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AMERICA'S

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Gettysburg Scapegoat Redeemed

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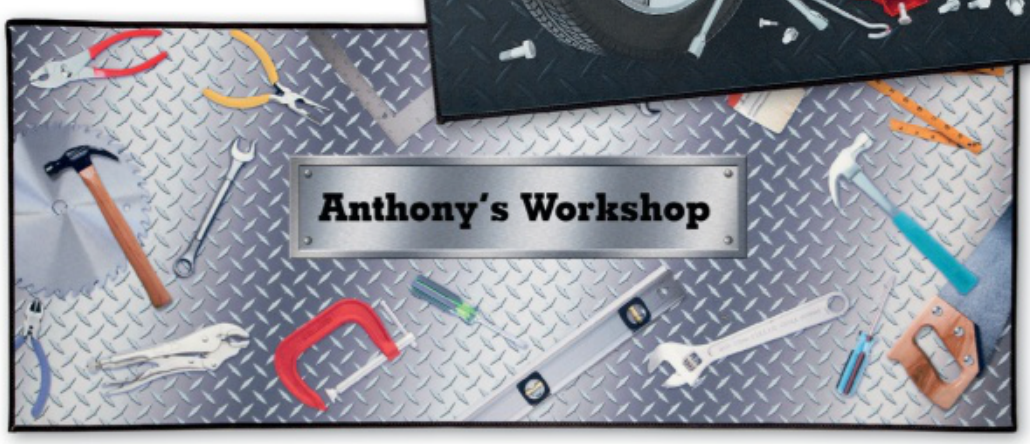
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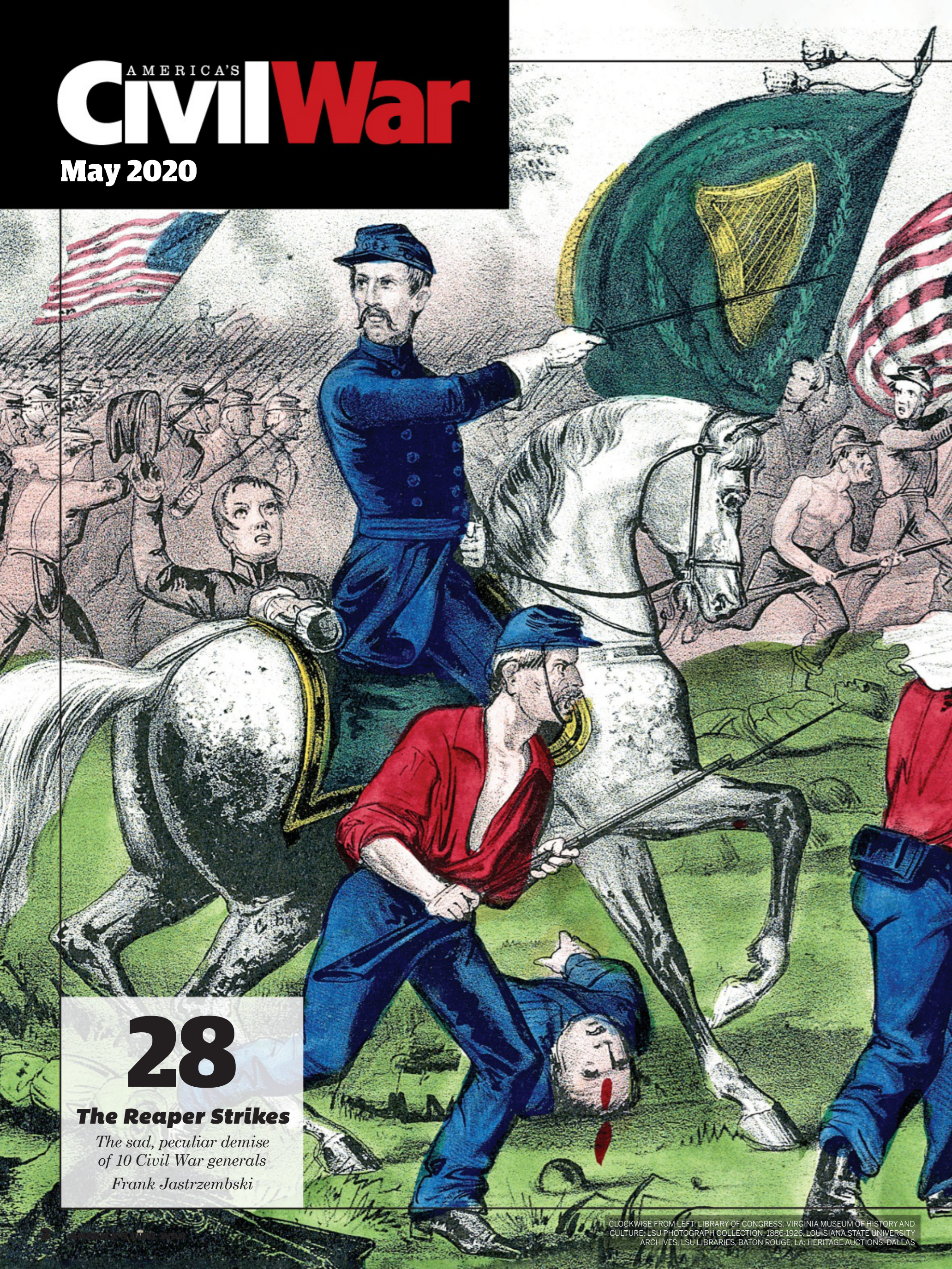
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AMERICA'S
Civil War
May 2020



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The Reaper Strikes

The sad, peculiar demise of 10 Civil War generals

Frank Jastrzembski

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; VIRGINIA MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND CULTURE; LSU PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, 1886-1926, LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, LSU LIBRARIES, BATON ROUGE, LA; HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS



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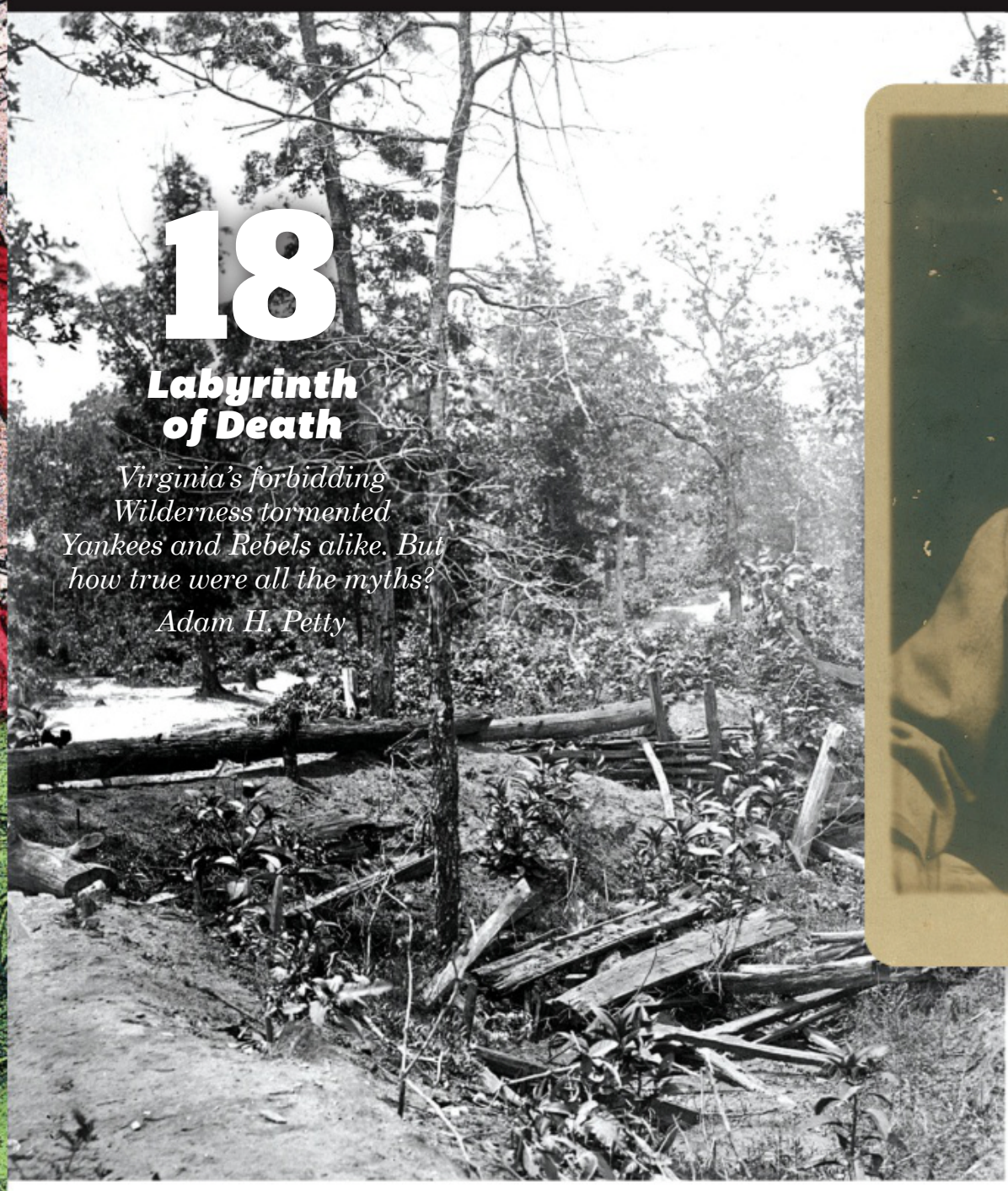
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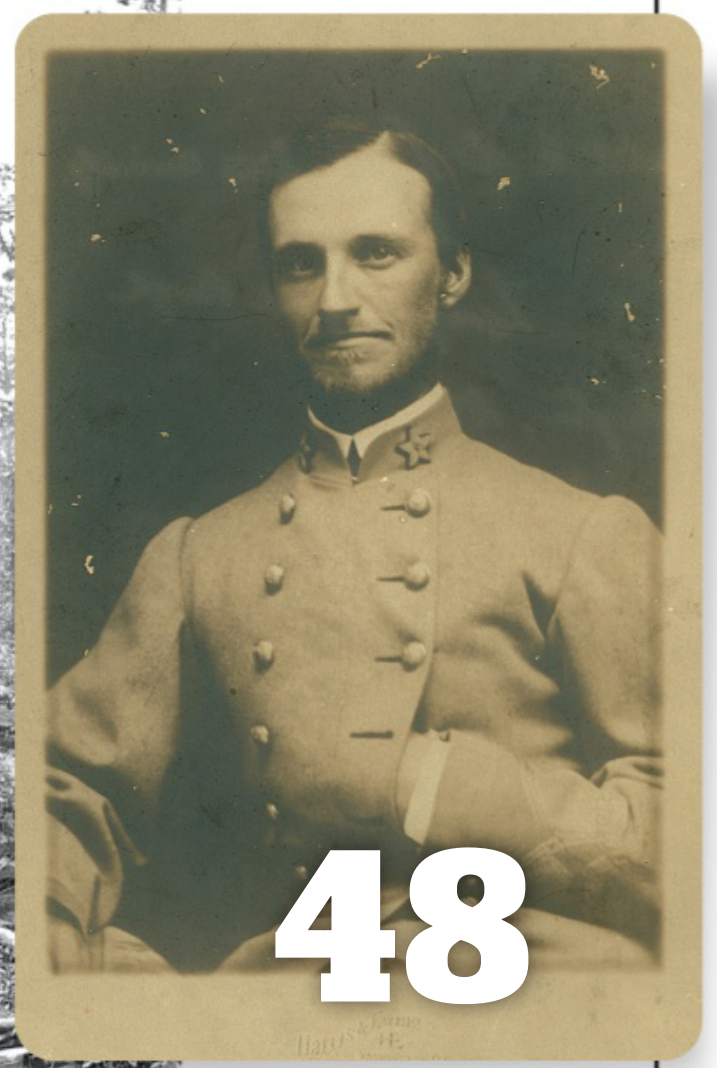


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Virginia's forbidding Wilderness tormented Yankees and Rebels alike. But how true were all the myths?

Adam H. Petty



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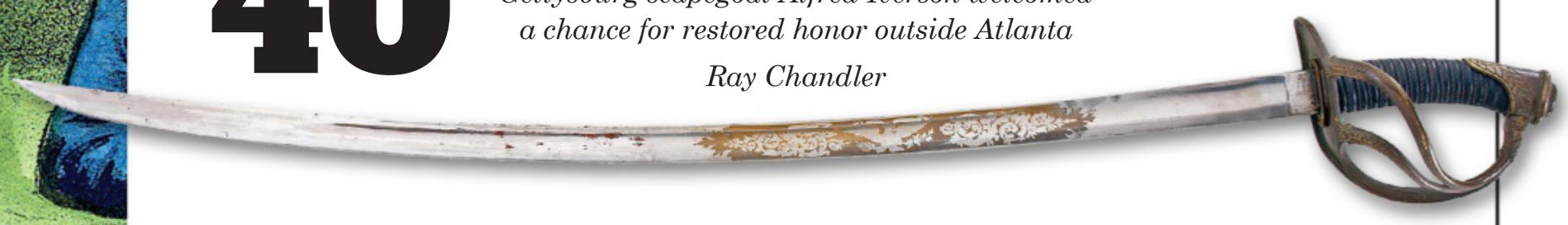
Richard H. Holloway

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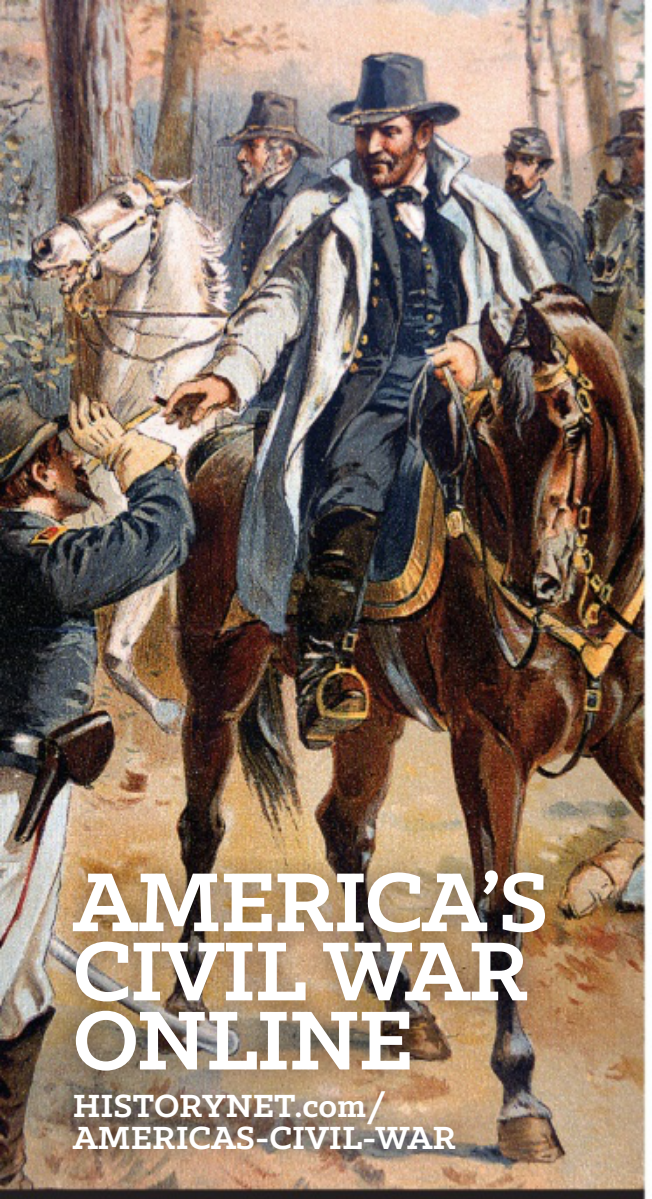
Fight for Redemption

Gettysburg scapegoat Alfred Iverson welcomed a chance for restored honor outside Atlanta

Ray Chandler



ON THE COVER: PRIVATE JOHN RIGBY OF THE 35TH GEORGIA INFANTRY, COMPANY D, WAS JUST ONE OF THE YOUNG CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS TO FIGHT AT THE WILDERNESS IN MAY 1864. RIGBY WAS CAPTURED DURING THE BATTLE AND SENT TO NEW YORK'S INFAMOUS ELMIRA PRISON, WHERE HE DIED OF DISEASE IN MAY 1865. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS/PHOTO ILLUSTRATION: BRIAN WALKER.



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Ulysses Grant and Robert E. Lee meet at last at the Battle of the Wilderness. *bit.ly/firstfight*

IF LOOKS COULD KILL

Confederate General Earl Van Dorn's blue eyes, long wavy hair, and bushy mustache helped make him a ladies' man…until a jealous husband took his life. *bit.ly/vandornmurder*

CLOSING IN

The fiery Union General William Tecumseh Sherman captures Atlanta. *bit.ly/capturingatlanta*

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KING'S TRAGEDY AND LEGACY

Frank Jastrzembski's well-written article on the tragedy of Union Brig. Gen. Rufus King ["Haunted," March 2020] is the sad story of an otherwise fine officer and troop commander unfairly victimized by bad luck, unfortunate timing, and "army politics." The author makes a convincing case that King's epilepsy, not drunkenness, prompted his erratic behavior at Second Bull Run; but he soon was embroiled in the high-level finger-pointing in the wake of the battle as Union commanders scrambled to shift blame for the crushing defeat from their own actions to those of their senior subordinates. King's decision to "soldier on" and refuse to request a court of inquiry—which likely would have either exonerated him or at least made public the mitigating facts in his favor—speaks to his principled character.

Larry Talbot
Cheyenne, Wyo.

Eye-Opener

Your article on the Potomac River Flotilla ["Capital Protection," January 2020] was an eye-opener for me. Although the U.S. Navy's vital contributions to Union victories throughout the Western Theater (such as Forts Henry and Donelson, Shiloh, New Orleans, Vicksburg, etc.) are well-known, coverage of its important service in the war's Eastern Theater is typically relegated to accounts of the Navy's enforcement of the blockade of Confederate ports. Your excellent article reveals that the fighting in Virginia, and particularly the critical mission of defending the capital, was not the sole domain of the Union Army. Thanks for describing to readers how the Navy and its commanders such as James H. Ward played such a vital role in protecting Washington, D.C., and winning the war in the East.

John Bentley
Chicago, Ill.

Ewell Would Empathize

After reading the Letters to the Editor from James Hessler and Britt Isenberg, from Cory M. Pfarr, and from Timothy J. Orr in the March 2020 issue, I feel like I've just witnessed the second Battle of Gettysburg. Here we have four battlefield leaders trying to interpret General Robert E. Lee's words. If practicable, I'd say, "Welcome to General Richard Ewell's world, gentlemen!"

Ray Stoll
Fairfax, Va.

Good Eats

I recently ate at the Main Cup in Middleton, Md., based on the recommendation in your magazine's Trailside department on South Mountain [September 2019, P. 54]. Outstanding food. Nice place. Impressed my friends.

Richard Ryman
Green Bay, Wis.

WRITE TO US

Send letters to ***America's Civil War***, Letters Editor, HistoryNet, 1919 Gallows Rd., Suite 400, Vienna, VA 22182-4038, or e-mail acwletters@historynet.com. Letters may be edited.

From our Facebook Page

» *In response to "Sherman's Secret Weapon" (November 2019, P. 46)*

Joe Schwenz Sr.: This was a fascinating story! Having used military maps during my career as an infantryman, I can appreciate the importance of good, detailed maps. I'm a bit ashamed of myself, that as much of a history buff as I am, I had never heard of LTC Merrill and his work with map making for Generals Rosecrans, Sherman, and Grant.

» *In response to "Nameless No Longer" (Blog Roll, January 2020 Issue, P. 10)*

Michael A Peake: "In October 1861, the 1st German, 32nd Indiana Infantry was delivered to Louisville, Ky., by the steamboats *Lancaster* and *City of Madison*. Before dawn October 2, Private Rudolph Kranefus, Company G, [made] a juvenile attempt to leap from one boat to the other. He missed, fell overboard, and was swept away in the swirling darkness. Search parties failed to recover his body. On Dec. 10, the *Louisville Daily Journal* reported on a drowning victim found, a white U.S. soldier, medium build, approximately 30 with sandy colored whiskers and mustache. Uniform accoutrements of 35B were found. The body was buried at Cave Hill Cemetery, Sec. A, Row 2, Grave #7 as an unknown. If this was Kranefus found after two months, the leather could have easily been distorted enough for 32G to be mistaken as 35B. No regiment designated 35 was in the immediate region.

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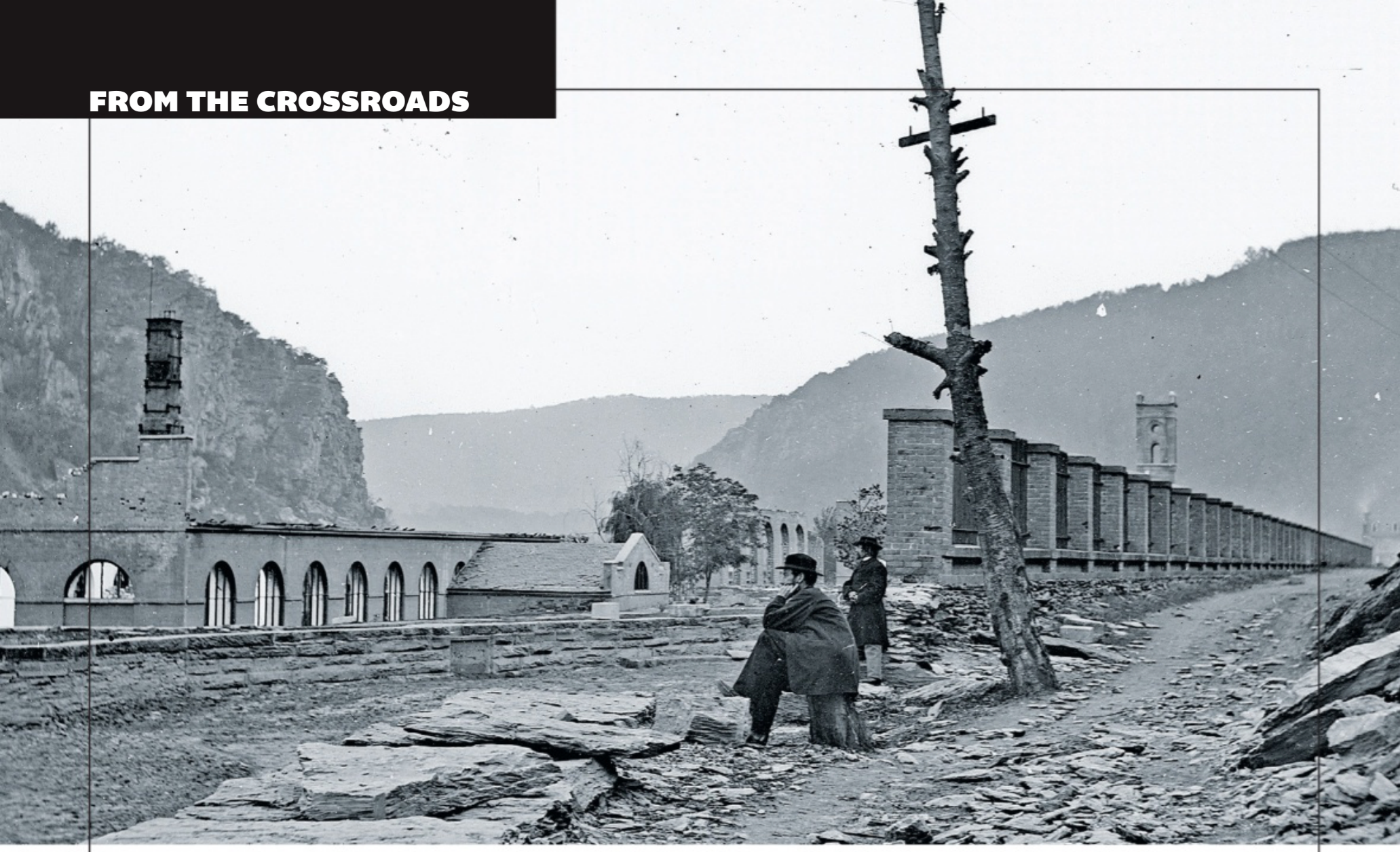
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INEXPERIENCED 126TH NEW YORK TAKES UNJUST BLAME FOR UNION LOSS OF HARPERS FERRY IN 1862

By D. Scott Hartwig

IN ITS NOVEMBER 1862 report on the disastrous surrender of the U.S. garrison at Harpers Ferry, Va., two days before the Battle of Antietam, the Army commission investigating singled out the performance of one regiment as worthy of special condemnation, calling attention "to the disgraceful behavior of the One hundred and twenty-sixth New York Infantry."

Recruited from the state's Finger Lakes region, the 126th New York had been in service for barely three weeks when it was surrendered at Harpers Ferry on September 15, 1862. The 126th had been ordered to Harpers Ferry only a week after mustering in, along with the equally green 111th and 115th New York. In reality, the regiment consisted of uniformed and equipped civilians, with no training in marching, maneuvering, or in firing their weapons. Harpers Ferry seemed a relatively safe location for these regiments to gain some experience and train for field service. The 126th's colonel was 49-year-old Eliakim Sherrill, a Geneva, N.Y., farmer and former U.S. congressman and state senator. Sherrill had dabbled in the state militia but admitted when his regiment was ordered to the defense of Maryland Heights on September 12 "that he knew nothing about military; that he made no pretensions to military; that he was just in the field and green, but if there was to be fighting he was ready to go."

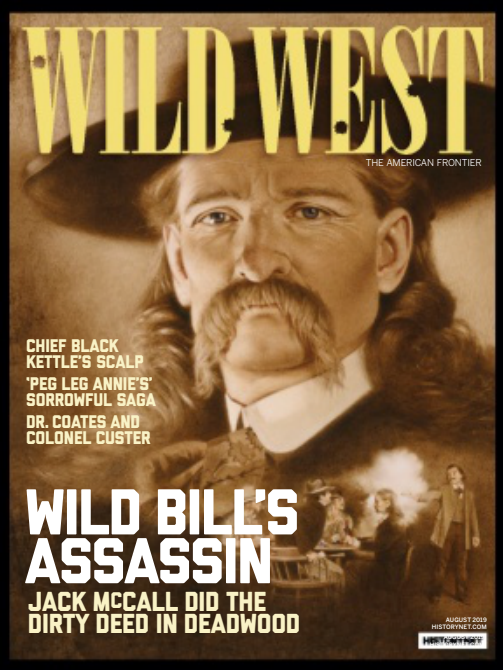
Sherrill's unit drew the unlucky assignment of providing reinforcements to Maryland Heights, key to the defense of Harpers Ferry and currently threatened by an advance of two brigades of Maj. Gen. Lafayette McLaws' Division. The march to the summit was grueling for the green soldiers. As Company E Private Marcus Andrus wrote his sister: "The distance from our camp on Bolivar Heights to Maryland Heights is

Grim Devastation

The ruins of the U.S. federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, photographed in October 1862, a few weeks after the Battle of Antietam.

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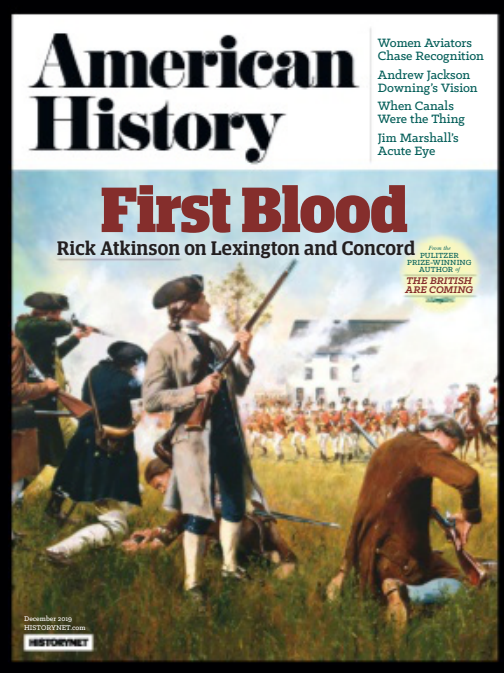
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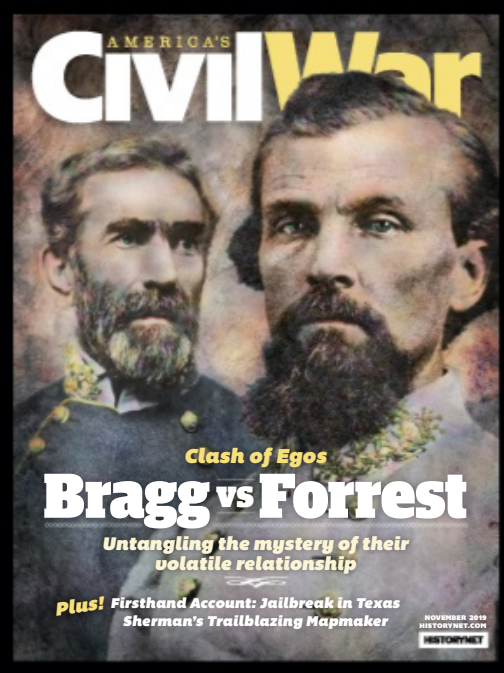


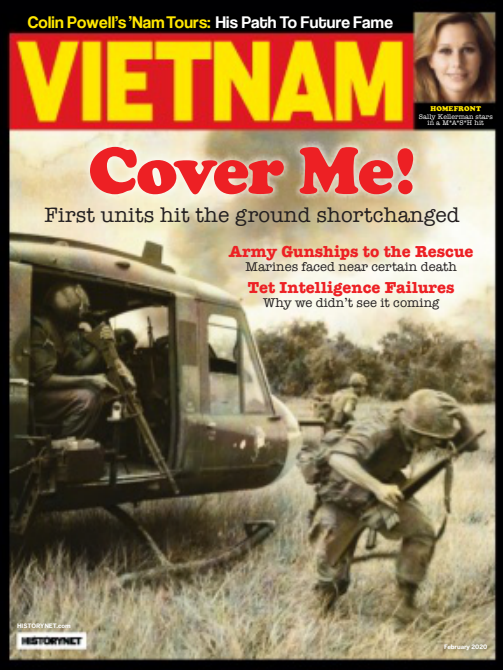
















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about four miles, and over one of the worst roads to travel that ever lay out doors. We were nearly three hours in reaching there, and a more tired, hungry and thirsty set of mortals you never heard of in your life." Sherrill was missing some 200 of his men, who were on picket and could not be recalled before the regiment marched. This left him about 800 effectives.

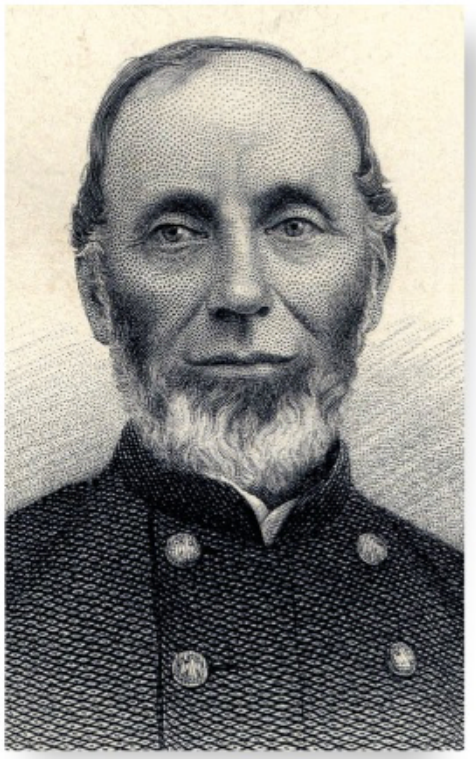
The commanding officer on Maryland Heights was 32nd Ohio Colonel Thomas H. Ford. Because Ford was physically immobilized due to recent surgery, he delegated tactical command of the troops facing McLaws' advance to his major, Sylvester M. Hewitt. Neither man was a gifted leader. Ford and Hewitt had a large area to defend, but they compounded their problems with a ruinous system of detaching individual companies for various duties. That wasn't a serious problem for veteran troops but was a recipe for disaster for a raw unit such as the 126th. Individual companies and their officers had no experience in deploying skirmishers or other elemental operational duties. Hewitt took two of Sherrill's companies for one mission and three others for another, halving the 126th's strength.

The balance of the regiment marched north to where Union skirmishers were sparring with Confederates of Brig. Gen. Joseph Kershaw's South Carolina brigade. Hewitt led the 126th to a position in rear of the skirmish line and for the first time the regiment formed a line of battle. This was not a drill field but a dense wood with gunfire exploding a short distance away. The enemy could be heard but not seen. Bullets clipped through the trees. Sherrill thought the situation worrisome enough he recalled two of his companies that Hewitt had detached.

The skirmishing ended at nightfall, but resumed about 7 the next morning. Utterly unprepared for combat, the 126th greatly exaggerated the strength of the enemy in its front—15,000, Private Andrus would write—and performed poorly. "All we could do was 'skedaddle' for our own breastwork," about a mile in the rear, Andrus wrote. In reality, Kershaw had only about 1,200 men, but they were experienced veterans.

Sherrill and his adjutant, Lieutenant Samuel Barras, beat their stampeding regiment in the race to the breastwork, a log work that stretched across the summit of the mountain. The path along the mountain spine passed through an opening in the works. Sherrill and Barras positioned themselves here and managed to rally most of the regiment as it arrived behind the works. This was the best possible circumstance for the New York rookies. They had good cover and did not need to maneuver. They were also buttressed by parts of more experienced regiments, such as the 32nd Ohio and 39th New York.

The battle renewed and, according to Andrus, "we had a pretty lively time of it." Sherrill proved exceptionally—and rashly—brave, climbing up on the log works to shout encouragement to his men. When someone warned him he was exposing himself too much, he thundered, "G_d d__m the exposure: no rebel ball can hit me." But they could. A bullet struck him in the lower jaw; a bloody, frightening wound. His fall further shook the confidence of his men, though they fought on. Minutes later it was learned that another Confederate brigade, Brig. Gen. William Barksdale's Mississippians, was threatening the right flank of the barricade defenders. Shaken by the news, Major Hewitt fatefully sent orders for the men to fall back. Confusion reigned at the barricade, where some officers, knowing the strength of their cover, tried to keep the men at the works. Eventually though, the defense collapsed and everyone, rookies and veterans, streamed to the rear.



In the Line of Fire
Eliakim Sherrill survived his Harpers Ferry wounding but fell leading a brigade at Gettysburg, mortally wounded during Pickett's Charge.

Andrus was furious when he later read in a New York newspaper that his regiment was the first to run from the barricade and the cause of the Union defeat on Maryland Heights, writing, "All I have to say about this is that it is a downright lie!" The first ones to run were the famous Garibaldi Guards and the next were the Ohio boys. This I know to be a fact, as I was there and saw the whole of it." The truth was that any of the new regiments in the Harpers Ferry garrison placed in the position the 126th found itself would have suffered the same outcome. The commission's censure of their performance deflected responsibility from the real culprit of the debacle: a system that placed them in harm's way before they were trained.

Over the next nine months, the 126th would hone itself into a well-trained fighting unit and redeem its reputation at Gettysburg.

Scott Hartwig writes from the crossroads of Gettysburg.

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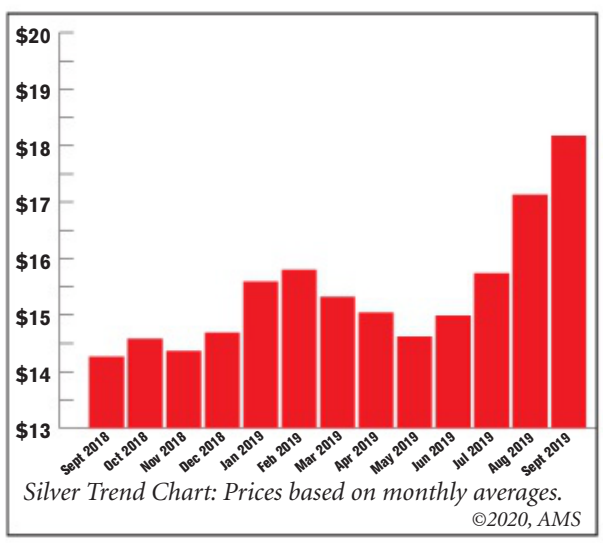
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Salvage Effort

"BALDY" SMITH FRUSTRATES THE CONFEDERATES IN PENNSYLVANIA

By James Robbins Jewell



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

AT ABOUT DUSK, an exhausted Confederate officer, accompanied by a bugler holding a flag of truce, passed a few frightened but curious citizens as they rode into Carlisle, Pa., in search of the town's Union commander. They did so to deliver Brig. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee's ultimatum: Surrender or the shelling would resume. Unfortunately for Fitz Lee, he was not facing an easily rattled local militia officer. Brigadier General William F. "Baldy" Smith was an experienced, combative former Army of the Potomac corps commander, who had no intention of surrendering Carlisle. So he sent the messenger back to Lee with his response—reported as either "shell away" or "if he wanted the town he must take it." Whether it was bluff, bravado, or genuine confidence, "Baldy" Smith's decision to defend Carlisle had a number of ramifications that extended beyond July 1, 1863—the first day of the Battle of Gettysburg.

Major General J.E.B. Stuart's ride into Pennsylvania following the Battle of Brandy Station in June 1863 was beset by bad luck from the start. Whether it was the unexpected presence of the Union 2nd Corps blocking his preferred crossing point on the Potomac River or a bold charge by 95 Delaware cavalrymen at Westminster, Md., Stuart encountered one obstruction after another. Each delay kept his three brigades from rejoining General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. The situation became even more critical on June 30 when Stuart's command collided with Brig. Gen. Judson Kilpatrick's Union cavalry at Hanover, Pa. The two sides punched it out all day in and around Hanover until darkness brought an end to the fighting.

Sound Pedigree

Smith finished 4th in West Point's Class of 1845, which included Fitz John Porter and Edmund Kirby Smith.

Heading east, Stuart pressed his jaded command as hard as he dared to put some distance between it and the Union cavalry. Unaware that Kilpatrick had opted not to mount a pursuit, Stuart's command moved eastward toward Jefferson and then north to Dover, which it reached in the early morning darkness of July 1. Granted four hours of desperately needed rest, many troopers fell to the ground and slept with their reins in their hands.

Desperate to make contact with R.E. Lee's army, Stuart roused his men and chased reports that Lt. Gen. Richard Ewell's Second Corps was at Carlisle, roughly 25 miles northwest of Dover. Fitzhugh Lee's Brigade led the way, with Colonel John Chambliss fol-

lowing and Brig. Gen. Wade Hampton's Brigade still in the rear at Dillsburg. While the rumor was true, it was dated; Ewell had been in Carlisle on June 30 but had marched southward toward Gettysburg. Even Brig. Gen. Albert Jenkins' cavalry brigade, which rode through the town in Ewell's wake, was long gone. Thus, Stuart would find no friendly force at Carlisle. The town, however, was occupied.

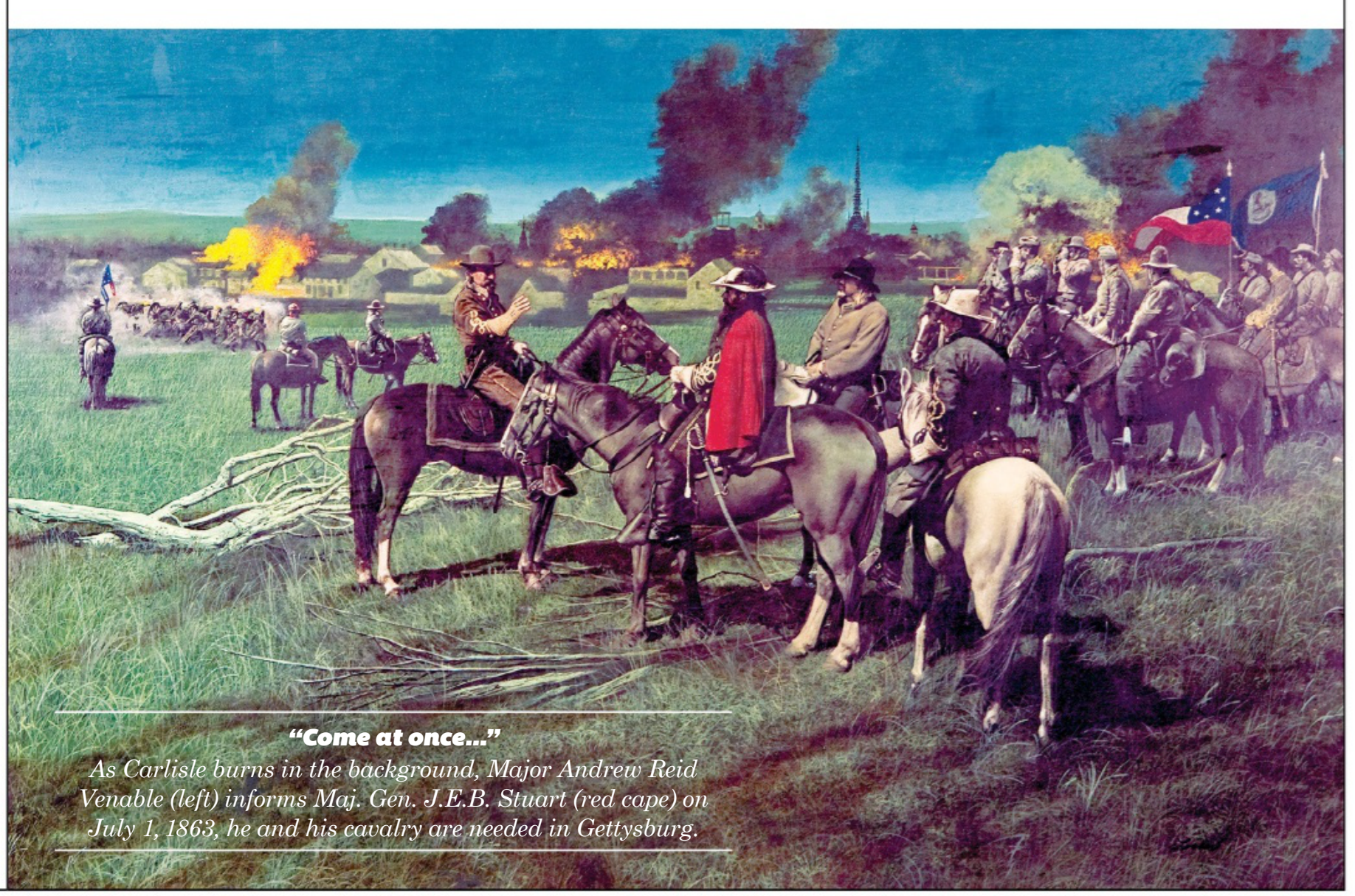
Called out in response to the Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania, "Baldy" Smith rushed his force of mostly inexperienced Pennsylvania and New York militia units (along with a 120-man contingent from the veteran 1st New York Cavalry and some artillery) to the Harrisburg area on June 26. For the next four days, his men maintained positions along the Susquehanna River, opposite Harrisburg and stretching some 30 miles westward to Sporting Hill, guarding the Pennsylvania & Northern Central Railroad bridges. The green troops held their own during two days of skirmishing with Jenkins' cavalry brigade before the Confederates moved off on June 30.

After Jenkins departed, Smith ordered his small cavalry force to cross the Susquehanna and head west to occupy Carlisle, as part of a cautious pursuit of Ewell's command. His two infantry brigades followed the next morning, July 1. Bogged down by administrative duties, Smith was unable to set out for Carlisle until 3:30 p.m. Although neither he nor Stuart's Confederate cavalry knew it, the race to Carlisle had begun.

The New York cavalrymen entered the town about 10 a.m., followed by an advance contingent of Colonel William Brisbane's brigade of Pennsylvania emergency troops. By the time Brig. Gen. John Ewen's New Yorkers reached town about 3 p.m., the locals had prepared a reception for them. After intermittent occupation by Confederate forces the past few days, they showed their appreciation for the Union militia by receiving them with "prepared refreshments of bread, biscuits, cake, meat, fruit, and coffee."

While some troops enjoyed the hospitality in Carlisle, Smith, riding through a mass of stragglers, received reports that a large Confederate cavalry force was in the vicinity. Before he reached town, he ordered scouts to patrol the approaches to Carlisle. The reports were confirmed when he heard artillery fire as he neared town. While inaccurate, the Confederate fire scattered "soldiers running hither and thither to find their regiments; men, women, and children running about, each trying to find a place of safety."

It was not long after that first barrage that Stuart ordered Fitz Lee to send in the flag of truce demanding Smith's surrender, threatening to indiscriminately shell the town if he did not. Even though Smith was isolated from any timely assistance and believed he was



"Come at once..."

As Carlisle burns in the background, Major Andrew Reid Venable (left) informs Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart (red cape) on July 1, 1863, he and his cavalry are needed in Gettysburg.

COURTESY OF THE CUMBERLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Standing Firm
As citizens flee Carlisle Square, Union troops and artillery mount a defense against the Confederate threat on July 1.

outnumbered, he told the Confederate commander that he had no intention of surrendering. In fact, Smith, who reached the town before the surrender demand arrived, had already deployed his infantry in defensive positions on the eastern edge of town.

Unwilling to waste men so tired that many slept despite the cannon fire, Fitz Lee sent a second surrender demand, receiving a similarly curt reply. Frustrated by the obstinate Smith, but knowing he could not pry him away from the town, Stuart ordered the shelling resumed and the U.S. Cavalry barracks and the town's gas works burned. About midnight, Lee sent a captured Union officer to Smith with a third futile surrender demand, which Smith predictably refused. By then, surrender demands were moot. Not long after Lee's troopers played arsonist, two of Stuart's officers brought news of Robert E. Lee's whereabouts along with orders to join him at Gettysburg.

About 1 a.m., Stuart ordered Lee to stop the shelling and prepare for a night ride south to Gettysburg. At 3 a.m., the horse artillery sent three final rounds into Carlisle as the cavalrymen, "reeling in their saddles from exhaustion," disappeared into the darkness. It was an anticlimactic end to what had been a frustrating delay at Carlisle. Smith, his men, and Carlisle's citizens rejoiced at the Confederate cavalry's departure. On July 2, Smith concentrated his forces in Carlisle, his combat role in the campaign effectively over.

"Baldy" Smith's defense of Carlisle had an impact greater than the evening's actions.

Despite not inflicting any casualties and consuming less time than other impediments that Stuart encountered, "Baldy" Smith's defense of Carlisle had an impact greater than the evening's actions. He kept Stuart's exhausted and hungry cavalrymen at bay for more than six hours, rejuvenated the harried local population, and resurrected his military career. In October, he was given a fresh start as the Department of the Cumberland's chief engineer. An impressed Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant later assigned Smith to command of the 18th Corps, Army of the James, in March 1864, which Smith led until he was relieved in July. That ended his active participation in the war. Even after serving at the divisional and corps levels, Smith is probably just as remembered for his actions on that fateful July 1, 1863.

James R. Jewell, Ph.D., is professor of history at North Idaho College in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

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HOW MANY TIMES HAS THE DESIGN OF THE U.S. FLAG CHANGED?

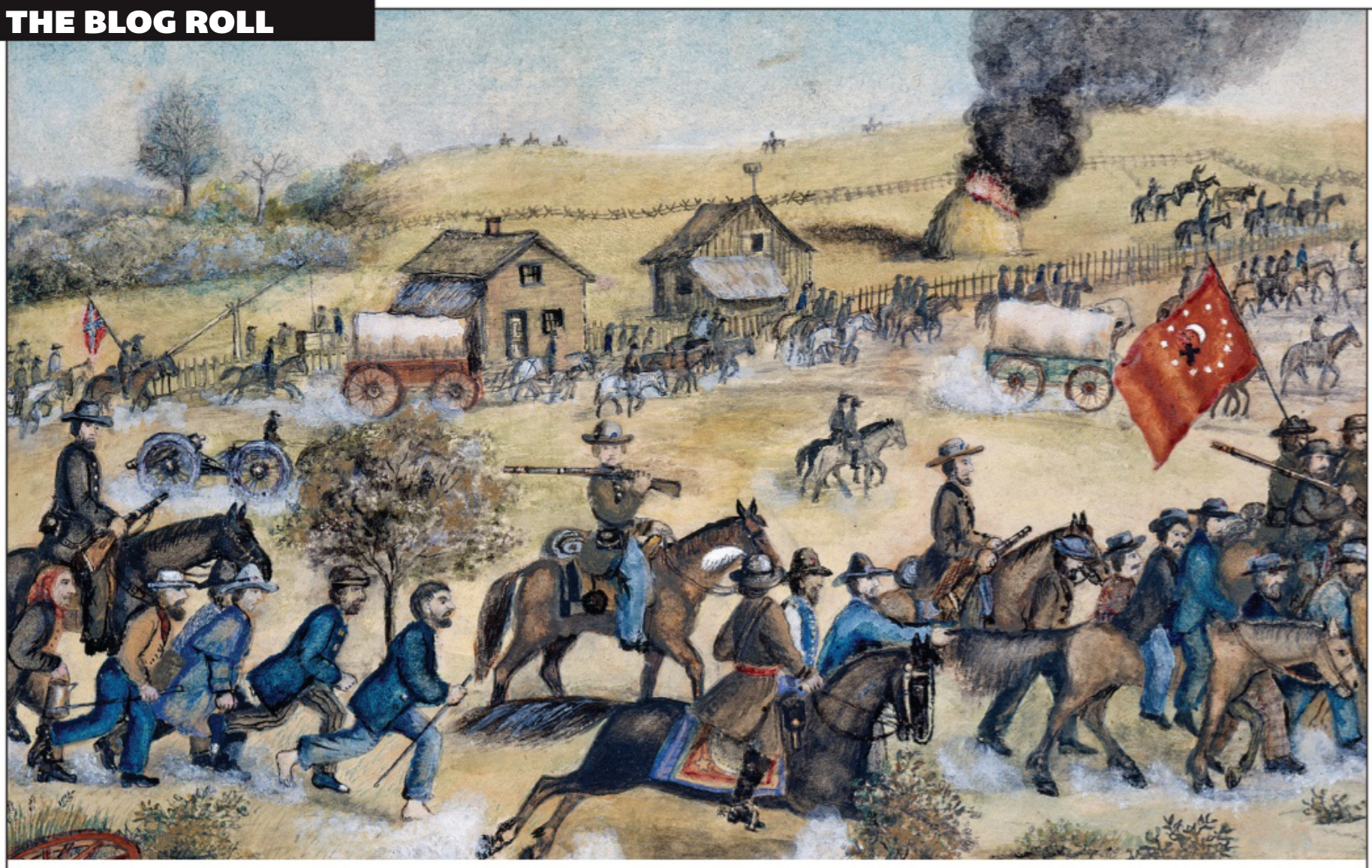
27, 31, 36 or 40?



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ANSWER: 27. THE CURRENT DESIGN HAS BEEN IN PLACE SINCE 1960 WHEN THE FLAG WAS MODIFIED TO INCLUDE HAWAII, THE 50th STATE.



Casting Call?

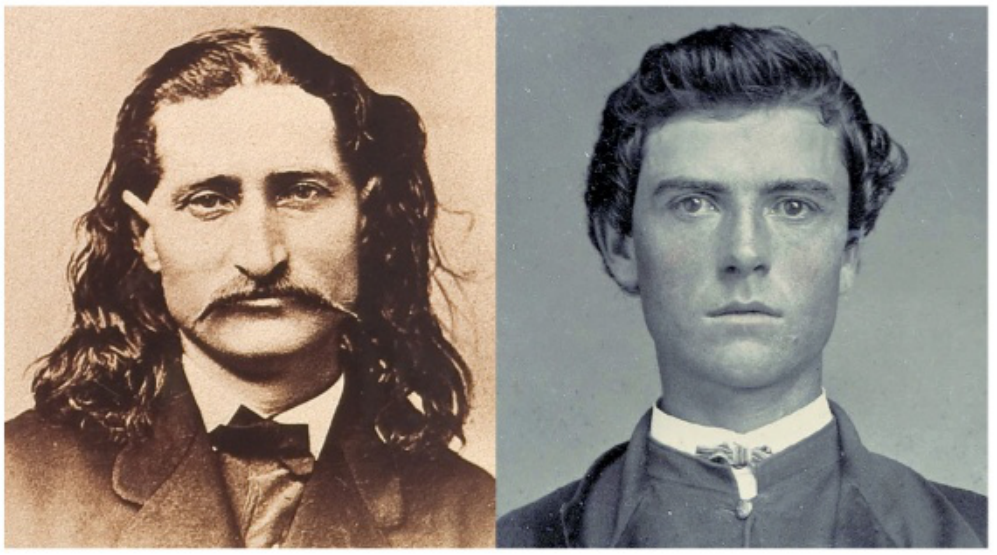
FUTURE WILD WEST STARS MEET IN A MADE-FOR-FILM MOMENT

By Craig Swain

IN EARLY OCTOBER 1864, two budding Wild West luminaries happened to meet in the middle of Confederate Maj. Gen. Sterling Price's invasion of Missouri, what became known as "Price's Lost Campaign." William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody was a trooper with the 7th Kansas Cavalry that fall; James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok was a scout working for either Union Brig. Gen. John McNeil or Brig. Gen. John Sandborn (depending on the account you read). Cody related the incident in his autobiography *The Life and Adventures of Buffalo Bill*:

> After skirmishing around the country with the rest of the army for some little time, our regiment returned to Memphis, but was immediately ordered to Cape Girardeau, in Missouri, as a confederate force under General Price was then raiding that state. The command of which my regiment was a part hurried to the front to intercept Price, and our first fight with him occurred at Pilot Knob. From that time for nearly six weeks we fought or skirmished every day.
>
> I was still acting as a scout, when one day I rode ahead of the command, some considerable distance, to pick up all possible information concerning Price's movements. I was dressed in gray cloths, or Missouri jeans, and on riding up to a farm-house and entering, I saw a man, also dressed in gray costume, sitting at a table eating bread and milk. He looked up as I entered, and startled me by saying:
>
> "You little rascal, what are you doing in those 'secesh' clothes?" Judge of my surprise when I recognized in the stranger my old friend and partner, Wild Bill, disguised as a Confederate officer.
>
> "I ask you the same question, sir," said I without the least hesitation.
>
> "Hush! sit down and have some bread and milk, and we'll talk it all over afterwards," said he.
>
> I accepted the invitation and partook of the refreshments. Wild Bill paid the woman of the house, and we went out to the gate where my horse was standing.
>
> "Billy, my boy," said he, "I am mighty glad to see you.

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FROM LEFT: HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS; MCCRACKEN RESEARCH LIBRARY, BUFFALO BILL CENTER OF THE WEST

Going for Broke

Opposite: In a fleeting moment of success during Sterling Price's last-gasp 1864 raid of Missouri, Rebel soldiers parade prisoners from the 2nd Kansas Militia. The Union forces tasked with stopping Price included the not-yet-legendary "Wild Bill" Hickok (left) and "Buffalo Bill" Cody.

I haven't seen or heard of you since we got busted on that St. Louis' horse-race."

"What are you doing out here?" I asked.

"I am a scout under General McNeil. For the last few days I have been with General Marmaduke's division of Price's army, in disguise as a southern officer from Texas, as you see me now."

"That's exactly the kind of business that I am out on today," said I; "and I want to get some information concerning Price's movements."

"I'll give you all that I have," and he then went on and told me all ...he knew regarding Price's intentions, and the number and condition of his men. He then asked about my mother, and when he learned that she was dead he was greatly surprised and grieved; he thought a great deal of her, for she had treated him almost as one of her own children. He finally took out a package, which he had concealed about his person, and handing it to me said:

"Here are some letters which I want you to give to General McNeil."

"All right," said I as I took them, "but where will I meet you again?"

"Never mind that," he replied, "I am getting so much valuable information that I propose to stay a little while longer in this disguise." Thereupon we shook hands and parted.

The sort of stuff that gets worked into a movie, don't you think?

Historian Mark Lause argues in *Price's Lost Campaign* that this exchange likely took place on October 4 or 5, 1864, east of the Gasconade River. Regardless of the exact time and place (or even if it happened at all), it's a telling example of the legend and lore that forever binds the Civil War and postwar expansion of the West.

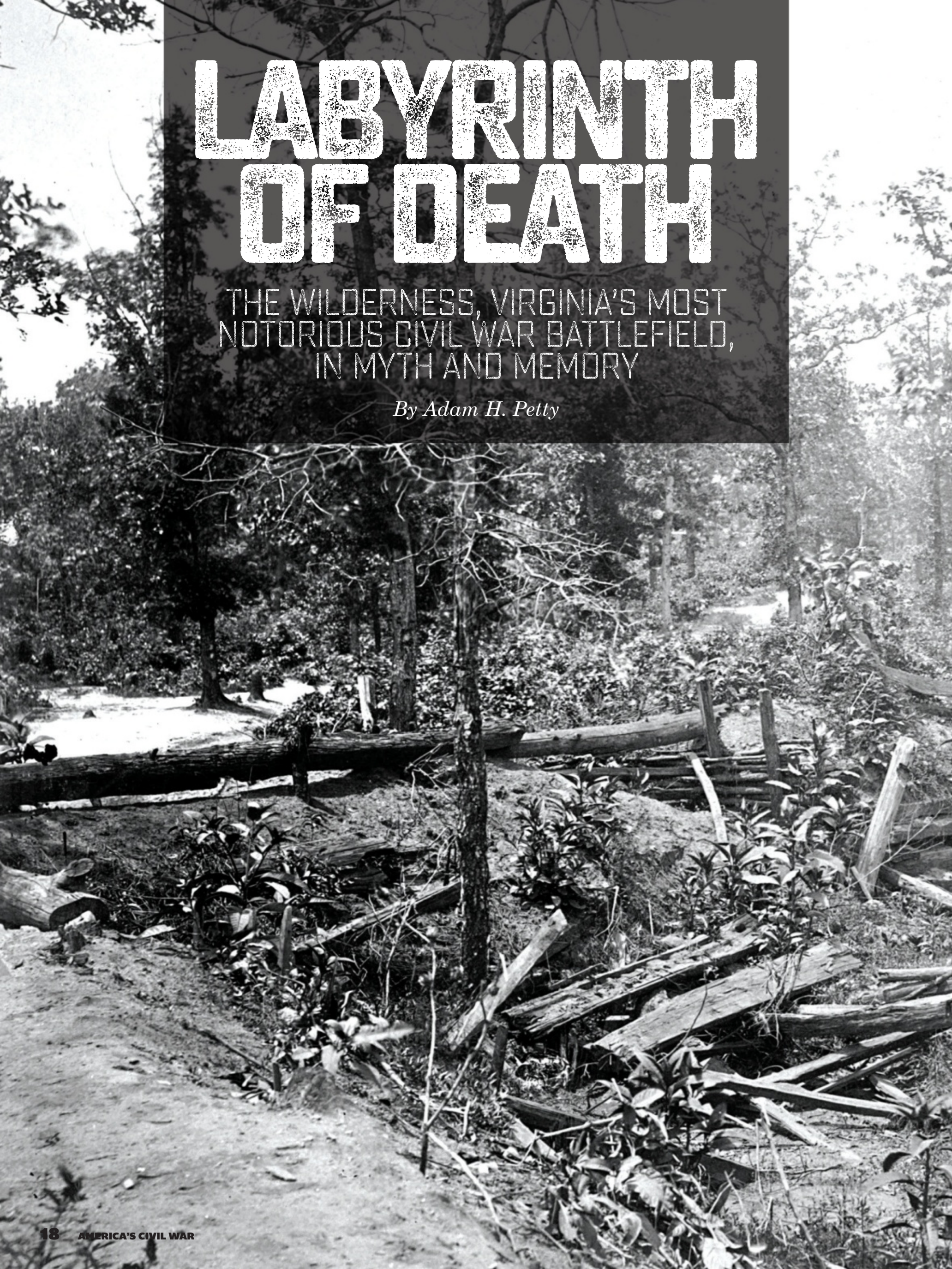
This post, adapted for print, originally appeared on Craig Swain's blog "To the Sound of the Guns."

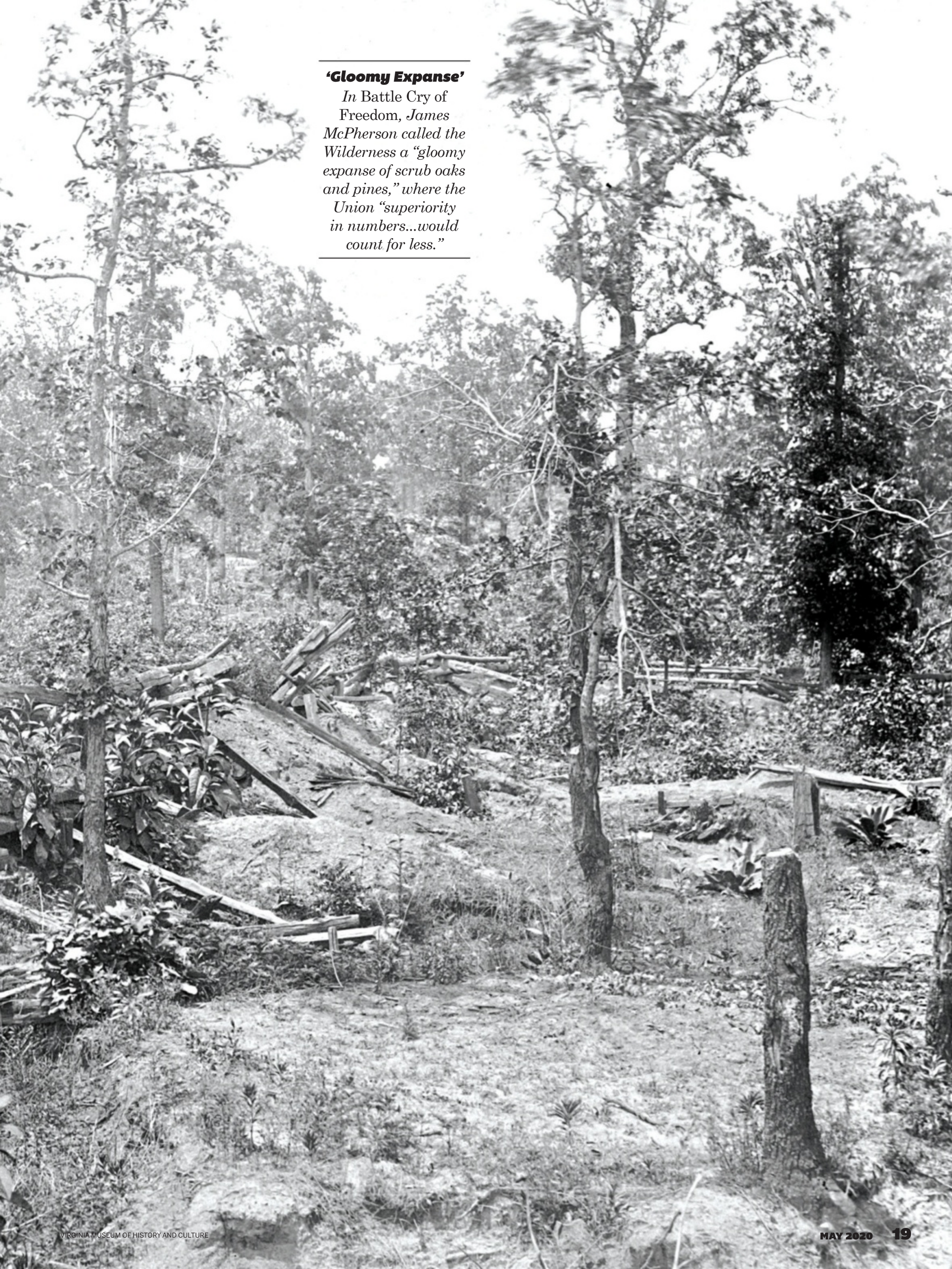


LABYRINTH OF DEATH

THE WILDERNESS, VIRGINIA'S MOST NOTORIOUS CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELD, IN MYTH AND MEMORY

By Adam H. Petty





'Gloomy Expanse'

In Battle Cry of Freedom, *James McPherson called the Wilderness a "gloomy expanse of scrub oaks and pines," where the Union "superiority in numbers...would count for less."*

» *The Wilderness of Spotsylvania was a forested region of Virginia's Orange and Spotsylvania counties just west of Fredericksburg, about halfway between Washington, D.C., and Richmond. It remains notorious as a grueling battleground. From the spring of 1863 to the spring of 1864, the Union Army of the Potomac and the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia conducted three campaigns, wholly or in part, within the Wilderness: Chancellorsville (April–May 1863); Mine Run (November–December 1863); and the Battle of the Wilderness (May 1864), the opening clash in Ulysses Grant's Overland Campaign. The horrific casualties and miserable terrain at the Battle of the Wilderness left Union soldiers recounting the challenges of fighting in the region. Their lingering question, though, was why they had failed to defeat Robert E. Lee's army. The attempt to answer this question led to the creation of a mythology that came to surround the Wilderness—a mythology that many later historians have uncritically parroted. In reality, as revealed in* The Battle of the Wilderness in Myth and Memory, *the Wilderness was a battlefield that indeed created very difficult combat conditions, but many of the claims of exceptionalism associated with it are unfounded, despite their wide-ranging influence in the annals of the Civil War.*

IT BEGAN WITH THE NAME.

Unlike many battlefields, the Wilderness has an appellation that carries specific negative connotations, indicating a forest empty of man and beyond his control. The name also sets it apart as a distinct region. Many Union and Confederate soldiers who entered the Wilderness in the spring of 1863 had no inkling that they had stepped into a place marked by a special name and physical characteristics. By the time of the 1864 Overland Campaign, however, the men in both armies were calling it "the Wilderness" and attributing certain features to this forested region. Over time, and especially during the postwar years, descriptions of the Wilderness became images of a malevolent landscape. First in the contemporary accounts of the 1864 battle and later in postwar writings, the Wilderness became increasingly associated with death and destruction. The remains of the 1863 Chancellorsville battleground, the high casualties, the destruction of vegetation, and the corpses, skeletons, and graves that littered the Wilderness combined to cast the region as a place where the shadow of death lingered. It also became connected with the fires that ravaged the battlefield and engulfed the wounded. These images of death and destruction, fire and hell, formed important elements in the Wilderness mystique. The supernatural also found its way into the legend, as postwar writers portrayed the Wilderness as haunted or even as a spirit itself that could lash out and change the course of battle—and with it, the destiny of the nation.

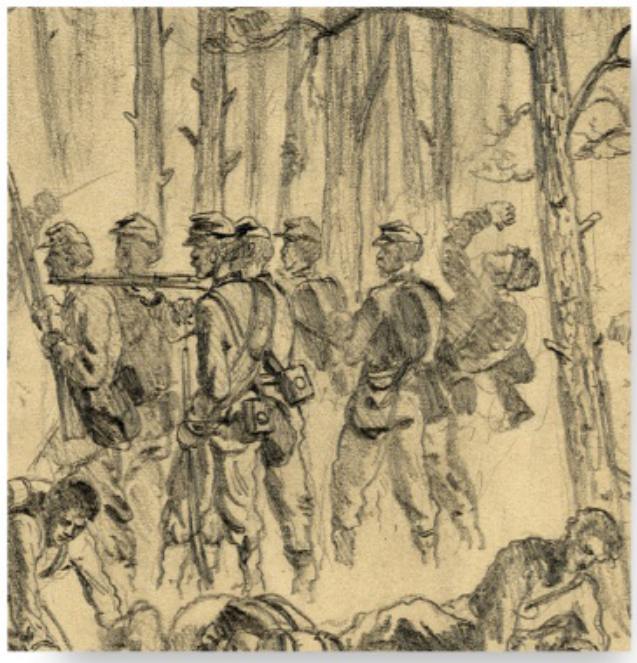
While most Civil War engagements derived their names from a nearby town, landmark, or body of water, the Battle of the Wilderness took its appellation from a region. It is with this name—the Wilderness—that any investigation should commence, for it was not a neutral term. In order to understand a place bestowed with such an evocative name, it is necessary to investigate the term's origin as well as the contemporary meaning it held for Civil War soldiers. Roderick Nash, in his trailblazing book *Wilderness and the American Mind*, argued, "although later extensions of its meaning obscured the word's original precision, the initial image wilderness generally evokes is that of a forest primeval." The term also "implied the absence of men, and the wilderness was conceived as a region where a person was likely to get into a disordered, confused, or 'wild' condition." When soldiers encountered the Wilderness, they often remarked that the name fit perfectly. Moreover, they agreed with Nash's definition and pointed to the lack of cultivation, the vast unbroken forest, and the absence of inhabitants as the region's defining characteristics. "It may well be called the Wilderness," explained Union Colonel Robert McAllister, "for there is not one acre of land in a hundred that is cleared." Likewise, a Rhode Island infantryman remarked that "this place is called the Wilderness" and judged that "it is rightly named for [in] ten square miles there is not a dozen acres of cleared land." In short, the Wilderness was a region full of trees, empty of men, and seemingly beyond human control.

Although the name was meaningful in itself, the Wilderness' mystique was more than just a catchy label. Over time the region developed a reputation as a malevolent landscape, a process that culminated in the war's aftermath. At the Battle of Chancellorsville, many, if not most, soldiers failed to recognize the Wilderness as a distinct place and merely commented on some of its features, such as dense woods and underbrush. Moreover, the feelings expressed toward the Wilderness were usually neutral. During the Mine Run Campaign that November–December, however, an increasing number of Union soldiers began to recognize the Wilderness as a special and seemingly hostile environment. They tended to focus on the vast forest as a perfect incarnation of a wild country. By early May 1864, soldiers in both blue and gray were calling the battleground the Wilderness and continued to marvel at

'FOR SIX MILES [WE] SAW NOTHING BUT FORESTS ON EITHER HAND; DENSE, BLACK, MYSTERIOUS, THE ABODE OF HYDRAS AND GOBLINS'
– SOLDIER, 69TH NEW YORK

Quagmire
The wretched morass of trees and brush that made the Wilderness such a difficult place to fight had been a factor at the Battle of Chancellorsville a year earlier, as shown in this Edwin Forbes drawing of Union troops on the U.S. Ford Road on April 30, 1863.

how fittingly it was named. This pattern continued into the postwar years, when visitors and writers set the Wilderness apart as a strange and hostile environment.



The Chancellorsville Campaign was the first encounter the two armies had with the Wilderness, and the soldiers' reactions were mixed. Many witnesses gave no indication they knew the name of the place or that there was anything special or distinct about the region. They might have noticed certain environmental characteristics such as thick woods, swampy areas, and vegetation, but there was no effort to make these local observations apply to the entire region. For many soldiers on both sides, the Wilderness at this point was just an undefined forest in which they happened to be fighting.

By the time of the Mine Run Campaign, an increasing number of Union soldiers showed an awareness that they were in a distinct region known as the Wilderness, a marked change from Chancellorsville. Examples of this recognition abound, often coupled with commentary on the density and breadth of the forest. A soldier from the 13th Massachusetts told the folks back home that the regiment was "now in the portion of Virginia known as the Wilderness, it being almost impenetrable, and extending for miles, in front, rear, and on both flanks." Of special interest is the description offered by a soldier from the 65th New York. He reported, "we entered the Wilderness, and for six miles saw nothing but forests on either hand; dense, black, mysterious, the abode of hydras and goblins." This last remark hints at the fearful images already developing in the minds of Union soldiers.

In contrast, Confederate soldiers during the Mine Run Campaign generally did not identify the Wilderness as a specific place, although they did comment on some of its salient features. For instance, Robert E. Lee did not name the region but did describe "the country in that vicinity" as "being almost an unbroken forest." But there was nothing here to set the Wilderness apart in their minds, and certainly none implied that it was a particularly frightening place.

During the Overland Campaign, negative portrayals of the Wilderness by Union soldiers grew in frequency and intensity. A member of

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS (2)



No Boundaries

This section of the nearby Spotsylvania battlefield, with similar terrain features, was photographed a few days after the Battle of the Wilderness concluded. The Spotsylvania fighting lasted from May 8–21, 1864.

the 143rd Pennsylvania wrote home that he could hardly "give…any idea of the country through here" but encouraged his parents to "just think of…nothing but woods of scrub oak, stunted pines, and vines with here and there a small farm and a cleared field with ravines and hollows and a stream of water here and there." Perhaps a Pennsylvania soldier best captured the prevailing sentiment, saying that the Wilderness' name was "a word which expressed much of the toil and pain to any one who has experienced its brushy and swampy and somber realities."

During this campaign, many Confederates showed a newfound awareness of the Wilderness, recognizing the woods as a distinct place for the first time. One Rebel remarked that they "fought in the woods of the Wilderness (a very continuously and densely wooded poverty stricken section in Spotsylvania Co. in which the Battle of Chancellorsville was fought)." One of the richest portrayals of the Wilderness was by Alexander Boteler, a member of Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart's staff. He agreed with his Union opponents that its name "fitly applies to the locality it designates, for a gloomier, wilder and more forbidding region can hardly be found this side of the Alleghanies [*sic*]." The stark contrast between these descriptions and those provided by Confederates at Chancellorsville and Mine Run suggest a sea change in their understanding of the Wilderness.

What would cause soldiers' descriptions of the Wilderness to evolve over the course of the three campaigns? One possible explanation is the far from uniform vegetation. Some Union veterans argued that there was a core, or heart, of the Wilderness, where the forest was supposedly thicker than the woods around Chancellorsville or the woodlands stretching toward Mine Run.

It is also conceivable that the Union forces had simply developed an aversion to the Wilderness through experience. Repeated frustrations only compounded with each failure, leading men to view the forest south of the Rapidan as a place of misfortune. It seems likely, however, that if the armies had not met for a third time in the Wilderness in May 1864, then its name might have little meaning to modern historians.



No Quarter

Fighting involving Maj. Gen. James S. Wadsworth's 4th Division, 5th Corps, on May 5 was severe. Wadsworth would be mortally wounded, dying on May 8.

Another possibility is that Union soldiers might have found the woods in the Wilderness more noteworthy. For example, when writing his memoir, Norton C. Shepard of the 146th New York felt obliged to clarify the different meanings "wilderness" had in the North and South. "In the North," he explained, "a wilderness is a wood in a state of nature with great trees that have stood for ages, with other trees uprooted and fallen, with old logs lying prone upon the ground, with dry stubs and dead trees ready to fall at the first storm, so that in places it is almost impossible to travel." To this primeval, Northern notion of wilderness, Shepard contrasted the Southern, manmade version. He found that "in the South… especially in Virginia, most of the land has been cleared off and cultivated," and "after many years of cultivation it has become worn out and has been abandoned as useless." In the place of the original forest "grows up…pine and scrub oak to become a wilderness," with trees that "are usually about six inches in diameter with branches growing thick from the ground to the top." Shepard's explanation, then, suggests that Union soldiers were unaccustomed to seeing these sorts of wasted and abandoned areas in the North, while Southerners might have found them more familiar and thus less worthy of remark.

There is also the influence of newspapers. While the relationship is not clear, there is no question that journalists were identifying the Wilderness and describing its characteristics from early on. A Richmond newspaper, for instance, published a report after Chancellorsville that gave the region's name and called it "a country of gravelly clay soil, and a black-jack growth, presenting in many places an almost impenetrable thicket." Likewise, during the Mine Run Campaign, a correspondent for *The New York Times* labeled "the country hereabouts…one of the worst conceivable for field operations,"

THE WILDERNESS' NAME WAS 'A WORD WHICH EXPRESSED MUCH OF THE TOIL AND PAIN TO ANY ONE WHO HAS EXPERIENCED ITS BRUSHY AND SWAMPY AND SOMBER REALITIES'

– PENNSYLVANIA SOLDIER

OPPOSITE PAGE: COURTESY OF THE SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM; THIS PAGE: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

arguing that "it is truly named the 'Wilderness,' for a wilderness of small growth wood covers nine-tenths of the whole surface of the country." Suffice it to say that newspapers had the potential to spread these perceptions of the Wilderness, if they needed spreading, and shape the soldiers' attitudes toward the region.

The increasingly negative descriptions of the Wilderness actually gained strength in postwar memoirs and histories. One Confederate veteran noted, "what I have read—& more particularly from northern writers[—]raises a mistery [*sic*] or horror about the name of that part of Spottsylvania Co," an observation that other postwar writings bear out. Hazard Stevens called the forest "dense, gloomy, and monotonous," while another Union veteran, Thomas Hyde, portrayed the Wilderness as a "bushy, briery, labyrinth."

Not only was the Wilderness a strange place but also, for some Federals, an enemy. Sartell Prentice portrayed nature as having refurbished the exploited land only to wreak vengeance on man when he returned in 1864: "Nature's obstacles hindered and hurt the invading thousands in such way as history tells no like of in all its hundreds of years of memory." Likewise, the historian of the 146th New York recalled the "sense of ominous dread which many of us found almost impossible to shake off" as the sounds of birds, insects, and hushed men combined, "seeming to forebode evil to those who had invaded this solitude."



Burned Alive
Though some wounded were fortunate to escape Wilderness infernos, others perished.

Postwar travel accounts continued to portray the Wilderness as a malevolent landscape. An article for *Metropolitan Magazine* published in 1907 tried to explain the feeling of traversing the Wilderness, where the "path is narrow, dense foliage meets overhead, and the traveler is completely hemmed in." The "solitude is awesome, broken only by the disturbance of the dry leaves as the lizards and creeping things flee before approaching hoofbeats. It is boundless!" An 1879 narrative betrayed the anticipation one traveler had of finding "'the dark lugubrious, somber, impenetrable jungles of the Wilderness.'" In obvious disillusionment, he "saw nothing particularly 'wild,' 'weird,' or 'howling,' about the Wilderness" and contented himself with observing, "it was not the most interesting country to be sure."

Some modern accounts of the Battle of the Wilderness continue to reflect similar themes. In *A Stillness at Appomattox*, Bruce Catton's Wilderness "was a mean gloomy woodland…lying silent and forbidding." Edward Steere's study of the Wilderness Campaign called the Wilderness "a dreary wasteland" and a "brooding jungle" that set "eternal shadows over stagnant pools and marshy creek bottoms" and "imposed the conditions of combat in its gloomy depths." While James McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom* was more subdued, portraying the Wilderness as "that gloomy expanse of scrub oaks and pines," Mark Grimsley's history of the Overland Campaign painted the Wilderness as a "country [that] seemed to hate every man who dared walk through it." Such depictions suggest that while the region's image evolved during the war years, becoming increasingly negative, the postwar

Hell-Cauldron

If the Wilderness was a place of death akin to hell, then it is only natural that some postwar authors portrayed the region as a haunt of ghosts and spirits. One Federal, returning to the battlefield to look for his fallen brother, found partially exposed bones. He tried to pull on one of them but found that "something at the other end seemed to detain it, and…stopped suddenly as if the dead man himself had put his scrawny hand on my shoulder and said, 'Don't disturb my bones with such rude hands.'" The notion "that lifeless bones should make resistance as though still animated by an unwilling spirit, filled [him] with dread and [he] hurried away."

Others saw it as a land where spirits ambled about; one Confederate calling it "a place of gloom, the home of the snake, the bat, and the owl…." Morris Schaff, a Union veteran of the battle, portrayed the region as an avenging spirit that intervened to defeat the Confederates and strike down slavery. The slaves who had tended the iron furnaces and cut down the original forest had suffered great wrongs, he writes—injustices for which the forest set out to exact revenge. At the Wilderness, Schaff observes, R.E. Lee had not "reckoned upon a second intervention of Fate: that the spirit of the Wilderness would strike Longstreet just as victory was in his grasp, as it had struck Stonewall."

Schaff posits that Stonewall's ghost appears, wandering nearby Chancellorsville while the "Spirit of the Wilderness" stalks him in the brush. Upon running into "a gaunt, hollow-breasted, wicked eyed, sunken-cheeked being," his ghost is beseeched: "Stonewall, I am Slavery and sorely wounded. Can you do nothing to stay the Spirit of the Wilderness that, in striking at me, struck you down?" As Longstreet's May 6 flank attack reached the height of its success, Schaff writes that Slavery rejoiced: "Frenzied with delight over her prospective reprieve, [she] snatches a cap from a dead…Confederate soldier, and clapping it on her coarse, rusty, gray-streaked mane, begins to dance in hideous glee." Schaff warns Slavery to "dance on, repugnant and doomed creature! The inexorable eye of the Spirit of the Wilderness is on you!...For in a moment Longstreet, like 'Stonewall,' will be struck down by the same mysterious hand, by the fire of his own men, and the clock in the steeple of the Confederacy will strike twelve." ***–A.H.P.***



Ghastly
Unburied skeletons were a frequent and chilling sight for photographers and veterans who returned to the Wilderness battlefield.

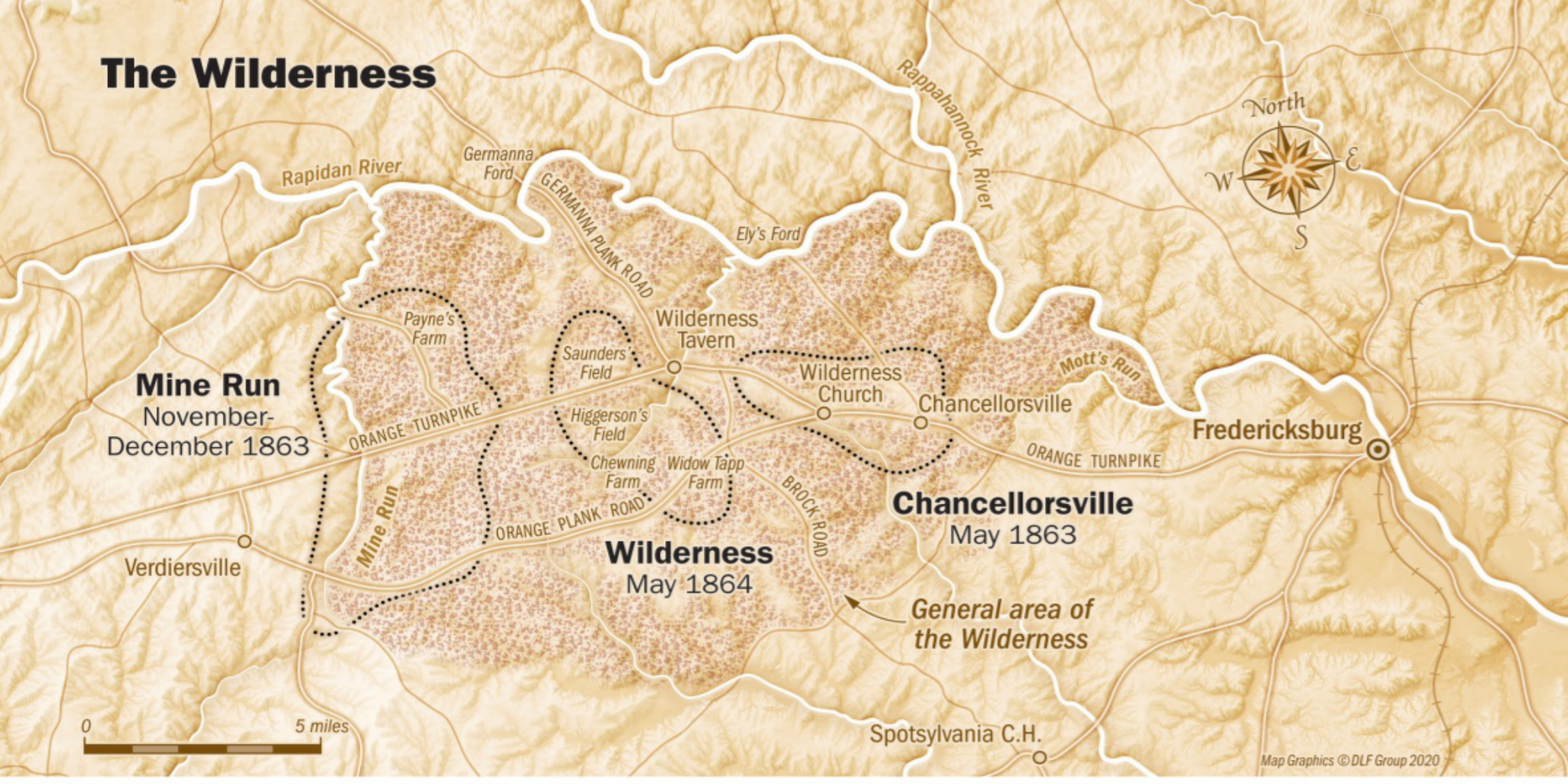
interpretation became a static, if not exaggerated, rendition—the malevolent Wilderness—that received the sanction of tradition while losing none of the image's appeal.

Just as the Wilderness morphed into a malevolent landscape, it also became associated with death and destruction. The association is a key element in its mystique. This process began with the Overland Campaign, as Union soldiers began the march south. After the Battle of the Wilderness, the men remarked on the carnage as well as the destruction of the vegetation during that engagement and were amazed that anyone could have survived. Burial parties also collected the remains of the killed. Later visitors to the battlefield remarked on the ruined vegetation and the shadow of death over the land. Those who wrote about the Wilderness in postwar histories and memoirs continued this association with death and brought it to its highest form.

At the start, as well as the conclusion, of the Battle of the Wilderness, Federal soldiers passed through the old Chancellorsville battleground and saw the ruins, the debris, and especially the dead. William D. Landon of the 14th Indiana made such a visit and noted that "strange feelings crept over me as we marched along the same road and over the same ground where one year and a day before I had stood up with my comrades in line of battle," seeing also "the old white house occupied as headquarters by Gen. [Darius] Couch [2nd Corps] during the fight, shattered and torn with hostile shot and shell, still standing, a refuge for bats and owls (ghosts, too, for aught I know)." In contrast, soldiers from the 86th New York focused on the graves. They found the old battlefield "covered with" them, and during one night they "slept among the graves of their comrades who fell just one year ago to-day."

Perhaps most unnerving of all were the skeletons of troops killed a year earlier. The woods were strewn with the skeletons of comrades killed here one year ago," remarked Landon. Charles Brewster also found that "there were lots of human skulls and bones lying top of the ground and we left plenty more dead bodies to decay and bleach to keep their grim company." If there was a perfect place to rehearse the graveyard scene from Hamlet, this was it.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS (2)



During the Battle of the Wilderness, this association with death continued as soldiers witnessed the terrible toll exacted by an unseen foe. The Wilderness became a terrible place where soldiers went in whole and came out wounded or lifeless.

By the end of the fight, the Wilderness battlefield was covered with casualties, and in time it would be pocked with graves and littered with bones. Later, a Union soldier who returned after the battle to bury the dead observed that those who were farther than a mile away from the hospital "remain as death found them, with the exception of their clothing," which had been removed. "It is estimated," he went on, "that 15,000 of our men, and as many, or more, of Rebels lie here unburied; and as six weeks have passed since the battle, imagination in its wildest fancies cannot begin to paint the spectacle." It is little wonder that he called the field of battle "this wilderness of death" and "this wilderness and shadow of death."

Tangled Trio

The Chancellorsville, Wilderness, and Mine Run battles, all fought between April 1863 and May 1864, occurred in, or partially in, the area known generally as the Wilderness.

John Trowbridge, a reporter who visited the battlefield after the war, discovered "the unburied remains of two soldiers" while making his way through the thickets. While disturbing, the sight of skeletons in the Wilderness was becoming increasingly rare as the U.S. government took steps in the war's immediate aftermath to account for the Union dead, especially to identify and inter those who had not received a decent burial. One of the first efforts was at the Wilderness and Spotsylvania.

In June 1865, soldiers came back to the Wilderness to inter "the remains of Union soldiers yet unburied" while "marking their burial places for future identification." Nevertheless, long after these efforts, an 1884 travel account warned those who would tour the Wilderness that "even now a straggler through the tangled and scrubby woods will occasionally come suddenly upon a skeleton with a few tattered threads of blue or gray clinging to the bones—a ghastly reminder of war's grim horrors."

Postwar visitors to the Wilderness understandably continued to connect the place with death. The region seemed to evoke a palpable feeling in many who visited it. Writing about a visit to the Chancellorsville battlefield, David McIntosh, a former Confederate artillery officer, sensed that "the spirit of death seemed still to brood over the place. Not a sound could be heard through all the forest, not the note of a bird. The silence and the gloom was painful."

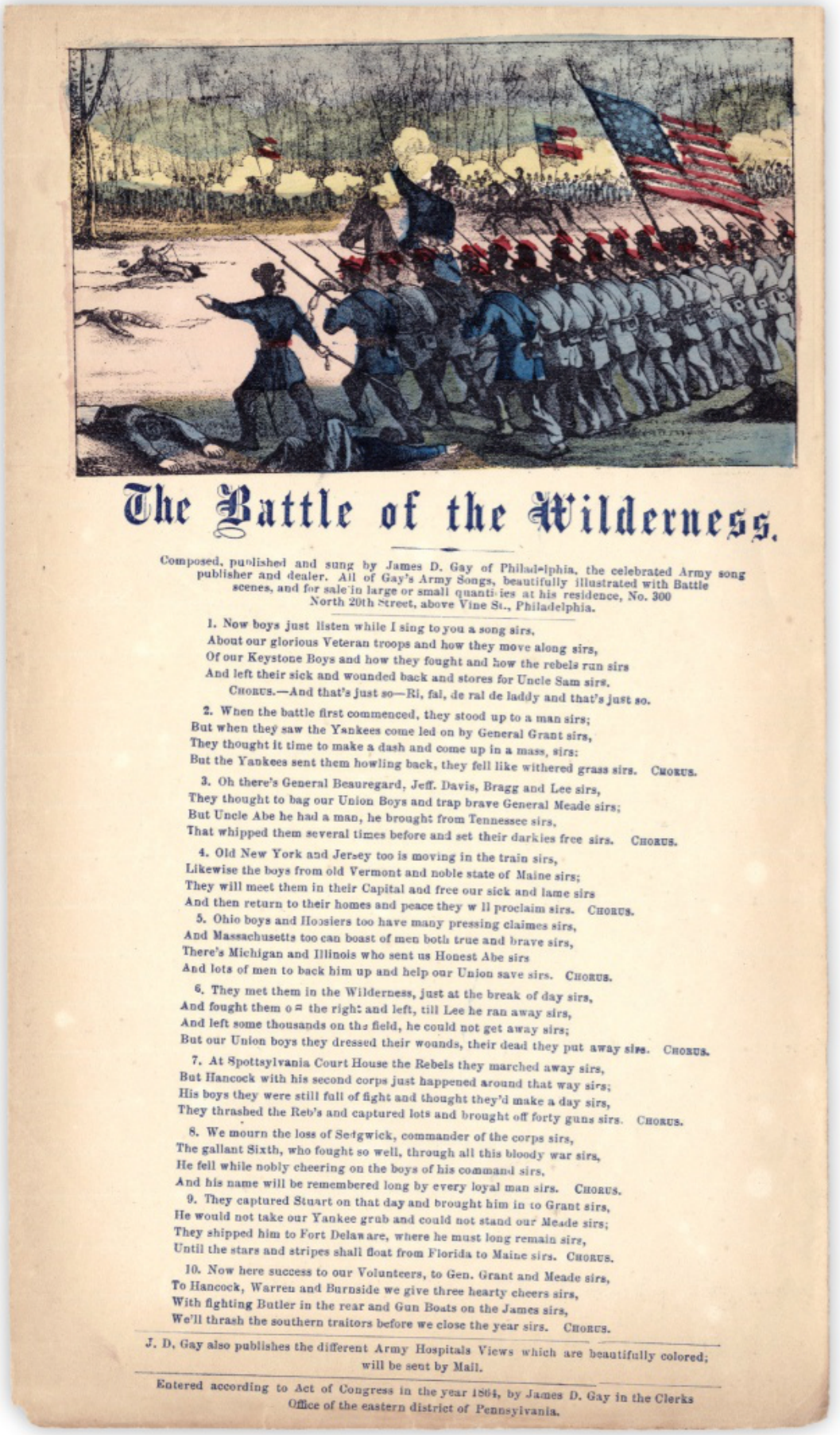
The ruinous state of the Wilderness also linked it to destruction, as attested to by both witnesses and contemporary photographs. The vegetation long remained scarred. In 1865, Trowbridge noted how "the marks of hard fighting were visible from afar off" at the Chancellorsville battlefield. West of the Chancellor house, Trowbridge found "the tree-trunks pierced by balls, the boughs lopped off by shells, the strips of timber cut to pieces by artillery and musketry fire." One 1884 account claimed that "the woods still bear the marks of the fierce struggling…and although the lapse of time and nature's softening touches have to a great extent obliterated the traces of battle, yet the larger trees are scarred...and here and there a shell-mark shows itself."

'THE SPIRIT OF DEATH SEEMED STILL TO BROOD OVER THE PLACE. NOT A SOUND COULD BE HEARD THROUGH ALL THE FOREST'
– ARTILLERY OFFICER DAVID MCINTOSH

Postwar writers cemented this association of the Wilderness with death and destruction. William Swinton wrote of "a region of gloom and the shadow of death." Here in this "horrid thicket there lurked two hundred thousand men; and, though no array of battle could be seen, there came out of its depths the crackle and roll of musketry like the noisy boiling of some hell-caldron that told the dread story of death." For the soldiers who fought in the Wilderness, the forest was a place where death held sway. It was everywhere to be found, from the remnants of Chancellorsville to the terrible toll in killed and wounded, from the toppled trees to the buried bodies and bleaching bones. For this reason, Union veterans like Horace Porter almost seemed compelled to connect the two. For him, the Wilderness would always be "a tangled forest the impenetrable gloom of which could be likened only to the shadow of death"—and thus the Wilderness and death became one and inseparable, a legacy that lives on.

This, then, was the aura that came to surround the Wilderness, a mystique that has continued to the present day. There were many woodlands in which Civil War soldiers fought, even ones similar to the Wilderness, such as Chickamauga in Georgia, yet there was only one Wilderness. Only one carried the name. Only one became the malevolent woods where soldiers would find death and hell with accompanying spirits. Why was this the case? It is undeniable that terrible things happened in the Wilderness— thousands of men died there, not a few of them at the hands of the merciless flames. Yet there were other battlefields noted for slaughter and still others in which forest fires took their toll among the wounded. What made the Wilderness different?

The size of the seemingly interminable Wilderness unquestionably set it apart and awed those who entered. Moreover, repeated visits led the soldiers' understanding of the region to evolve. The very name evoked the animus between man and untamed nature, while its decayed landscape provided a gloomy backdrop for the fighting that occurred. Any analysis of why the soldiers set the Wilderness apart in their minds and memories would be incomplete, though, without acknowledging the supreme importance of the Wilderness in this process. Without that bloody engagement, it is doubtful the region would have received the notoriety it did. Depictions of the Wilderness became decidedly negative in the battle's aftermath, and through these travails the mystique was born. The Wilderness' wounds have healed, the armies have left, and the dead have returned to Mother Earth. But the mystique lives on, and will do so as long as men remember what happened in that Virginia forest so long ago.



The Battle of the Wilderness.

Composed, published and sung by James D. Gay of Philadelphia, the celebrated Army song publisher and dealer. All of Gay's Army Songs, beautifully illustrated with Battle scenes, and for sale in large or small quantities at his residence, No. 300 North 20th Street, above Vine St., Philadelphia.

1. Now boys just listen while I sing to you a song sirs,
About our glorious Veteran troops and how they move along sirs,
Of our Keystone Boys and how they fought and how the rebels run sirs
And left their sick and wounded back and stores for Uncle Sam sirs.
Chorus.—And that's just so—Ri, fal, de ral de laddy and that's just so.

2. When the battle first commenced, they stood up to a man sirs;
But when they saw the Yankees come led on by General Grant sirs,
They thought it time to make a dash and come up in a mass, sirs:
But the Yankees sent them howling back, they fell like withered grass sirs. Chorus.

3. Oh there's General Beauregard, Jeff. Davis, Bragg and Lee sirs,
They thought to bag our Union Boys and trap brave General Meade sirs;
But Uncle Abe he had a man, he brought from Tennessee sirs,
That whipped them several times before and set their darkies free sirs. Chorus.

4. Old New York and Jersey too is moving in the train sirs,
Likewise the boys from old Vermont and noble state of Maine sirs;
They will meet them in their Capital and free our sick and lame sirs
And then return to their homes and peace they will proclaim sirs. Chorus.

5. Ohio boys and Hoosiers too have many pressing claimes sirs,
And Massachusetts too can boast of men both true and brave sirs,
There's Michigan and Illinois who sent us Honest Abe sirs
And lots of men to back him up and help our Union save sirs. Chorus.

6. They met them in the Wilderness, just at the break of day sirs,
And fought them on the right and left, till Lee he ran away sirs,
And left some thousands on the field, he could not get away sirs;
But our Union boys they dressed their wounds, their dead they put away sirs. Chorus.

7. At Spottsylvania Court House the Rebels they marched away sirs,
But Hancock with his second corps just happened around that way sirs;
His boys they were still full of fight and thought they'd make a day sirs,
They thrashed the Reb's and captured lots and brought off forty guns sirs. Chorus.

8. We mourn the loss of Setgwick, commander of the corps sirs,
The gallant Sixth, who fought so well, through all this bloody war sirs,
He fell while nobly cheering on the boys of his command sirs,
And his name will be remembered long by every loyal man sirs. Chorus.

9. They captured Stuart on that day and brought him in to Grant sirs,
He would not take our Yankee grub and could not stand our Meade sirs;
They shipped him to Fort Delaware, where he must long remain sirs,
Until the stars and stripes shall float from Florida to Maine sirs. Chorus.

10. Now here success to our Volunteers, to Gen. Grant and Meade sirs,
To Hancock, Warren and Burnside we give three hearty cheers sirs,
With fighting Butler in the rear and Gun Boats on the James sirs,
We'll thrash the southern traitors before we close the year sirs. Chorus.

J. D. Gay also publishes the different Army Hospitals Views which are beautifully colored; will be sent by Mail.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1864, by James D. Gay in the Clerks Office of the eastern district of Pennsylvania.

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Catch a Tune

The Wilderness even became the subject of song, such as this one composed by "celebrated Army song publisher" James D. Gay.

Adam H. Petty is a historian and documentary editor for the Joseph Smith Papers. He earned his Bachelor's in history from Brigham Young University and his Ph.D. in history from the University of Alabama, studying under George Rable.

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THE REAPER STRIKES

THE BIZARRE AND TRAGIC FATES OF 10 GENERALS

By Frank Jastrzembski

Of the more than 1,000 Union and Confederate generals who served in the Civil War, 124 died of wounds received in battle, while 38 died from illnesses, accidents, or in other bizarre incidents. Among those in the latter category were two who committed suicide—one after being demoted by Confederate General Robert E. Lee and the other after being placed under arrest by notorious Union Maj. Gen. Daniel Sickles. While most of the generals who survived the four years of carnage would die of natural causes, a fraction perished in tragic mishaps during peacetime. One of Maj. Gen. Phil Sheridan's ablest lieutenants, for example, drowned in a shipwreck on his way to Mexico in 1880. A Union division commander who helped repel Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg died in a train accident nine years after he fought in that epic battle. Most buffs know of Union Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis' murder of Maj. Gen. William "Bull" Nelson, a fellow Yankee, during the war, and the slaying of Confederate Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn by the husband of his mistress in April 1863, but they probably aren't familiar with the stories of the Confederate generals killed in street fights or assassinated in the 1870s and 1880s. Compiled here is a list of 10 bizarre and tragic deaths of Union and Confederate generals both during and after the war.

Frank Jastrzembski, a frequent contributor to America's Civil War *and the blog "Emerging Civil War," is the author of* Admiral Albert Hastings Markham: A Victorian Tale of Triumph, Tragedy and Exploration *and* Valentine Baker's Heroic Stand at Tashkessen, 1877. *He runs "Shrouded Veterans," a nonprofit mission to identify or repair the graves of Mexican War and Civil War veterans. (For more information, see facebook.com/shroudedvetgraves)*







FROM LEFT: WILLIAM WIRT ADAMS, CA. 1863. (THE GILDER LEHRMAN INSITUTE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, GLC05888.02); LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; NORTH CAROLINA COLLECTION, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL LIBRARY; NATIONAL ARCHIVES

1 MICHAEL CORCORAN
(Union)

» Michael Corcoran is one of the most controversial generals to serve on either side during the Civil War. The outspoken Irishman even killed a fellow Union officer—Lt. Col. Edgar Kimball of the Hawkins' Zouaves in April 1863—but he was absolved by a court of inquiry. It is not surprising that Corcoran's life ended under peculiar circumstances.

Corcoran, a colonel at the time, first made headlines in 1859 when he refused to parade the 69th New York State Militia to greet Prince of Wales Albert Edward upon the prince's arrival in New York. He was court-martialed, though the charges were later dismissed. In July 1861, he was captured while leading his regiment at the First Battle of Bull Run. After time in a Confederate prison, he was released in August 1862. The popular officer was promoted to brigadier general and recruited a brigade known as "Corcoran's Legion" composed of Irishmen.

On December 22, 1863, Corcoran, accompanied by several other officers, met fellow Irish patriot Thomas Francis Meagher at a train station not far from Virginia's Fairfax Court House, where Meagher's men were camped. On the slog back, Corcoran's horse lost a shoe, so he exchanged horses with Meagher.

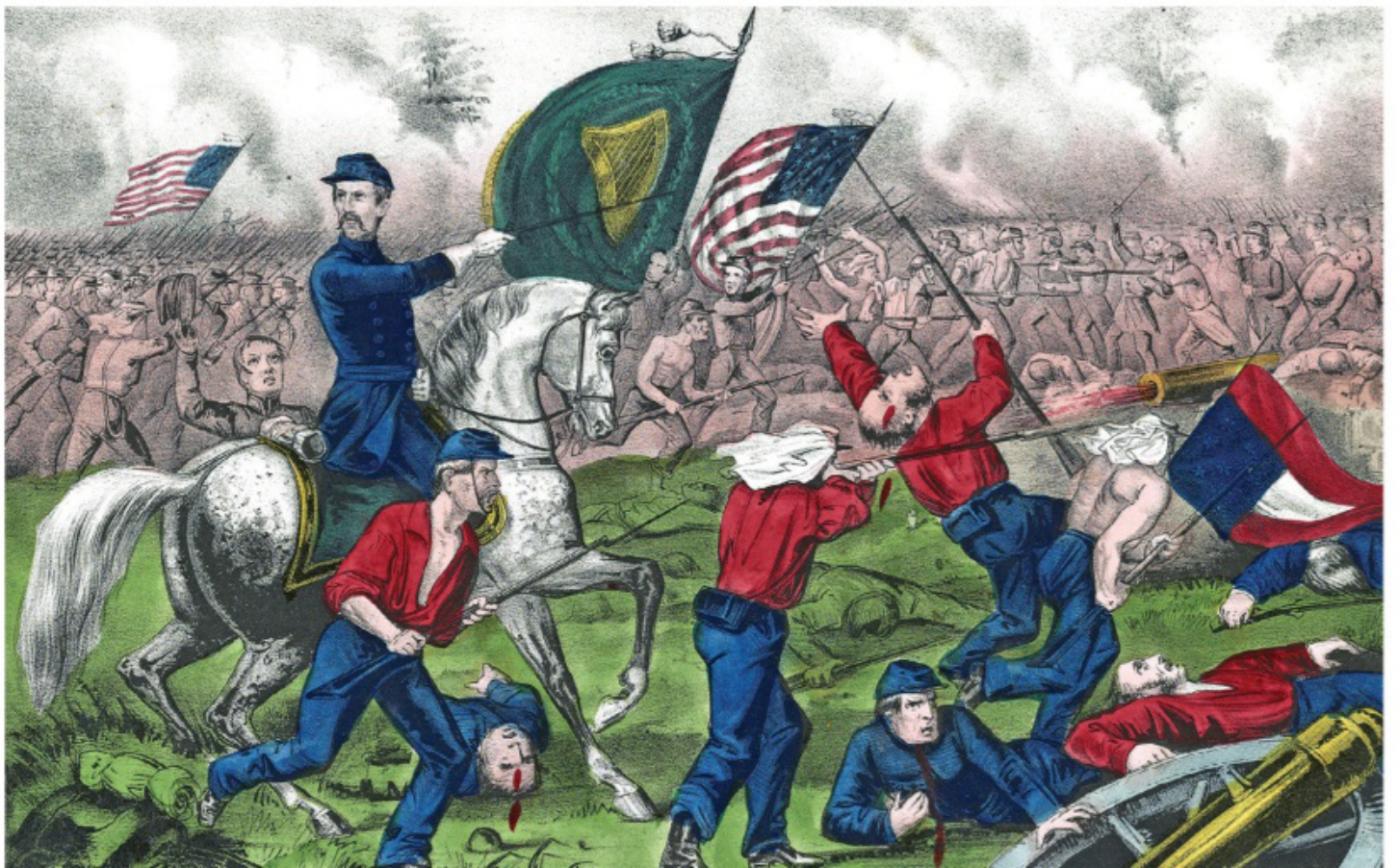
Meagher's unruly horse suddenly bolted ahead out of sight, taking Corcoran with it. Found unconscious, Corcoran was taken by wagon to Dr. William P. Gunnell's home in Fairfax, where surgeons proceeded to bleed him by cupping. The 36-year-old general died roughly four hours later, surrounded by his grief-stricken officers and a teenage bride.

The popular belief is that Corcoran was either thrown from the horse or fell out of his saddle (Meagher rode on an old-fashioned English saddle to which Corcoran was supposedly not accustomed) and fractured his skull. But more reliable sources claim that he had died from cerebral apoplexy or a stroke. Corcoran had been suffering from poor health since his release from Confederate captivity and had had prior fainting episodes.

Thousands of Irish-Americans visited his body at New York's Old St. Patrick's Cathedral. He was buried December 27.



Native Son
Anti-British, Corcoran helped found the Fenian Brotherhood in America.



Clear the Way
Corcoran, then a colonel, leads his 69th New York at First Bull Run. He was taken prisoner while attacking a Confederate artillery position and spent more than a year as a prisoner of war.

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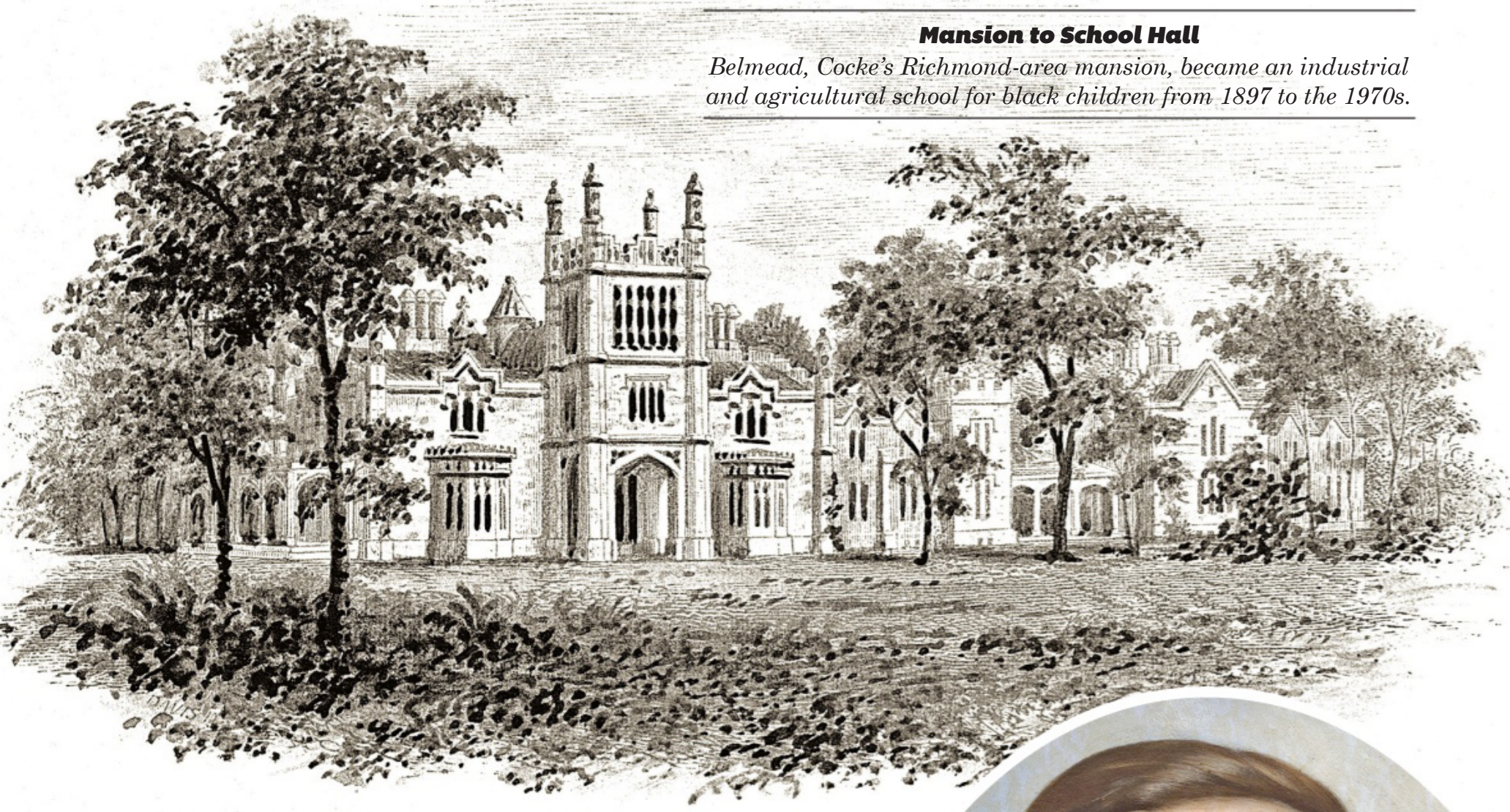
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Mansion to School Hall
Belmead, Cocke's Richmond-area mansion, became an industrial and agricultural school for black children from 1897 to the 1970s.

2 PHILIP ST. GEORGE COCKE
(Confederate)

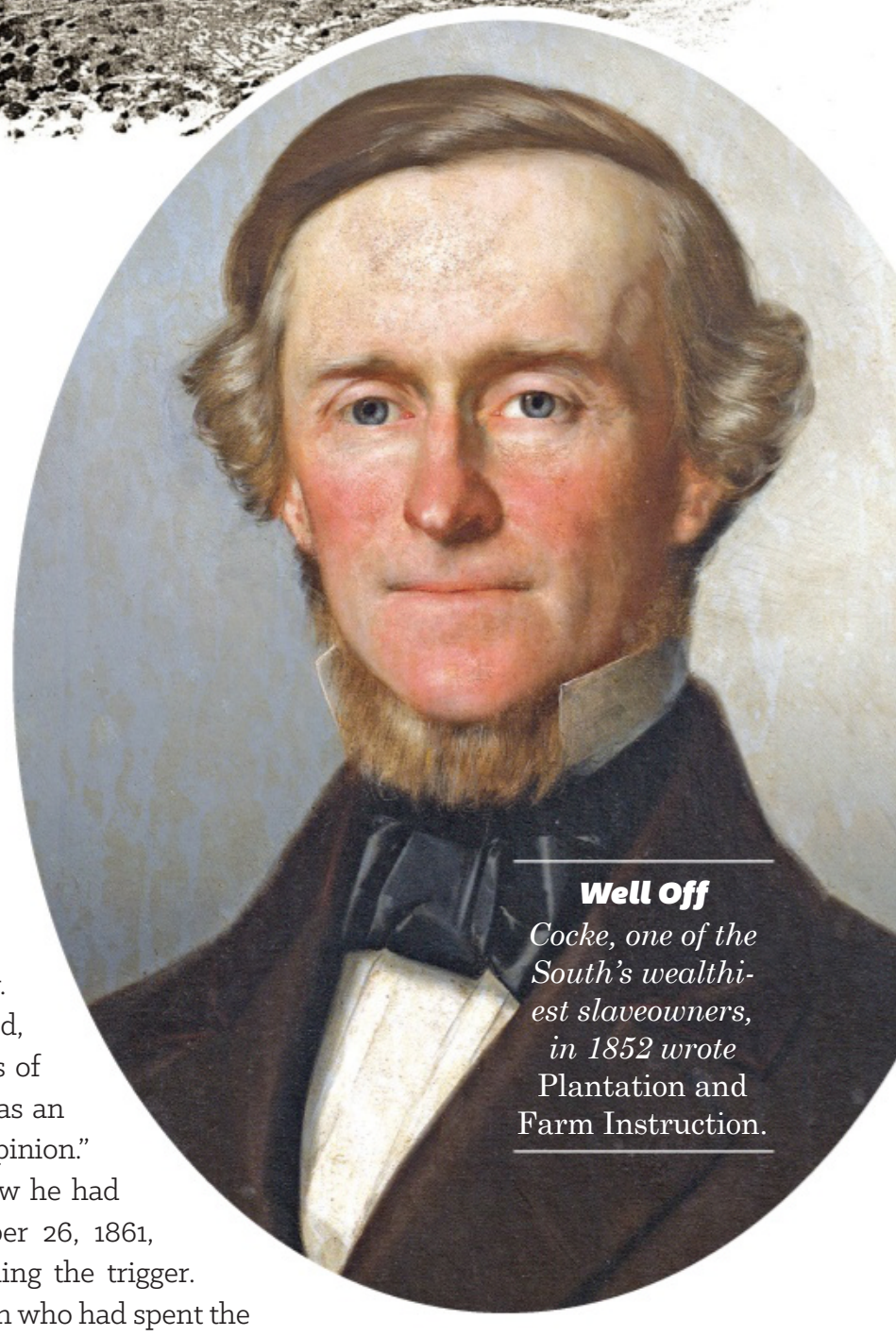
» Virginian Philip St. George Cocke left the Army in 1834, two years after graduating from the U.S. Military Academy, but he retained ties with the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, acting as a benefactor and serving as the president of VMI's board of visitors. He was one of the wealthiest slave and plantation owners in the South before the war.

Cocke was appointed a brigadier general and placed in command of Virginia's troops in 1861. He was instrumental in organizing Confederate forces. To Cocke's anguish, he was stripped of his authority and demoted to the rank of colonel when Virginia's forces were transferred to the Provisional Army of the Confederacy on the eve of the First Battle of Bull Run. Cocke partially blamed General Robert E. Lee for his demotion, writing indignantly to President Jefferson Davis: "I think General Lee has treated me very badly and I shall never forgive him for it."

Colonel Robert E. Withers noticed a disturbing change in Cocke's demeanor after that incident and began to question his mental stability. "My opinion was formed from his general manner," Withers declared, "which was distrait [*sic*], he was often abstracted and evidently oblivious of his surroundings, the expression of his eye was not normal and there was an indefinable something in his whole bearing which I thought justified my opinion."

As winter approached, Cocke, in poor health and disheartened at how he had been treated, returned to his mansion in Powhatan, Va. On December 26, 1861, he walked outside his mansion and placed a pistol in his mouth, pulling the trigger.

Robert Lewis Dabney, a fellow Virginian and Confederate army chaplain who had spent the day before with Cocke, said he "never saw him more rational." During his funeral sermon, the Rev. Cornelius Tyree deduced what had driven Cocke to take his own life: "With a temperament nervous and excitable, being for more than a year under intense, high-wrought and continued mental anxiety about the country, and dwelling on the gloomy aspect of our revolution, his bright intellect gave way and was wrapped in the somber cloud of irrationality, which caused his mournful end."

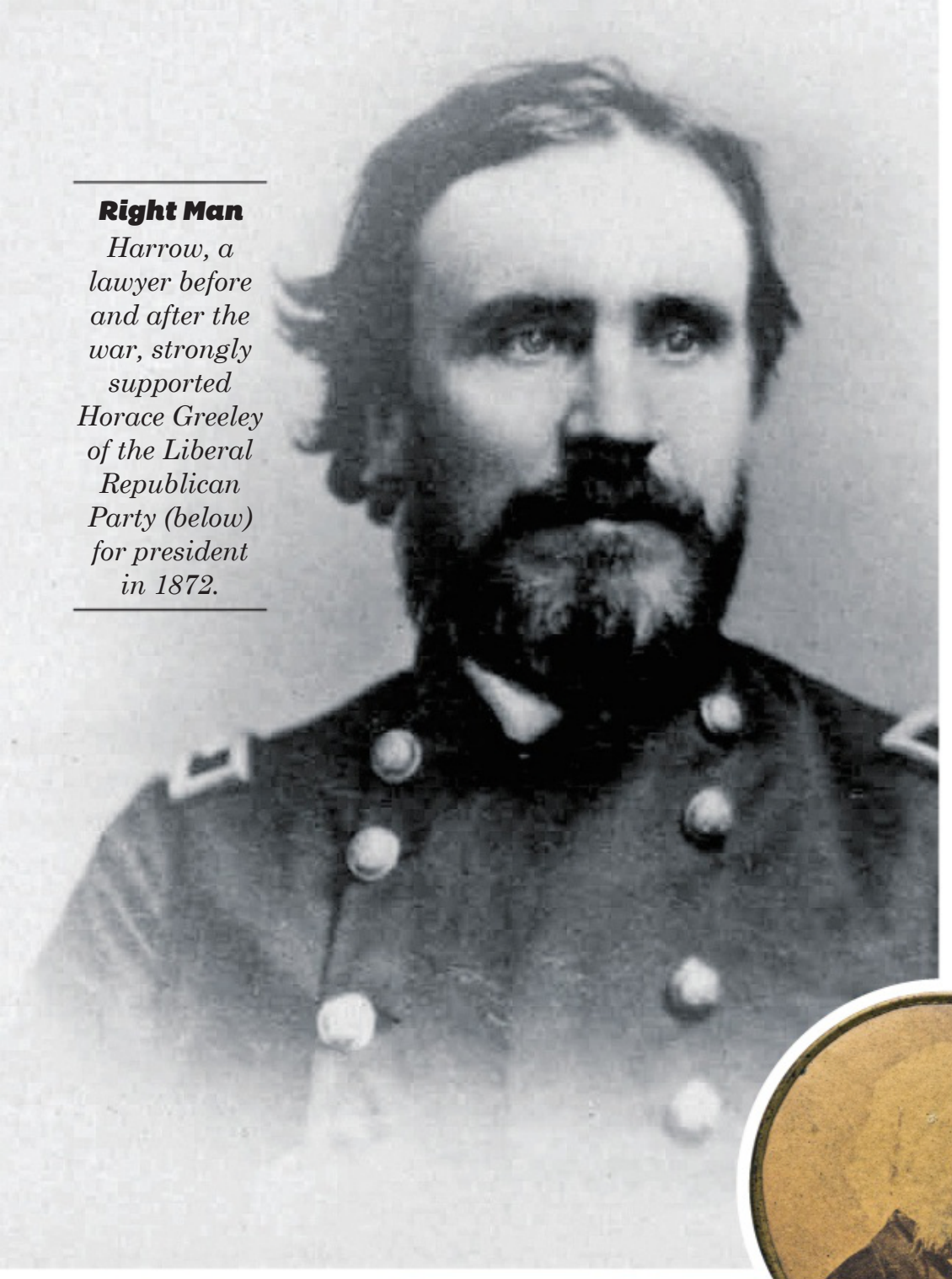


Well Off
Cocke, one of the South's wealthiest slaveowners, in 1852 wrote Plantation and Farm Instruction.

AUK ARCHIVE/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO; LIBRARY OF VIRGINIA

Right Man

Harrow, a lawyer before and after the war, strongly supported Horace Greeley of the Liberal Republican Party (below) for president in 1872.





3 WILLIAM HARROW
(Union)

» After relocating with his family from Kentucky to Illinois, William Harrow studied law. Known for his elegant speeches and magnetic personality in the courtroom, the 6-foot lawyer was said to be able to defeat any opponent if given the opportunity to deliver a trial's closing argument. Before the war, he traveled with Abraham Lincoln in the 8th Judicial Circuit, the two becoming good friends. Lincoln supposedly considered Harrow for a position in his Cabinet, but Harrow turned it down so he could fight. While commanding a division during Pickett's Charge, he was saved from a Confederate bullet by a daguerreotype of his wife and two Mexican coins he was carrying in a uniform pocket.

After the war, Harrow returned to politics and his law practice. Nominated for Congress, he decided not to run against William E. Niblack because of his failing health. On September 27, 1872, after speaking in Mitchell, Ill., in support of Horace Greeley's candidacy for president, Harrow boarded a train on the New Albany & Chicago Railroad, scheduled to deliver another speech in Jeffersonville, Ill. Before he reached his destination, however, the train struck a damaged rail and ran off the track, throwing Harrow from his car—breaking a shoulder and hip while causing severe internal injuries. On his deathbed, he declared, "I lived like a hero, I would like to die like one." But his dying words were reserved for his wife, who had not yet arrived at his bedside: "Tell my wife—God receive my spirit."

He died that night at the age of 49.



Good Fortune

The monument to the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, 2nd Corps at Gettysburg National Military Park can be found along Hancock Avenue, just north of Pleasonton Avenue. Harrow escaped sure death near this spot while commanding the division during Pickett's Charge on July 3, 1863.

FROM TOP: USAHEC; HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS; PHOTO BY STEVE A. HAWKS, STONESENTINELS.COM



Bluegrass Magnolia
A Kentucky native, Adams had lived in Mississippi most of his life.

4 WILLIAM WIRT ADAMS
(Confederate)

» William Wirt Adams had a variety of occupations before the Civil War: soldier for the Republic of Texas; sugar planter; banker; and Mississippi legislator. He declined the position of postmaster general offered by President Jefferson Davis at the beginning of the war. Instead, he raised a Mississippi cavalry regiment and supported Confederate operations in Mississippi and Tennessee until the conclusion of the war.



In 1883, President Grover Cleveland appointed Adams, then 64, to the position of postmaster of Jackson, Miss. Adams became embroiled in a bitter feud with the editor of the *New Mississippian* newspaper, 25-year-old John H. Martin. On May 1, 1888, Martin was on his way to his office when he bumped into an irate Adams in the street. Tired of the editor's slanderous remarks, Adams yelled at Martin, "You damned rascal, I have stood enough from you."

Both men pulled their pistols and fired. Adams died instantly from a bullet that entered his body between the heart and collarbone; Martin collapsed to the ground and bled to death seconds later. Adams' funeral procession stretched for miles through Jackson's streets, leading the *New Orleans Picayune* to declare: "Truly, there was no man whom Jackson loved more than General Adams."



Lethal Weapon
Both Adams and Martin carried Colt six-shot Army revolvers similar to the one here, though Adams' was .44-caliber and Martin's .41-caliber. Martin reportedly fired all six bullets, Adams only three. Above: An ornate memorial marks Adams' prominent Greenwood Cemetery gravesite in Jackson, Miss.

WILLIAM WERT ADAMS, CA. 1863. (THE GILDER LEHRMAN INSITUTE OF AMERICAN HISTORY; GLC05888.02); PHOTO BY BURL KENNEDY; HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS

5 EMERSON OPDYCKE
(Union)

» Before the war, Emerson Opdycke worked as a merchant selling horse equipment in Warren, Ohio. He enlisted as a private and rose to brevet major general by the war's end. The most notable deed of his career occurred in November 1864 at the Battle of Franklin, Tenn., where his brigade halted a Confederate breakthrough in the Union line.

After the war, Opdycke moved to New York and helped establish the dry goods house Peake, Opdycke, Terry & Steele. On April 25, 1884, his wife and son heard a gunshot in his bedroom and found the general with a bullet hole in his abdomen. Before he died a few days later, Opdycke managed to tell his physician that he had accidentally shot himself while cleaning his revolver. "With the death of Gen. Opdycke," the *St. Paul Daily Globe* avowed, "passes away one of the most gallant and distinguished soldiers which Ohio sent into the Civil War."

The 54-year-old general's body was transported by train to his hometown and buried.

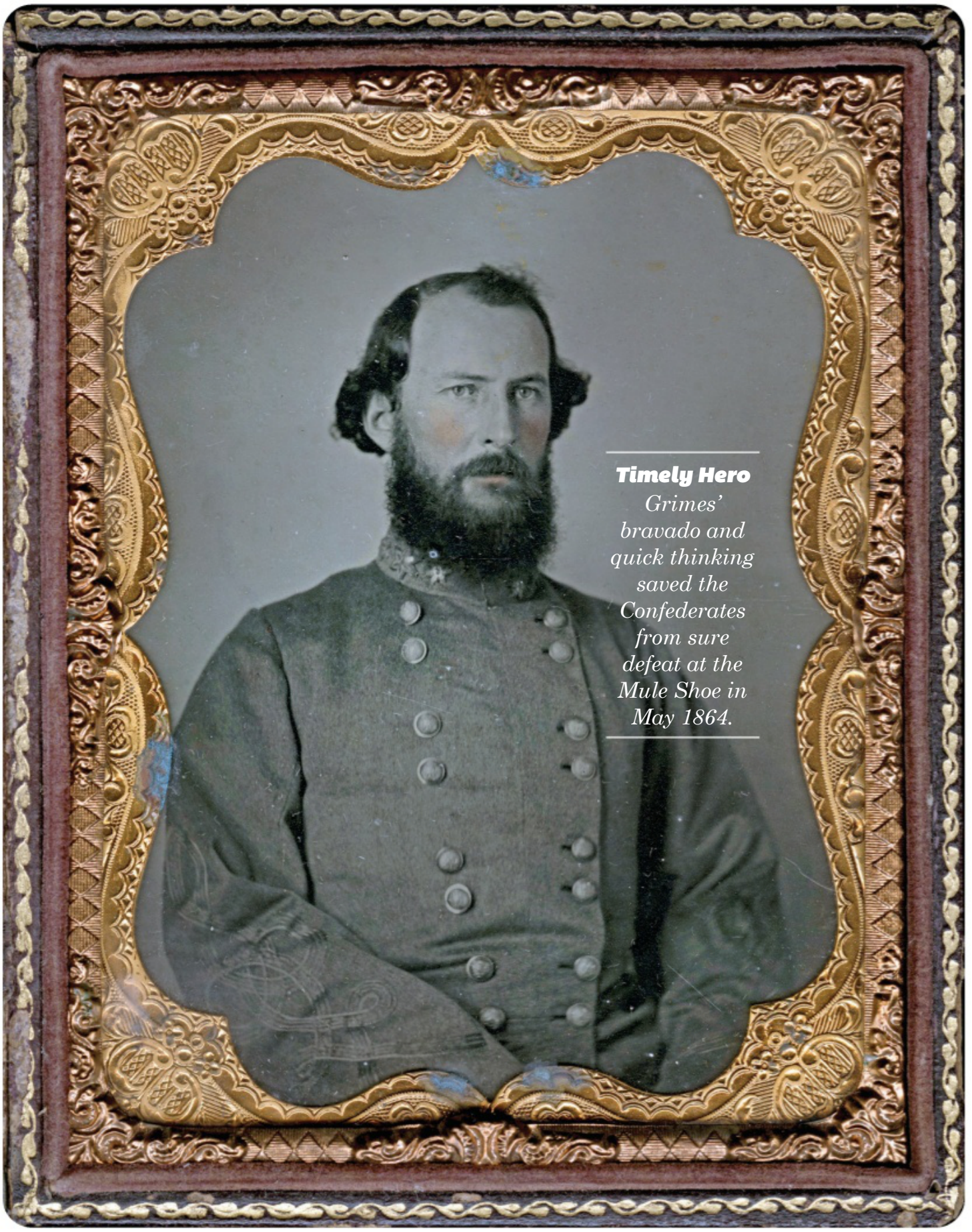




Battlefield Call

Had Emerson Opdycke (above) followed orders on November 30, 1864, the Battle of Franklin that day (left) may well have been a Confederate victory. Opdycke's decision not to leave his men in the open and pull his brigade behind a fortified position allowed for a counterattack that ultimately led to a Union victory. After the battle, Opdycke was made a brevet brigadier general.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; TROIANI, DON (B.1949)/PRIVATE COLLECTION/BRIDGEMAN IMAGES



Timely Hero
Grimes' bravado and quick thinking saved the Confederates from sure defeat at the Mule Shoe in May 1864.

6 BRYAN GRIMES
(Confederate)

» An antebellum farmer and University of North Carolina alumnus, Bryan Grimes became the last officer appointed major general in General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, having earned a reputation for his daring, boldness, and talent as a commander. After the war, he returned to North Carolina and to farming.

On August 14, 1880, he left Washington, N.C., in a two-horse-buggy accompanied by 12-year-old Bryan Satterthwaite. As the buggy crossed Bear Creek two miles from his home, a shotgun blast exploded from the bushes. It struck 51-year-old Grimes in the left arm and breast, severing a large artery and lodging into one of his lungs. He calmly uttered to his young companion, "Bryan, I am shot." Seeing the severity of his wound, Satterthwaite asked, "Are you much hurt, General?" Grimes replied with his last gasping breath, "Yes, it will kill me."

The assassin, William Parker, drunkenly boasted of the crime and was kidnapped by an angry mob and lynched. The general's old warhorse, 26-year-old Warren, carted his coffin to the burial in the family cemetery. "Thus has ingloriously died," the *Raleigh Observer* lamented, "one of the brightest stars that ever shone in the galaxy of North Carolinians."

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL LIBRARY





No Shortage of Courage

Clanton, then a colonel, first gained notice on the first day of the April 1862 Battle of Shiloh, where he commanded the 1st Alabama Cavalry. On March 25, 1865, as the war wound down, he was badly wounded and then captured by Union troops during an engagement at Bluff Springs, Fla. Above right: An aerial view of downtown Montgomery, Ala., where Clanton is buried.

7 JAMES HOLT CLANTON

(Confederate)

» A 19-year-old University of Alabama student, James Clanton abandoned his studies in 1846 to fight in the Mexican War. When he returned to Alabama, he studied law. He served in the Alabama legislature before the Civil War and opposed secession. Nevertheless, he took up arms to defend his home state and served as a cavalry commander in the Western Theater.

After the war, Clanton resumed his legal career. On September 27, 1871, the 44-year-old lawyer traveled to Knoxville, Tenn., to represent his state in a court case. He was introduced by a friend to Brevet Lt. Col. David M. Nelson, the son of congressman Thomas A.R. Nelson and a Union officer on the staff of Maj. Gen. Alvan Cullem Gillem during the war. Clanton expressed to the men that he wanted to see the town after a long day in court.

Nelson, who had been drinking heavily all day, turned to Clanton and boasted, "I can take you where there is something very nice, if you are not afraid." The general wasn't amused by the Yankee officer's remark. He replied, "Do I look as if I am afraid?" After Nelson said he didn't know for sure, Clanton stared him down, declaring "I am not afraid of anything or any man." Nelson questioned Clanton's courage a second time, provoking the ex-Confederate to issue a challenge: "If you think I am, try me; name your friend, time and place, any time or any place."

Nelson disappeared into the St. Nicholas Saloon while his friend apologized to Clanton for Nelson's behavior. Nelson suddenly burst out the saloon's door and aimed a double-barreled shotgun at Clanton. As Clanton reached for his pistol, Nelson riddled him with buckshot. The blast fractured Clanton's right shoulder and severed several major arteries. Clanton fired as he fell to the ground, but missed Nelson. He died a few minutes later.

Locals carried Clanton's remains to the Lamar House Hotel. Transported home to Montgomery, Ala., the general's body laid in rest in the Alabama State Capitol before burial. The *Memphis Daily Appeal* claimed that his funeral was one of "the greatest demonstrations ever known in Alabama."

In 1873, Nelson was acquitted of murder by a jury.

VIRGINIA MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND CULTURE; ALABAMA DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES



8 FRANCIS ENGLE PATTERSON

(Union)

» Frank Patterson lived in the shadow of his father, Robert Patterson, for most of his life. The senior Patterson was a wealthy Pennsylvania businessman, a general during the Mexican War, and the commander of the Army of the Shenandoah early in the Civil War. The younger Patterson followed his father to Mexico, served as an artillery lieutenant, and remained in the Army for another decade after the Mexican War.

Francis Patterson's friend, Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, recommended him for promotion to brigadier general in April 1862. Seven months after Patterson's appointment, his division commander, Brig. Gen. Daniel Sickles, placed him under arrest for ordering a hasty retreat near Catlett's Station, Va. Two weeks after his arrest, James Fowler Rusling of the 5th New Jersey Infantry watched the Pennsylvanian near his tent "ill and acting strangely all the evening" until about 2 a.m., when a gunshot broke the silence of the camp. The men discovered the 41-year-old general dead in his tent with a single gunshot wound to the chest.

Rumors spread that he had committed suicide rather than face a shameful trial; others thought his pistol misfired. Nobody could be sure. Some of Patterson's soldiers blamed Sickles, saying the former New York congressman (notorious for brazenly murdering his wife's lover, Philip Barton Key II, in 1859) got away with his second murder. "Another gallant spirit snuffed out," Rusling wrote of his deceased commander. "Good old soldier, brave heart, generous soul, hail and farewell! It was a tragic affair. It cast a deep gloom over the whole division, and everybody felt it like a personal sorrow. He was a very capable officer, and will be missed sadly."



USAHEC; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

A Life Derailed

Catlett's Station, near Manassas, Va., was the site of one of J.E.B. Stuart's most memorable victories in August 1862. Two months later, it was the site of ignominy for Francis Patterson. Facing a court-martial, the Philadelphia-born general reportedly took his own life.

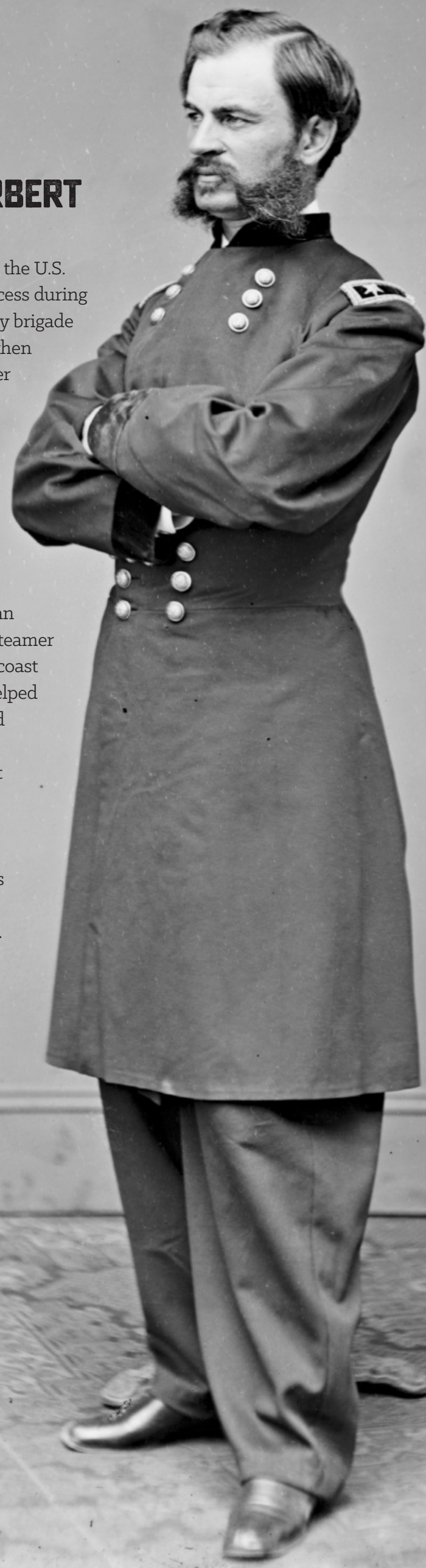
9 ALFRED THOMAS ARCHIMEDES TORBERT

(Union)

» A Delaware native and 1855 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, Alfred Torbert saw success during the Civil War. He first served as an infantry brigade commander in the Army of the Potomac, then as a cavalry division and corps commander under Maj. Gen. Phil Sheridan. He left the army a year after the war ended. During Reconstruction, he served in diplomatic positions in El Salvador, Cuba, and France.

On August 15, 1880, the 47-year-old general left New York City for Mexico on the steamer *City of Vera Cruz* to secure a land grant for a railroad from the Mexican government. Fifteen days later, Torbert's steamer got caught in a hurricane 30 miles off the coast of Florida near Cape Canaveral. Torbert helped to fasten life preservers on the women and children before the ship sank and he was washed overboard. He clung to a fragment of the wreckage until it capsized and he disappeared beneath the waves.

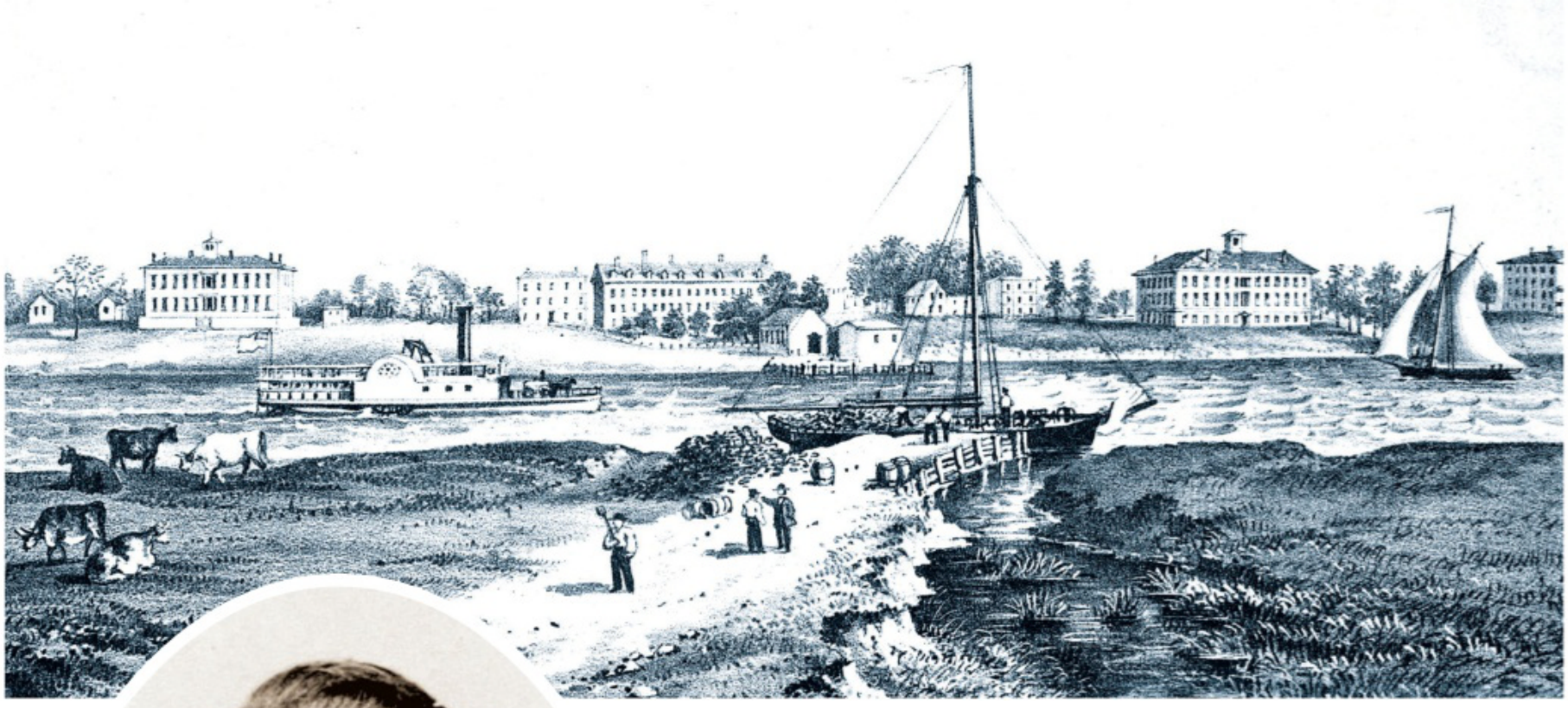
The next day, the general's lifeless body washed up on the beach. Torbert's remains were first buried in Daytona, but then disinterred and reburied in his home state. The epitaph "He bore without abuse the grand old name of gentleman" is fittingly inscribed on the obelisk erected over Torbert's grave.

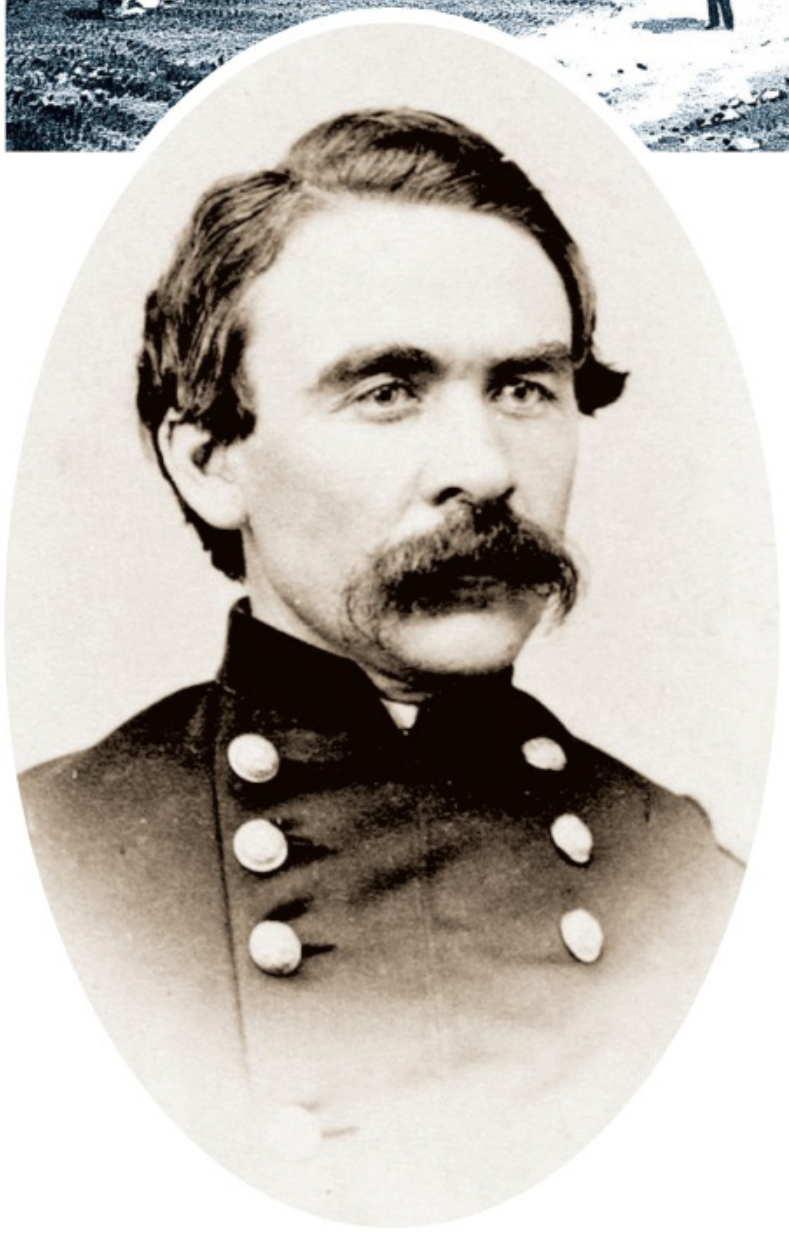


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Difference Maker

Torbert, assigned command of a cavalry division before the Overland Campaign, won admirably for Phil Sheridan at Tom's Brook, Va., giving the Federals a decisive edge in the hotly contested Shenandoah Valley.





A Bitter End

Egan became lieutenant colonel of the 40th New York Infantry, known as the Mozart Regiment, in June 1861. The frequently wounded Egan was committed to an insane asylum on New York's Ward Island (top) in July 1884. It marked an unfortunate turn for a man who fought with such distinction.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY; HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS

10 THOMAS W. EGAN
(Union)

» As a colonel, "Fighting Tom" Egan first led the 40th New York Infantry during George McClellan's 1862 Peninsula Campaign, where he was wounded in the left side of his head. In July 1863, he was again wounded at Gettysburg, shot in the right thigh. He suffered a third wound at the Second Battle of Petersburg on June 16, 1864, two days after his 30th birthday, when a shell fragment penetrated his back one inch to the left of his spine. Before the war's end, he was promoted to brigadier general, and suffered a fourth wound when a musket ball shattered his right forearm. The battered Egan ended the war as a brevet major general.

After the war, Egan returned to New York a physical wreck, with paralysis in his lower limbs and his right arm virtually useless. A doctor, upon examination, called Egan's condition "unqualifiedly deplorable."

The ex-general began to frequent saloons, and in early July 1884, he stood trial before Justice Solon B. Smith after being arrested for public intoxication. At one point during the trial, he claimed that he was worth $40 million. "Drinking has somewhat unbalanced your mind and I'll change the complaint against you into insanity," the judge declared, ordering Egan to the insane asylum on Ward's Island.

On May 22, 1886, Stephen Smith, commissioner of lunacy of the State of New York, and army surgeon Charles S. Hoyt, both discouraged Egan's release, noting that "he appears so well in asylum he would be made much worse if subjected to the excitement of life outside." Smith further reasoned that keeping Egan in the sanitarium was "most favorable to his health and happiness." Despite their warnings, a judge ordered Egan released on June 5, 1886. He lived for about another eight months.

On the morning of February 24, 1887, Egan suffered an epileptic seizure outside the entrance of the International Hotel. He was moved to the House of Relief or Chambers Street Hospital, an institution that offered free medical aid to the poor. He died there that afternoon, at the age of 52.

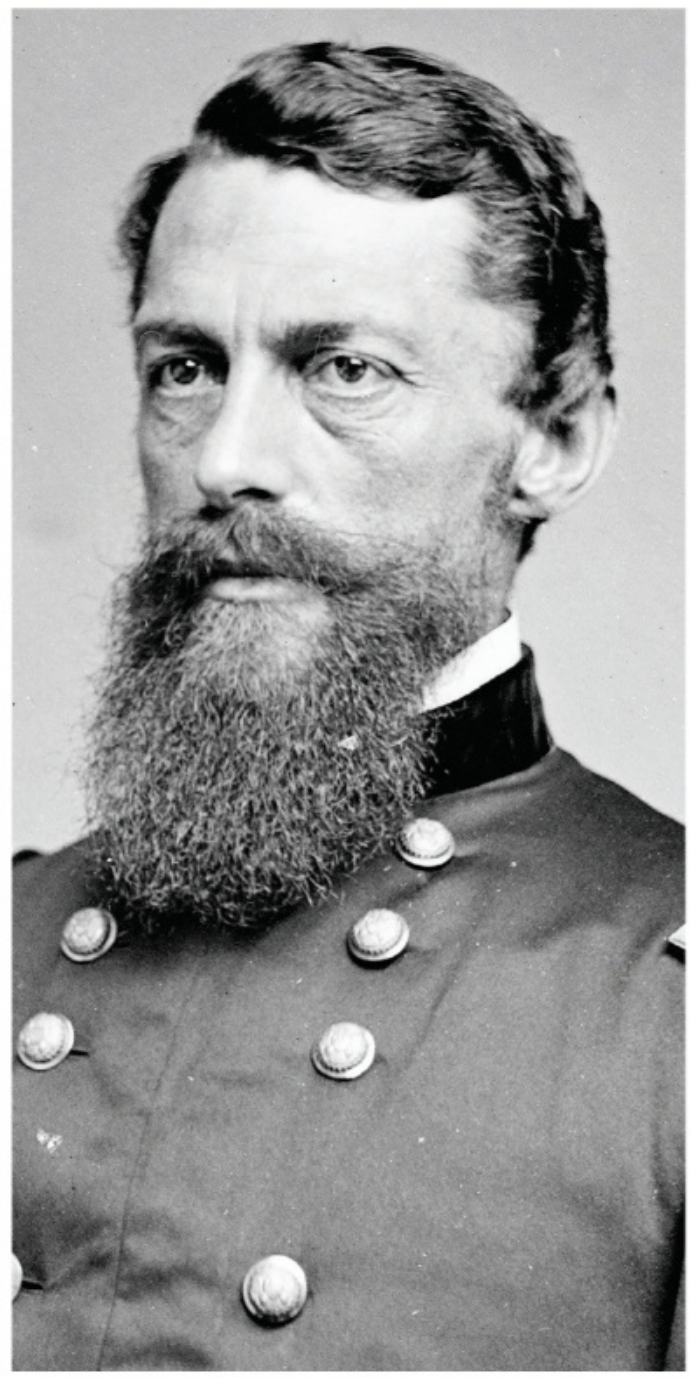
Members of the Grand Army of the Republic covered the cost of his funeral and interrment—none of Egan's family members came forward—rather than see the general's remains relegated to a potter's field. The veterans of the 40th New York also pitched in to purchase a fine granite monument to commemorate the general, and he was laid to rest in Brooklyn's Cypress Hills Cemetery.

FIGHT FOR REDEMPTION

TWO EASTERN THEATER OUTCASTS CHARGED HEADLONG INTO BATTLE NEAR ATLANTA IN THE SUMMER OF 1864

By Ray Chandler





Prewar Brothers in Blue

Alfred Iverson (left) and George Stoneman had spent their antebellum military careers on the frontier. Iverson, a Georgia native, served as a 1st lieutenant in the U.S. Cavalry during the Bleeding Kansas turmoil of the 1850s. Stoneman was a New Yorker, part of the famed West Point Class of 1846. When Texas seceded in February 1861, he was a captain, commanding at Fort Brown near Brownsville, Texas.

"FIGHTING ON THE RIDGES BY DALE GALLON; SWORDS: HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS; LEFT: PHOTO COURTESY OF GARY KROSS; RIGHT: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE BATTLE OF SUNSHINE CHURCH did not alter the outcome of the Atlanta Campaign, but it can't be said that the fierce cavalry engagement outside Macon, Ga., on July 31, 1864, lacked for drama. The battle was a rarity in Union Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's monumental campaign that fourth summer of the war: a complete Confederate victory. But, more important, it offered the opposing commanders—Confederate Brig. Gen. Alfred Iverson and Union Maj. Gen. George Stoneman, former brother officers in the antebellum 1st U.S. Cavalry—an opportunity to redeem reputations that had been stained earlier in the war. Only one would succeed.

By late July 1864, after months of slogging back and forth with the Confederate Army of Tennessee from the mountains of northwest Georgia to the outskirts of Atlanta, Sherman focused on cutting the rail lines that supplied the city and its defenders, now commanded by Lt. Gen. John Bell Hood. On July 27, Sherman opened a two-pronged offensive: His Army of the Tennessee would work to seize the rail lines west of Atlanta while three bodies of cavalry moved south to destroy the Macon & Western Railroad. The Army of the Tennessee's movement culminated in the July 28 Battle of Ezra Church, a tactical victory for Sherman but one that left the rail lines intact. The Union horsemen, however, continued to march on what their chief opponent, Confederate cavalry commander Maj. Gen. Joseph Wheeler, later called "the most stupendous cavalry operation of the war."

Four thousand Union troopers under Brig. Gen. Edward McCook rode down the west bank of the Chattahoochee River as Stoneman, leading about 2,100 men, headed toward Covington, intending perhaps to feint toward Augusta. Meanwhile, Brig. Gen. Kenner Garrard's 3,000 horsemen rode toward Flat Rock, north of Covington, to decoy Wheeler's cavalry and block any pursuit of McCook and Stoneman. The latter two were to rendezvous at Lovejoy Station, on the Macon & Western south of Atlanta, and destroy track and telegraph lines. McCook was then to return to the Union lines; Stoneman would continue south.

Stoneman had persuaded Sherman that his troopers could make a 125-mile dash, first toward Macon to free more than 1,500 Federal officers imprisoned at Camp Oglethorpe, then proceed south to free the 25,000–30,000 Union prisoners at Camp Sumter near Andersonville. Sherman had doubts about the daring scheme but called the plan "captivating." Beside the pressing military objectives, Stoneman was seeking to restore his reputation, sullied during the Chancellorsville Campaign earlier in the war.

The career soldier from New York, a graduate of West Point's noted Class of 1846, was serving under a cloud. In the spring of 1862, Stoneman, then a brigadier, commanded the cavalry division of the Army of the Potomac under Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan. He quarreled with McClellan, however, over the cavalry's proper use, and, after McClellan was stymied in the Seven Days Battles around Richmond, Stoneman was stripped of his troopers and given command of an infantry division.

When Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker replaced Ambrose Burnside as head of the Army of the Potomac in January 1863, he recalled Stoneman to command his cavalry division. That spring, however, Hooker sent Stoneman on a raid during the Chancellorsville Campaign that failed badly. Stoneman was relieved and reassigned to a War Department desk as chief of the U.S. Cavalry Bureau.

In early 1864, he requested a field command with Maj. Gen. John Schofield, a friend then commanding the Department of the Ohio. Soon, Stoneman commanded the Army of the Ohio's cavalry—one of the three Union armies under Sherman's command moving south toward Atlanta.

The Union raid on the Atlanta rail lines unraveled early. McCook did not reach Lovejoy Station on schedule. Neither did Stoneman, still more than 40 miles away across the Ocmulgee River. He was delayed when some of his

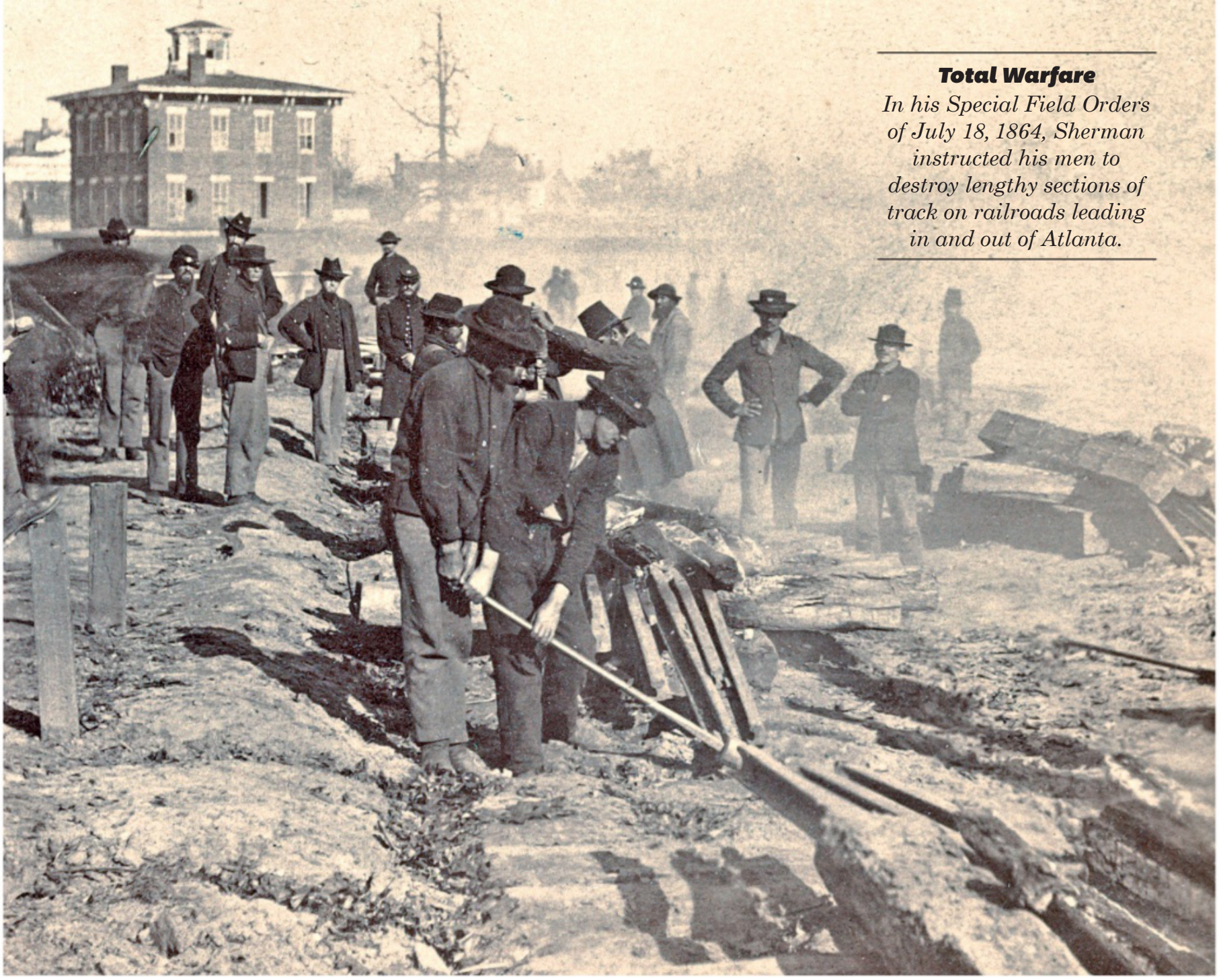




Georgia Landmarks

Top: Ezra Church, Ga., site of William Sherman's Atlanta Campaign victory on July 28, 1864, three days before the fighting at Sunshine Church. Above: Camp Oglethorpe, one of Stoneman's objectives. The prison camp in Macon, Ga., home to about 1,600 Union officers in 1864, was finally vacated in September.

HARPER'S WEEKLY; ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY



Total Warfare

In his Special Field Orders of July 18, 1864, Sherman instructed his men to destroy lengthy sections of track on railroads leading in and out of Atlanta.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Kentucky cavalrymen drank caches of whiskey commandeered in Covington—the first of many breaches of discipline throughout the foray.

Finding all the Ocmulgee bridges destroyed, Stoneman abandoned meeting McCook in favor of striking Macon. Apparently, Stoneman, according to his chief of staff, seemed "much disheartened and filled with gloomy foreboding."

By midmorning July 27, Wheeler had reports that blue horsemen were on the Covington Road. Wheeler deduced that the raid was aimed at the Macon rail lines, likely at either Jonesboro or Lovejoy Station. He dispatched Iverson with three brigades of cavalry to protect the railroad. Iverson's Georgians, Alabamians, and Kentuckians were to ride hard paralleling the Covington Road, overtake the Federals and bring them to battle. As Wheeler and Hood got further reports on the evident size and scope of the raid, other units of Confederate horsemen were sent in pursuit. Many of Iverson's men looked at the expected fox hunt as a pleasure. For Iverson, however, it wasn't a game. Like Stoneman, he had come from the Virginia theater, and also like Stoneman he had left it under a cloud.

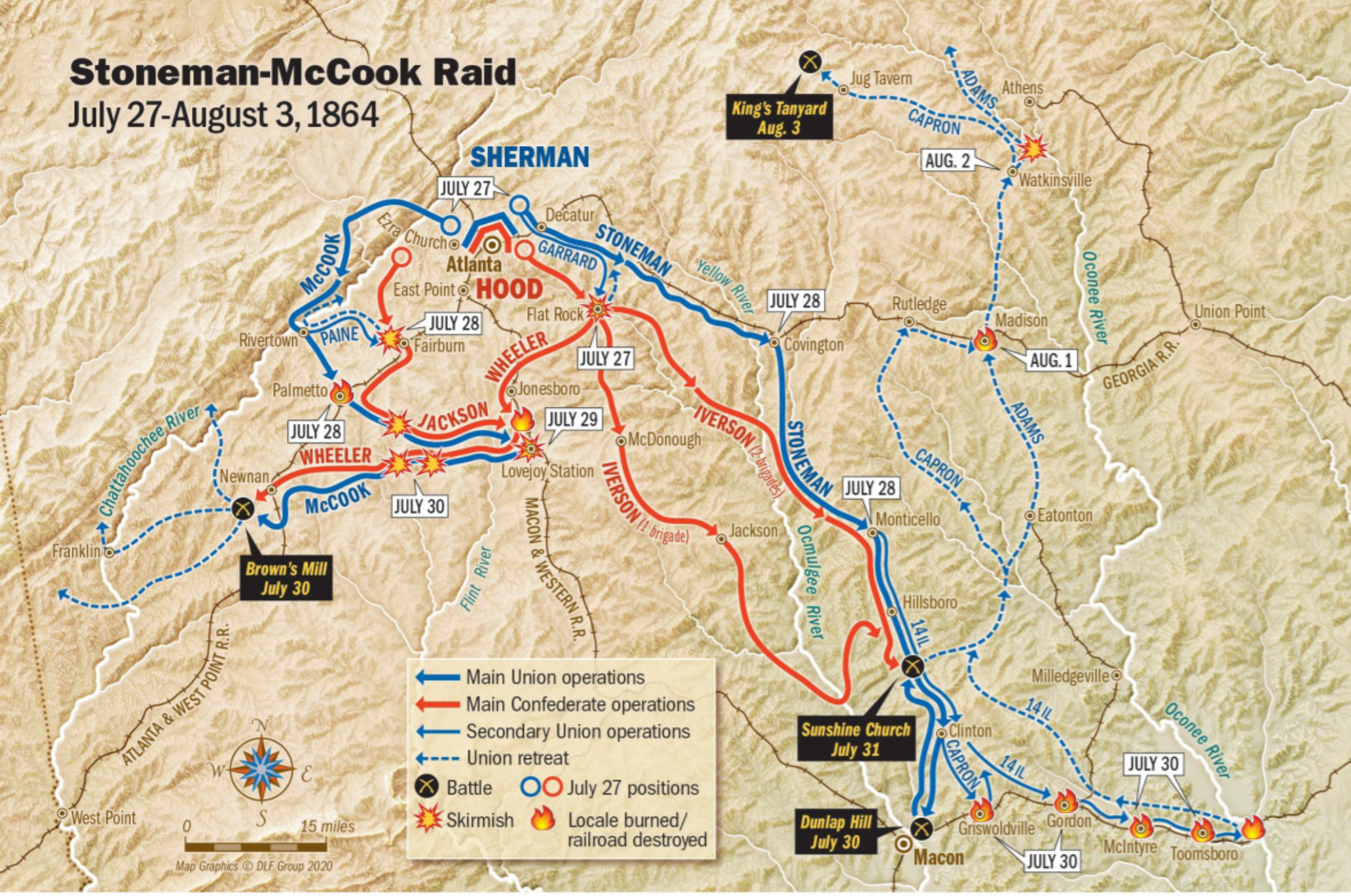
Alfred Holt Iverson Jr. was born in 1829 in Jones County, Ga., the son of a politically ambitious attorney who became one of the state's U.S. senators. Iverson was a student at the Alabama Military and Scientific Institute in Tuskegee when the Mexican War began in 1846. He begged his father to let him join a volunteer regiment the elder Iverson had helped raise and equip, and was appointed a 2nd lieutenant in Company D, Georgia Battalion of Mounted Infantry. Frequently ill with fevers, he never saw combat.

After the war he read law in his father's office and worked in railroad contracting. But in March 1855, he was commissioned a first lieutenant in the 1st U.S. Cavalry, one of two regiments being formed mainly for service on the frontier.

From contemporary accounts, Iverson was a model soldier for the quiet post and parade ground, an exemplar of the 19th-century image of the romantic warrior. Described as "reserved and dignified, congenial but of erect military bearing…first and last a soldier," a stickler for military protocol and a strict disciplinarian, Iverson was also noted for writing poetry and a fondness for quoting Shakespeare.

Iverson was stationed at Fort Washita, Kan., when he learned of Georgia's secession in early 1861. After resigning his U.S. Army commission, he returned east. Commissioned a captain in the Confederate Army, he was sent to recruit in Wilmington, N.C., where he organized companies of the 20th North Carolina and was named the regiment's first colonel. Iverson distinguished himself during the Seven Days in June-July 1862, and was promoted to brigadier general in November.

At Chancellorsville in May 1863, Iverson's Brigade of



North Carolinians fought with Maj. Gen. Robert Rodes' Division, part of Stonewall Jackson's Corps. Rodes' men led the way during Jackson's spectacular flank attack against the Union 11th Corps on May 2. In the wake of the Confederates' Chancellorsville victory—and Jackson's unexpected death—Lee restructured the Army of Northern Virginia, but kept Iverson in Rodes' Division, now part of Lt. Gen. Richard Ewell's Corps. In June, Lee's army began heading toward Pennsylvania and what would become a calamitous defeat at Gettysburg.

On June 30, while in Carlisle, Pa., Rodes learned a fight was brewing south and was ordered to converge on Gettysburg. With Iverson's Brigade leading the way, Rodes' Division arrived on Oak Hill about 11 a.m. on July 1. Since early that morning, Lt. Gen. A.P. Hill's Corps had battled Army of the Potomac cavalry first and then 1st Corps infantry west of Gettysburg. By the time Rodes arrived, the Union 11th Corps had begun to array north of the town.

Rodes was poised to hit the already stretched Union defenses on the oblique. But his attack did not go as planned, amid apparently unclear orders and miscommunications in the confusion of battle. Iverson's men went forward in the first line, only to watch things quickly go wrong. Colonel Edward O'Neal's Alabama brigade on their left met with early repulse, leaving Iverson's flank unsupported. The brigades to Iverson's right were unsure of the route of advance.

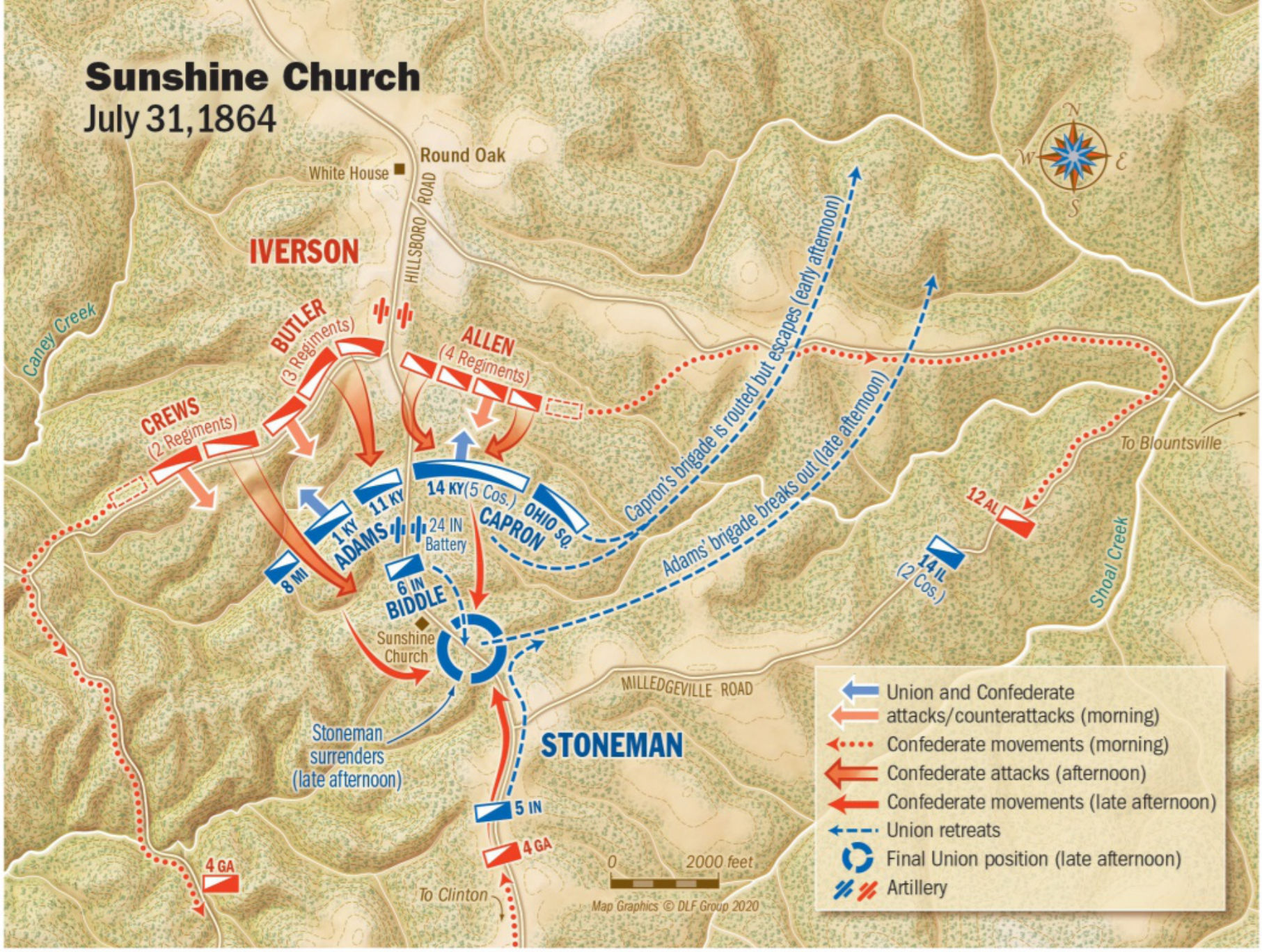
Mislaid Plans

Stoneman and McCook each met with disaster on their cavalry raids south, intended to cut communication lines to Atlanta and then free Union prisoners. McCook was defeated at Brown's Mill; Stoneman at Sunshine Church.

Iverson had erred in not sending out skirmishers, so his North Carolinians did not see a line of Union troops waiting for them—some behind a stone wall, others concealed in woods—until the Federals rose and delivered the first volley. The melee became a slaughter. Although the Union positions north and west of Gettysburg would indeed collapse that day, Iverson's 1,400-man brigade was effectively erased, with casualties at two-thirds its strength.

The blame started immediately. Aside from his failure to send out skirmishers, Iverson had not been with his troops as they advanced, and charges of cowardice were bruited about by the surviving North Carolinians. Battle reports of the day offer no clear explanation, but the most plausible possibility is that Iverson was conferring with the brigade commanders on his right—attempting to clarify Rodes' orders. Rumors also had him drunk on the battlefield, although that has never been substantiated.

All these rumors and allegations added weight to the contempt for Iverson among his troops, but not among the high command. He was not, as rumors alleged, stripped of his command. Back in Virginia he was given command of a Louisiana brigade. That September, however, he was offered command of Georgia cavalry by Maj. Gen. Howell Cobb, the



former speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, former general in the Army of Northern Virginia, and now commanding general of the Department of Georgia. For Iverson, it was another chance.

The first clash for Iverson and Union raiders south of Atlanta came about 9 p.m. July 27, as Iverson's troopers struck Garrard's pickets guarding a bridge. The sides sparred by muzzle flashes and the light of a waxing moon. Near midnight, Wheeler personally took command, ordering Iverson to leave him one regiment and go after Stoneman.

In Macon, word that Union cavalry might be headed that way had arrived in a telegram from Atlanta on July 27; however, Howell Cobb, commanding in the city, was slow to take the news seriously. Eventually he took steps to defend the city, the nexus of four railroad lines and a center of armament manufacturing.

Stoneman took his time getting to Macon, sending feinting raids toward Georgia's capital of Milledgeville and other targets. Early on July 30, his advance troopers hit Cobb's pickets. A day-long series of skirmishes ensued, but the defending state troops—boys younger than 17, men older than 45, and walking wounded from the city's hospitals—held their lines. About 3 p.m., Stoneman abandoned hopes of reaching Camp Oglethorpe, but turned his column southward, still intending to try for Andersonville.

Fumbled Fight

Stoneman's inflexibility during the engagement and the belief he faced a larger force than he did figured in the Union defeat. Iverson's well-positioned artillery and regiments eventually devastated Stoneman's attack.

That ended quickly when scouts reported—incorrectly—that a large Rebel cavalry force was entering Macon. Stoneman feared the new arrivals, with a shorter line of march, would win a race to reach the crucial Ocmulgee fords south of Macon. Reports that pursuing Confederates were massed to his east also ended any thoughts of striking Milledgeville. With his enemy—both real and in false reports—closing in, Stoneman reasoned only a small blocking force could have been left on the road back to Covington. The route he had taken from Sherman's lines would have to be his way back. He ordered the column to ride all night.

Since leaving Wheeler, Iverson had stalked Stoneman. With him were the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Georgia Cavalry of his own brigade, together with the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 12th, and 51st Alabama regiments under Brig. Gen. William Wirt Allen and the 1st, 2nd, and 9th Kentucky regiments under Colonel John Russell Butler. Also in tow were two batteries of light artillery: two 3-inch ordnance rifles; and two smoothbore 6-pounders. Near midnight on July 29, Iverson received Wheeler's dispatch that the Union column wasn't headed toward Lovejoy Station but more south.

Wheeler's orders were to pursue Stoneman and "attack him wherever found." As historian David Evans notes in his 1996 book *Sherman's Horsemen*, the problem was deter-





In the Heat of Battle

Above: The Joseph Smith House near Sunshine Church, which Iverson used as his headquarters during the clash. The house no longer stands. Left: Colonel Horace Capron, commander of the 14th Illinois Cavalry, part of Stoneman's force. Capron was the Union Army's oldest serving cavalry officer.

mining where the Union general, with nearly a full day's start, was headed. Milledgeville and Macon seemed most likely, and Andersonville couldn't be ruled out. Macon was defended by state forces, but much depended on Cobb holding long enough for Iverson to arrive. Iverson dispatched several scouts and hoped for news. Guessing ended about 9 p.m. July 30, just beyond Clinton when Stoneman's troopers collided with Iverson's outriders.

At first, Federal cavalry charging in the dark pushed the Confederates back nearly three miles. But Southern reinforcements arrived. About midnight, meeting volley fire from an elevated position in the road, the Yankees halted, dismounted, and sought shelter in nearby woods. Unable to gauge the number of defenders, Stoneman ordered a halt, waiting for morning and the rest of his brigade—the last of which trailed in, exhausted after several days without sleep or proper food, well after midnight.

About 3:30 a.m., Stoneman deployed a thick skirmish line on both sides of the road. The Union advance struck Confederate pickets, pushing the Rebels back. At dawn, the Federals pushed past the chinked-log Sunshine Church, coming upon an Alabama brigade holding a fence rail barricade across the road.

The Alabamians had been fighting delaying action for several hours, retreating and re-forming as necessary. They still held their ground as Iverson, having brought up his Georgia and Kentucky brigades, rushed to fortify a position straddling the road on a rise behind the Alabamians. The line was finished just after dawn, and Iverson pulled the Alabamians back. Union skirmishers swarmed over the abandoned barricades and continued their advance. The first volley from Iverson's new line staggered them, and shells from the 6-pounders sent them scurrying for the woods.

It was Stoneman's belief that the Confederates had formed an inverted V that overlapped both his flanks. He deployed the 1st and 11th Kentucky and the 8th Michigan left of the road, the 14th Illinois and an Ohio squadron to its right. The 6th Indiana and the 24th Indiana Light Battery were held in the road's center. Stoneman's artillery, in the Sunshine Church yard, soon dueled with the Confederate 6-pounders. One of the first Union shells crashed through Iverson's farmhouse headquarters, but failed to explode.

At 8 a.m., it grew quiet. Iverson then sent 4th Georgia troopers sweeping around Stoneman's left, aiming for the Union rear. Iverson sent to his left the Alabamians who had skirmished all night, blocking a road to Milledgeville. On his side of the field, Stoneman ordered an attack. He seemed, in one Michigan officer's opinion, obsessed with the idea of forcing open the route ahead, according to Evans. Recalled the Michigander, "Even Stoneman's staff officers begged him to avoid the enemy's main force and move around to the right.…"

Stoneman attacked with his left, the Kentuckians and Michiganders rushing a rail fence at the top of the hill. When scores of them were over the fence, the 1st and 3rd Georgia rose up 20 yards in front and poured a volley into the bluecoats, stopping them cold. Many of the Kentuckians balked at going forward, though their commanding officer urged them to go on. (Many Kentuckians' enlistments were up in two weeks, cooling their combat ardor.) A Confederate counterattack broke the 8th Michigan on the extreme left and the Union attack collapsed in disarray. The collapse of the Kentuckians was saved from complete rout when Stoneman threw in an Indiana regiment. On the Union right, probing troopers encountered Alabama scouts Iverson had ordered to block the Milledgeville road; a running melee ensued, but Union troopers gained no ground.

Once again quiet settled in. Many exhausted Union troopers fell asleep; others wondered what Stoneman was even thinking trying to hold this position.

Iverson's Kentucky brigade reinforced the Georgians on his right who had blunted Stoneman's first attack. He shifted his artillery to support his right and enfilade the Union left. He left two Alabama regiments blocking the Milledgeville road and pulled the rest back, extending his

KENAN RESEARCH CENTER AT THE ATLANTA HISTORY CENTER; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

left. Troopers on both sides were unable to see their foes.

The Union front extended about two miles, while Iverson's main strength was concentrated in a line about a quarter-mile long at most. Stoneman and his officers, though, imagined the force opposing them was much larger. Union scouts reported 4th Georgia horsemen moving around their left, toward their rear; a blocking force positioned on the Milledgeville road; it appeared the Confederate lines would shortly overlap them on all sides. In fact, the Confederate forces on the extreme right and left were connected to Iverson's main position only by scattered skirmishers.

After Iverson convened a council of war, he ordered the Georgians who had withstood the morning's fighting to skirmish on the Union left while Confederate artillery concentrated fire on that flank. Three Alabama regiments would advance as infantry in two lines against the Union right-center to break the line "at all hazards," then pivot left, rolling up the Union right. The Kentuckians supporting the Confederate right would pour through the gap, pivot right and roll up the Union left.

At about 1 p.m., the Confederate batteries opened fire. When the commander of the Alabamians heard the gunfire signaling Georgian skirmishers had engaged, he ordered his lines to advance. About noon, Stoneman had decided to make another attack, and Union troopers stepped off about the same time as their enemies.

Advancing Illinois and Ohio troopers on the Union right were surprised when Alabamians emerged from the brush and delivered a devastating volley. Some Yankees held their ground, but most broke. Routed, with Confederates pursuing, they angled toward their picketed horses. The terrified horses panicked, many tearing loose from the troopers trying to control them and bolting for the woods and brush, chased by their riders. Other troopers, mounted and seeing the melee approaching, broke for the Milledgeville road, only to clash with Alabamians blocking it. Colonel Horace Capron, with about a hundred riders, rode headlong eastward, the horsemen tearing through the bush country, briars and tree limbs ripping their uniforms. Two miles east of the Hillsboro Road, the galloping mass hit a ravine 8-feet-deep and 15-feet-wide. The front riders tried to rein up, but following horsemen knocked them in, the gully's bottom becoming a pit of bloodied men and dying horses.

On the still-contested battlefield, Kentuckians in gray poured through Stoneman's broken line, swung right and rolled up their fellow Kentuckians in blue—the 1st and 11th Kentucky. The Yankees fled with Confederates in pursuit, slowed only by the 5th Indiana's delaying skirmishes. Shells from Stoneman's two guns slowed the Confederates even more. Many blue-coated Kentuckians sought refuge in the surrounding brush.

Confederate shells blasted ground, men, and horses, convincing many Federals they'd be slaughtered. One shell killed Stoneman's horse as he sat observing the carnage, and he caught and remounted a stray. He was everywhere, cheering the men, exhorting them to hold, even pausing to help aim a cannon. Outwardly, Stoneman exuded full confidence; his men and officers therefore were stunned when his order to surrender reached them.

There was no choice, he told his protesting officers. The command was scattered and under galling artillery fire. They were low on ammunition, and many men had no mounts. They could neither move nor fight, and any small groups that scattered risked being annihilated, or treated as marauders—hanged or shot instead of taken prisoner.

Colonel Silas Adams, commanding the Union Kentuckians, asked permission to try to break out, hoping his men could avoid a slow death at Andersonville, or summary judgment from their fellow Kentuckians in gray. Stoneman agreed, and pledged to keep the Confederates occupied as long as possible to drag out the surrender so Adams' Kentuckians—and Capron's men who had fled east—could escape. When Stoneman judged enough time had passed, he used the tail of his white shirt as a flag of truce. Iverson replied that any surrender would be unconditional. Stoneman yielded.

Stoneman, with 440 of his men stacking arms, surrendered his sword to Colonel Charles C. Crews, commanding the Georgia brigade. He was denied surrendering directly to Iverson. Stoneman was the highest ranking Union general to surrender during the war. Stoneman earned no redemption in Georgia. He and his officers were sent to Camp Oglethorpe, his troopers to the notorious Andersonville.

Iverson, his tarnished Gettysburg reputation restored by his triumph, basked in a hero's welcome in Macon.

As Adams' and Capron's troopers headed back to Atlanta, pursued by Rebel cavalry, they diverted briefly to attack Athens—an unsuccessful attack in which more than 200 Union troopers were taken prisoner. Eventually, the remnants of Stoneman's original command, much depleted, regained the safety of Union lines.

Ray Chandler is a freeelance writer based in Elberton, Ga.

Post-Mortem

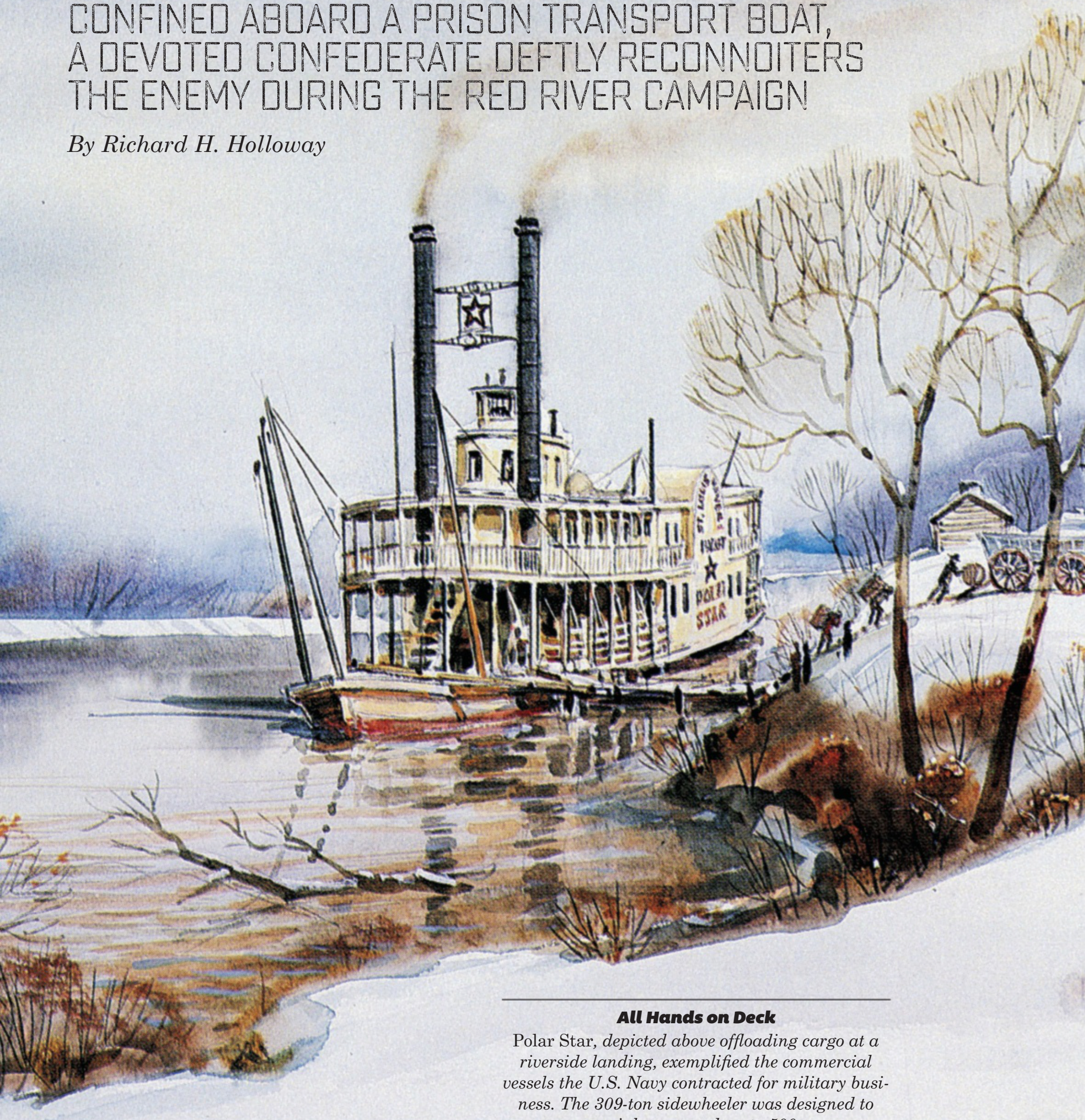
» **George Stoneman** remained a prisoner of war for three months until he was exchanged, in no small part due to a request by Sherman. By December 1864, he was leading raids in East Tennessee, and in April–May 1865 he led a sweeping raid through the Carolinas and into Georgia. He remained in the Army after the war, ending his service in 1871 in command of the Department of Arizona. He moved to California, where he became involved in politics, serving as the state governor from 1883-1887. He died of a stroke in New York in 1894.

» **Alfred Iverson** served the rest of the war and is believed to have refused to sign an oath of allegiance at the end. After engaging in business in Macon, he moved to Florida in 1877 to raise oranges. A freeze in 1895 wiped him out and he moved to Atlanta to live with one of his daughters. He died there in March 1911. *–R.C.*

FOR THE CAUSE

CONFINED ABOARD A PRISON TRANSPORT BOAT, A DEVOTED CONFEDERATE DEFTLY RECONNOITERS THE ENEMY DURING THE RED RIVER CAMPAIGN

By Richard H. Holloway



All Hands on Deck

Polar Star*, depicted above offloading cargo at a riverside landing, exemplified the commercial vessels the U.S. Navy contracted for military business. The 309-ton sidewheeler was designed to carry commercial cargo and up to 500 passengers.*



"LAST BOAT OF THE WINTER" BY CHARLES GOSLIN



Cunning Tiger
David Boyd first fought with the Army of Northern Virginia's famed Louisiana Tigers before returning west to fight in his adopted home state of Louisiana.

On the afternoon of February 3, 1864, while taking a leisurely horseback ride about five miles outside Alexandria, La., Confederate Major David French Boyd was stopped and forced into custody by a small band of so-called "Jayhawkers." These brigands, better known to history perhaps as "Louisiana Scouts," were draft dodgers, deserters, and Unionists who, after robbing people and places for their own benefit, would hide out in the swamps to evade both military and civilian authorities.

Boyd was chief engineer on the staff of Maj. Gen. Richard Taylor, commander of the District of West Louisiana, and Taylor wasn't about to disregard this transgression. He instructed his cavalry to hunt down the criminals and ordered that any armed man of draft age who could not account for himself was to be shot on the spot. To a subordinate stationed at Fort DeRussy, Taylor directed: "No officer should be permitted to travel north of the [Red] river from here [Alexandria] to Marksville until we root out this band. At present they number 15, but the whole population sympathize[s] with them."

Public opinion be damned, however—Taylor planned to do all he could to stop these hoodlums from assaulting and kidnapping his men.

Nearly a week after Boyd's abduction, his captors decided to sell him to Federal forces occupying Natchez, Miss. But en route to Natchez, as the group crossed the Black River, the small skiff they were using overturned, plunging Boyd and the outlaws into the icy river. A veteran swimmer, Boyd saved the lives of two of his captors who would have otherwise drowned. During his struggles in the water, Boyd also managed to rid himself of $5,000 he had stashed in his boot, money intended as payroll for the Confederates' garrison at Fort DeRussy. Better that the money be lost than end up in the hands of the Jayhawkers or Federal guards.

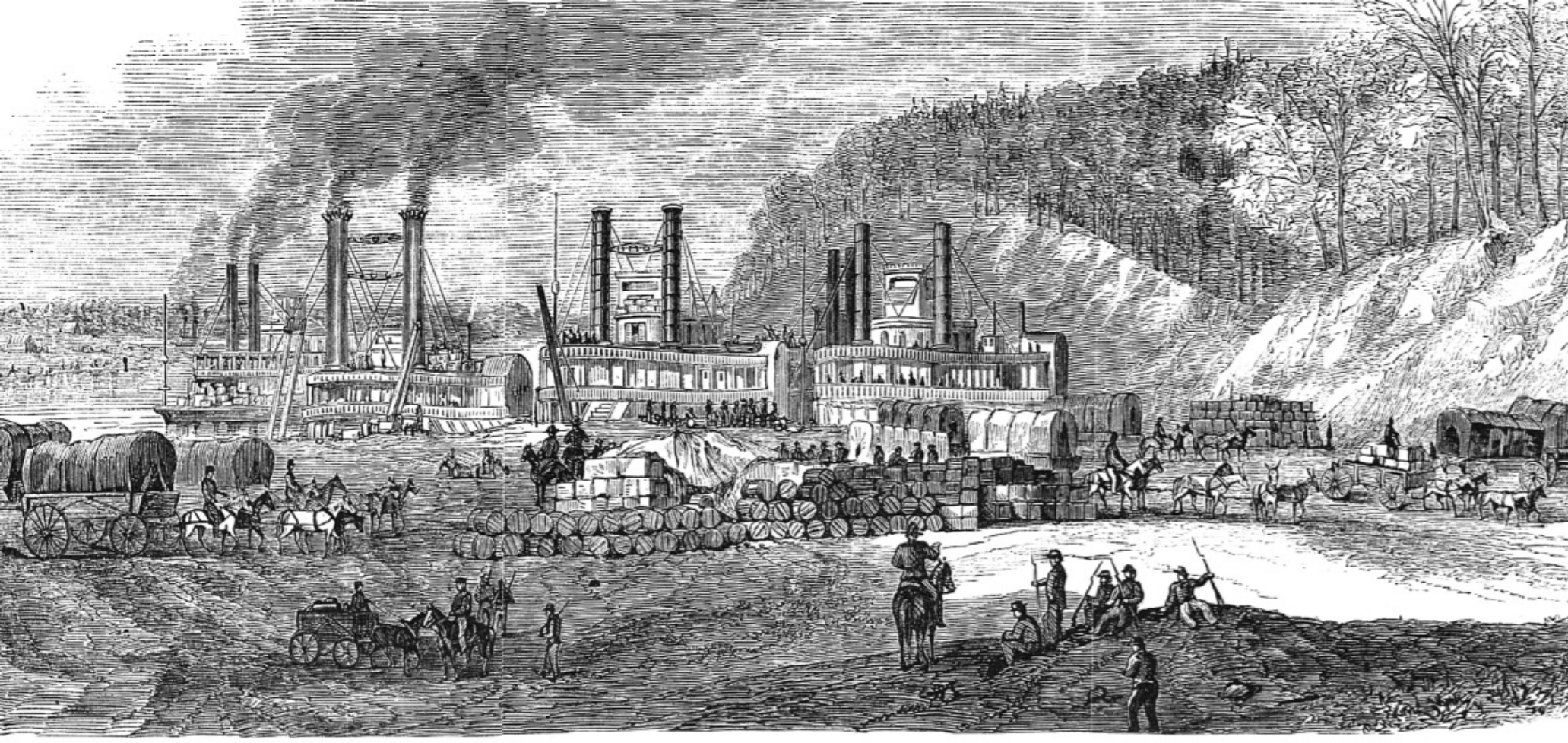
Despite his heroism, Boyd was sold for $100 to the Yankee authorities in Natchez on February 7. To his good fortune, he soon learned that an old friend in high places happened to be just up the road at Vicksburg: Union Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman. When "Cump" received Boyd's letter, he was visiting the city he had helped conquer under Ulysses S. Grant's command in July 1863.

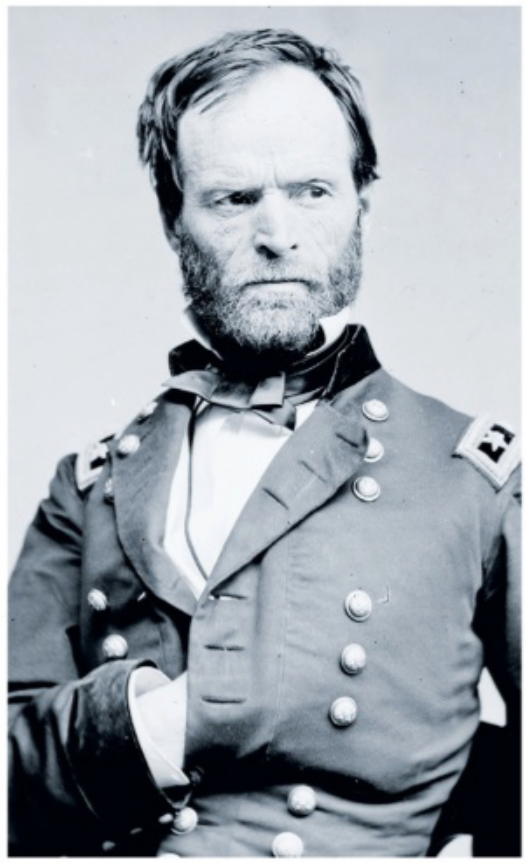
Boyd had been one of Sherman's professors during the latter's tenure as president of the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy in Pineville—today's Louisiana State University. He informed Sherman of his incarceration at Natchez, saying he wished to be transferred to Federal custody in New Orleans, where a formal system of exchange was already in place for prisoners of war in the Trans-Mississippi Theater. Sherman acquiesced and Boyd was soon on his way to the Big Easy. Sherman even allowed Boyd to ride aboard his ship on the journey south, later writing in a letter to his wife that until they parted, "He [Boyd] clung to me till I came away."

Prison life did not suit Boyd. A request for a mattress, blankets, and a pillow from his captors was immediately granted, but his pleas to be allowed to roam the city on parole were denied. Boyd also complained about the noise and his lack of privacy within the facility to no avail. By late March, the prison became even more crowded with officers taken prisoner after engagements at Fort DeRussy (March 14) and Henderson Hill (March 21). Among the latter number was yet another member of Taylor's staff, Captain Charles LeDoux Elgee. Though young, Elgee was sickly in nature and Taylor wished to secure his

GENERAL TAYLOR HAD HIS CAVALRY HUNT DOWN THE CRIMINALS AND ORDERED THAT ANY ARMED MAN OF DRAFT AGE UNABLE TO ACCOUNT FOR HIMSELF BE SHOT ON THE SPOT

LSU PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, 1886-1926, LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, LSU LIBRARIES, BATON ROUGE, LA







Louisiana Adventure

Top: Grand Ecore, La., where Polar Star *began its journey as a prison transport boat. Above left: William T. Sherman commanded no troops in the Red River Campaign but affected its outcome somewhat by acceding to David Boyd's prisoner transfer request, giving the major a chance to spy for his commander, Maj. Gen. Richard Taylor (above right).*

release before the onset of yellow fever season (mosquito season, as Louisianans are well aware, can sometimes run for 9–10 months).

Surprisingly, even during the Red River Campaign, commanders from both sides agreed to a formal prisoner exchange to take place at Grand Ecore on the Red River, north of Natchitoches. Early the morning of April 5, Boyd and 56 other Confederate officers, along with 60 noncommissioned officers and more than 300 enlisted men from another prison, were lined up on the docks to board the transport vessel *Polar Star*. (Confederate Lieutenant John C. Sibley of the 2nd Louisiana Cavalry, one of Boyd's fellow prisoners, was undoubtedly one of the best-dressed of the lot, as the night before he had thrown a rope out of his window and pulled in a new linen shirt and $32 in greenbacks courtesy of two local ladies. As the Confederates lined up to ascend the gangplanks, Sibley recalled, "Hundreds of ladies crowded the levee to see us leave. There were several gentlemen but they dare not make any sign of Pleasure or they are arrested.")

In addition to the large ironclad gunboat fleet the Union had amassed to complement Maj. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks' forces marching overland toward Shreveport, the Navy enlisted the assistance of dozens of independently owned transports. They were all under Federal contract with the Department of the Gulf's quartermaster corps to move men and material.

One of those ships was *Polar Star*, which had first operated as a service vessel for people traversing the Missouri River. Constructed in 1858, *Polar Star* had a crew of 35, which included cooks and waiters, as well as a chambermaid and a pantry man to feed the crew and passengers. Once all were aboard, *Polar Star*'s captain—Horace Holton, a Missourian—steered the boat up the Mississippi River "with 450 Secesh prisoners to exchange."

On April 6, *Polar Star* passed Baton Rouge and Port Hudson. A day after entering the Red River, the boat reached recently captured Alexandria, where its prisoners got a chance to converse with Yankee soldiers stationed on shore. "The *Polar Star* came up with 500 prisoners on the way to the front to be exchanged," recalled a member of the 128th New York Infantry. "They were delighted at the

FROM TOP: *FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWS*; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS (2)

prospect of a chance to fight us again."

A few of the soldiers in the 38th Massachusetts Infantry vented to the prisoners aboard the ship concerning a recent guerrilla attack. "The rebels shouted back the taunts defiantly and pointed up the river," recalled one Yankee.

On the same day, reports of the disposition of the Union's Mississippi River Squadron, and other pertinent information about waterborne troop movements reached Taylor's hands. Cryptically, the general wrote, "The progress of these vessels up the river was closely watched by an officer of my staff, who was also in communication with [Brig.] General [St. John R.] Liddel[l] on the north side [of the Red River]." The reports came from spies keeping a tally of Union ships and soldier strengths—an officer in addition to Major Boyd.

"[On April 7] we came above Grantecore [Grand Ecore], noted Private John C. Porter of Texas, one of Boyd's fellow prisoners aboard *Polar Star*. "This was just prior to the Mansfield and Pleasant Hill battles." Wrote Captain Edward T. King, a Confederate artillerist injured and captured at Fort DeRussy, "Owing to the retreat of General Taylor and the Confederate Army, no exchange was made and they took us on with them until their defeat and retreat." Holton, meanwhile, bitterly complained: "Went up 400 miles [and] through some strange mismanagement, got 80 miles beyond our lines. Had our retreat cut off & but for the [fact] of bearing a flag of truce, would inevitably been captured, were stopped twice by Rebels who boarded us[,] examined papers & passed us on our way."

During the trip, Boyd had secretly made detailed notes in the margins of a newspaper he carried. He jotted down the locations and numbers of the Federal gunboats, troops, and guns he had heard about or seen while aboard *Polar Star*. According to Private Porter, during the first Confederate detainment of the vessel on April 7, "[O]ur boat was halted by Confederate Cavalry, and the officer in command went ashore and had an interview. We could have easily taken boat, crew and guard, but we were upon parole [i.e., had given their word of honor not to attempt an escape], and did not suspect them [the ship's crew] of acting treacherously."

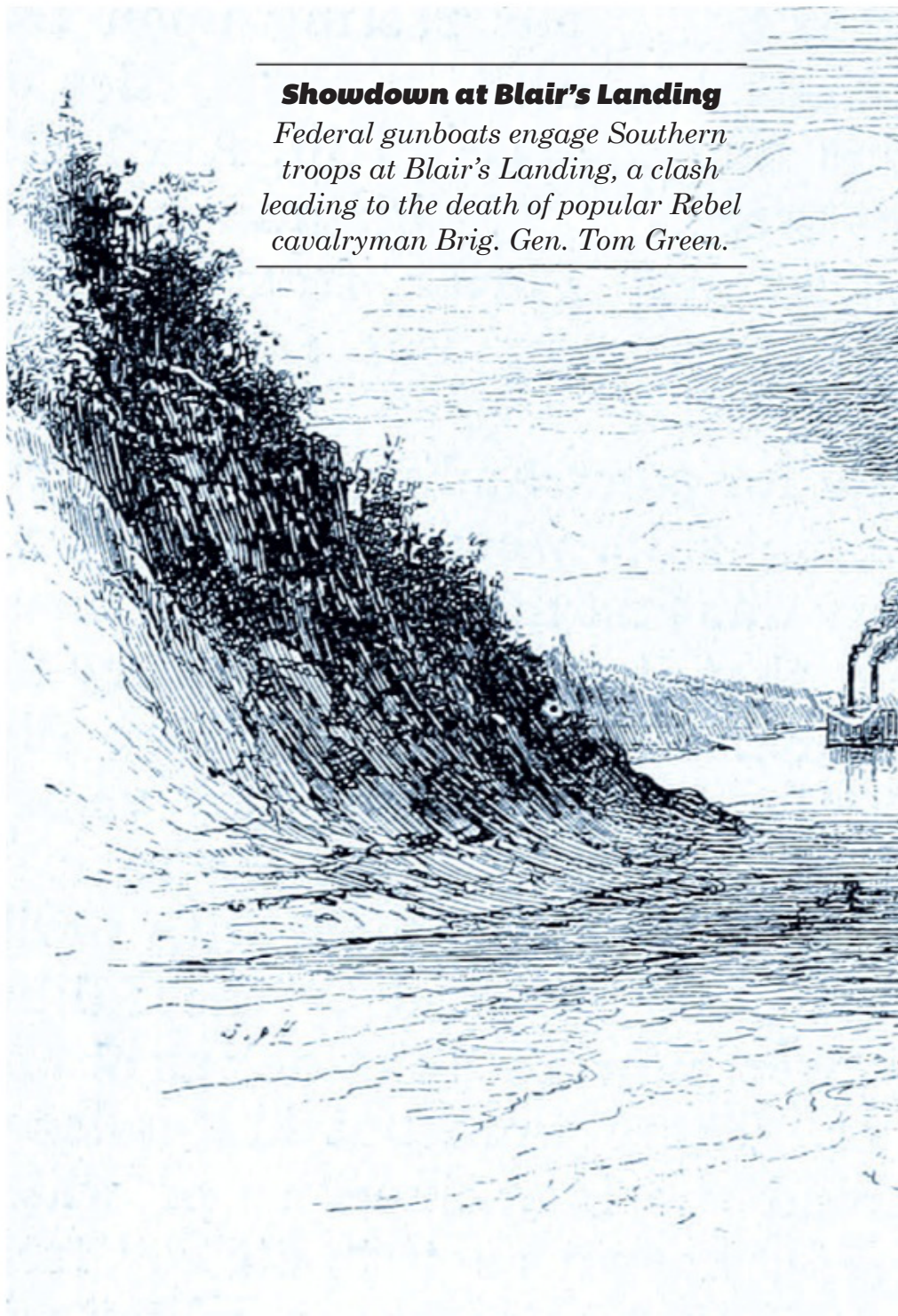
A Confederate surgeon was allowed to board the vessel during the stop to examine sick prisoners. Boyd secreted the newspaper into the doctor's possession under the promise he would get it into General Taylor's hands as soon as possible. Apparently, Holton and his sailors were already becoming more cautious after that first stop by the Confederates. On April 9, Sibley remembered, "[J]ust before dark, there came an order to…blow no whistles, and look out for sharpshooters. Something is wrong above [their position]."

As it turned out, the surgeon Boyd contacted did not understand the need for urgency and delayed in delivering the message to Taylor until April 19. Even at that late date, the information still proved valuable to the Confederate commander.

BOYD JOTTED DOWN LOCATIONS AND NUMBERS OF FEDERAL GUNBOATS, TROOPS, AND GUNS HE HAD HEARD ABOUT OR SEEN WHILE ABOARD *POLAR STAR*

On April 10, Sibley noted, "We passed several Confeds today who hailed our boat to know what our flag of truce was for, among others was Lieut. Fontleroy [T.K. Fauntleroy] of [Captain Oliver] Semmes' Battery [dispatched by Taylor to harass enemy ships]. We left him on shore ready to pitch into the fleet as it comes down." Captain King similarly lamented, "We had not gone very far…when we were ordered to stop and land under [the] guns of a Confederate battery. Of course, we were greatly rejoiced, but to our surprise, Lieutenant Fontleroy [Fauntleroy] under whose guns we had been brought to land, after coming aboard and having a conference with the officers in charge and with Colonel Bosworth, Colonel Bird [Byrd] and some other Confederate officers [allowed the vessel to proceed]. We were greatly discouraged to see them allow the Federal officers to continue with their boat and prisoners."

King later speculated, "There was never a greater mis-



Showdown at Blair's Landing

Federal gunboats engage Southern troops at Blair's Landing, a clash leading to the death of popular Rebel cavalryman Brig. Gen. Tom Green.

take made, for we were fairly recaptured and if given our liberty could have not only saved the large quantities of provisions she had in her [*Polar Star*'s] hull, [some of] which I saw her discharge [previously] at Natchitoches but we could also have sunk her on some shallow places in the river and prevented the escape of the immense fleet above. The Federal army was badly discouraged by their defeat and could have been captured if properly pressed."

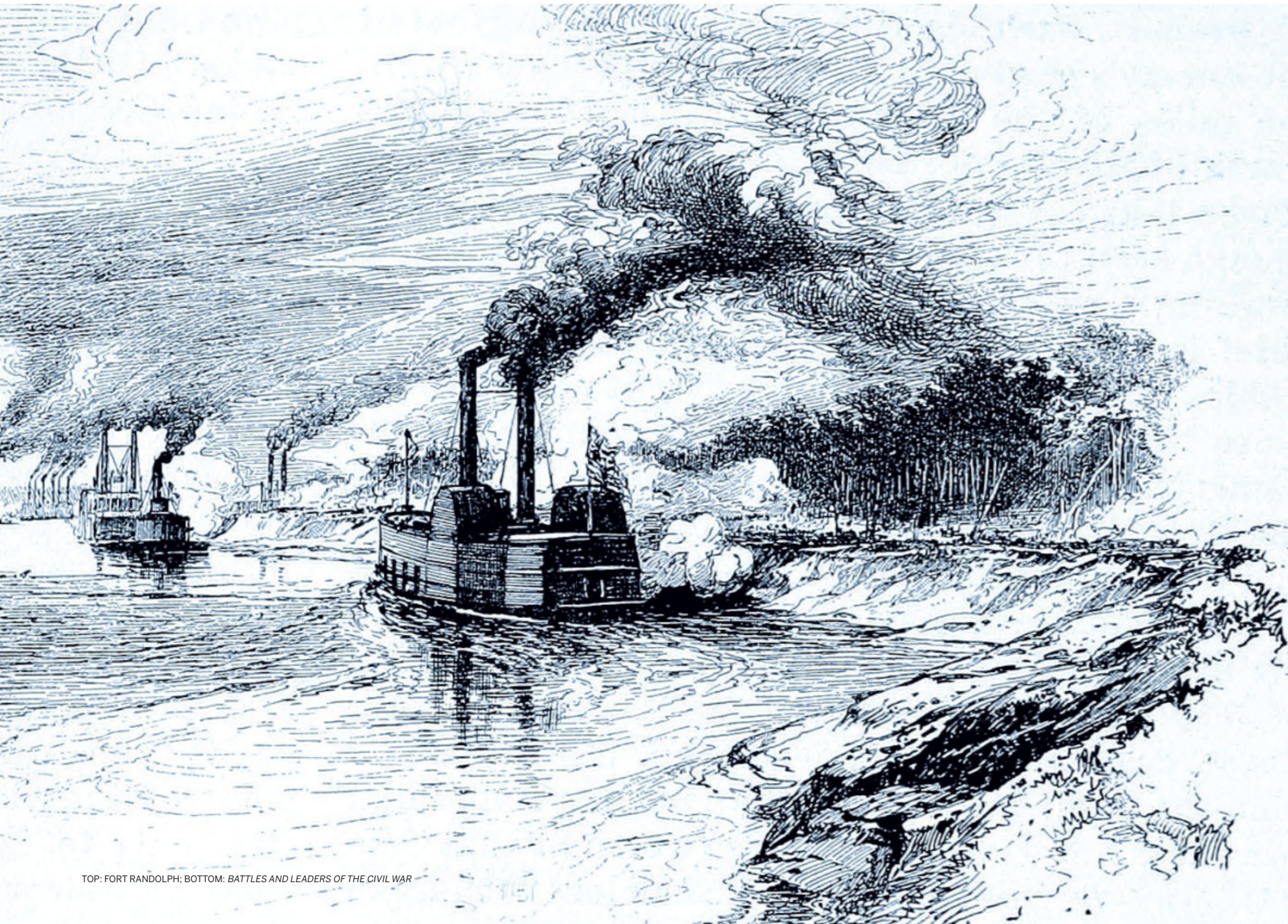
Two days later, *Polar Star*'s captives witnessed the April 12-13, 1864, Battle of Blair's Landing. Ironically, one of the observers was Lt. Col. James D. Blair of the 2nd Louisiana Cavalry, who owned the landing being fought over. Confederate Brig. Gen. Tom Green of Texas led a bold attack with his cavalry against the Yankee gunboats in the river. Headway was being made as the horsemen waded into the river and almost disabled the lead boat, but a cannon shot killed Green and the attack quickly dissipated. Of the affair, Holton wrote, "You may expect to hear of an awful fight and I tremble for the result. Our Gun Boats are anchored there and I hope a good deal from them."

Due to the pandemonium of the Red River Campaign, the order exchanging the troops was temporarily rescinded. Late on April 14, Sibley noticed they were "[d]ownward bound, [the] exchange played out. We are again on our way to prison." Porter recalled, "When they [the boat offi-

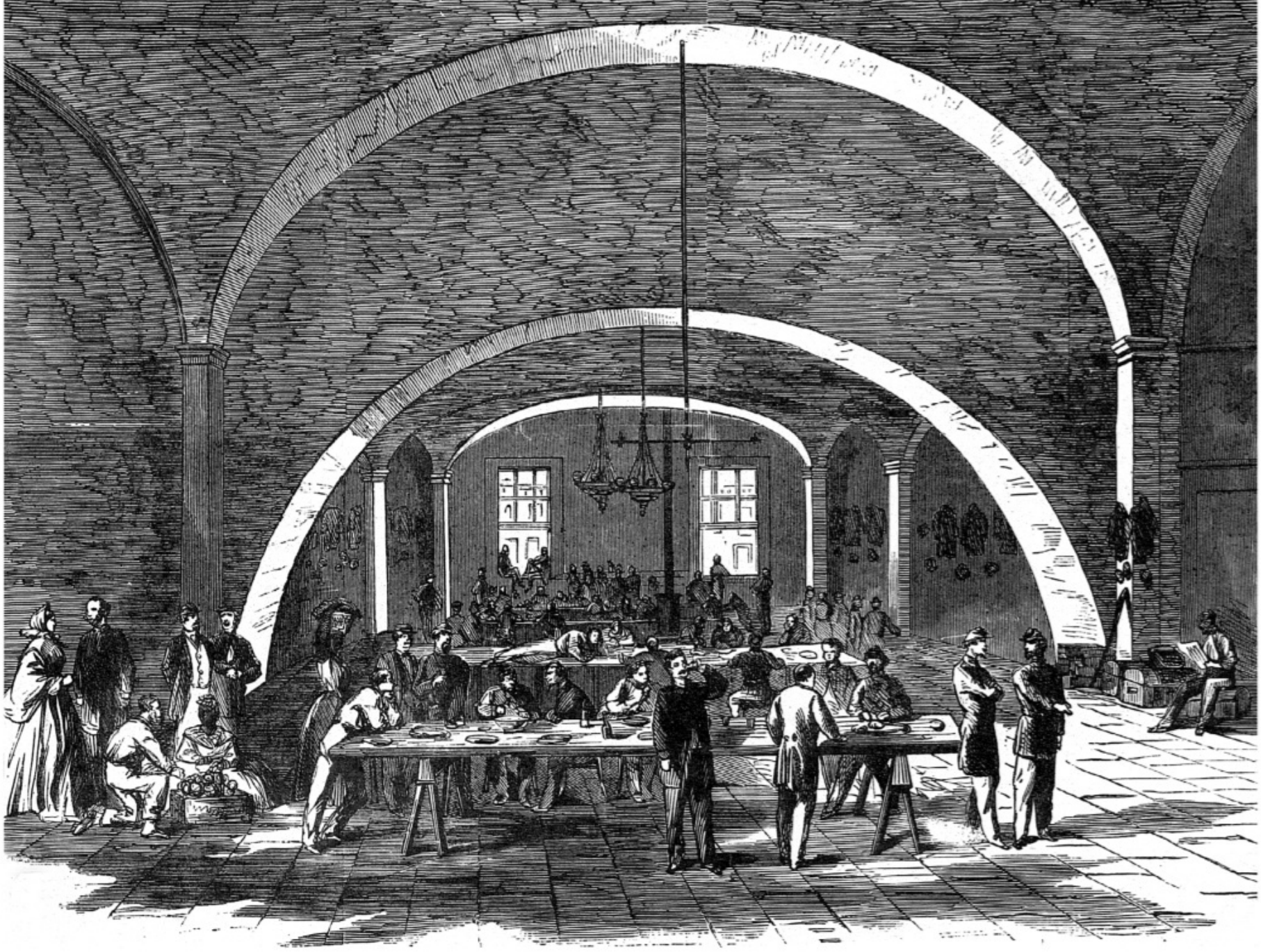
Swamp Men

The outlaw bands running rampant through central Louisiana in 1864 called themselves Jayhawkers, a label we typically associate with antislavery guerrillas in Kansas. At first, these Jayhawkers were organized into smaller bands, but when Union Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Banks arrived to begin the Red River Campaign, he offered them a place in his army. The Yankees dubbed them "Louisiana Scouts." Described as "more like ragamuffins than men," they nevertheless inflicted heavy damage in the region. But when the defeated Yankees retreated, Rebel cavalry hunted down and killed or dispersed the Jayhawkers. The most infamous of the lot was probably Ozeme Carriere (shown). As a local once groused: "Carriere, with his band of jay-hawkers…has been very actively engaged in robbing the citizens of all the fine horses, guns…thus showing a disposition to carry on their thieving business publicly." ***–R.H.H.***





TOP: FORT RANDOLPH; BOTTOM: *BATTLES AND LEADERS OF THE CIVIL WAR*



Waiting Game
This drawing of Confederate prisoners in the Custom House in Union-occupied New Orleans appeared in the August 29, 1863, Harper's Weekly.

cers] had decoyed us to Alexandria, within their lines, they became bold, and told us they were taking us back to New Orleans. This was about dark, and some of the men began to make preparations to jump off, which four succeeded in doing; the last of whom leaped from the top of the banister, which made a tremendous splash when he struck the water, and the guard upon the hurricane deck, shot at him, with what effect none of us ever knew. But he had given away the plan, and the officers doubled the guard. Before the light of another day, we were again upon the bosom of the Father of Waters [Mississippi River], where it required but little restraint to keep us aboard."

On the 15th, *Polar Star* passed Baton Rouge, where the captain and crew learned more details about the battles at Mansfield and Pleasant Hill, both Confederate victories. The ship anchored off New Orleans the following day, waiting until another exchange could be arranged. Holton did not want to be "able to be made a target of [again]," reporting in frustration: "Both of my Boats are now seized by Gov. to go up Red River. I have abandoned [*Polar Star*] to [the] Government and they can put their own men in Charge & I will go back home in a day or two." Holton acknowledged, "I have just returned from a very dangerous trip up Red river."

True to his word, Holton quit the shipping business and opened his own military clothing depot.

In late July, Boyd and the rest of his fellow captives finally were exchanged for Federals captured during the Red River Campaign. Elgee died four months later, but Blair, Boyd, Sibley, King, and Porter returned to active duty. Years later, when Richard Taylor was writing his postwar reminiscences, he reached out to Boyd about his voyage on *Polar Star*. Boyd responded, elated that Taylor had been able to use his intelligence and harass Banks' forces until they escaped to safety across the Atchafalaya River in late May 1864. Amazingly, Taylor still had the newspaper Boyd had given him.

Boyd, meanwhile, continued to regale his friends with the story of rescuing the two "long-bearded sinners" from drowning on the way to Natchez. As for *Polar Star*, the vessel returned to passenger transport work after the war, until 1883, when its boilers suddenly exploded on a routine trip up the Missouri River, sending it to an inglorious end at the bottom of the muddy water.

Richard H. Holloway is a Louisiana Park Ranger, based at Forts Randolph and Buhlow in Pineville. He has worked with the Louisiana National Guard; Louisiana State University (Baton Rouge and Alexandria); and George Washington University. His biographies of Richard Taylor, Hamilton Bee, and William Boggs can be found in Confederate Generals of the Trans-Mississippi, Vol. 3.

HARPER'S WEEKLY





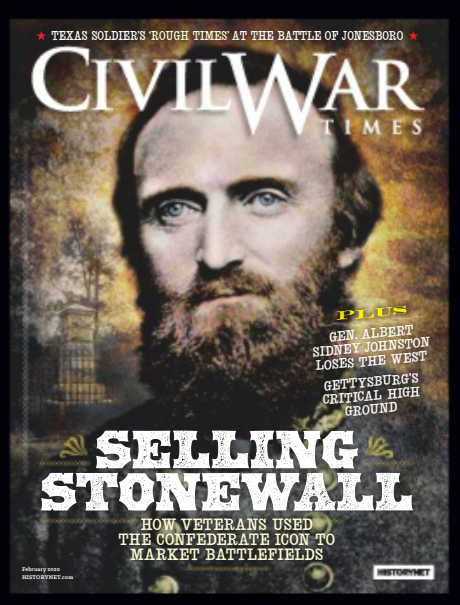
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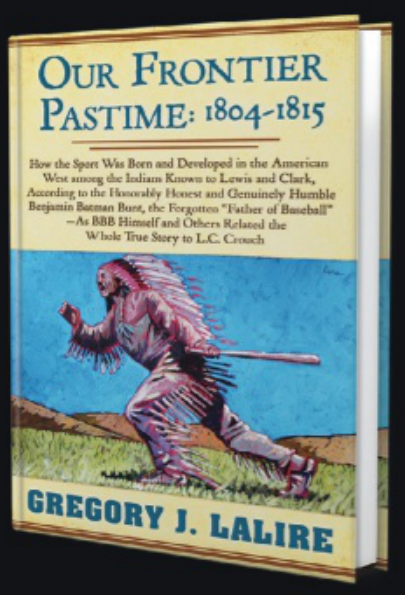
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Martinsburg, W. Va.

Off the Rails

A GATEWAY BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH, THIS TRANSPORTATION HUB WAS COVETED TERRITORY FOR BOTH SIDES

Trailside is produced in partnership with Civil War Trails Inc., which connects visitors to lesser-known sites and allows them to follow in the footsteps of the great campaigns. Civil War Trails has to date 1,552 sites across five states and produces more than a dozen maps. Visit civilwartrails.org and check in at your favorite sign #civilwartrails.

When the pavement beneath your feet begins to rumble and the whistle of another passing freight train pierces the silence of this sleepy town, it's easy to understand how the antebellum city of Martinsburg, Va. (now West Virginia), prospered as a major transportation center due to its location along the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Martinsburg was the Shenandoah Valley's second-largest town, with a population of more than 3,360. Its fortune before the war, however, would be its downfall during it. Strategically located as a gateway between the North and South, the Union and Confederacy contested for it frequently and it changed hands nearly 40 times, though its residents remained stubbornly Unionist even when the state seceded. In May 1861, General Joseph E. Johnston ordered then-Colonel Thomas J. Jackson to destroy the rolling stock in Martinsburg, a task Jackson began begrudgingly in June, burning 300 cars and destroying 42 locomotives. "It was sad work," he wrote his wife, Anna, "but I had my orders and my duty was to obey." In October 1862, after the Battle of Antietam, Jackson returned to Martinsburg as he destroyed more than 20 miles of track between Harpers Ferry and North Mountain, 17 bridges, and more than 100 miles of telegraph wire. This time, without hesitation, he ordered the burning of the town's roundhouses and all its shops, as well as the rail yards. Several skirmishes and battles were fought in the area, including as part of the Gettysburg Campaign and one on July 25, 1864, as part of Confederate General Jubal A. Early's summer campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. Martinsburg was also home to notorious Confederate spy Belle Boyd, whose house is now a museum. Visitors to the area can see the rebuilt roundhouse, peruse shops along the tracks, and follow battle actions via Civil War Trails signs posted around town. ***–Melissa A. Winn***

MARK SUMMERFELD/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO



The Roundhouse

136 East Race Street

In June 1861, the future "Stonewall" Jackson, under orders from General Joseph Johnston, stripped Martinsburg's Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Roundhouse and Shop Complex of all the stationary equipment, tools, and a 40-foot turntable. The roundhouse itself and shops suffered only minor damage. When Stonewall returned in October 1862, after Antietam, he dared not leave anything of use for the Federals and ordered all the buildings burned. The roundhouse complex standing today was rebuilt after the war, beginning in 1865, and includes two roundhouses, the Bridge and Machine Shop, and the Frog and Switch Shop. Saturday tours are offered April through October from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.



Belle Boyd House 126 East Race Street

One of Martinsburg's most memorable residents, Confederate spy Belle Boyd, lived at this address for part of her childhood. Boyd most famously supplied Stonewall Jackson with information about enemy activities. She was imprisoned twice for espionage before being banished to England. Benjamin Boyd, Belle's father, built the house in 1853. When it was threatened with demolition in 1992, the Berkeley County Historical Society rescued it. The Society now operates it as a museum.

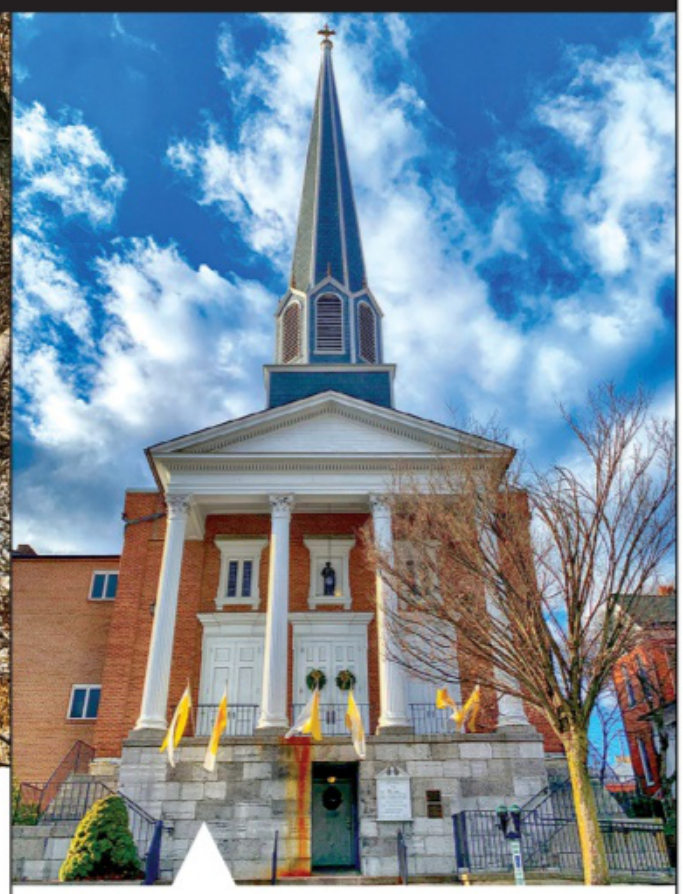


Colonnade Bridge Site

The historic colonnade-style bridge once carried the railroad tracks over Burke Street and Tuscarora Creek. Built in the 1840s, the colonnade structure was blown up in June 1861 as Confederates destroyed sites around town that could be useful to the Federals. Portions of the structure's stonework columns, or abutments, still remain. In July 1864, Union Colonel and future President Rutherford B. Hayes reportedly lay ill for several days in a nearby building.

Green Hill Cemetery 486 East Burke Street

This 1854 cemetery was designed by Martinsburg resident David Hunter Strother, who would go on to serve the Union during the Civil War in several capacities, including as a topographer. Among the graves are 30 unknown Confederate soldiers, as well as Captain E.G. Alburtis, who commanded the Berkeley Company at Harpers Ferry during the October 1859 John Brown Raid.

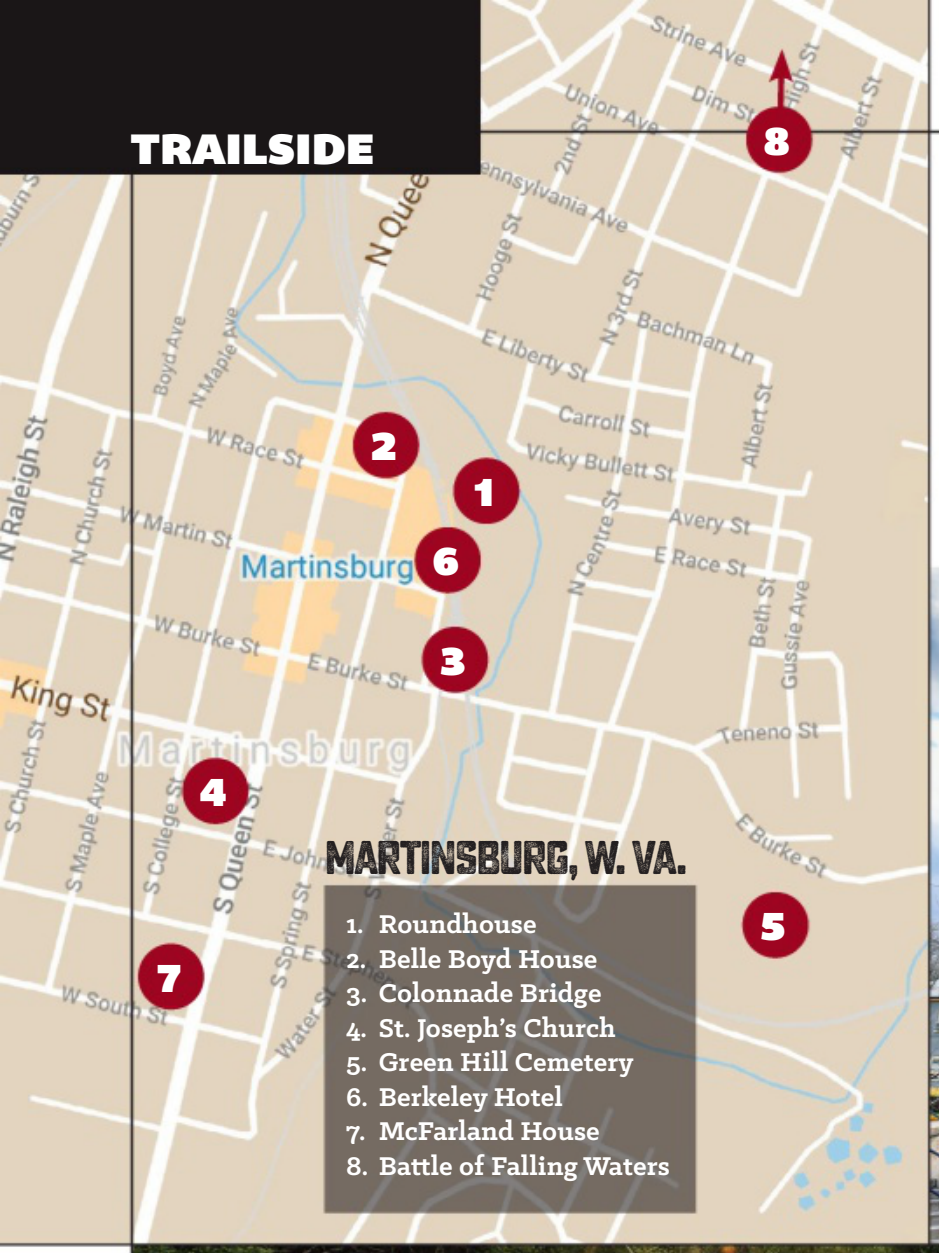


St. Joseph's Catholic Church

225 South Queen Street

Dedicated on May 30, 1860, the church here was used incessantly throughout the war, serving as a hospital and a stable. In the war's aftermath, the church filed a claim with the Southern Claims Commission for fees to be paid for rent, as well as for damage, including to the graveyard. The church applied for nearly $4,000, but was awarded only $2,880.

PHOTOS BY MELISSA A. WINN



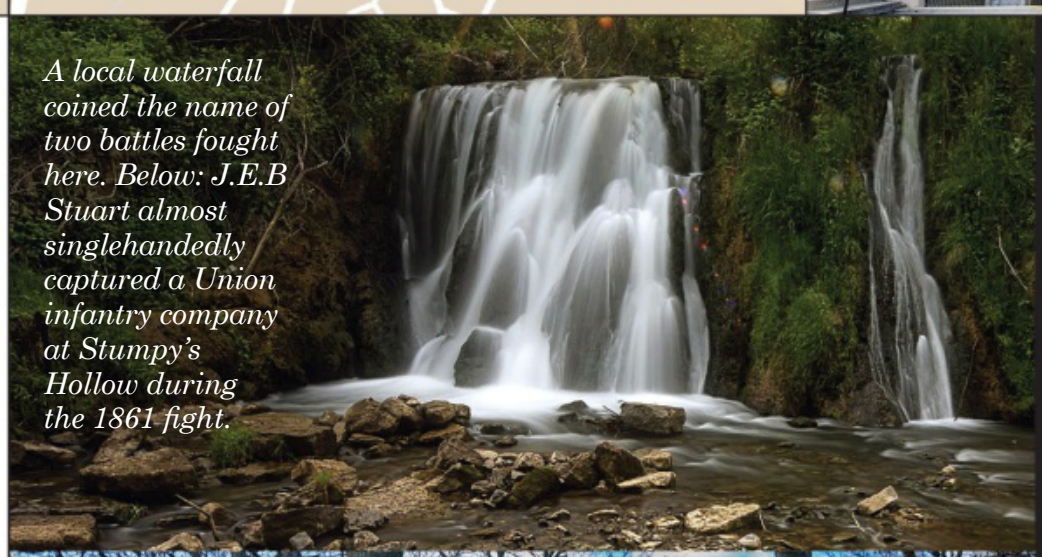
MARTINSBURG, W. VA.

1. Roundhouse
2. Belle Boyd House
3. Colonnade Bridge
4. St. Joseph's Church
5. Green Hill Cemetery
6. Berkeley Hotel
7. McFarland House
8. Battle of Falling Waters

The Berkeley Hotel 117 East Race Street

When the Confederates burned Martinsburg in the aftermath of the Battle of Antietam, the antebellum Berkeley Hotel was one of the only buildings spared. The B&O Railroad bought the building in 1866, expanded it, and used it as the station, eating house, telegraph office, and hotel. In 1877, local trainmen and enginemen struck to protest wage cuts, starting the "Great Strike of 1877" nationwide. Railroad and military officials suppressed the strike here, using this building as headquarters. Today it serves as the town's visitors center.





A local waterfall coined the name of two battles fought here. Below: J.E.B Stuart almost singlehandedly captured a Union infantry company at Stumpy's Hollow during the 1861 fight.



FALLING WATERS

The Shenandoah Valley's first engagement of the Civil War, the **Battle of Falling Waters**, broke out here on July 2, 1861, on the farm of William Rush Porterfield. Under orders to delay Confederate troops amassing near Manassas, Union Maj. Gen. Robert Patterson and about 3,500 troops crossed the Potomac River and attempted to pin Confederates in Martinsburg. Then-Colonel Thomas Jackson ordered the 5th Virginia Infantry, about 380 men, and one cannon along the Valley Turnpike to meet them. Outnumbered and outgunned, the Rebels retreated after 45 minutes of fighting. Thereafter, Patterson, believing he had matched up against a larger Confederate force than was present, was more cautious, allowing Confederates to regroup and move out toward Manassas. The battle, named for the waterfalls located along the turnpike, was a Union triumph, but a strategic success for the Confederates, who three weeks later would claim a victory at the First Battle of Manassas, in part because of reinforcements from the Martinsburg area.

McFarland House 409 South Queen Street

This 1878 home was beautifully restored and now serves as a restaurant and wedding or event venue. Locals and visitors especially enjoy the McFarland House Sunday Brunch featuring breakfast and lunch favorites, including crepes, French toast, lobster bisque, and more. Reservations are suggested.



FROM TOP: MELISSA A. WINN; PHOTO BY SCOTT BETZ; MELISSA A. WINN; COURTESY OF THE MCFARLAND HOUSE

Civil War Institute
SUMMER CONFERENCE
GETTYSBURG, PA / JUNE 12–17, 2020

For more than 35 years, the Civil War Institute at Gettysburg College has hosted a premiere summer conference bringing leading historians and diverse public audiences from across the country and around the world together for lectures, battlefield tours, small group discussions, and roundtable conversations about the Civil War era.

This year's conference will feature a wide range of topics including POW prison escapes, soldier impressment, the guerrilla experience—and, a new conference element featuring debates between leading scholars about Civil War generalship. *Civil War Times* Editor Dana B. Shoaf is among the distinguished speakers at the conference.

Register now! www.gettysburg.edu/civil-war-institute/summer-conference



Confederate cannons on Gettysburg's Benner's Hill

CIVIL WAR INSTITUTE
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WHAT POKER HAND WAS WILD BILL HICKOK HOLDING WHEN SHOT DOWN IN A DEADWOOD SALOON?

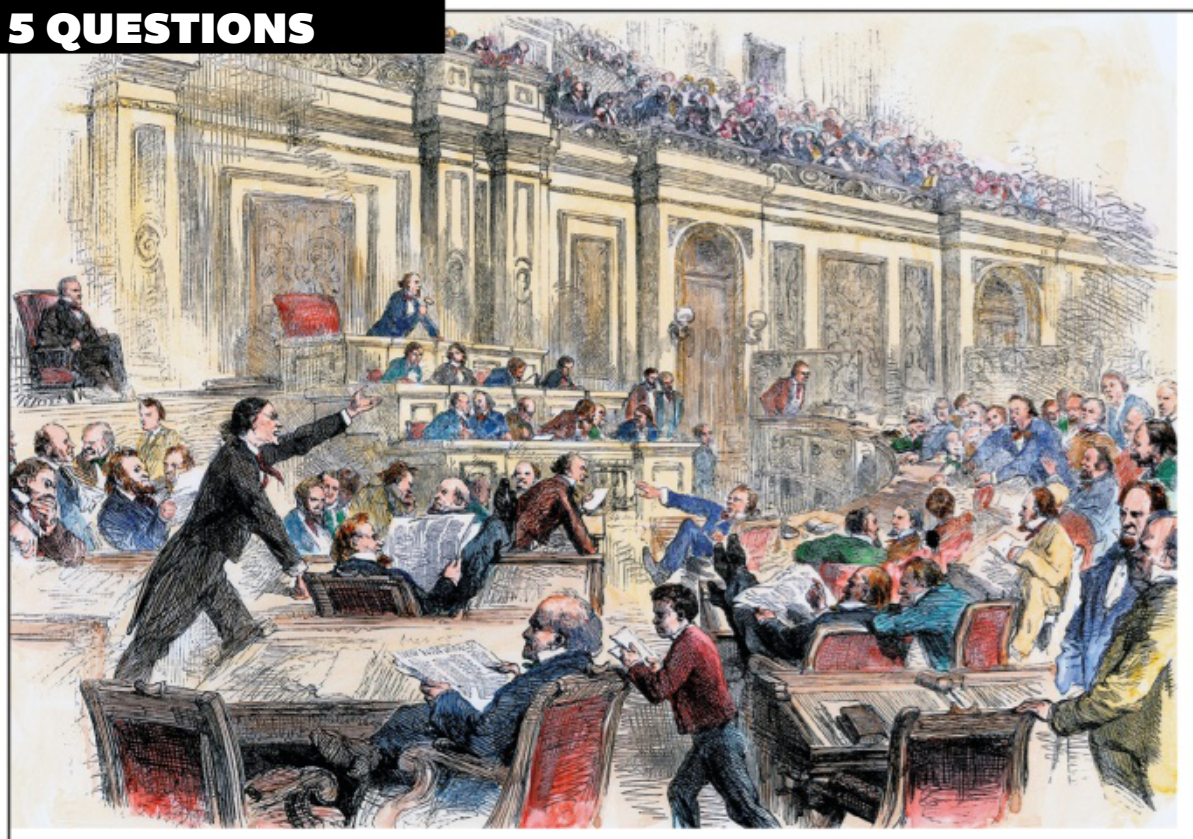
Two pair (aces and eights),
four of a kind (spades),
a pair of aces, or three jacks?

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ANSWER: TWO PAIR (ACES AND EIGHTS). GUNNED DOWN WHILE PLAYING FIVE-CARD STUD IN A DEADWOOD SALOON BY JACK MCCALL, HICKOK WAS HOLDING BLACK ACES AND BLACK EIGHTS AS HIS "UP CARDS", THE IDENTITY OF THE FIFTH CARD, THE "HOLE CARD" IS THE SUBJECT OF DEBATE. THE HAND BECAME KNOWN AS "DEADMAN'S HAND".

Interview by Nancy Tappan



Impassioned debate on the floor of Congress sometime in the winter of 1860-61, as captured in a contemporary hand-colored woodcut.

Reverse Course



On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln promised in his inaugural address not to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed. In *Congress at War: How Republican Reformers Fought the Civil War, Defied Lincoln, Ended Slavery, and Remade America*, historian **Fergus M. Bordewich** examines how Radical Republicans in the 37th and 38th Congresses changed Lincoln's mindset, getting him to fight the Confederacy aggressively; emancipate 4 million enslaved African Americans and protect their civil rights; and enact legislation that made the federal government stronger.

1 What legislators were central in the two Civil War Congresses?
Two were leading Radicals, Rep. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Sen. Ben Wade of Ohio. Both advocated an aggressive war policy and forceful action to liberate the South's slaves. Another, Sen. William P. Fessenden of Maine, a conservative by nature, only belatedly aligned himself with the Radicals; as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, he was a pivotal figure in raising money to carry on the war. The fourth, Ohio Rep. Clement L. Vallandigham was a Copperhead—a Northern Democrat with Southern sympathies—and the leading advocate for a negotiated peace.

2 What did the special session of the 37th Congress that met in summer 1861 achieve?
The special session in effect made the war a reality. Passage of the Confiscation Act facilitated the liberation of enslaved people as "contraband of war," and began the march toward emancipation. The biggest war loan in American history to date was approved, and the first income tax was enacted. Lincoln was given the authority to mobilize state militias for the war's duration.

3 Why was Congress' decision to form the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War important?
That committee was the driving engine of congressional war policy, pressuring Lincoln to be more aggressive militarily and to act more decisively against slavery. The committee challenged Union commanders it considered insufficiently committed to a hard-war policy. Had the committee been less forcefully led, McClellan and other cautious generals would likely have remained in command far longer and the pressure to recruit black troops would have been far weaker.

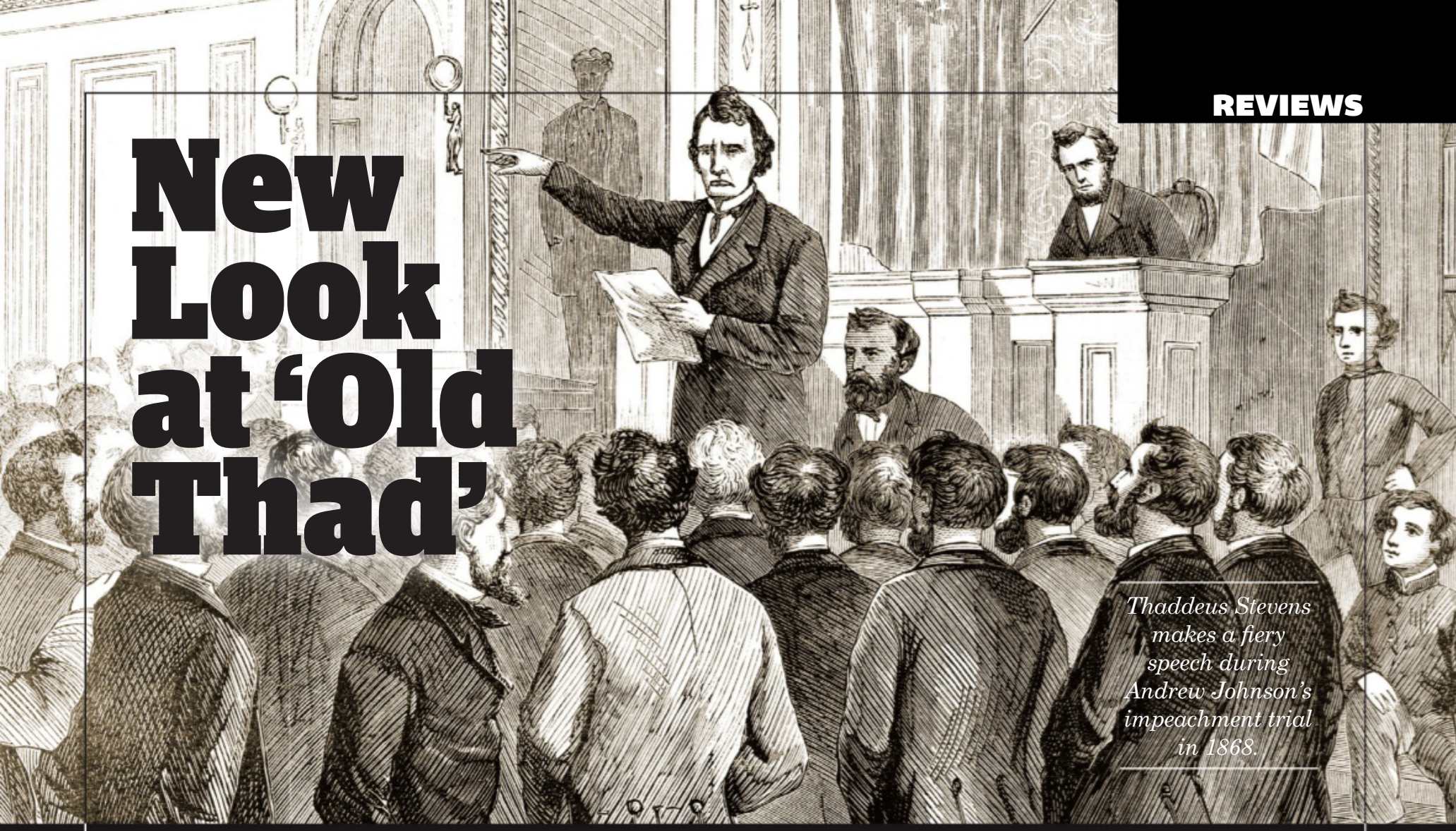
4 Congress enacted innovative legislation that still affects the country. Please talk about those bills.
This was one of the most dynamic periods of legislative activism in U.S. history. Congress made the Union victory possible by raising the astronomical sums needed to sustain the war effort. It issued the first national currency, and passed far-reaching legislation that had long been blocked by prewar Southern intransigence, such as Western homesteading, the Transcontinental Railroad, and the establishment of land-grant colleges.

5 Clement Vallandigham is seen as an appalling racist and traitor. Your view is more nuanced.
He was the Copperheads' most outspoken leader in Congress and an unapologetic white supremacist who vigorously opposed the Union war effort and tirelessly attacked "negro equality." But he was a complex figure. He opposed capital punishment, and advocated for the immigrant working class. He defended traditional civil liberties against federal provost marshals and repressive measures, such as closure of Copperhead newspapers and the jailing of antiwar men exercising the right of free speech. Had he been more enlightened on race and the Union, he might well be celebrated as one of America's great wartime dissenters.

To read the full interview, go to bit.ly/CivilWarCongress

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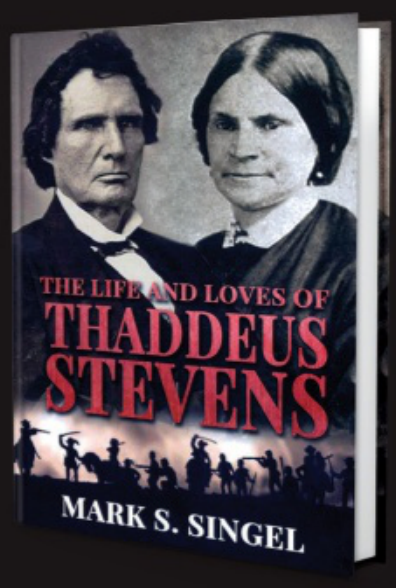
New Look at 'Old Thad'



Thaddeus Stevens makes a fiery speech during Andrew Johnson's impeachment trial in 1868.

Ever since Tommy Lee Jones brought Pennsylvania Congressman Thaddeus Stevens vividly to life in Steven Spielberg's 2012 *Lincoln*, "Old Thad" seems to have emerged from the historical shadows to which he had long been relegated, and thrust into the prominence he has long deserved. This combative, irrepressible hero of the antislavery and civil rights movements helped pummel America into recognizing if not its culpability for the sin of slavery, then at least its obligation to destroy the institution that caused the Civil War. Unfortunately for Stevens, he was so irascible, so volatile, and so flagrant about his daring private life, that he attracted few admirers in his own time, and few advocates for celebrating his legacy after his death.

According to Mark S. Singel, author of this compelling if eccentric new biography, Stevens' lengthy absence from mainstream history can be attributed almost entirely to his romantic life, for he engaged in a longtime, live-in affair with a woman of color. Earlier generations of historians tended to portray Stevens as a raging firebrand whose aversion to political compromise alone kept him outside the political mainstream, and tarnished his reputation thereafter. Singel directs his most effective reflections on the shocking (at the time), yet endearing, nature of his relationship with Lydia Smith, disguised in Stevens' own era as an employer–housekeeper arrangement, but clearly much more, at least according to tongue-wagging gossips of the day.



The Life and Loves of Thaddeus Stevens
By Mark S. Singel
Sunbury Press, 2019, $19.95

It certainly is a perfect time for reappraisal. The Vermont-born, Dartmouth-educated Stevens was a strong foe of presidential overreach, an ardent critic of President Andrew Johnson, and a leader of the 1868 impeachment against Lincoln's White House successor. He also was a businessman, lawyer (who, ironically, once defended a slave owner in reclaiming a fugitive), and adopted son of Pennsylvania, who seems to have succeeded in politics in spite of, rather than because of, his take-no-prisoners approach—not to mention his philosophical evolution from anti-Mason to abolitionist. One gets the notion, even if it isn't quite stated, he would have fit perfectly into the partisan politics of the 21st century.

Singel, a former lieutenant governor and, briefly, acting governor of Pennsylvania, has tried something quite unique in this book, alternating well-researched biography with speculative narrative fancy (printed in an archaic-looking typeface to set the fiction apart from the fact). Although these asides are unfailingly entertaining, readers will have to decide for themselves whether the conceit works.

That Pennsylvania today could nurture, elect, and support a politician eager to look to the past to illuminate the future is as unusual as it is commendable. One has almost lost faith in the expectation that our leaders know our history, but here is one who does. Singel is a good historian, a fine writer, and an adventurous biographer, too. –*Harold Holzer*

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Civil War Monuments and the Militarization of America

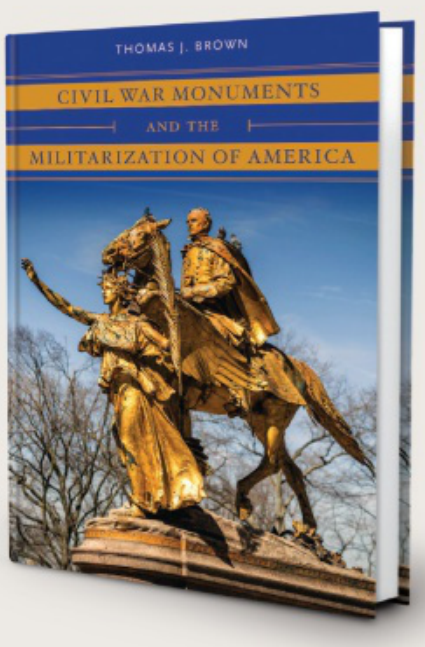
By Thomas J. Brown
University of North Carolina Press, 2019, $29.95

Societies erect statues and memorials to publicly proclaim and reinforce their political and social accomplishments and to promote specific civic ideals among their citizens. In the decades following the Civil War, Americans engaged in an unprecedented orgy of memorialization honoring the citizen soldiers who had fought and died defending cherished beliefs according to their respective prevailing ideologies—both noble and ignominious.

Having looked at more than a thousand memorials erected between the 1860s and the 1930s, Thomas Brown concludes they "transformed the civic landscape and the place of the military in national life." They moved America away from a society that once extolled the peaceful endeavors of independent yeoman farmers. In cities and towns both North and South, statues and other forms of sculptured memorialization helped create a more martial culture in a nation growing into an influential military and industrial power.

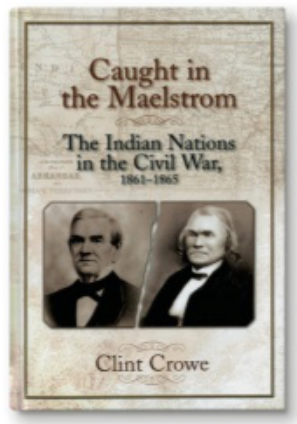
Brown organizes his work "around the development of three overlapping but distinct categories of memorials." The first—"a variety of memorial halls, obelisks, allegorical figures, and soldier statues"—venerated ordinary citizens as representing exemplary manhood (and, later, womanhood). A second group paid tribute to public leaders, including the last generation of grandiose equestrian monuments and the traditional portraits of orators and political leaders. The third group fits into the venerable tradition of victory monuments including triumphal arches and the figure of Nike as classical models of social triumph. Across these groups, Brown contends, "democratic postwar creativity gradually gave way to more violent, hierarchical, self-aggrandizing representations of social and political order."

Brown analyzes the values he sees portrayed in the brick, granite, and marble of specific monuments and relates them to the time in which each was built. Some are unique structures, such as the Boston memorial to the 54th Massachusetts' martyred commander, Robert Gould Shaw. Dedicated on Memorial Day in 1897, Brown concludes that, "The extraordinary composition managed to combine the nominally complementary but often conflicting themes of sacrifice and service." Of course, the depth of Brown's analysis on this and other monuments may make this monograph more valuable to historians of American art than Civil War historians.



Not all monuments commemorating Civil War soldiers were expensive or even grandiose. Hundreds of towns and villages honored individual regiments; soldiers who fell in various battles, and veterans still living in the area with the familiar generic soldier statue placed on the town square or outside local government buildings. Impetus behind the creation of these monuments often stemmed from local chapters of organizations such as the Grand Army of the Republic and United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Brown concludes his study by acknowledging that political, social, and racial interpretations are again being attached to public memorialization, including monuments and memorials erected in the post–World War II and Vietnam eras. "Controversy," Brown concludes, "has established broad recognition that Civil War monuments constitute an influential cultural form with a particular history." *–Gordon Berg*



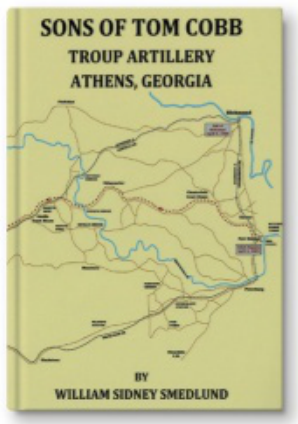
Caught in the Maelstrom: The Indian Nations in the Civil War, 1861-1865

By Clint Crowe
Savas Beatie, 2020, $32.95

For a first effort derived from a graduate dissertation, Clint Crowe's *Caught in the Maelstrom* makes a damn good debut. Every now and then a story or book comes out to remind Civil War scholars about the "Frontier War." This compact book takes a remarkably comprehensive look at what in some ways was a civil war within the Civil War.

After getting banished from their homes in the Southeast in the 1830s "Trail of Tears," the "Five Civilized Tribes" found the Indian Territory to which they were driven workable enough for them to establish homes, farms, and towns. In the case of part-blood Cherokees and some other tribes slavery became a common practice, although the sympathies of most of the full-bloods tended toward abolition. When the Civil War broke out, secession, slavery, and the Confederacy were major influences in the territory, which Union forces did little to seriously counter until late 1862. After the July 1863 Battle of Honey Springs, the tide turned in the Union's favor, though hostilities continued. Cherokee Stand Watie was the last Confederate general to surrender on June 23, 1865.

This, though, is more than military history, just as there was more to the war in Indian Territory than a complex internecine conflict. The author also looks at Reconstruction in Indian Territory, exploring the differences in a postwar world that were no less painful there than elsewhere. Crowe delineates the separate tragedy of reduced population, ravaged resources, and social and political upheaval that was the final legacy of the Civil War's Indian Territory. *–Jon Guttman*



Sons of Tom Cobb: Troup Artillery, Athens, Georgia

By William Sidney Smedlund

Self-published, 2019, $53

Brothers, cousins, and neighbors almost invariably made up the rosters of Confederate companies, locally raised and commanded. The Troup Artillery of Athens, Ga., demonstrated that trait in profusion. Of about 275 men who served in the battery during the war, nearly 100 had at least one brother in the ranks; another 34 had a brother-in-law. Identifying those men and tying them together typifies Smedlund's book. Emphatically roster-oriented, it focuses in rich detail on the individual artillerists.

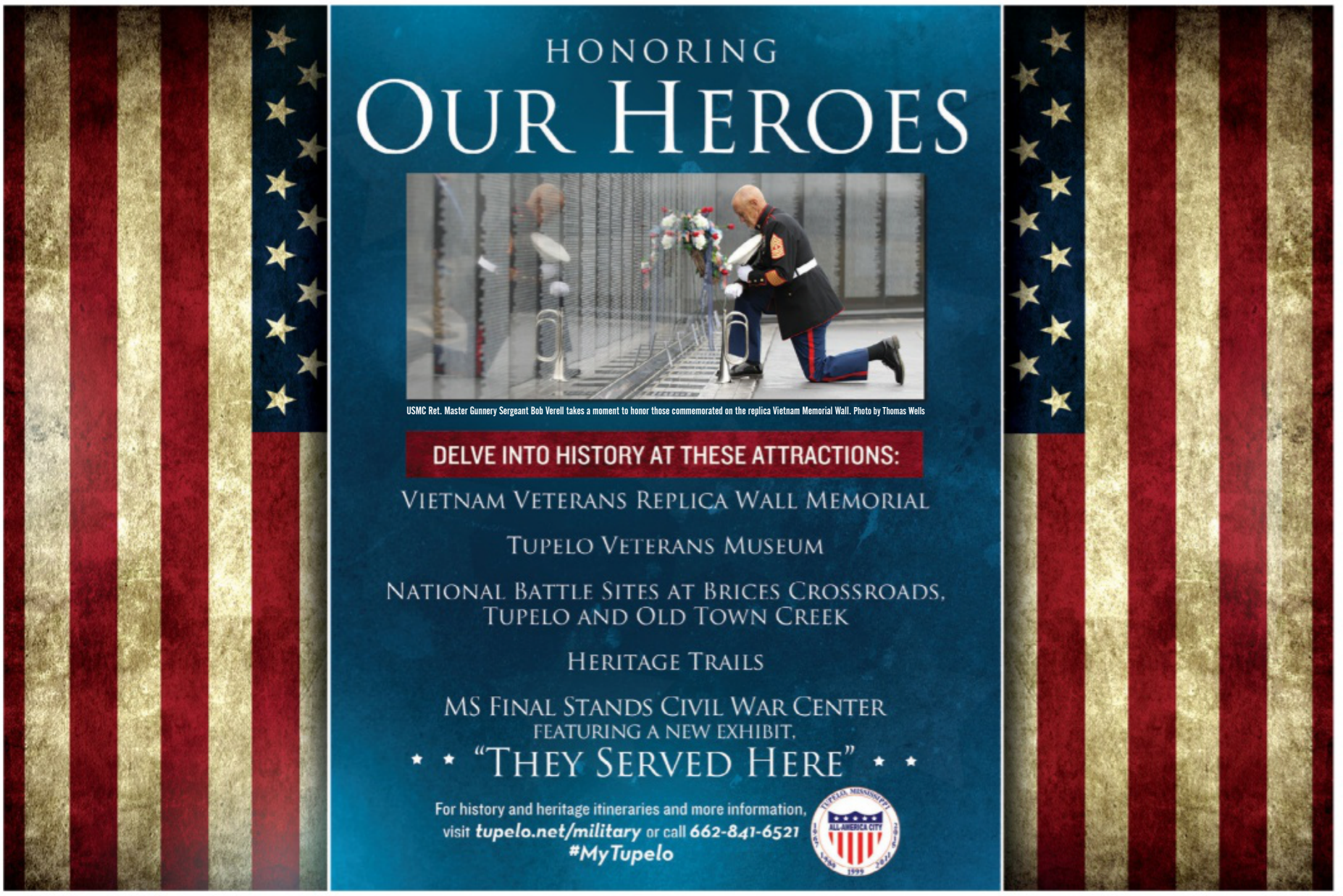
The Troup Artillery, best known as "Carlton's Battery" for its longtime captain, went to war as a company in then-Colonel Thomas R.R. Cobb's Georgia Legion. The notion that a regimental organization should include its own organic artillery and cavalry appealed to eager amateurs such as the political Cobb brothers, Tom and Howell, but the ill-advised experiment collapsed quickly amid the violent Darwinian pragmatism of service in the field.

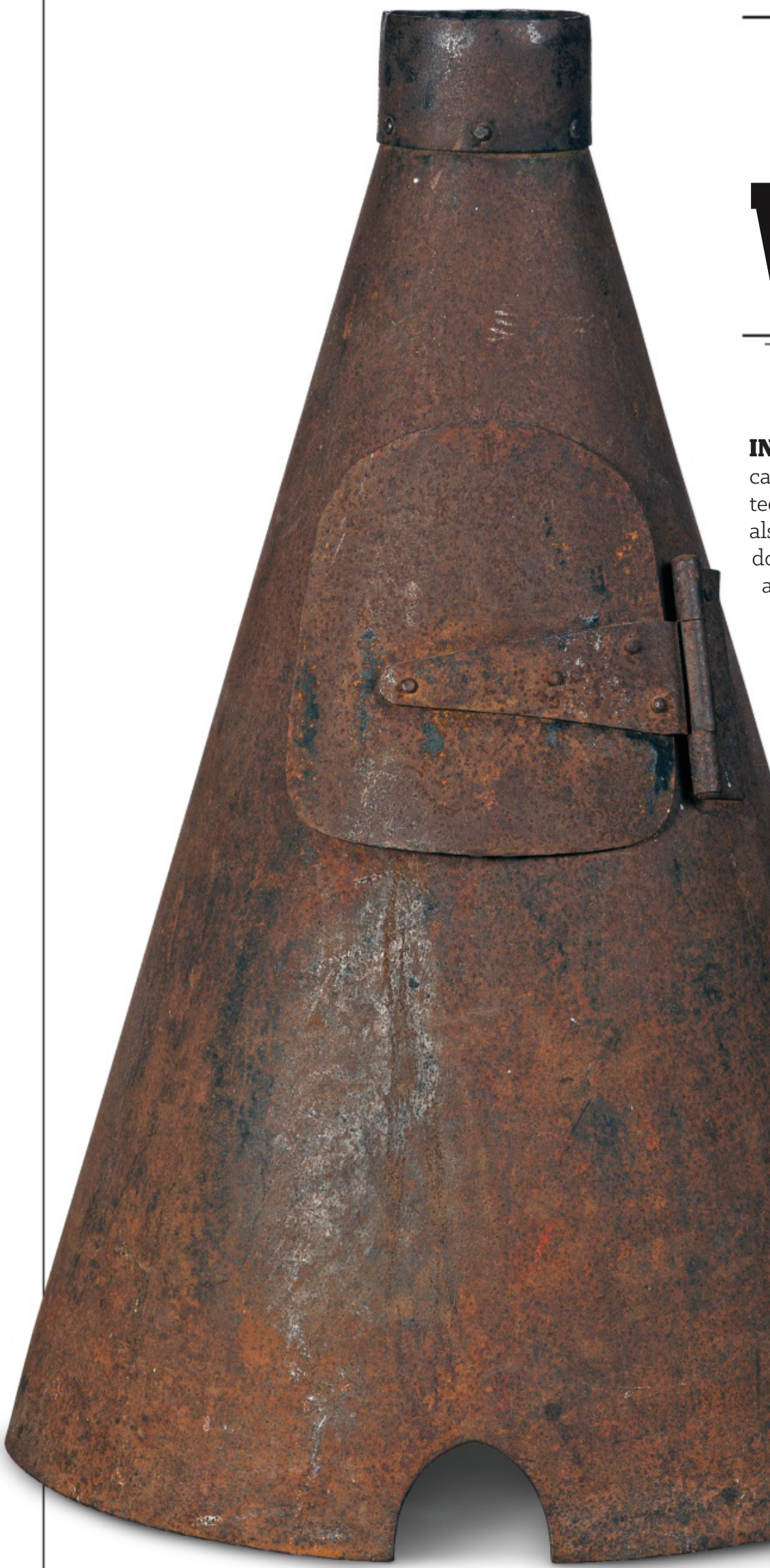
In fact, as soon as serious military operations opened in the spring of 1862, Tom Cobb's control over "his" guns vanished. The Troup Artillery fought most of its battles in traditional artillery formations. It lost most heavily at Gettysburg, nearly as badly at Second Fredericksburg, Sharpsburg, and Spotsylvania, but perhaps fought most famously at South Mountain. Near Crampton's Gap, the Georgian guns fired canister against attacking New Yorkers at ranges down to a few dozen yards.

The battery itself evolved dramatically over four years. In 1861, it briefly had an obsolete 4-pounder, but at Appomattox, it surrendered a thoroughly modern battery of four 10-pounder Parrott rifles. One in five of the Troup artillerists did not come home in 1865.

This is obviously a product of many years and relentless diligence by Smedlund: Full names, dates and places of birth and death, occupations, gravesites—the roster nails down these gunners for posterity. Eight maps support the text, and a striking array of nearly 80 illustrations deserves special mention. The splendid roster and photographs make this a book worth owning *–Robert K. Krick*

To order (postpaid $53), contact author William S. Smedlund, P.O. Box 675, Marble, NC 28905





Heat Wave

IN 1856, Henry Hopkins Sibley designed a canvas tent inspired by Native American teepees for field use by the U.S. Army, and also this metal stove to heat it. A small hinged door allowed fuel to be dropped inside and an opening at the point of the cone allowed smoke to exit through an attached pipe that ran up through the center of the tent. The cone shape produced a torrent of heat with minimal fuel. The stove weighed less than 30 pounds. The ease of transport, construction, and use of the Sibley tent and its corresponding stove made it an economical choice for the Army when the Civil War broke out, and nearly 44,000 of the pair were ordered for use during the conflict. Sibley had patented both inventions as a member of the U.S. military service and was contracted to receive a $5 royalty for each item produced. The Union's fondness for his creations could have left Sibley a rich man, but his would-be fortune was forfeited in 1861 when he resigned from the U.S. Army to fight for the Confederacy.

—Melissa A. Winn

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