man of strong moral character. As a farm boy, he carried a book to read, “studying nights and rainy days” to keep up with his classes. “The happiest day of his life was when he found he could go to Hamline,” she wrote.²⁵

A late August letter from prisoner of war Lieutenant Ed Welch reached former Hamline president Dr. Benjamin F. Crary with melancholy news: “I write . . . of the death of your former pupil, Joseph P. Garrison, and to ask that you will communicate the painful intelligence to his family. . . . I loved Joe as a friend and respected him as a soldier.” Crary, an instructor of Welch, Garrison, and others in the regiment, had just resigned his office to become chaplain of the Third Minnesota Volunteers.²⁶

The *St. Paul Press* honored Hamline soldiers in Bull Run's aftermath: “It is but simple justice to this institution [Hamline] and its soldier students, when we declare that she has furnished to the Minnesota First a

band of heroic spirits unsurpassed in the regiment.”²⁷

A new and ominous Minnesota emergency confronted Hamline mathematics professor, now captain, Horace B. Wilson and a number of his former scholars three weeks after Bull Run. These Union Army volunteers expected to face combat in the South or East, but trouble on the Minnesota home front changed their orders. A large force of Mdewakanton Dakota men, furious over broken treaties and continuing attacks on their culture, launched a ferocious war against civilians and soldiers in the upper Minnesota River valley. Beginning on August 18 at Redwood Ferry, Dakota soldiers advanced east, sending settlers fleeing in terror. Now, only a week into their enlistment and despite an absence of formal training, the Sixth Minnesota headed into combat with the Dakota. “No one not here can conceive the panic in the state,” telegraphed Governor Alexander Ramsey to President Lincoln.²⁸

Beginning on August 20, four companies of the Sixth Minnesota moved west toward beleaguered Fort Ridgely, 20 miles northwest of New Ulm. They reached St. Peter on August 24. After pausing to allow supplies and ammunition to catch up, they pushed on to the fort, thus lifting a Dakota siege. Colonel Henry Sibley, sent by Governor Ramsey to direct the gathering army, now had all 10 companies of the raw Sixth Regiment and some volunteer militia units. He trained his untested troops while awaiting reinforcements.²⁹

A desperate Governor Ramsey finally received good news. Some 300 members of the Third Minnesota, captured on July 13 in Tennessee, and later paroled by Confederate forces, would be ordered to Fort Snelling. In a surprise appearance, Major Ed Welch turned up at the fort, looking for a role in the Minnesota war. The

Hamline hero of Bull Run and prisoner of war had also been freed. Promoted while in captivity, he was now a major and available to command. Ramsey ordered Welch to take over the Third Regiment.³⁰

Although there is no record of it, Welch must have experienced an extended reunion with old classmates, as he encountered a sizeable group of Hamline men in the Third and the even larger number in Captain Horace Wilson's Company F. Together, they would take part in the US-Dakota War.

On September 23, early-morning foragers from Sibley's encamped force accidentally sprung a Dakota ambush at Wood Lake, 10 miles southeast of present-day Granite Falls. As fighting broke out, soldiers from the Third Minnesota Infantry rushed recklessly into the fray, soon finding themselves in a time-honored Dakota trap. The largely Mdewakanton attacking force (some Wahpeton took part) numbering about 300 had slowly fallen back, looking to "bag" the oncoming attackers. They hoped to assault their flanks and then surround them. Leading the way, Welch and his men soon found themselves in trouble; Sibley twice ordered the impetuous major to retreat before he complied. Then a bullet to the knee broke Welch's leg. As his men regrouped, the major, while being carried along with the regiment, continued shouting orders.³¹

A party of 13 Mdewakanton front-line fighters, mostly from the Red Wing band—including their leader Chetanwekechetah (Killing Hawk)—took part in the struggle. Killing Hawk was killed. It is likely that these Mdewakanton had been born in Red Wing or lived there. They fought against a large number of Colonel Sibley's soldiers who now called that place *their* home.³²

Sibley held most of the Sixth Regiment in reserve, but sent compa-

nies A and F (Captain Wilson's unit) double-quick to the right to take control of a ridge about a mile from the camp. They collided with advancing Dakota, leading to a combat standoff there and soon across the battlefield. Wilson sustained a shoulder wound; Heman Pettibone, brother to Sarah Pettibone, suffered a serious head wound. Colonel Sibley's official report praised the former Hamline professor and students: "Captain Wilson, with his company, rendered essential service."³³

Wood Lake blunted Dakota momentum and soon led to an end of major fighting in Minnesota. In a notable coincidence, Colonel Sibley saw only two of his officers wounded at Wood Lake, Welch and Wilson. Both came from Red Wing and Hamline. A majority of the Dakota, including the leaders Wacouta and Wabasha, agreed to Sibley's promise of prisoner-of-war status for the combatants willing to stop the fighting and punishment of only those who committed crimes. The peace faction agreed and also surrendered all captives under their control. Little Crow and about 200 Mdewakanton and Wahpekute, along with their families, crossed into Dakota Territory to continue the struggle for their way of life. In the aftermath of the 1862 war, the US Senate passed "An Act for the Removal" that expelled the Eastern Dakota people from their remaining Minnesota and Dakota lands.³⁴

Following the end of fighting in Minnesota, white citizens, inflamed by fear and rage, demanded punishment of the Dakota. Editor Charles Davis of the *Goodhue County Repub-*

Following the end of fighting in Minnesota, white citizens, inflamed by fear and rage, demanded punishment of the Dakota.

lican, a Red Wing paper, thundered, "They [the Dakota] must be exterminated and now is a good time to do it." Vengeance at its most terrible would come at Mankato. Captain Wilson and Company F's Hamline unit, along with 1,400 other soldiers, stood guard during the December 26 execution of 38 Dakota men. A large crowd of onlookers, 4,000 by some estimates, watched as the men walked to the scaffold with, an observer said, "greater courage and more perfect determination to prove how little death can be feared." The men sang a Presbyterian hymn, attempted to join hands, and, as the scaffold floor dropped, called out their names. The event ranks as the largest mass execution in American history.³⁵

WAR FEVER ran high throughout the country" in spring 1862, "and nowhere did it reach a higher pitch than among the [Hamline] students," wrote an anonymous undergraduate on the scene. "Almost every boy and man in the university classes of 60-61 enlisted . . . at the breaking out of the war." Some Hamline war veterans, wounded and exchanged prisoners, returned to the school. Accounts of their experiences "fired the hearts of boys and girls alike." Squads of men on campus practiced in expectation of military service. Students also chipped in to buy materials needed to make a US flag for the university. Women from the class of 1862 designed and then created the ensign.³⁶

Undergrad Flora J. Sargent read an original poem during the dedication

then 26, dedicated her life to three major national cultural movements: woman suffrage, temperance, and equal rights for African Americans. She became a prominent state and national leader in these great crusades, and she remains among Hamline's most distinguished graduates.⁴¹

Mary Gillette, Hamline class of 1863, had taught in public schools after graduation. She also enjoyed writing; some of her reporting about Hamline students caught up in the Civil War is found in a 1907 Hamline history. She married William Crary, another returning veteran, a young man whom she saw socially during their college days. William also suffered from wartime disease, and Mary "hoped that the good care that she would give him might restore his health." William survived for several years before dying; she died three years later.⁴²

Sarah Pettibone's brother John served with Ole Nelson in the Sixth Regiment and contracted dysentery. She learned the sad news that John had died in Arkansas through a letter to her family from Horace Wilson. During her senior year, the scholarly Sarah solved Hamline president B. F. Crary's staffing emergency by filling a wartime teaching vacancy. She taught Hamline undergrads Latin, French, and algebra, and she was the university's librarian. Samuel Hasler returned safely to Red Wing after four years of military service and married Sarah. He became a Red Wing justice of the peace, while Sarah, after their six children had grown, returned to teaching. In the early twentieth century she chaired the city commission that created Red Wing's popular Colvill Park on the Mississippi River.⁴³

William E. Hale, at 16 the youngest man in the Third Minnesota Regiment when he enlisted in 1861, returned from war and enrolled in Hamline in fall 1865. He courted

The stained glass window memorializing Major Ed Welch at Christ Episcopal Church in Red Wing. The text in the red circles reads, "Put on the whole armour of God" and "Jesus Christ the Captain of our Salvation."

Ellen Sutherland, a student there, and also met her older sister Helen, who had become one of the university's principal teachers. William studied law, graduated, then worked in a Red Wing law firm before moving to St. Paul. William and Ellen waited until he had established himself, then married in 1870. Hale became Hennepin County attorney in 1878 and also successfully represented Hamline in court cases.⁴⁴

Hamline students found Helen Sutherland a memorable instructor. She graduated from the university with highest honors (class of 1863) before embarking on teaching mathematics and Latin there. Sutherland was a specialist and a Minnesota leader in the instruction of those subjects. She taught at Hamline when the university was in Red Wing and later in St. Paul. Students spoke of her attributes as a teacher: kind, patient, self-poised, and considerate.⁴⁵

Moved by the wartime sacrifices of the young men she met as fellow students in 1861 through 1863 and, later, those she knew as pupils, Helen Sutherland wrote about the tumultuous and too-often tearstained days at Hamline: "Then it was that friend, home and loved ones became as dust in the balance, as eagerly our brave volunteers, in defense of Columbia's dishonored ensign, went forth."

MINNESOTA NEWCOMERS in the mid-1850s prized education, immediately opening schools for their children amidst the bustle and hustle of territorial boomtowns. To those with the resources and drive to aspire to it, a university education



could be transformational. Hamline scholars like Helen Sutherland, Jimmy Wright, William Hale, and Julia Bullard Nelson gave proof to that fact. At a time when most collegiate programs were all male, Hamline encouraged young women to enroll. The original staff of four featured two female and two male instructors. It was eminently logical, during the Civil War years and later, that Hamline women graduates would fill staff positions vacated by males.

Although the young men and women of Hamline University were isolated in a small Minnesota frontier town, far removed from the scene of pre-Civil War political posturing,

they watched with apprehension as a cancerous threat to their country—and their personal aspirations—metastasized. When war came, love of country and duty to preserve it inspired these students to action; a unifying sense of loyalty within their tightly knit school community became another motivator.

Hamline University closed in Red Wing in 1869 and reopened in St. Paul in 1880. A 1907 study of the school's early days, written largely by those who attended during its time in Red Wing, is valuable history. Yet its alumni authors did not hide the affection underlying the text, composing a wistful tribute to the institution that so deeply enriched their lives.

Homage, tinged with melancholy, is also embedded in their words, along with an enduring sense of loss for classmates claimed by war. In 1861, after the tragic casualties at Bull Run, the *St. Paul Press* had extended its respect to the university and its student soldiers: "The people of Minnesota do well to cherish and honor an institution which has contributed so many noble sacrifices in our country's cause." And while more sacrifices would be required, this tribute endures.⁴⁶ □

Notes

1. "Disunion" quote from E. Kirby Smith, a future general in the Confederate States of America Army: Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue to Civil War, 1859–1861* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 130; H. M. Rice to W. H. Welch, Jan. 15, 1858, Abraham E. Welch and Family Papers, Manuscript Collections, MNHS. See also "The Pioneer on 'Rice's Treachery to Douglas and the Minnesota Democracy,'" *St. Paul Press*, Oct. 28, 1865, 1, which contains allegations that Rice double-crossed Senator Stephen Douglas, the leading Democrat running for president in 1859.

2. For a history of Hamline University in its early days in Red Wing, see Hellen D. Asher, "A Frontier College of the Middle West: Hamline University, 1854–69," *Minnesota History* 9, no. 4

(Dec. 1928): 363–78. The author has made transcriptions of Samuel Hasler's handwritten letters to Sarah Pettibone quoted in the article. See "Samuel Hasler to Sarah Pettibone (undated and 1858–1861)," Sarah E. Pettibone Hasler and Family Papers, Hamline University Archives, St. Paul. Those transcriptions are filed with the original letters; the author retains copies of both. Sarah Pettibone Hasler (born September 23, 1838) moved with her parents, Harmon and Tamizen, to Red Wing in 1854; Samuel J. Hasler (born March 28, 1831) arrived in Red Wing in 1855: Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Goodhue County, Minnesota* (Chicago: H. C. Cooper & Son, 1909), 294–97.

3. Samuel J. Hasler to Sarah Pettibone, Dec. 26, 1859, Sarah Pettibone Hasler and Family Papers.

4. S. J. Hasler to Sarah Pettibone, Oct. 19, 1860, Sarah Pettibone Hasler and Family Papers.

5. Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Goodhue County*, 296, reports Samuel Hasler earned promotion to captain in the Twentieth Ohio and led his company in General William Sherman's March to the Sea. The official army register for Ohio, however, shows Hasler as a first lieutenant upon being mustered out: see US Adjutant-General's Office, *Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the US Army for the Years 1861–1865*, 5: Ohio, Michigan (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1865), 78. Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861–1865* (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Co., 1891), 1:180, 339. Heman Pettibone rose to the rank of captain in the Minnesota Third Regiment.

6. James A. Wright, *No More Gallant a Deed: A Civil War Memoir of the First Volunteers*, ed. Steven J. Keillor (St. Paul: MNHS Press, 2001), 13–15. Wright, who became a sergeant in Company F, wrote his lengthy memoir of the unit in 1911. Keillor's edit makes the piece more approachable to readers. Wright's original typescript is available in MNHS archives. See also "1st Sergeant James Wright," First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Regiment, <http://www.1stminnesota.net/#/soldier/845>.

7. Joseph W. Hancock, *Goodhue County, Minnesota: Past and Present* (Red Wing, MN: Red Wing Printing Co., 1893), 95, 185. Hancock was having lunch when these fires broke out and, with others, ran to the scene. The structures were beyond saving.

8. *History of Goodhue County* (Red Wing, MN: Wood, Alley and Co., 1878), 338–39; Charles Nelson Pace, *Hamline University* (St. Paul: Hamline University Alumni Association, 193), 16–17. A number of communities vied to get this institution, with St. Paul appearing to be on the inside track. The persuasive William Freeborn, a big Red Wing booster, prevailed. For a concise history of Hamline University's founding, see Merrill E. Jarchow, "Minnesota's Oldest College," in *Private Liberal Arts Colleges in Minnesota* (St. Paul: MNHS, 1973), 7–12.

9. Jarchow, "Minnesota's Oldest College," 8; see also "The 125th Anniversary of First United

Methodist Church Red Wing, Minnesota (1853–1978)," Oct. 22, 1978, Goodhue County Historical Society Archives; Diaries, July 11, 1858–Nov. 14, 1862, vol. 2, Levi N. Countryman and Family Papers, MNHS. Countryman spent six weeks at Hamline in 1861, later earning a bachelor's degree. He mentions student concerns about possible war in entries for April 14, 20, and 24.

10. The *Red Wing Sentinel*, Apr. 10, 17, and 24, 1861, 1, 2, carried reports regarding the move toward disunion and considered growing tensions in Red Wing. The newspaper's detailed report about the April 19 meeting in the Goodhue County Courthouse ("Great Mass Meeting") is on page 2 of the April 24 edition. For an account of the meeting that includes resolutions passed, see *History of Goodhue County* (Wood, Alley and Co.), 286–87. Hamline began a third-story addition to the building, "not as high as the others," but it was never completed: *History of the Hamline University of Minnesota when Located at Red Wing, Minnesota, from 1854 to 1869* (St. Paul: Alumni Association, 1907), 224.

11. "Great Mass Meeting," *Red Wing Sentinel*, Apr. 24, 1861, 2; "Great Meeting in Red Wing," *Goodhue County Republican*, Apr. 26, 2. William W. Phelps, former US congressman from Red Wing and *Sentinel* editor, bemoaned space limitations that stopped him from printing entire speeches made by leading residents. That Phelps, a loyal Democrat, praised the Republican Charles McClure, his longtime political enemy, shows the sentiment to preserve the union had grown.

12. Douglas A. Hedin, ed., "Chief Justice William H. Welch and Associate Justice Andrew G. Chatfield," in Documents Regarding . . . the Ten Justices who Served on the Supreme Court of Minnesota Territory, *Minnesota Legal History Project*, 209–10; "William H. Welch was the First Justice in Minnesota to Have a Law Degree," Minnesota State Law Library, <https://mncourts.libguides.com/welch>. President Franklin Pierce appointed fellow Democrat Welch to office and named party members William Phelps and Chris Graham to run the US Land Office in Red Wing. Democrats dominated in the city at this time, with Republicans on the rise: Frederick L. Johnson, *Goodhue County, Minnesota: A Narrative History* (Red Wing, MN: Goodhue County Historical Society, 2000), 51–52.

13. *Red Wing Sentinel*, Apr. 24, 1861, 2. For two overviews of Red Wing's Colvill as leader of the First Minnesota, see Al Zdon, "Colvill of Minnesota," *Minnesota History* 61, no. 6 (Summer 2009): 260–71, and Frederick L. Johnson, "William Colvill, 1830–1905," MNopedia, <http://www.mnopedia.org/person/colvill-william-1830-1905>.

14. Wright, *No More Gallant a Deed*, 13–15; Grace Lee Nute, *In Hamline Halls, 1854–1954* (St. Paul: Hamline University, 1954), 56.

15. Wright, *No More Gallant a Deed*, 15. The preface by Keillor includes details of Wright's early days in the Red Wing area.

16. John Hicks, "The Organization of the Volunteer Army in 1861 with Special Reference to

Minnesota," *Minnesota History* 2, no. 5 (Feb. 1918): 345; Grace L. Nute, "In Hamline Halls, 1854-1954," unpublished manuscript, Hamline University Archives, 66-73.

17. Quote from William C. Rice, "Hamline Always Loyal," [Hamline] *Alumni Quarterly* 14, no. 7 (Oct. 1917). Rice attended Hamline during the Civil War, bolstering his knowledge of its effects on Hamline students.

18. Mary J. Gillette, "Our Student Volunteers," in *History of the Hamline University*, 64, 254.

19. Hancock, *Goodhue County*, 141-44; Johnson, *Goodhue County*, 64-65; quote from Wright, *No More Gallant a Deed*, 48.

20. Captain Colvill to My Dear and Honored Friend [William H. Welch], Washington, July 25, 1861, in Hancock, *Goodhue County*, 150-53; Richard Moe, *The Last Full Measure: The Life and Death of the First Minnesota Volunteers* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1993), 63. Casualty figures came from Colonel Willis Gorman, the First Regiment's commander, in his after-action report. Sergeant Martin Maginnis praised Henry Bevans for his bravery at Bull Run: see Hancock, *Goodhue County*, 156.

21. Captain Colvill to My Dear and Honored Friend, July 25, 1861, in Hancock, *Goodhue County*, 150-53. Colvill also wrote a narrative of the fighting at Bull Run, printed in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1:9-11.

22. Sergeant Martin Maginnis to Friend [Lucius] Hubbard, Washington, July 27, 1861, in Hancock, *Goodhue County*, 152-59.

23. Moe, *The Last Full Measure*, 56.

24. "1st Sergeant James Wright," First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

25. The Colvill and Maginnis letters were carried in the newspaper's July 25 and 27, 1861, editions and reprinted in Hancock, *Goodhue County*, 151-59. Ella Garrison La Due, "Joseph P. Garrison," in *History of the Hamline University*, 256. Joseph Garrison came from a large Mantorville Township [Dodge County] farm family. Parents John and Catharine raised 10 children; Joe was the sixth, Ella the seventh. Dodge Center's Grand Army of the Republic Post 131 carried Joseph Garrison's name. Veterans of the US Army during the Civil War were eligible for membership in the GAR, in its time a most significant national organization: *History of Winona, Olmsted and Dodge Counties* (Chicago: H. H. Hill and Co., 1884), 1010-11.

26. "Death of Young Garrison," *Mantorville Express*, Sept. 13, 1861, 2; "Mary Sorin," in *History of the Hamline University*, 72. B. F. Cray became editor of religion-centered newspapers and died while running the *California Christian Advocate*. Mary Sorin, sister of Emily and Elizabeth, graduated from Hamline in 1860; a year later, she married President Cray and commenced teaching at the university. Mary Sorin assumed her husband's duties at the newspaper upon his illness and death. For more information on influential Methodist clergyman Matthew Sorin and his daughters, see Kristin Mapel Bloomberg, "The First Family of Hamline University," Hamline University Symposium on the Humanities, Mar. 3, 2016.

27. Quotes from *St. Paul Press*, "Hamline University and the First Regiment," and Joseph Garrison's hometown *Mantorville Express*, Aug. 16, 1861, 1.

28. *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1:310. See also Charles W. Johnson, "Narrative of the Sixth Regiment," for a description of the enlistment process and the regiment's part in the US-Dakota War: *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 300-314. John Hicks's 1918 study on the enlistment period asserts, "In 1861, Professor H. B. Wilson, together with a full company of Hamline students, enlisted in the Sixth Minnesota": Hicks, "Organization of the Volunteer Army," 345. Hamline alumni developed a roster of students who served in the Civil War. It is not perfect, but it indicates Wilson had less than a full company of 100 former scholars with him: *History of the Hamline University*, 249-52.

29. Johnson, "Narrative of the Sixth Regiment," 304-5; "Narrative of the Third Regiment," *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 158; Kenneth Carley, *The Sioux Uprising of 1862* (St. Paul: MNHS Press, 1976), 40.

30. Charles E. Flandrau, "H. B. Wilson, A.M.," in *History of the Hamline University*, 50-53; C. N. Akers, "Abraham Edwards Welch," in *History of the Hamline University*, 258-60. For the parole of Third Regiment soldiers, see "Murfreestown—The Surrender," in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1:157. An agreement between Union and Confederate forces, signed in July 1862, allowed for the exchange of captured soldiers. Officers could be "traded" for established numbers of enlisted men. An army colonel, for example, could be exchanged for 15 enlisted men. Paroles, as in the case of the Third Minnesota, also occurred.

31. H. B. Wilson, "Reminiscences of the Indian War of 1862: Lecture Delivered Before the M.E. Literary Society" (Red Wing, MN: Red Wing Printing Co., 1886), 11-14; Johnson, "Narrative of the Sixth Regiment," 311-12; Carley, *The Sioux Uprising*, 61-63; Report of Brigadier General Henry Sibley, "Battle of Wood Lake," in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 2:240-41.

32. "George Quinn's Account," in Gary Clayton Anderson and Alan R. Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862* (St. Paul: MNHS Press, 1988), 258.

33. Sibley, "Battle of Wood Lake," 2:240-41; quote from *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1:312; Heman Pettibone report in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 2:248; William Watts Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul: MNHS, 1965), 2:180-83.

34. Roy W. Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), 121-24; Sibley, "Battle of Wood Lake," 2:240-44.

35. For background on the Mankato hangings, and the event itself, see Mary Lethert Wingard, *North Country: The Making of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 312-27; Wilson, "Reminiscences of the

Indian War," 11-14. "Lo: The Poor Indian," *Goodhue County Republican*, Aug. 22, 1862. Editor Davis made his comment after the start of hostilities at Lower Sioux Agency.

36. Here and below, quotes from "Flag Raising at Old Hamline," in *History of the Hamline University*, 234-35; Flandrau, "H. B. Wilson," 54.

37. Reference to Miss Flora Sargent's poem, but not the verses themselves, is found in *History of the Hamline University*, 235.

38. "War Record," in *History of the Hamline University*, 249-52, is an attempt to list each Hamline student and staff member who served in the Civil War, including the military unit to which they were attached. Some, Ed Welch among them, fought in more than one regiment and were listed with the last unit they served. Even with its flaws, this record, along with the book's narrative, is a valuable resource.

39. Welch and Family Papers, MNHS; C. A. Rasmussen, *A History of the City of Red Wing, Minnesota* (Red Wing, MN: Red Wing Printing Co., 1934), 77.

40. Johnson, *Goodhue County*, 74-75; C. C. Andrews, "Campaign of Vicksburg," in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 2:349; Rasmussen, *A History of the City of Red Wing*, 77.

41. During warm summer months the 940-soldier regiment averaged more than 500 men on its sick lists. For more on the Sixth Minnesota while stationed at Helena, Arkansas, see *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1:321-24. Julia Wiech Lief, "A Woman of Purpose: Julia B. Nelson," *Minnesota History* 47, no. 8 (Winter 1981): 304; Frederick L. Johnson, "Julia B. Nelson: The Rock on Which the Effort for Woman Suffrage Has Been Founded in This State," *Minnesota History* 67, no. 3 (Fall 2020): 104-15.

42. "Mary Gillette," in *History of the Hamline University*, 84, 91; see also "Our Student Volunteers" (1864) and "Victory" (1865), in *History of the Hamline University*.

43. "Sarah E. Pettibone, '61," in *History of the Hamline University*, 83-84. "Biographical Data on John Nelson Pettibone," microfilm M582, MNHS Gale Library, details a visit by Pettibone's brother Heman and copies of letters from Captain Horace B. Wilson that tell of John's death in Arkansas. "Sarah E. Pettibone Hasler," *History of Goodhue County* (Wood, Alley and Co.), 295-97.

44. "William E. Hale," in *History of the Hamline University*, 166-71, 213.

45. Here and below, "Helen Sutherland, '63," in *History of the Hamline University*, 91-92, 249.

46. Quote from *St. Paul Press*, "Hamline University and the First Regiment," and Joseph Garrison's hometown *Mantorville Express*, Aug. 16, 1861, 1.

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