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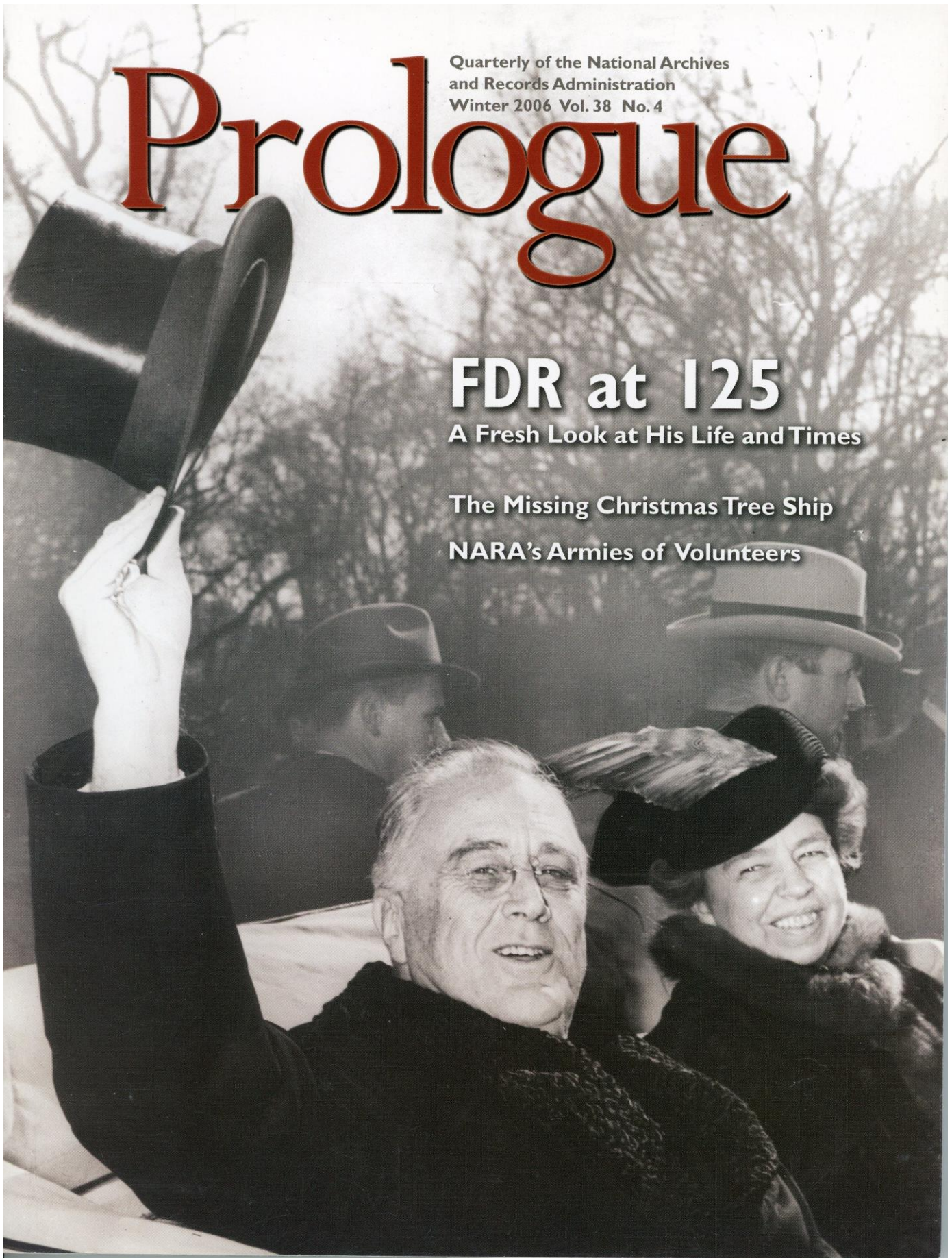
Prologue

FDR at 125

A Fresh Look at His Life and Times

The Missing Christmas Tree Ship

NARA's Armies of Volunteers



The Christmas

Captain Herman E. Schuenemann

By Glenn V. Longacre

On a drizzly, overcast day in late October 1971, Milwaukee scuba diver Gordon Kent Bellrichard was surveying with sonar the bottom of Lake Michigan's west coastal waters off of Two Rivers, Wisconsin. Bellrichard was searching for the *Vernon*, a 177-foot, 700-ton steamer that had sunk with only one survivor in a storm in October 1887.

Local fishermen described an area to Bellrichard where their nets had snagged on previous occasions as a potential site to search. His sonar made a promising contact, and he descended to what appeared to be a well-preserved shipwreck resting in an upright position on the lake bed in 172 feet of water.

Upon reaching the wreck, his jury-rigged dive light promptly malfunctioned, leaving him blanketed in murky darkness. Without light, he surveyed the wreckage by feeling along its hull. Bellrichard quickly realized that he had not discovered the larger, propeller-drive *Vernon*, but the wreck of the elusive *Rouse Simmons*, a 205-ton, three-masted schooner that had disappeared beneath the waves in a winter gale in November 1912.

When Bellrichard surfaced, he lay in his boat and yelled for joy. His discovery ended a mystery that surrounded the fate of one of the most legendary ships, and its much-loved captain, to sail Lake Michigan's waters. For Bellrichard had discovered the grave of one of the most famous "Christmas tree ships" and its skipper, "Captain Santa."

The saga of Herman E. Schuenemann and the *Rouse Simmons* is a microcosm of Great Lakes maritime history preserved for researchers who visit the National Archives and Records Administration—Great Lakes Region in Chicago. The original and microfilmed records held in the Great Lakes Region not only document the

birth, life, and death of the legendary schooner but also its enigmatic and kind-hearted captain.

The 1870 census reveals that Wisconsin native Schuenemann was born about 1865, into the middle of a growing family of six children in the predominantly German community of Ahnapee, now present-day Algoma, on the shores of Lake Michigan. His oldest brother, August, born in 1853, was the first of the children to make his living on the lake. Herman, however, soon followed in his brother's footsteps.

In 1868, three years after Schuenemann's birth, the age of sail on Lake Michigan reached its zenith when more than 1,800 sailing vessels populated the lake. After that year, the number of sailing ships began a decline that lasted until they disappeared almost completely by the late 1920s. The dominant sail-powered vessel on Lake Michigan was the sturdy schooner, built to haul heavy loads out of, and into, shallow harbors. The principal cargo for most schooners on Lake Michigan was lumber, which fed the high demand for building materials in growing urban areas such as Chicago and Milwaukee.



Tree Ship

and the Schooner *Rouse Simmons*

The 1868 peak in sail-powered ships on Lake Michigan also marked the year the *Rouse Simmons* was launched from Milwaukee's shipyards. The ship was built by the firm of Allan, McClelland, and Company, one of Milwaukee's preeminent shipbuilding firms.

Sleek and sturdy, the 123-foot *Rouse Simmons* was licensed and enrolled on August 27, 1868, at the Port of Milwaukee. The vessel's managing owner was Royal B. Towslee of Kenosha, Wisconsin, and its first master was Alfred Ackerman. The *Rouse Simmons* was named after a well-known Kenosha merchant of the same name. A brother, Zalmon Simmons, soon gained fame for his family's burgeoning mattress company.

In the early 1870s, the *Rouse Simmons* joined the sizeable shipping fleet of wealthy lumber magnate and philanthropist Charles H. Hackley of Muskegon, Michigan. Hackley's lumber operations stretched to all corners of Lake Michigan's coastline. The *Rouse Simmons* was a workhorse, hauling loads of lumber for Hackley's fleet from company mills to the various markets around the lake for roughly 20 years. A survey of entrances and clearances from the Records of the U.S.

Customs Service for the port of Grand Haven, Michigan, for August 1883, shows that the *Rouse Simmons* was making almost weekly runs from Grand Haven, most likely with loads of lumber, to the port of Chicago.

Grand Haven's monthly report on daily entrances and clearances for August 1883 reveal the continued dominance of sailing ships even at that late date. Among the 458 ships that entered the port for the month, 269, or almost 60 percent, were sailing ships, while the remaining 189 were steam-powered. Following the *Rouse Simmons*'s service with Hackley's fleet, the schooner changed numerous owners and captains before Schuenemann assumed an interest in the vessel at the beginning of the 20th century.

By the early 1890s, Schuenemann lived in Chicago, and his career as a local merchant and lake captain was well established. On April 9, 1891, he married German-born Barbara Schindel. The 1900 federal census indicates that Barbara and Herman Schuenemann had three daughters during the 1890s: Elsie, born in January 1892, and in October 1898, twins Hazel and Pearl. Barbara learned that being the wife of a lake captain took special qualities. She also realized, as did most wives whose husbands made their living on the Great Lakes, that it was not a matter of if catastrophe would strike, but when.



By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the popular German tradition of decorating an evergreen tree in the home was widely practiced, and demand for Christmas trees was great. It was not uncommon for a handful of lake schooners to make late-season runs



The Christmas Tree Ship

from northern Michigan and Wisconsin—before the worst storms and ice made lake travel too hazardous—loaded with thousands of Christmas trees for busy Chicago waterfront markets. Estimates of the number of Christmas schooners vary, but perhaps up to two dozen vessels in any season delivered evergreens to markets in Great Lakes states.

In Chicago, most vessels, including the *Rouse Simmons*, sold the trees directly from their berths along the Chicago River's Clark Street docks. Electric lights were strung from the schooner's bow to stern, and customers were invited to board the ship to choose their trees. In addition to selling Christmas trees, many boat operators, including Schuenemann, made and sold wreaths, garlands, and other holiday decorations. Barbara Schuenemann and her three daughters helped make and sell these items as part of the family's holiday trade.

At some stage of Herman Schuenemann's long career as a late-season tree captain, he was given the title of Captain Santa. The affectionate nickname was bestowed by Chicago's local newspapers and by the city's grateful residents. Schuenemann's profits from selling Christmas trees had never made the family wealthy, but his reputation for generosity was well established, and he delighted in presenting trees to many of the city's needy residents. Schuenemann enjoyed the sobriquet and proudly kept newspaper clippings about his role as Captain Santa in his oilskin wallet.

Over the years, Herman Schuenemann commanded several schooners that carried Christmas trees to Chicago, including the *George Wrenn*, the *Bertha Barnes*, and the *Mary Collins*. Like many other merchant-sailors, Schuenemann could not afford to purchase a schooner outright. It was a common practice for two or more businessmen or lake captains to form a partnership and purchase shares in a vessel. In 1910 Schuen-

emann purchased a partial interest in the *Rouse Simmons*. By 1912, Schuenemann's financial interest in the ship amounted to one-eighth of the ship, while Capt. Charles Nelson of Chicago, who later accompanied Schuenemann on the fateful November trip, owned another one-eighth share, and businessman Mannes J. Bonner of St. James, Michigan, held a commanding three-fourths interest in the vessel.

Throughout the year and especially during the winter months when the Great

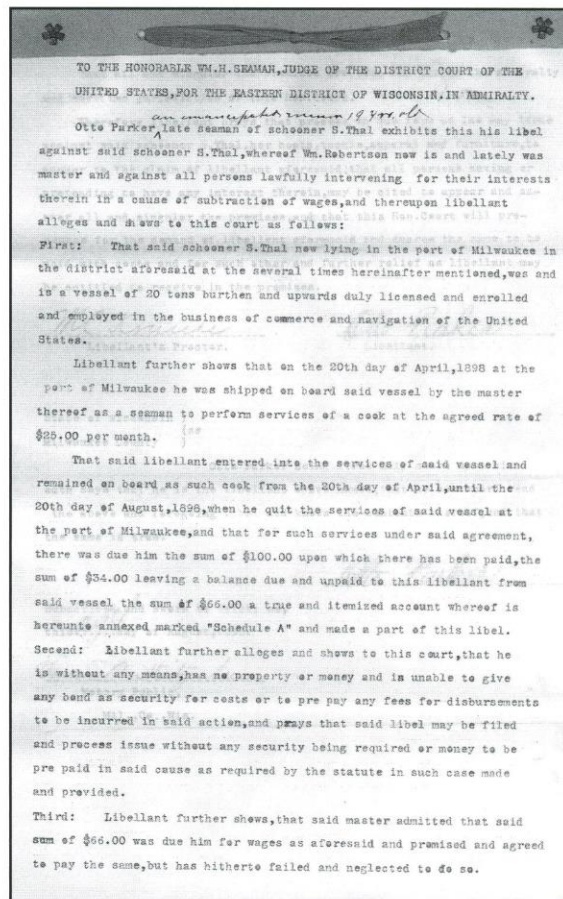
bankruptcy in the U.S. District Court in Chicago. Listed as a saloon keeper, Schuenemann's debts to his creditors amounted to over \$1,300, which he was unable to satisfy. This financial setback, however, does not appear to have interfered with his other role as a lake captain.

On November 9–10, 1898, tragedy marred the Schuenemann's holiday season when, just one month after the birth of twins Hazel and Pearl, Herman's older brother August Schuenemann died while sailing a load of Christmas trees to Chicago aboard the schooner *S. Thal*. The 52-ton, two-masted schooner, built in Milwaukee in 1867, broke up after it was caught in a storm near Glencoe, Illinois. There were no survivors. The Schuenemann family was devastated, but Herman continued the family tradition of making late-season Christmas trees runs.

District court records for Milwaukee suggest that August came to the *S. Thal* just weeks before his death, when it was sold at auction by U.S. Marshals to pay fees owed to Otto Parker, the vessel's 19-year-old cook. Parker sued the vessel's previous owner, William Robertson, in admiralty court over Robertson's refusal to pay Parker the remaining \$66 owed for his services as cook aboard the tiny vessel. In September 1898, Judge William H. Seaman decided the case in favor of the young cook, and the vessel was sold to pay the debt.

By 1912, Schuenemann was a veteran schooner master who had hauled Christmas trees to Chicago for almost three decades. While Schuenemann was in his prime as a lake captain, the same could not be said for the *Rouse Simmons*. The once-sleek sailing vessel was now 44 years old and long past its peak sailing days. Time, the elements, and hundreds of heavy loads of lumber had taken their toll on the vessel's physical condition.

On Friday, November 22, 1912, the *Rouse Simmons*, heavily laden with 3,000–5,000 Christmas trees filling its cargo hold and



First page of Otto Parker's libel for seaman's wages filed in the U.S. District Court, Milwaukee, August 29, 1898.

Lakes were impassable because of ice and storms, many lake boat captains supplemented their incomes in other ways. As a small businessman, Schuenemann not only made his living on the lake, but he also owned businesses that in 1906 included a saloon. In these business endeavors, Schuenemann did not always meet with success, and on January 4, 1907, he petitioned for

covering its deck, left the dock at Thompson, Michigan. Some eyewitnesses to the *Rouse Simmons's* departure claimed the ship looked like a floating forest. Schuenemann's departure, however, coincided with the beginnings of a tremendous winter storm on the lake that sent several other ships to the bottom, including the *South Shore*, *Three Sisters*, and *Two Brothers*.

What happened after the *Rouse Simmons* departed the tiny harbor at Thompson with its heavy load of trees is unknown, but Life Saving Station logs testify that at 2:50 p.m. on Saturday, November 23, 1912, a surfman at the station in Kewaunee, Wisconsin, alerted the station keeper, Capt. Nelson Craite, that a schooner (the *Rouse Simmons's* identity was unknown) was sighted headed south flying its flag at half-mast, a universal sign of distress. In his remarks on the incident, Craite wrote, "I immediately took the Glasses, and made out that there was a distress signal. The schooner was between 5 and 6 miles E.S.E. and blowing a Gale from the N.W." Craite attempted to locate a gas tugboat to assist the schooner, but the vessel had left earlier in the day. After a few minutes, the life-saving crew at Kewaunee lost sight of the ship.

At 3:10 p.m., Craite telephoned Station Keeper Capt. George E. Sogge at Two Rivers, the next station further south. Craite informed Sogge that a schooner was headed south, flying its flag at half-mast. Sogge

immediately ordered the Two Rivers surfmen to launch the station's powerboat. The boat reached the schooner's approximate position shortly thereafter, but darkness, heavy snow, and mist obscured any trace of the *Rouse Simmons* and its crew. The schooner had vanished.

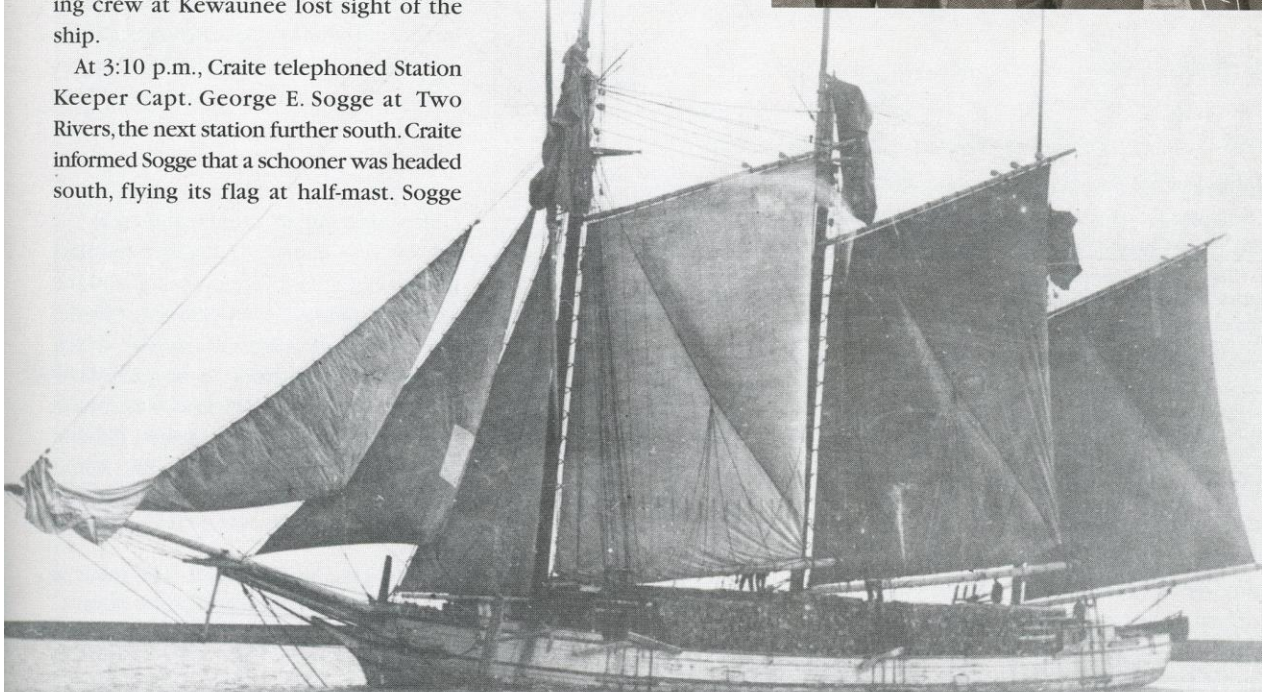
Barbara Schuenemann and her daughters were concerned when the *Rouse Simmons* failed to arrive in Chicago Harbor on schedule. However, it was not uncommon for a schooner to pull into a safe harbor to ride out a storm and then arrive days later at its destination. The family's worst fears were realized days later, when still no word of the vessel had been received. Over the next weeks and months, remnants of Christmas trees washed

ashore along Wisconsin's coastline. Astonishingly, the lake continued to give up clues long after the vessel's loss. In 1924 some fishermen in Wisconsin hauled in their nets and discovered a wallet wrapped in waterproof oilskin. Inside were the pristine contents that identified its owner as Herman Schuenemann, the captain of the *Rouse Simmons*. The wallet was returned to the family.

What caused the disaster that befell the *Rouse Simmons*? There are several theo-



A 1909 photograph of Capt. Herman E. Schuenemann (center), flanked by W.L. Vanaman (left), and Mr. Colberg (right) standing near Christmas trees in Chicago.



ries, but most likely a combination of circumstances or events drove the ship under in the heavy seas. Among the factors are the possibility that the vessel lost its ship's wheel in the storm, its poor physical condition, heavy icing and snow on the vessel's exterior and load, plus the load of 3,000-5,000 evergreen trees itself.

A recent underwater archaeological survey, conducted in July and August 2006 by the Wisconsin Historical Society, discovered that the *Rouse Simmons's* anchor chain, masts, and spar were all lying forward beyond the bow of the wreck. The location of these items suggest that the schooner's weight was in the bow, causing it to nose-dive into the heavy seas and founder. Another explanation may be that the masts, rigging, and chains were all shoved forward when the vessel dove into the lake bed during its descent to the bottom.

After the schooner's loss, the vessel's sailing condition came under scrutiny. One

of the legends associated with the disaster was that prior to its departure from Thompson, rats living aboard the now-dilapidated ship were seen making their way to dry land, as if they had a premonition of its doom.

Moreover, some of the crew was rumored to have deserted the ship prior to its departure. There is some disagreement over the exact number and the identities of the crew members aboard the *Rouse Simmons*, but newspaper accounts following the tragedy provide evidence that those aboard the vessel included Captain Schuenemann; Capt. Charles Nelson, who was part owner of the schooner; and approximately 9 or 10 other sailors. Some estimates place the number of men aboard the ship as high as 23, when it was said that a party of lumberjacks had secured their passage back to Chicago.

Following the tragedy, Barbara and her daughters continued the family's Christmas

tree business. Newspaper accounts suggest that they used schooners for several more years to bring trees to Chicago. Later, the women brought the evergreen trees to Chicago by train and then sold them from the deck of a docked schooner. After Barbara's death in 1933, the daughters sold trees from the family's lot for a few years.

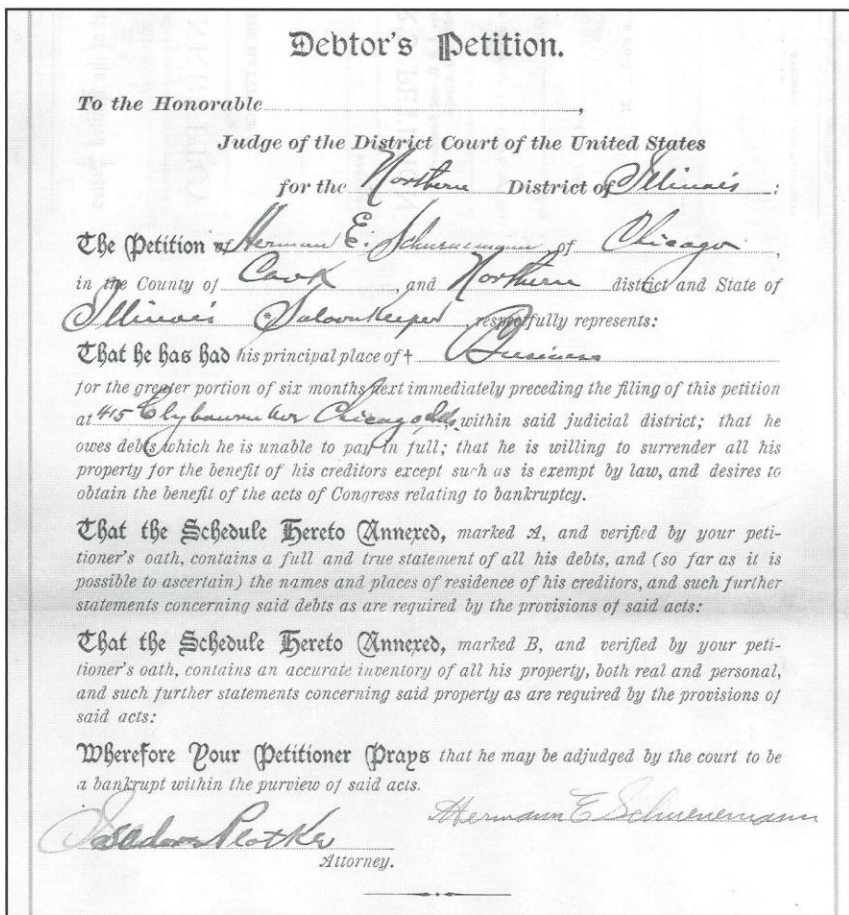
The loss of the *Rouse Simmons*, however, signaled the beginning of the end for schooners hauling loads of evergreens to Chicago. By 1920, the practice of bringing trees to Chicago via schooner had ceased. Just a few years later, the majority of the once-proud schooners lay leaking and decaying, moored in their berths around the lake.

Over the years, the schooner's disappearance spawned legends and tales that grew ever larger with the passage of time. Some Lake Michigan mariners claimed to have spotted the *Rouse Simmons* appearing out of nowhere. Visitors to the gravesite of Barbara Schuenemann in Chicago's Acacia Park Cemetery claim there is the scent of evergreens present in the air.

Today the legend of Captain Schuenemann and the Christmas Tree Ship appeals to a large and varied audience, but children seem most attracted to the story. Perhaps the allure of a heart-warming story mixed with shipwrecks, Christmas, ghosts, and Lake Michigan's many mysteries proves irresistible to children of all ages. At least four histories, two documentaries, and several plays, musicals, and folk songs have been written or produced about the legendary ship and its captain and crew.

Each year in early December, the final voyage of Captain Schuenemann and the *Rouse Simmons* is commemorated by the U.S. Coast Guard Cutter *Mackinaw*, which makes the journey from Cheboygan, Michigan, to deliver a symbolic load of Christmas trees to Chicago's disadvantaged. Captain Schuenemann and the crew of the *Rouse Simmons* would be proud. **P**

Debtor's Petition filed by Herman E. Schuenemann on January 4, 1907, in the U.S. District Court, Chicago.



NOTES ON SOURCES

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Gordon Kent Bellrichard, Douglas Bicknese, Gabe Geer, Donald Jackanicz, Kathleen Longacre, Rochelle Pennington, and Martin Tuohy, who read and commented on this article.

Primary sources that document Capt. Herman Schuenemann, the *Rouse Simmons*, the *S.Thal*, and other events mentioned in this article include the original and microfilmed records listed below. For more information about records that document Great Lakes maritime history, contact the National Archives and Records Administration—Great Lakes Region, 7358 South Pulaski Road, Chicago, IL 60629; telephone 773-948-900, fax 773-948-9050, e-mail chicago.archives@nara.gov.

RECORDS OF DISTRICT COURTS OF THE UNITED STATES (RECORD GROUP 21) are arranged by the geographical location of the court. These records often are overlooked by researchers when considering maritime history resources. Admiralty, bankruptcy, civil, and criminal records, however, include dockets and case files with detailed information relating to accidents, death, wrecks, seizures, prize cases, and other maritime historical events.

U.S. District Court, Northern District of Illinois, Chicago

Bankruptcy Case 14221, *Herman E. Schuenemann*, January 7, 1907. Schuenemann filed bankruptcy as a saloon keeper.

Bankruptcy Docket, vol. 25, p. 22, Case 14221, *Herman E. Schuenemann*, January 7, 1907.

U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Admiralty Case J502, *Otto Parker v. The Schooner S. Thal*, August–September 1898. Admiralty case over wage dispute earned by Parker as a cook on the *S. Thal*.

Admiralty Docket, vol. J, *Otto Parker v. The Schooner S. Thal*, August–September 1898. Detailed docket entry for Case J502, pp. 502–505.

RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES COAST GUARD (RECORD GROUP 26) for the Chicago and Cleveland districts provide information on marine casualties, rescues, and rescue attempts that occurred on the Great Lakes. One of the Great Lakes Region's most valuable series of records for documenting maritime history on the Great Lakes is Life Saving Station Logs. These logs not only document the often mundane day-to-day operations of the stations but include descriptions of the arduous training, backbreaking work, and the horrific accounts of the crews who often risked, and gave, their lives to save sailors or passengers from the lake. A complete list of Life Saving Station Logs for the Chicago and Cleveland Districts can be found on the National Archives–Great Lakes Region's web site at www.archives.gov/great-lakes/chicago/finding-aids/life-saving-station-logs.html.

Life Saving Station Logs, Chicago District

Life Saving Station Log, Kewaunee, Wisconsin, log entry for November 23, 1912, describing sighting the *Rouse Simmons* and

reporting her distress to the crew at Two Rivers, Wisconsin, Life Saving Station.

Life Saving Station Log, Two Rivers, Wisconsin, log entry for November 23, 1912, describing the abortive rescue attempt for the *Rouse Simmons*.

Population schedules in **RECORDS OF THE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS (RECORD GROUP 29)** provide a snapshot of an individual's household at a particular moment in time. The records are arranged by the state and then by enumeration district.

Microfilm Census, Federal Population Schedules, Illinois, Cook County: 1900 entry for Herman Schuenemann (12th Census, ED 659, sheet 1, line 3). National Archives Microfilm Publication T623, roll 271.

1910 entry for Herman Schuenemann (13th Census, ED 982, sheet 2, line 63). National Archives Microfilm Publication T624, roll 266.

RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES CUSTOMS SERVICE (RECORD GROUP 36) document the entrances and clearances of vessels at ports, taxes and duties collected, wrecks, seizures, and the shipment of goods on the Great Lakes. The records are arranged by the port or collection district.

At 3:00 P.M. the Capt. of the Kewaunee Life Saving Station called me by telephone stating a Schooner under short sails heading South and under good heading, and about 5 miles out from his station was displaying a flag half mast. The wind was blowing strong S.W. and fair weather for the Schooner to make good along this shore, and I expected the schooner would be near Two Rivers Point about 5 P.M. at 3:20 P.M. I launched the power life boat and at 6:20 I was about 13 miles north of this station, but nothing to be seen of the Schooner, at this time weather got very misty and started snowing heavy. I considered the Schooner had changed her course and steered E. out in to the lake. I turned about and came home, arrived at the station 8 P.M. I called up the Capt. of Kewaunee Station and informed him our results.

Station Keeper George E. Sogge's handwritten log entry describing the rescue attempt for the *Rouse Simmons*, Two Rivers Life Saving Station, Two Rivers, Wisconsin, November 23, 1912.

Grand Haven, Michigan

Entrances/Clearances, August 1882–April 1890, vol. 18 (Entrances) and vol. 19 (Clearances).

RECORDS OF THE BUREAU OF MARINE INSPECTION AND NAVIGATION (RECORD GROUP 41) document the licensing and enrollment of vessels, ships' masters or captains, and engineers that sailed on the Great Lakes. These records are arranged by the vessel's home port.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Licenses of Enrolled Vessels, 1853–1912. License of Enrolled Vessel for *Rouse Simmons*, August 27, 1868, vol. 87, p. 349.

Licenses of Enrolled Vessels, 1853–1912. License of Enrolled Vessel for *Rouse Simmons*, July 3, 1871, vol. 69, p. 99.

Licenses of Enrolled Vessels, 1853–1912. License of Enrolled Vessel for *S. Thal*, October 19, 1891, vol. 33, p. 391.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Anyone interested in the history of schooners and their role in Lakes Michigan's maritime history should begin with Theodore J. Karanski's thorough *Schooner Passage: Sailing Ships and the Lake Michigan Frontier* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000). Karanski, a history professor at Chicago's Loyola University, provides a comprehensive account of the rise and fall of the schooner industry on Lake Michigan.

The tragic, yet heartening, holiday tale of Capt. Herman Schuenemann and the *Rouse Simmons* is relatively unknown outside of the communities that dot Lake Michigan's coast. However, the story's appeal is yearly gaining a wider audience.

Wisconsin author and historian Rochelle Pennington has written an exhaustive, yet appealing history, *The Historic Christmas Tree Ship: A True Story of Faith, Hope and Love* (West Bend, WI: Pathways Press, 2004), that includes a wealth of photographs, newspaper clippings, and information on the legendary vessel and the Schuenemann family. Pennington's work on the *Rouse Simmons* also includes a popular children's book, *The Christmas Tree Ship: The Story of Captain Santa* (Woodruff, WI: The Guest Cottage, Inc., 2002).

The often unheralded contributions made by the brave individuals who manned the Life Saving Stations that dotted the Great Lakes coastline are documented in noted Great Lakes historian Frederick Stonehouse's *Wreck Ashore: The United States Life-Saving Service on the Great Lakes* (Duluth, MN: Lake Superior Port Cities, Inc., 1994).

Those interested in driving Lake Michigan's scenic coastline in search of sites related to the story, should not miss the recently dedicated marker in tiny, picturesque Thompson, Michigan, commemorating the *Rouse Simmons*'s last port of call.

In Wisconsin, Christmas Tree Ship Point in Captain Schuenemann's home town of Algoma is worthy of a visit. The marker was erected to pay tribute to all of the schooners and their crews who delivered

Christmas trees. The Roger's Street Fishing Village Museum in Two Rivers includes several artifacts recovered from the *Rouse Simmons*, along with the ship's wheel. The Milwaukee Yacht Club is home to the *Rouse Simmons*'s anchor.

Online resources regarding Captain Schuenemann and the *Rouse Simmons* are numerous. Among the best is Frederick Neuschel's tribute to Lake Michigan's Christmas tree ships and their captains at <http://christmastreeship.bomestead.com>. Wisconsin's Great Lakes Shipwrecks web site provides a shipwreck database and underwater video of the *Rouse Simmons* wreckage at www.wisconsinshipwrecks.org. The holdings of the Milwaukee Public Library and Wisconsin Marine Historical Society's joint collection provide a searchable online database at www.wmbs.org/btml. The database relates to a large series of ship files held by the respective institutions. The Chicago History Museum's Chicago Daily News Collection of photographs is available through the Library of Congress home page at <http://rs6.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpcoop/ichibtml/cdnhome.html>. The online collection provides several images relating to Captain Schuenemann, his family, and schooners. Pier Wisconsin's Floating Classroom offers educators and students an excellent review of the *Rouse Simmons* story along with classroom activities at http://voyage.pierwisconsin.org/classroom/topics/rouse_simmons.php. Finally, the Wisconsin Historical Society, which surveyed the *Rouse Simmons*'s wreckage in the summer of 2006, highlights their research on the schooner at www.wisconsinhistory.org.

Photographs and other records relating to the *Rouse Simmons* are housed in several libraries and historical and maritime societies around Lake Michigan including the Chicago History Museum, Chicago Maritime Society, the joint Milwaukee Public Library and Wisconsin Marine Historical Society collections, and the Wisconsin Maritime Museum in Manitowoc.

Artistic depictions of the *Rouse Simmons* are found in traditional paintings and music. The Clipper Ship Gallery in La Grange, Illinois, holds the rights to the late artist Charles Vickery's magnificent artwork of the *Rouse Simmons*. Additional images of the *Rouse Simmons* can be seen on the Clipper Ship Gallery's home page at www.charlesvickery.com. Lee Murdock and Carl Behrend, prominent Great Lakes folk singers, write and perform music about the legendary vessel.

Finally, the most recent documentary on the *Rouse Simmons* is the Weather Channel's 2004 hour-long production, *The Christmas Tree Ship: A Holiday Storm Story*. The channel airs this special episode of its popular *Storm Stories* series throughout the holiday season and on Christmas night.



Author

Glenn V. Longacre is an archivist with the National Archives and Records Administration–Great Lakes Region in Chicago. He is the coeditor of *To Battle for God and the Right: The Civil War Letterbooks of Emerson Opdycke* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003). He is currently editing the memoirs of a soldier who served on the Great Plains with the Sixth West Virginia Cavalry.

