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**Camp Randall, Alice Waterman, and the Culture of Death: Madison's Steps to  
Reconnection**

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## **Abstract**

As the American Civil War ran its course, soldiers found themselves captured and placed in the POW camps of the opposing side. One such camp was located in Madison, Wisconsin for a brief period of time. As Confederate soldiers arrived at Camp Randall in 1862, the city of Madison greeted them and helped them adjust to their new surroundings. Many soldiers were ill from the trip to Wisconsin and the majority were placed in the makeshift hospital. Unfortunately, Camp Randall was unsuccessful at caring for many of the soldiers. As they died, they were buried in a corner of Forest Hill Cemetery on the outskirts of Madison. Mrs. Alice Waterman spent many years of her life caring for the graves of the soldiers. Soon after her death, F.W. Oakley spent much of his energy in conversation with southern citizens to build a monument for Mrs. Waterman. Congress was lobbied by individuals to appropriate money to help care for buried soldiers all across the nation. This paper looks at the case study that is Madison, Wisconsin during and after the Civil War. It details the steps taken by a number of citizens as they tried to help their Confederate brothers. This paper then discusses the culture of death during the Civil War and what was done to try and respect those that had fought together as a nation instead of separately.

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"It is well that war is so terrible, or we would grow too fond of it."  
~Robert E. Lee at the Battle of Fredericksburg

## INTRODUCTION

Tensions had been growing in the United States for some time. Slavery and states' rights were up for debate and if Abraham Lincoln was elected President, the South threatened secession. In 1860, South Carolina did just that. Four short months later, the United States broke into a civil war pitting North against South. This war, lasting from April of 1861 to April of 1865, was devastating for the population of the United States; it is estimated that the Civil War killed about 620,000 Americans.<sup>1</sup> After the war, the nation struggled with what to do with all of the soldiers that had died in the line of battle. A new culture of death arose that required the nation to locate and identify as many deceased soldiers as possible and to honor them by taking care of their graves. Citizens of Madison, Mrs. Alice Waterman, a southerner living in Madison, and those involved in drafting a bill for Congress to receive money for the work of caring for graves embodied the culture of death. This was a large step taken to begin to heal the nation after it had been torn apart.

As battles were won and opposing soldiers were captured, a type of parole system was created to exchange prisoners. However, its tenure was short and by the second year of the war, POW camps were becoming much more prominent. In some, they were treated harshly and with vengeance-arguably the most famous of these being Andersonville located in Georgia. In others, they were not treated harshly but they often were not cared for very well either. Each side was sending all of their supplies to the front line and POW camps were simply ignored. In the months of April and May of 1862, Madison, Wisconsin became home to a POW camp full of

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<sup>1</sup> J. David Hacker, "A Census Count of Civil War Dead," *Civil War History* 57 no. 4 (2011): 307-348.

Confederate soldiers from Alabama. These men had been wounded severely and were sick from fighting in the cold Mississippi mud for weeks. Housed at Camp Randall, the training site for Wisconsin soldiers, many of the Confederate troops lived their last days far removed from their homes. As they died at Camp Randall, they were taken to the city limits and laid to rest in Forest Hill Cemetery.

Mrs. Alice Waterman, a southerner herself, was living in Madison at the time. She embodied this culture of death and took it upon herself to care for the unmarked graves of "her boys" laying in Forest Hill. She returned to their grave sites day after day and planted trees and flowers. She also created handmade headstones for each soldier at a great monetary expense to herself. This act of compassion and care lasted for much of the second half of her life and continued after her death in 1887.

A gentleman by the name of F.W. Oakley played a key role in trying to commemorate the actions of Mrs. Alice Waterman. Oakley had known Alice Waterman and she had lived with his family during the later years of her life. Through letters Oakley wrote to southern groups, he was able to collect money for a monument. He was also in contact with Hugh Lewis who was living in Washington D.C. Together, these men were able to lobby congressmen for action in the form of honoring deceased Confederate soldiers that were buried in the North, far from their loved ones. Honoring included creating headstones with correct names when possible and continuing to take care of the grounds where soldiers were buried. Congress discussed legislation regarding the burial site of the opposing side and memorials were set up in honor of those that had fallen from both the North and the South. A bill was introduced in both the Senate and the House of Representatives to appropriate money to care of both Union and Confederate graves. Unfortunately, the bill did not make it past the Senate. However, it was a step closer to

the goal of honoring all soldiers.

The aim of this paper is to fill historical gaps on three fronts. First, how Madison, Wisconsin was home to a handful of citizens that tried their hardest to make the Confederate soldiers feel comfortable in the midst of their trials. Madison's attempt did not go unnoticed. The Confederate Southern Memorial Association felt that Alice Waterman and the "good people of Madison" deserved a spot in a proposed volume to be written in the South.<sup>2</sup> Second, Mrs. Alice Waterman spent much of her life caring for the graves of the Confederate soldiers when they were buried far from home. As the Civil War was coming to a close, the nation was faced with the task of caring for the deceased men. This culture of death was new to the nation and many were overwhelmed with the task. Alice Waterman embodied what the culture of death was after the Civil War meaning she began to do what was necessary to care for the soldiers that had not survived the war. Last, this paper will look at legislation that was brought to the floors of Congress to appropriate money for the caretaking of graves. While these bills were never passed, it was a step in the direction of healing a nation torn apart. As a nation was mourning separately, several citizens of Madison, Alice Waterman, and F.W. Oakley's work helped the nation begin to mourn together and work together to embody the new culture of death.

## **HISTORIOGRAPHY**

The field of writing and research surrounding the Civil War is quite large. We first turn our attention to POW camps during the Civil War. It is impossible to put all POW camps into the same category; some were worse than others. However, none of them were what one would consider a place of bliss. In the case of northern POW camps, the quartermaster-general of the army was in charge of making sure POW camps were up to standards to house the enemy's

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<sup>2</sup> Letter from W. Behan to F.W. Oakley, 4 Dec., 1903. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Wis Mss IC, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

troops which was the case when looking at Camp Randall.<sup>3</sup> As William Hesseltine describes in *Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology*, it is a common myth that the southern prisons were much worse than northern prisons. However, that may be because Andersonville, located in Georgia, is the POW camp that is most easily remembered from the Civil War for its harsh practices and high death rates. Hesseltine points out that the North and South were equally responsible for the amount of death present in POW camps during the Civil War. This book was very influential in showing that not all blame was to be on the South for having inhumane POW camps. While this did not make anything better, it at least showed the public that the North was not allowed to gloat about how they took such good care of their prisoners. There were harsh conditions everywhere.

Camp Randall was not mentioned with any significance in Hesseltine's work but a book written later was solely based on Camp Randall during the Civil War. A complete history of Camp Randall was compiled by Carolyn J. Mattern in her book *Soldiers Where they Go: The Story of Camp Randall, 1861-1865*. Her book discusses everything from 1861-1865 including the training that took place at Camp Randall. This was a place where 70,000 of Wisconsin's soldiers trained for battle. While this book only discusses Camp Randall as a POW camp for a short time, it does a great job of explaining the city of Madison during the Civil War and what lengths a handful of citizens were willing to go to not only help their own soldiers but also Confederate soldiers while they were housed there.<sup>4</sup> The *Wisconsin Journal of History* has also published works on Camp Randall and Forest Hill Cemetery mentioning briefly Mrs. Alice Waterman's work at Confederate Rest. Articles written by Tommy Thompson shed more light

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<sup>3</sup> William Best Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1930), 35.

<sup>4</sup> Carolyn J. Mattern, *Soldiers When They Go: The Story of Camp Randall, 1861-1865* (Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1981).

on Mrs. Alice Waterman and her actions caring for the graves of the Confederate soldiers.<sup>5</sup>

Another field present in this work is the idea of death and what the culture of death was right after the Civil War. Drew Gilpin Faust's book *This Republic of Suffering* is one that shares statistics on the amount of death during the Civil War and what the country did to try and cope with the loss of so many men. Faust offers a quote that could fairly describe the actions of Mrs. Alice Waterman. "As they faced horrors that forced even their faith in a righteous God, soldiers and civilians alike struggled to retain their most cherished beliefs, to make them work in the dramatically altered world that war had introduced."<sup>6</sup> Faust's book looks into what it was like for a country to lose so many young men in such a short period of time. From the Civil War came the nation's first national cemetery. While Faust's book discusses how the Southern dead were often ignored if they were buried in the North. In Madison, Mrs. Alice Waterman did what she could to honor them for their services.

Mark S. Schantz also describes the motives of those that tried their best to find information to complete death records and return what bodies they could to their homes. "It is fundamentally a narrative of heroism on all sides, with the forces of authentic liberty and American nationhood triumphing in the end."<sup>7</sup> Schantz discusses how the majority of Americans did not understand how to deal with death on a large scale at this time. This was noted in the trench burials that took places at battlefields like Shiloh. When thousands of men were found dead at one time, the quickest way to bury them was to dig trench like graves and place them all inside. However, it is also evident that rural cemeteries, like Forest Hill in Madison, were not

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<sup>5</sup> Tommy Thompson, "'Dying like Rotten Sheep': Camp Randall as a Prisoner of War Facility during the Civil War," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 92, no. 1 (Autumn 2008): 2-13.

<sup>6</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Republic of Suffering* (New York: Random House, 2008), xviii.

<sup>7</sup> Mark S. Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 2008).



uncommon. There were many types of protocol that came from the Civil War in terms of military deaths. Now, there are next of kin notifications, grave registration procedures, and official ways of burying those that have fallen in combat. This was something that needed to be determined by those left to clean up during and after the Civil War.

Lastly, this paper is largely situated during the time of Reconstruction. This was the name given to the time period after the Civil War, usually dated from 1865 to 1877. Though the literature on Reconstruction is vast, the focus of this paper is to look at its broad goal instead of its legislation. For the purposes of this work, we will use the definition offered by Eric Foner stating that Reconstruction was “the dramatic, controversial era that followed the Civil War.”<sup>8</sup> There were three main goals for Reconstruction: political, legal, and economic healing between the North and the South. As the Civil War was coming to a close, questions began to arise on how the North and the South were to be reunited as one country again. Lincoln and his successor, Andrew Johnson, were very different presidents. In Lincoln’s Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, which was released in 1863, Lincoln offers pardon to the many citizens of the United States that had participated in the rebellion if they were willing to take an oath to “protect the Constitution.”<sup>9</sup> In this proclamation, Lincoln wanted to prove that one of his main concerns was for the United States to be whole again and he was willing to forgive the past actions of the southern states for this to happen. This particular proclamation was never able to come to fruition. Five months later, in April of 1865, Lincoln was assassinated. His vice president, Andrew Johnson, did not share the same mindset as Lincoln. Johnson’s proclamation was much more impatient. He stated that individuals had had enough time to take an oath and if

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<sup>8</sup> Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), xi.

<sup>9</sup> Abraham Lincoln. 1863. “Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction.” *U.S., Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America*, vol. 13 (Boston, 1866), pp. 737–39.

they were unwilling to do so now, time would run out.<sup>10</sup> In the broadest of definitions, the point of Reconstruction was for the North and the South to begin to heal from the destruction of the Civil War. As the practices of Reconstruction began to move forward, it became clearer and clearer that the South was unwilling to participate.<sup>11</sup> In *A Short History of Reconstruction*, Foner discusses what Reconstruction was and how, ultimately, it was a failure. Economically, the South struggled when cotton was no longer in such high demand and the South dealt with a depression after the Civil War. Legally, issues within the Republican Party made it difficult for the nation to heal successfully. Corruption was everywhere and little was done to stop it. Socially, the nation could not decide what to do with the freed African Americans. The South struggled with the fact that they were no longer slaves and the North did not want them around. The South fought against the tight grip Johnson was proposing and the two sides were unable to compromise in a timely manner. While this was an attempt to begin to re-stitch the divided country into one, Johnson's Presidential Reconstruction was the beginning of a failure. "For the nation as a whole, the collapse of Reconstruction was a tragedy that deeply affected the course of its development."<sup>12</sup>

While the events of Reconstruction did not bring the country together as fast as it could, Wisconsin took steps to try and extend a helping and caring hand to the white families in the South that had lost family members when they were housed at Camp Randall. Confederate soldiers were buried alone in Madison and Alice Waterman and Madison took steps to care for them and respect their fallen brethren. Even though Mrs. Waterman was a Southern born lady, the group of citizens living and helping at Camp Randall were not. They were still willing to put

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<sup>10</sup> Andrew Johnson, "Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction," May 29, 1865, *Civil War Era NC*, accessed May 17, 2015, <http://history.ncsu.edu/projects/cwnc/items/show/13>.

<sup>11</sup> James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 502.

<sup>12</sup> Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), 256.

bitter feelings aside and do what they thought was right and honorable. This was evident when F.W. Oakley and Hugh Lewis began the work of raising money for a monument and petitioning the national government for money to help care for the southern graves. Amidst the other political changes such as the Radical Republicans, new laws such as the Fourteenth Amendment, and impeachment processes, Congress entertained an idea of helping states pay for graves of those that were not their own.

The purpose of this paper is to help fill some gaps in the knowledge. Through the papers of F.W. Oakley, one learns more about the efforts taken by Mrs. Alice Waterman to care for “her boys.” Another gap in the literature includes writings on the legislation that was discussed in Congress in the beginning of the 1900s. There is little written on the bill that would have given money to care for and preserve graves of fallen Confederate soldiers. While national cemeteries had been established with monetary assistance from the federal government, there was still much work to be done in the small, rural cemeteries throughout the nation. This paper will add to the historiography of the Civil War by providing more information on the importance of caring for others and on individual and grass root movements beginning to heal a nation torn apart.

## **HISTORY OF POW CAMPS, EXCHANGES, AND ANDERSONVILLE**

As it became apparent that the Civil War was not going to be over quickly, a need for different kinds of protocol for the treatment of soldiers became apparent. In 1862, a document known as the Dix-Hill Cartel was released.<sup>13</sup> Union Major General John A. Dix and Confederate Major General D.H. Hill sat down together and devised a strategy to help trade prisoners back and forth between the two sides. Each side recognized this was necessary because they were losing men they needed. The document included nine different articles that were to be followed

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<sup>13</sup> John A. Dix, D.H. Hill, Dix-Hill Cartel, *Civil War Era NC*, accessed May 1, 2015, <http://history.ncsu.edu/projects/cwnc/items/show/611>.

by either side. Articles one through three discussed the different types of ranks that could be exchanged between the North and South. Article four stated that a given side had ten days to discharge a soldier on parole and that both sides would meet at an agreed upon location for exchanges. A soldier would be placed on “parole” when a given side had an excess amount of prisoners compared to the other side which would make exchanges unequal. The last article gave no escape clause. In essence, it said that all misunderstandings would be discussed between the parties.<sup>14</sup> “Prisoners” would really be non-existent because they would either be traded back to their own side or put on parole until they were able to pick up arms again. Both the North and the South liked this agreement because they would always get their soldiers back and they would not have to spend precious resources caring for the men of their enemy. This new found hope would be short lived.

As the war moved into 1863, exchanges became much more complicated than originally intended. The North had many more prisoners than the South which meant that the North was able to set the terms for exchanges. The South thought this was unfair and became resentful of the Dix-Hill Cartel and its provisions. Another problem arose involving the transfer of Black soldiers. Jefferson Davies issued a notice in the end of December of 1862 stating that Black soldiers and their white officers were not up for exchange. When the time came for an exchange to happen and the North did not receive their Black soldiers, President Lincoln issued a proclamation stating that the Dix-Hill Cartel was off.<sup>15</sup> This led to the small POW camps throughout the nation to swell.

This increase in the amount of POWs living within the United States prompted President

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<sup>14</sup> Charles W. Sanders, Jr., *While in the Hands of the Enemy* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 116-117.

<sup>15</sup> “Andersonville,” National Park Service, last modified May 17, 2015, accessed April 3, 2013, <http://www.nps.gov/ande/learn/historyculture/grant-and-the-prisoner-exchange.htm>.

Lincoln to set some ground rules for their treatment. General Orders No. 100: The Lieber Code was a document prepared by Francis Lieber, a professor of history and political science at Columbia College.<sup>16</sup> Written by Lieber and approved by Lincoln in 1863, General Order No. 100 listed 157 different articles that should be followed in a time of war. Sections included military law, how to handle enemy property, spies, assassination, and prisoners of war and the exchange of prisoners. The document outlined who was considered a prisoner; Lieber included any citizen accompanying the enemy army and a citizen that rises up against an army.<sup>17</sup> In a clean and perfect war, these articles would have been simple to follow. However, war is never that simple. Article 56 states “A prisoner of war is subject to no punishment for being a public enemy, nor is any revenge wreaked upon him by the intentional infliction of any suffering, or disgrace, by cruel imprisonment, want of food, mutilation, death, or any other barbarity.”<sup>18</sup> Another article read, “Prisoners of war are subject to confinement or imprisonment...but they are to be subjected to no other intentional suffering or indignity.”<sup>19</sup> Another stated, “Prisoners of war shall be fed upon plain and wholesome food, whenever practicable, and treated with humanity.”<sup>20</sup> Because money and resources were tight, these rules became a burden because both the North and the South did not want to have to spend what they had on their prisoners. While these rules of war were released outlining how to properly care for prisoners, the most notorious POW camp was established.

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<sup>16</sup> Jordan Faust, “Dr. Francis Lieber and the Lieber Code” *American Society of International Law* 95, (April 2001): 112.

<sup>17</sup> Francis Lieber, “General Orders No. 100: The Lieber Code: Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field,” Article 50 and 51, 1863. Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School.

<sup>18</sup> Francis Lieber, “General Orders No. 100: The Lieber Code: Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field,” Article 56, 1863. Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School.

<sup>19</sup> Francis Lieber, “General Orders No. 100: The Lieber Code: Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field,” Article 75, 1863. Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School.

<sup>20</sup> Francis Lieber, “General Orders No. 100: The Lieber Code: Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field,” Article 76, 1863. Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School.

From February 1864 to May 1965, Camp Sumter Military Prison, later known as Andersonville, housed the most Union prisoners of any prison camp. It was originally designed to hold 10,000 men; at its most crowded time, it was holding close to 32,000. All together, the prison held about 45,000 prisoners. Of these, 12,920 died from malnutrition, disease, unsanitary conditions, and lack of shelter.<sup>21</sup> While there is no doubt that Andersonville saw the most deaths of all of the POW camps throughout the United States at this time, it is important to put everything in context. Both sides during the Civil War struggled to afford the war that they were fighting. As each side began to run into problems, all available supplies were sent to the front lines. This is expected. Why would the South send their supplies to the starving Northerners in their prison camps when they had their own starving men trying to fight at the front lines? Why would medicine be sent the hospitals in Andersonville to help heal the sick and dying Northerners when there were sick and dying Confederate soldiers that were trying to survive as well? The harsh reality is that each side was trying their hardest to keep their own soldiers alive before they would try to keep the enemies' alive. Andersonville in Georgia could be compared to Camp Douglas in Chicago where thousands of Confederate soldiers died as well.

In the end of the war, the winning side was able to hand out the punishments to those they thought committed war crimes. When the North heard of the atrocities that had taken place at Andersonville, they felt that someone had to pay. That someone happened to be Captain Henry Wirz, the commander of Andersonville. He was charged with “maliciously, willfully, and traitorously...combining, confederating, and conspiring...to injure the health and destroy the lives of soldiers in the military service of the United States.”<sup>22</sup> On November 10, 1865, Wirz

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<sup>21</sup> Andersonville,” National Park Service, last modified May 17, 2015, accessed April 3, 2013, <http://www.nps.gov/ande/planyourvisit/special.htm>.

<sup>22</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *Trial of Henry Wirz*. 40<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., 1867. Ex. Doc. 23, page 3.

was hanged.

The number of prisoners held and those that died in POW camps makes up a large percentage of the soldiers that participated in the Civil War. In 1866, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton provided estimated counts for the amount of soldiers held and deceased in POW camps for the House of Representatives. Of the 126,940 Union POWs, 22,576 died in Southern camps. Of the 220,000 Confederate POWs, 26,436 died in Northern camps.<sup>23</sup> After the war, the nation had to deal with the care of the bodies on the battlefield. However, there were many soldiers that had also died in POW camps that were hastily buried in small cemeteries all around the nation. These soldiers were often without headstones or names to the bodies.

### **CAMP RANDALL AS A POW CAMP**

While Andersonville may be the most famous of the Civil War POW camps, there are others that have interesting stories of their own. The history the Camp Randall in Madison, Wisconsin is rich and full. The land was originally owned by the State Agricultural Society and was the site of state fairs. When the Civil War broke out in April of 1861, the state began to prepare for a war between the two sides. The land was given to the state and on May 1, 1861, the first soldiers began to arrive. The new war camp was named Camp Randall after the governor of the time, Alexander Randall. Throughout the Civil War, about seventy-five percent of Wisconsin's troops were trained at Camp Randall.<sup>24</sup> During the first year of the war, Camp Randall turned out many Wisconsin boys and men for battle. As the first year of the war came and passed, it was apparent that the end may not be near in sight. Soon, all of Wisconsin's regiments except for one were called to leave their state and offer their services elsewhere. The

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<sup>23</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *Marking the Graves of the Soldiers of the Confederate Army and Navy*. 57<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., House or Reps, 1903, H.R. 3389. (pages 15 & 19).

<sup>24</sup> Jim Feldman, *The Buildings of the University of Wisconsin*, The University Archives, 1997, <http://www.uwbadgers.com/facilities/camp-randall-history.html>

one regiment left in the state would soon be called to Camp Randall to oversee the Confederate prisoners that would be coming from the Island No. 10 Campaign.

Island No. 10 was near New Madrid, Missouri and was part of the Confederate Line. The Anaconda Plan was the North's strategy during war time to "strangle" the South. They would cut off transportation in and out of the South and make receiving supplies difficult. For the Union forces to complete their Anaconda Plan, the Mississippi River needed to be under Union control. The Confederates needed to hold the area across the Mississippi and not allow more supplies to be sent to Grant's Army. The Confederates had been retreating further and further and, in March of 1862, had set up camp on Island No. 10 in the Mississippi River. General Pope and the Union army began to bombard the Confederates' blockades but it was not working quickly enough for General Pope. He soon called for a gunboat to sneak past the island during the night to reinforce the Union army to intensify their arms against the Confederates and guns on Island No. 10. On April 7, 1862, Union forces began an even stronger attack on Island No. 10. After weeks of bombardments from Union armies, General W.W. Mackall was forced to surrender on April 8.<sup>25</sup> While some of the Confederates were able to escape, many were captured and sent north to the Union's prison camps. General Pope was commanded by Major-General Henry W. Halleck to send officers to Fort Warren in Boston and Camp Chase in Columbus, Ohio. All other soldiers were to be sent elsewhere. This mostly included Camp Douglas in Chicago, Illinois and Camp Butler in Springfield, Illinois. However due to other recent Union victories, both of these camps were full. Governor Louis P. Harvey, the governor of Wisconsin, received word that prisoners would soon be entering the state headed for Milwaukee and

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<sup>25</sup> Henry Walke, "The Western Florilla at Fort Donelson, Island Number Ten, Fort Pillow and Memphis," in *The Civil War: The Second Year Told by Those Who Lived It*, ed. Stephen W. Sears (New York: The Library of America, 2012), 54-76.



Madison.<sup>26</sup>

At the time, Camp Randall was basically empty of soldiers. Those who had been training had since been sent to the lines in the first year of the war. Camp Randall was an area already completed with bunkhouses, a hospital, and lots of space so it seemed like a good fit to house Confederate prisoners. Lieutenant-Colonel William Hoffman, U.S. Government's Commissary-General of Prisons, visited the camp before any soldiers arrived. He wrote back to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton that the barracks were "mere sheds."<sup>27</sup> As those in Madison sought to try and improve camp, the last remaining regiment in Wisconsin was called to be the guards for the Confederate Soldiers. The Nineteenth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment from Racine, Wisconsin arrived at Camp Randall in April of 1862.

On April 20, 1862, the first Confederate soldiers came into the city limits. 881 soldiers in grey marched through the city and four days later, three hundred more joined them.<sup>28</sup> Madison citizens came pouring into the streets to see these men that they were convinced would look and act much differently from themselves. However, they were perhaps surprised to see little difference. Besides the fact that these new soldiers had on different uniforms, they looked no different than the boys Madison had seen leave them almost a year earlier. The Confederate soldiers had just been fighting on the Mississippi banks in March. That meant that while the snow was melting and the rain was beginning to come, they were often standing in deep, freezing water. Many were sick and wounded with about sixty being critically wounded. They were tired and had seen their friends and fellow soldiers killed and buried in the last weeks. As they slowly

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<sup>26</sup> Tommy Thompson, "'Dying like Rotten Sheep': Camp Randall as a Prisoner of War Facility during the Civil War," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 92, no. 1 (Autumn 2008): 2-13.

<sup>27</sup> Tommy Thompson, "'Dying like Rotten Sheep': Camp Randall as a Prisoner of War Facility during the Civil War," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 92, no. 1 (Autumn 2008): 2-13.

<sup>28</sup> Tommy Thompson, "'Dying like Rotten Sheep': Camp Randall as a Prisoner of War Facility during the Civil War," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 92, no. 1 (Autumn 2008): 2-13.

made their way to Camp Randall, it is reported that bands playing music broke into "Dixie." As the unofficial anthem of the South, the Confederate Soldiers entered into their new home with a little more bounce in their step.<sup>29</sup>

There was a separate building on site that was a hospital. The capacity for the hospital was around two hundred men and it was filled to the brim.<sup>30</sup> Doctors and nurses worked to care for the sick men but for some, there was little hope. Within a few days of their arrival, ten men had passed away.<sup>31</sup> In the first week of May, thirty-one prisoners died and by May 10, fifty-eight had died. The hospital was not well staffed to serve the soldiers. The 19th Infantry's assistant surgeon, Dr. H.K. Markham was in charge of the hospital. There soon came a civilian physician, Dr. Joseph Hobbins, from Madison and a Confederate army surgeon, Dr. William Martin, who had been taken prisoner. For a brief time, there were also female nurses from Madison who came to offer their assistance.<sup>32</sup> Madison citizens also tried to help where they could. There are reports of locals bringing newspapers, jellies, pudding, and brandy to the Confederate soldiers. These were gifts that had been given to the Northern soldiers. Even though they were gone and replaced with Southern soldiers, the women did not seem to care.<sup>33</sup> However, even with this added help, compassion, and kindness, things were not looking good for the Confederate soldiers.

Joseph A. Potter, the Assistant Quartermaster at Camp Douglas came to look at Camp

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<sup>29</sup> Carolyn J. Mattern, *Soldiers When They Go: The Story of Camp Randall, 1861-1865* (Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1981), 63.

<sup>30</sup> Richard G. Zevitz, "Camp Randall Military Prison: Confederate Prisoners of War in Madison, Wisconsin," *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society* 22, no. 1 (March 2009): 94.

<sup>31</sup> Richard G. Zevitz, "Camp Randall Military Prison: Confederate Prisoners of War in Madison, Wisconsin," *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society* 22, no. 1 (March 2009): 94.

<sup>32</sup> Richard G. Zevitz, "Camp Randall Military Prison: Confederate Prisoners of War in Madison, Wisconsin," *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society* 22, no. 1 (March 2009): 94.

<sup>33</sup> Carolyn J. Mattern, *Soldiers When They Go: The Story of Camp Randall, 1861-1865* (Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1981), 64.

Randall and determined that the hospital was in "terribly bad condition."<sup>34</sup> Secretary of War Stanton received another message from Hoffman the General of Prisons. Earlier, he had only inspected the hospital and a quick check of the outbuildings. This time, he fully inspected the camp. Hoffman's vision of the camp was negative and he did not see a smoothly run machine. There was a lack of discipline and the 19th Infantry was not armed well. Hoffman's biggest concern was directed toward the hospital. There were not enough personnel there to serve the needs of the sick and injured Confederates. A *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* article printed in 1862 said, "Rumor attributes it to gross negligence on the part of the medical and other attendants."<sup>35</sup> Hoffman commanded three doctors be relocated from Camp Douglas to Camp Randall. Hoffman also declared that something needed to be done about the hospital building itself. Sanitary practices needed to be improved upon and prisoners needed to be clothed and generally cared for in a more comprehensive way. Because there were not enough beds for all of the Confederates, many were forced to sleep on the floor.<sup>36</sup> There was also an issue with the cold. Even though it was May, spring can be cold in Wisconsin and this was definitely a temperature difference for the Alabama boys. The *Wisconsin Daily Patriot* tried to stand up for those in the care of the Confederate soldiers by saying that it was true that Camp Randall was not the best place to care for soldiers but that it was doing the best in could with such short notice of the Confederates' arrival.<sup>37</sup> However, this did not satisfy those in charge. Multiple men were dying a day at Camp Randall and Hoffman decided it was time to move them out of there.

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<sup>34</sup> Tommy Thompson, "Mrs. Waterman's Boys," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 92, no. 1 (Autumn 2008): 2-14.

<sup>35</sup> Richard G. Zevitz, "Camp Randall Military Prison: Confederate Prisoners of War in Madison, Wisconsin," *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society* 22, no. 1 (March 2009): 94.

<sup>36</sup> Tommy Thompson, "'Dying like Rotten Sheep': Camp Randall as a Prisoner of War Facility during the Civil War," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 92, no. 1 (Autumn 2008): 2-13.

<sup>37</sup> Richard G. Zevitz, "Camp Randall Military Prison: Confederate Prisoners of War in Madison, Wisconsin," *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society* 22, no. 1 (March 2009): 94.

On May 28th, approximately one month after arriving in Camp Randall, surviving Confederates were ordered to move from Camp Randall to Camp Douglas. While Camp Douglas had a reputation of its own, Hoffman felt the Confederates would be treated better there. Camp Douglas was a more established POW camp and was larger. There were enough supplies there to better care for the Southern soldiers. All those healthy enough were moved and the 19th Infantry was sent to Virginia to fight.<sup>38</sup> Camp Randall was officially no longer a POW camp. Throughout their month and a half at Camp Randall, 139 Confederate soldiers died. They were moved to an area in what would become Forest Hill Cemetery.

While it is evident that Camp Randall failed to care for the Confederate soldiers it housed, it is also evident that it tried. Citizens from Madison offered their time to come and help care for the sick and injured Southerners. Madison citizens also brought donations for the Confederates. While conditions were harsh, there is evidence that those working at the POW Camp tried to help care for and save the already injured soldiers. However, there was not enough done and over one hundred men from Alabama died and were buried far from their family and friends.

## **CULTURE OF DEATH**

As the war came to a close, the nation began to see the real numbers in terms of soldiers killed and wounded. Bodies lay or were buried where they fell in battlefields. Many soldiers' bodies were in far off states away from their family and loved ones. However, with the end of the war upon them, citizens began to help fill in casualty records and care for their deceased. The procedure for caring for the dead was not very strong and people did what they felt was best.

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<sup>38</sup> Richard G. Zevitz, "Camp Randall Military Prison: Confederate Prisoners of War in Madison, Wisconsin," *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society* 22, no. 1 (March 2009): 94.

If dead bodies were left lying around, they would be less likely to be identified. For example, Captain James Moore was an assistant quartermaster and was ordered to process the bodies. He found skeletons that had been bodies left in the elements for over two years that were unable to be identified.<sup>39</sup> It was at first thought that bodies would be taken to a central burial ground but the summer in 1865 prevented a mass moving of the dead. However, that did not stop the growth of national cemeteries. There needed to be places to honor those who "have died in so noble a service."<sup>40</sup> National cemeteries arose at the sites that were Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Arlington.

Women in the South took a particular liking to and made it their mission to honor the men that fought for the South. Associations such as the Confederate Veterans Committee, the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, and the Daughters of the Confederacy took it upon themselves to begin to raise money to build monuments and other such things to honor the fallen Confederate soldiers. These groups were created after the Civil War with the purpose of helping preserve Southern culture and commemorate those that had fought for it.<sup>41</sup> Even after the Reconstruction Era had passed, groups such as these were prominent in the South and represented the nostalgia left for the Confederacy.

### **MRS. ALICE W. WATERMAN**

As they died, sometimes at the rate of ten a day, they were laid side by side in a plot of ground on the edge of Forest Hill Cemetery and that spot soon became known to the people of Madison, Wisconsin as 'Confederate Rest.' And rest it was indeed to these poor fellows, who, succumbing to the hardships of war, laid them down in their last sleep, martyrs to the cause they loved. For nearly five years after the war the site of those graves was almost forgotten. Among strangers who could not be expected to sympathize with the sentiments which had imbued these boys in gray and lend them to offer their lives upon the altar of their country, it would perhaps, in time have become completely

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<sup>39</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Republic of Suffering* (New York: Random House, 2008), 214.

<sup>40</sup> Quote by Edmund Whitman. Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Republic of Suffering* (New York: Random House, 2008), 228.

<sup>41</sup> Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), 190.

obliterated but for the fact that there came to live at Madison, Wisconsin, a widowed southern-born woman-Mrs. Alice W. Waterman.<sup>42</sup>

These words were found in a pamphlet made by the Confederate Veterans' Association of Washington, District of Columbia. As one reads this quote, they get a sense of importance of the work of Alice Waterman. As stated before, there were a handful of citizens living in Madison that tried their best to assist the POWs. However, after the war, life moved on and the men buried in Forest Hill were forgotten. Mrs. Waterman's presence in Madison helped to reverse the forgetfulness.

Alice Whiting Waterman was born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana on October 18, 1820. She was a southern born girl that later relocated with her family to New York in 1831.<sup>43</sup> Mrs. Waterman's name first appears in census record and city directories in Madison, Wisconsin in 1868.<sup>44</sup> She had been widowed and was a landlady at the Vilas House.<sup>45</sup> She soon learned about the Confederate graves in Forest Hill and upon inspection, realized a little caretaking was needed. Mrs. Waterman set to work cleaning up the area around where the graves were situated. She began to mold the earth above their graves and heaped mounds of dirt above where they lay. She planted an evergreen hedge around where the 139 Confederate soldiers lay and planted two trees that are still standing there today. Mrs. Waterman continued to come back day after day and clear away the weeds that had begun to grow and trim the grass to make things look neat and orderly. Perhaps most importantly, Alice Waterman went to the work of creating headstones for

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<sup>42</sup> Headquarters Confederate Veterans' Association of Washington, District of Columbia. Camp 171.U.C.V., 2 Jan., 1889.

<sup>43</sup> Tommy Thompson, "Mrs. Waterman's Boys," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 92, no. 1 (Autumn 2008): 2-14.

<sup>44</sup> Madison, Wisconsin City Directory, 1868, 102; 1870 Federal Census.; Letter from F.W. Oakley to Col. J.B. O'Bryan, 3, Jan. 1898. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>45</sup> Madison, Wisconsin City Directory, 1868, 102; 1870 Federal Census.

each deceased soldier by placing their names, company and regiment, and date of death. These events were described in an article published in the *Wisconsin State Journal* in 1885.<sup>46</sup>

From the late 1860s until her death, Waterman returned to the graves to make sure that they were looking respectable and did what she could to help honor the boys that had fought for the South. The boards she erected as headstones were made of wood. Throughout the numerous winter months in Madison, Wisconsin, the boards would become weathered and fall into disrepair. At her own expense, Waterman replaced the wooden boards three times throughout her time caring for “her boys.”<sup>47</sup> It was believed that it was her goal to build a monument in this small corner of Forest Hill Cemetery to honor those that had fallen. However, when times got hard and money was scarce, she did what she could until she was able to save enough for something to be erected. She was unable to see her vision come to life. Alice Waterman died on September 13, 1897 and she was buried in Confederate Rest in Forest Hill Cemetery right next to “her boys.”<sup>48</sup> Her death was not the end of the works that would take place at Forest Hill. F.W. Oakley, a man living in Madison, had known Mrs. Waterman and decided that it was only right to continue working in her footsteps.

Word of their deeds soon reached to the South and letters began pouring into Frank W. Oakley, who, was a prominent man in the Madison area. He had served as a Marshall in the Western District of Wisconsin and from 1896 to 1921, was the Clerk of Court for the Western

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<sup>46</sup> Headquarters Confederate Veterans' Association of Washington, District of Columbia. Camp 171.U.C.V., 2 Jan., 1889

<sup>47</sup> Letter from F.W. Oakley to Col. J.B. O'Bryan, 3 Jan, 1989. F.W. Oakley Papers, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>48</sup> Headquarters Confederate Veterans' Association of Washington, District of Columbia. Camp 171.U.C.V., 2 Jan., 1889; Tommy Thompson, “Dying like Rotten Sheep’: Camp Randall as a Prisoner of War Facility during the Civil War,” *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 92, no. 1 (Autumn 2008): 2-13.

District of Wisconsin.<sup>49</sup> Alice Waterman had lived with his family briefly when she was running low on money in 1883. This was when Oakley was aware of her work.<sup>50</sup> At first, they were just looking for information. One gentleman wrote to Oakley informing him that his comrades were buried in Madison and he was wondering if there was anything he could do to help.<sup>51</sup> Others wrote asking for information about relatives that may have been buried there. E.M. Barber wrote saying that he had seen a telegram discussing the cemetery and thought his brother J.H. Barber was buried there. He commented on how if his brother was there, his family would be willing to help erect a monument for Waterman. In the collection of F.W. Oakley's papers, there was a scrap of paper that read "S.M. Barber Co. C. 1<sup>st</sup> Alabama-Died May 22, 1862". S.M. Barber's name is also found on a list of the deceased that are buried in Forest Hill.<sup>52</sup>

Committees throughout the southern part of the United States began to seek assistance and ask questions about how they could get involved in the work that was taking place in Forest Hill. One letter arrived to F.W. Oakley from a Mrs. M.J. Behan. She was a member of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association and was requesting information about Waterman. She said that the ladies she worked closely with were interested in helping to raise money and show their support. "Rest assured, dear sir, that your noble conduct in caring for our beloved dead is deeply and truly appreciated by the people of the South and the Women of the Memorial Association. Thank you from the bottom of their hearts for doing the sacred work that distance

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<sup>49</sup> Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the Service of the United States, 1875, 461.; <http://www.wiwd.uscourts.gov/courtdistrict-history>

<sup>50</sup> Letter from F.W. Oakley to Col. J.B. O'Bryan, 3 Jan., 1898. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>51</sup> Letter from P.E. Ward to F.W. Oakley, 11 Jan. 1889. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>52</sup> Letter from E.M. Barber to Maj. F.W. Oakley, 18 Dec. 1897; Scrap of paper in file- F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin; Dr. Joseph Hobbins, "Register, April 20 – June 21, 1862 of Deaths of Confederate Prisoners." F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.



alone has permitted them from doing.”<sup>53</sup> W.M. Laughlin sent \$10 and two notes “I desire to add that such action as yours emulated and carried out by the ‘principals’ of both sides engaged in the late war, will do much towards wiping out all sectional feelings and Americanizing this whole country.”<sup>54</sup> A few days later, he penned another, “We are one people-no-North-no-South-and every effort should be made on the part of all Americans to make this a united, happy and prosperous country.”<sup>55</sup> For some, this monument was more than just honoring Waterman. They, too, were looking for a way to begin to join the two separate pieces of the North and South together again. Harrison Granite Company wrote to F.W. Oakley offering potential sketches of a monument to be built.<sup>56</sup> In 1899, a letter came from the financial secretary of Confederate Veterans Association, Camp 171 telling Oakley he was pretty sure the monument would be a success.<sup>57</sup> Five years later, in 1904, the Daughters of the Confederacy were able to send \$835 to F.W. Oakley to place in the fund for a monument.<sup>58</sup>

After the war, many family members spent much time waiting for their loved ones to return home. When that did not seem like a reality, they spent a lot of time searching for where they may have been buried. Alice Waterman, and later F.W. Oakley, gave family members in Alabama a chance to find where their loved ones lay the peace knowing that someone was taking care of them from so far away. In May of 1909, an announcement from the War Department’s

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<sup>53</sup> Letter from Mrs. M.J. Behan to F.W. Oakley, 21, Dec. 1901. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>54</sup> Letter from W.M. Laughlin to F.W. Oakley, 9 Dec., 1897. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>55</sup> Letter from W.M. Laughlin to F.W. Oakley, 13 Dec., 1897. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>56</sup> Letter from Harrison Granit Company to F.W. Oakley, 22 Dec. 1897. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>57</sup> Letter from financial secretary of Camp 171, CVA to F.W. Oakley, 19 Feb., 1899. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>58</sup> Letter from Daughters of the Confederacy to F.W. Oakley, 3 May, 1904. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

Office of the Commissioner for Marking Graves of Confederate Dead was sent detailing how 140 headstones were to be made and sent to Forest Hill for the Confederate soldiers. These headstones can still be seen today.

This act on behalf of the War Department shows how the culture of death after the Civil War and the idea of honoring all those that were deceased was becoming more and more prominent. Before, the nation had been mourning separately. Then, when a few Southern groups began to offer money to assist in the commemoration of Alice Waterman and Confederate soldiers in Forest Hill, one could see the South reaching toward the North. With this act, the North began to reach back toward the South. The gravestones that were made and transported to Forest Hill were present in the eyes of every person that visited the cemetery. These Confederate headstones would now look like the headstones of the Union soldiers as well. All soldiers that had fought and died during the Civil War were closer to being placed on the same level in terms of public mourning. Waterman's motives for caring for the soldiers is unclear. Whether it was as large as to try and bring the nation back together or as small as showing compassion for the dead that had to care, Waterman became a figure for many in both the North and the South.

## **THE QUEST FOR LEGISLATION AND MONEY**

After the Civil War, the government began to take small steps to take on the responsibility for maintaining the many cemeteries that had cropped up around the nation. On June 10, 1872, Congress appropriated \$200,000 for headstones to be erected at the Union Army Soldiers in national cemeteries.<sup>59</sup> In March of 1873, about one million dollars was appropriated

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<sup>59</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *Marking the Graves of the Soldiers of the Confederate Army and Navy*. 57<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., House of Reps, 1903, H.R. 3389. (page 17).

for the headstones to ensure that they would be made of “durable stone” that would remain in place once set.<sup>60</sup> In December of 1898, President McKinley was in Atlanta, Georgia addressing the citizens there.

What cause we have for rejoicing, saddened only by the fact that so many of our brave men fell on field or sickened and died from hardship and exposure...The memory of the dead will be a precious legacy...The national cemeteries for those who fell in battle all prove that the dead as well as the living have our love...And while, when these graves were made, we differed widely about the future of the Government, these differences were long ago settled by the arbitrament of arms.<sup>61</sup>

While it is evident that the government was trying its best to care for its deceased soldiers, these monies were only made available to the national cemeteries. There were still about 20,000 soldiers buried around the nation in make shift graves and cemeteries with no one to care for them.

As people began to realize this, they began a movement to try and receive more funding to locate and identify lost graves and to memorialize them with their own tombstones. A committee was soon formed. F.W. Oakley and Hugh Lewis, a member of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House of Representatives, were often in correspondence about what should be done for these lost soldiers.

In conversation with Captain Hugh Lewis, an old comrade of mine, and a friend of Mrs. Waterman (at present door-keeper in the House of Representatives at Washington) we thought it advisable to bring the matter to the attention of some prominent Confederates in Washington, to ascertain if some provisions could not be made by the different states to which these soldiers belonged, for the erection of a suitable monument to these Confederate dead, whereby their names and services may be preserved.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *Marking the Graves of the Soldiers of the Confederate Army and Navy*. 57<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., House or Reps, 1903, H.R. 3389. (page 17).

<sup>61</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *Marking the Graves of the Soldiers of the Confederate Army and Navy*. 57<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., House or Reps, 1903, H.R. 3389. (page 13).

<sup>62</sup> Letter from F.W. Oakley to Col. J.B. O’Bryan, 3 Jan, 1898. F.W. Oakley Papers, Otis Hoyt Collection, Box 4, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

While the conversation had moved to Washington, it had not yet fully made its way into Congress. On June 6, 1900, Congress approved another \$2,500 for remedial measures that had been requested.<sup>63</sup> In late May of 1901, there was a re-union of the United Confederate Veterans in Memphis. There was a unanimous vote to “respectfully request that Congress take appropriate action looking to the care and preservation of the graves of the Confederate dead now in the various cemeteries in the Northern States.”<sup>64</sup>

In 1903, Congress was meeting over a bill to appropriate money for the graves of soldiers of the Confederate Army and Navy which was proposed in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. It proposed that the Secretary of War would find where all Confederate soldiers killed in Federal prisons were buried and figure out their names, company regiment, and home state. A white marble headstone would be created for each soldier and burial grounds would be surrounded by fencing. This task was deemed important due to the large number of deceased Southern soldiers that were largely unaccounted for. It was known that 9,300 Confederate POWs were buried in national cemeteries. However, of the estimated 26,436 deceased Confederates, this accounted for only one third. The other two thirds were buried in small cemeteries randomly placed throughout the North.<sup>65</sup> To begin, the bill requested \$100,000, or however much was necessary to complete such a task.<sup>66</sup> These expenses included necessary travel expenses for whomever was tasked with searching for the Confederate graves and paperwork for them. While Congress discussed this bill, citizens began to lobby the government

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<sup>63</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *Marking the Graves of the Soldiers of the Confederate Army and Navy*. 57<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., House or Reps, 1903, H.R. 3389. (page 14).

<sup>64</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *Marking the Graves of the Soldiers of the Confederate Army and Navy*. 57<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., House or Reps, 1903, H.R. 3389. (page 11).

<sup>65</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *Marking the Graves of the Soldiers of the Confederate Army and Navy*. 57<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., House or Reps, 1903, H.R. 3389. (page 15).

<sup>66</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *Marking the Graves of the Soldiers of the Confederate Army and Navy*. 57<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., House or Reps, 1903, H.R. 3389. (page 1).

with their thoughts.

Letters from around the nation were sent to Washington D.C. Marcus J. Wright wrote informing Congress that living Confederate soldiers and families of the deceased would love nothing more than to see their dead comrades and sons being cared for and respected after death. He reminded Congress that while the soldiers in the South were being properly cared for, those in the North were not.<sup>67</sup> The House of Representatives also sought information from others to help them inform their decision. Edwin M. Stanton who was the Secretary of War from 1862 to 1868 and Major-General, U.S. Volunteers Commissary-General of Prisons E.A. Hitchcock both wrote of the death estimates, Hitchcock included a list of Union prisons that had held Confederate soldiers. Camp Randall was included in the list. Marcus J. Wright, an agent from the War Department sent a list of the many cemeteries that had been located by 1899. However, amidst these letters and facts, there was a slight problem. Originally, \$100,000 had been proposed for this work to be completed. Upon further calculations, it seemed more money would be needed to successfully complete the project. M.C. Meigs, a general in the U.S. Army, proposed a new amount of money. \$10,000 would be needed for purchasing the cemeteries the Confederates were buried on. Congress was unable to place headstones anywhere if the land was not already a national cemetery. \$100,000 would be needed for the work of inclosing the cemeteries. \$94,500 would be needed for the approximately 18,000 graves that were in need of headstones. Together, this amount totaled over \$200,000. The bill was never passed.

## **CONCLUSION**

Even though the legislation was not passed to solidify money for the Confederate soldiers

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<sup>67</sup> U.S. Congress. House. *Marking the Graves of the Soldiers of the Confederate Army and Navy*. 57<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., House of Reps, 1903, H.R. 3389. (page 5).

to be cared for after their death, it was still evident that individuals were trying their hardest to show the South that their soldiers still mattered. It is true that Camp Randall was deemed a failure. Soldiers arrived sick and injured, there were not enough supplies to go around, and doctors and nurses had to fight an uphill battle to try to save the Southern men. However, Madison citizens still tried their best. They welcomed the soldiers with pleasantries instead of spitting in their faces. Citizens volunteered their time at the hospital trying to nurse sick and injured soldiers back to health. Women arrived with newspapers and sweets for the Confederates. Even though Camp Randall was shut down due to high death rates and unsanitary conditions, it should be noted that the city of Madison offered their time, energy, and resources to assist in any way they could.

This was evident when Madison citizen Alice Waterman decided that the soldiers buried in Forest Hill needed someone to care for and look after them. She spent her own money to plant trees, make her own headstones, and care for the graves of her deceased brethren. Her actions lasted for so long and became so well known, a pamphlet detailing her work was produced by a southern Confederate Veterans Association. Groups in the south began to come together to help raise money for a monument for her to be built.

When one visits Forest Hill Cemetery in Madison today, one can drive around the outer edge and as they approach a back corner, they will see two large trees, neat little fencing, and 139 gravestones. There is a plaque in place mentioning the brave souls of the First Alabama. During Veterans' Day and Fourth of July Celebration, citizens of Madison respect this small section in the same way they respect the Veterans' area a few sections away. Flags and flowers are placed there in remembrance of the soldiers and their drive to fight for their homeland.

To help establish this sense of care even more, a bill was proposed to Congress to gain

more money for the task of honoring the Confederate soldiers buried in the North. While the bill was vetoed, it still shows the amount of care and compassion in the states at this time. While there were still hurt feelings and tension, both the North and the South were trying to reconnect with each other. Reconstruction was considered a failure but there were small moments where each side would put their differences and hurt feelings aside to do what was right and honor the other. The citizens of Madison tried their best to help in a time of need. Alice Waterman cared for the gravesites when they were almost forgotten. The South helped to raise money for a monument in her name. F.W. Oakley kept track of death records and could assist Alabama family members looking for their lost loved ones. Congress entertained the idea of appropriating money for Confederate graves across the North. The Civil War was a devastating war between the states. However, when the nation came out on the other side, both the North and the South recognized that they would need to work together again and small steps were taken to reconnect. In the case study of Madison, Wisconsin, the nation began to come together through a shared understanding of the culture of death. Both sides were recovering from large dents in their male populations and each began to realize that all deceased soldiers, no matter the side, needed to be cared for.

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