\* EXPLORE LEE AND JACKSON'S VIRGINIA HOMETOWN \*

## CIVIL/VAR TIMES

# GETTYSIS UTRG

HARDCORE BUFF'S DISCOVERY SHARPSHOOTER
TOENTIETED

Diligent research and good instincts may have named the subject of this iconic photo.

PLUS:

THE POISON PEN OF ADALBERT VOLCK

I BOUGHT A BATTLEFIELD

HISTORYNET





## ALL-INCLUSIVE HISTORICAL TOURS STARTING AT \$2,200



#### BEYOND BAND OF BROTHERS TOURS

Procom America LLC | 811 Corporate Drive Suite 108 | Lexington, KY 40503

Contact us Monday-Friday 9 am to 5 pm EST at 1-888-335-1996 (toll free) | 1-859-368-7292 info@procomtours.com

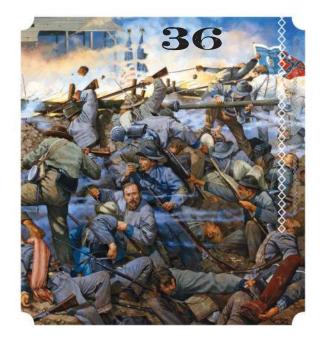
### CIVIL WAR TIMES

**JUNE 2018** 















#### Features



#### Behind the Barricade

By Scott Fink

Hunting down the identity of the slain Confederate "sharpshooter" at Gettysburg's Devil's Den.



#### 'I Was Rapidly Bleeding to Death'

By Keith S. Bohannon

Mississippi Colonel Marcus D.L. Stephens survived the Battle of Decatur, but fell wounded at Franklin.



#### Poison Pen Confederate

By Rick Beard

Baltimore dentist Adalbert Volck drew scathing anti-Union cartoons.



#### Battlefield Homestead

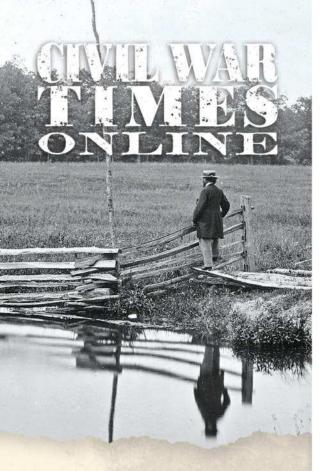
By Peter Svenson

The author's life changed forever when he bought 40 acres of a Shenandoah Valley battlefield.



#### **Departments**

- Letters Visit Bristoe Station
- 8 News! Photos come out of the closet
- 14 **Details** James River supply wharf
- 16 Insight Overrated Yank generals?
- 20 **Materiel** Prisoner of war carvings
- 22 Interview Gary W. Gallagher's long career
- 27 Editorial Touchstone of the war
- 58 Explore Shenandoah Valley charmer
- 64 Reviews Lincoln's sense of humor
- 72 **Sold!** Art that is tough to look at



#### SNAPSHOT OF GETTYSBURG

Mathew Brady's Gettysburg photos focused on landcapes, not bodies. http://bit.ly/BradyGettysburg

#### LAMPOONING LINCOLN

Cartoonists and critics often mocked the president with pen and prose. http://bit.ly/LincolnToons

#### OUTGUNNED

The Battle of Franklin cost John Bell Hood's Army of Tennessee 6,200-plus casualties. http://bit.ly/FranklinLessons

## HISTORYNET

Sign up for our FREE monthly e-newsletter at: historynet.com/newsletters



#### LET'S CONNECT

Like Civil War Times Magazine on Facebook



#### **FOLLOW US** @CivilWarTimes

Civil War Times is available on Zinio, Kindle, and Nook.

A Complete Civil War Times index from 1958 to present is available at aferguson.net



MICHAEL A. REINSTEIN CHAIRMAN & PUBLISHER DAVID STEINHAFEL PUBLISHER ALEX NEILL EDITOR IN CHIEF



JUNE 2018

Vol. 57, No. 8

#### **EDITORIAL**

DANA B. SHOAF EDITOR CHRIS K. HOWLAND SENIOR EDITOR SARAH RICHARDSON SENIOR EDITOR **CLAIRE BARRETT** ASSOCIATE EDITOR

STEPHEN KAMIFUJI CREATIVE DIRECTOR BRIAN WALKER GROUP ART DIRECTOR JENNIFER M. VANN ART DIRECTOR MELISSA WINN SENIOR PHOTO EDITOR/SOCIAL MEDIA COORDINATOR

SHENANDOAH SANCHEZ PHOTOGRAPHER AT LARGE

#### ADVISORY BOARD

Edwin C. Bearss, Gabor Boritt, Catherine Clinton, William C. Davis, Gary W. Gallagher, Lesley Gordon, D. Scott Hartwig, John Hennessy, Harold Holzer, Robert K. Krick, Michael McAfee, James M. McPherson, Mark E. Neely Jr., Megan Kate Nelson, Ethan S. Rafuse, Susannah Ural

#### CORPORATE

**DOUG NEIMAN** ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER ROB WILKINS DIRECTOR OF PARTNERSHIP MARKETING ROXANNA SASSANIAN FINANCE TOM GRIFFITHS CORPORATE DEVELOPMENT GRAYDON SHEINBERG CORPORATE DEVELOPMENT

#### ADVERTISING

MORTON GREENBERG SVP Advertising Sales mgreenberg@mco.com COURTNEY FORTUNE Advertising Services cfortune@historynet.com RICK GOWER Regional Sales Manager rick@rickgower.com TERRY JENKINS Regional Sales Manager tjenkins@historynet.com RICHARD E. VINCENT Regional Sales Manager rvincent@historynet.com

#### DIRECT RESPONSE ADVERTISING

RUSSELL JOHNS ASSOCIATES 800-649-9800 CWT@russelljohns.com

© 2018 HISTORYNET, LLC

#### SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

800-435-0715 and SHOP.HISTORYNET.COM Yearly Subscriptions in U.S.: \$39.95

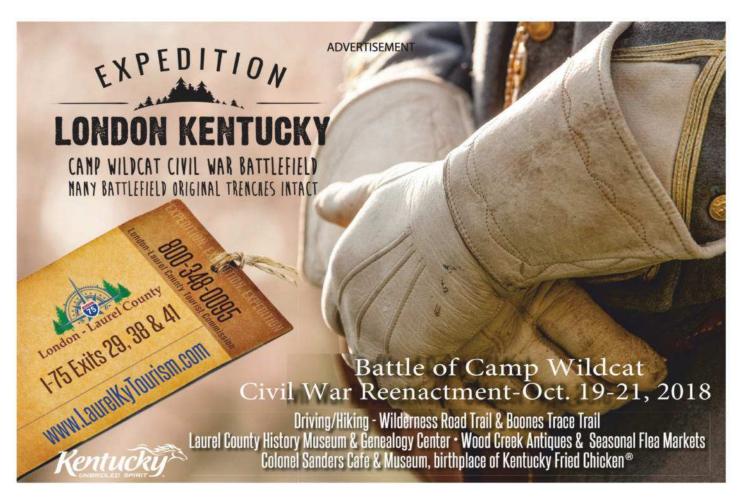
Civil War Times (ISSN 1546-9980) is published bimonthly by HistoryNet, LLC 1919 Gallows Road, Suite 400, Vienna, VA 22182-4038, 703-771-9400 Periodical postage paid at Vienna, VA and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER, send address changes to: Civil War Times, P.O. Box 422224, Palm Coast, FL 32142-2224

List Rental Inquiries: Belkys Reyes, Lake Group Media, Inc. 914-925-2406; belkys.reyes@lakegroupmedia.com

Canada Publications Mail Agreement No. 41342519, Canadian GST No. 821371408RT0001 The contents of this magazine may not be reproduced in whole or in part without the written consent of HistoryNet, LLC

PROUDLY MADE IN THE USA





#### London, KY mounts an Authentic Experience for the Civil War Traveler!

Battle of Camp Wildcat Reenactment Oct. 19-21, 2018

The Battle of Camp Wildcat was part of the KY Confederate Offensive campaign. It was fought in Laurel County, KY on October 21, 1861. It was one of the early engagements of the American Civil War and is considered one of the very first Union victories. It was also the second engagement of troops in the Commonwealth of Kentucky. The battle was monumental—many were killed,

wounded, or reported missing after the battle was over.

The battlefield still remains on Old Wilderness Road, about nine miles northwest of London, KY.

It contains a pavilion, walking trails, and the original trenches. There are also interpretive signs with information about the site. October 19-21, 2018 marks the date for the Camp Wildcat Civil War Reenactment. This event includes live reenactments, living history camps, military and medical demonstrations, a ladies tea, a church service, and a memorial service at the battlefield. In addition to the various demonstrations, there is also a chance to talk to "President Lincoln" and "General Lee," a swap meet, and various raffle drawings.

(For more information on the reenactment, visit www.wildcatreenactment.org)





Camp Wildcat is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is the site for the reenactment each year. The location along the Old Wilderness Road makes it part of the Boone Trace Corridor.

Boone Trace is the trail blazed by Daniel Boone and his men in 1775. The trail led from North Carolina to the Cumberland Gap and then through Kentucky into Boonesborough. Boone Trace was traveled by thousands of settlers in the years that followed and was instrumental in expansion of the state, as well as lands to the West.

To plan your visit to London, KY, see www.LaurelKyTourism.com.





## **APRIL "DETAILS"**



When I receive my issue of *CWT*, I go right to the "Quiz," then I move on to "Details." I was wowed by the photograph

of the 2nd Tennessee Cavalry in the April issue. Photographs like this reveal so much about soldiers in camp or on campaign. Several different firearms were pointed out in the image: The Burnside carbine, the Merrill carbine, and the Colt revolving rifle. I also believe the trooper just left of No. 3 and standing on the extreme right of the file next to the short trooper is carrying a .50-caliber Smith carbine. Notice what looks to be the ring used to attach the carbine to the carbine sling. The barrel band and stock also resemble that of a Smith. The various calibers of the weapons used in the regiment must have exasperated the ordnance sergeant.

Mark Grimm North Royalton, Ohio



#### **DEDICATION SAILORS**

In the excellent article "Meade in Allegory" by Jennifer M. Murray in the April 2018 issue, there is a photograph on P. 32 of the unveiling of the statue of General Meade on October 19, 1927, with his daughter, Henrietta, in the photograph. Curiously, above the gilded wreath there appears to be a sailor helping with the unveiling. While his face is not visible, his cap can be seen, along with the two white stripes on the left cuff of his middie blouse.

It is also interesting to note that international code flags traditionally used by the Navy are part of the decorations. A naval officer also stands to the right of Meade's daughter. In view of the fact General Meade served in the Army, it's curious that the Navy had such a prominent role in the ceremonies!

Paul W. Barada Rushville, Ind.

#### SEE BRISTOE STATION BATTLEFIELD!

Thank you for sharing the Bristoe Station Campaign diary of Major John Nevin of the 93rd Pennsylvania in the April "War in Their Words" article. Though that campaign is much overlooked, the events of the fall of 1863 had a serious impact on the men of both armies and the overall strategic situation. Nevin is one of many soldiers who wrote about the cat-and-mouse game that Robert E. Lee and George Meade played in central Virginia. Highlighting this period of the war provides a better understanding for how the Union changed their strategy, which led to the spring 1864 campaign and ultimately victory. I would also encourage people to come and visit the Bristoe Station Battlefield Park (pwcgov.org/bristoe).

Robert Orrison Historic Site Operations Supervisor Prince William County Historic Preservation Division

#### **NORTH GEORGIA IMAGERY**

In your April 2018 issue, the picture on P. 37 of the "No Hope of Success" article is labeled New Hope Church. It shows instead, however, Resaca, Ga., the site of an earlier battle in the Atlanta Campaign. For verification, see *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign* by George N. Barnard.

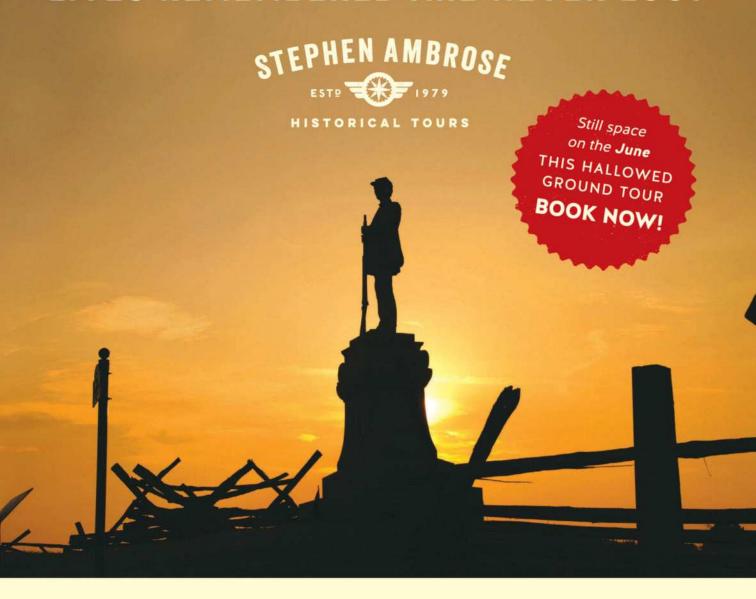
Daniel I. Jacobs New York, N.Y.

Editor's Note: The Library of Congress listing states that the image is of New Hope Church, but after comparing the photo we published to Barnard's images of Resaca, it is evident that you are correct. We will let the LOC know that its identification should be changed. Thanks!

#### WE WANT TO HEAR FROM YOU!

e-mail us at cwtletters@historynet.com or send letters to *Civil War Times*, 1919 Gallows Rd., Suite 400, Vienna, VA 22182-4038

#### LIVES REMEMBERED ARE NEVER LOST



STEPHEN AMBROSE HISTORICAL TOURS PRESENTS

#### THIS HALLOWED GROUND: A TOUR YOU WON'T FORGET

Travel with us on May 19-27, June 23-July 1 or October 13-21, 2018

Relive Civil War history! Walk *This Hallowed Ground* at Manassas/Bull Run, Gettysburg and Appomattox to experience the beginning and end of the Civil War. Visit Memphis, Shiloh, Vicksburg and New Orleans on our *Mississippi River Campaign Tour*, to study "the key to the Confederacy." Explore the rivers, ridges and the battles that raged from Atlanta to Chattanooga to Nashville on our NEW *Civil War on the Rivers, Rails and Mountains Tour*. Our Civil War, WWII and Lewis and Clark tours are unparalleled in their

historical accuracy!

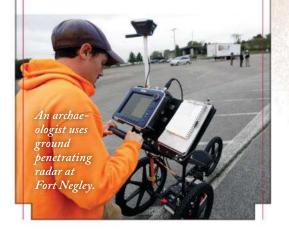


## RARE ANTIETAM MAGES FOUND

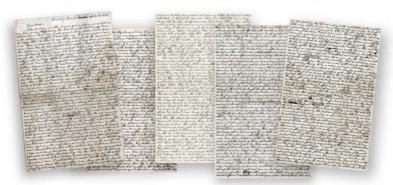
Six rare photographs of the Antietam battlefield were obtained in January by John Banks, a Civil War Times contributer and a board member of the Center for Civil War Photography, from a New Jersey couple who discovered them while cleaning a deceased uncle's closet. The images of the East Woods area were taken in September 1891 by Oliver Cromwell Gould, son of 10th Maine veteran John Mead Gould. ¶ The photos have excited students of the battle. "The 1891 Gould images offer an early, pristine view of Antietam battlefield that many of us never thought we would see," said Stephen Recker, author of the 2012 book Rare Images at Antietam. Collaborating with 10th Maine expert Nicholas Picerno and Antietam historian Tom Clemens, Recker pieced together the story of the Gould images in his book. ¶ "But while we found the documentation for his 1891 images at Duke University," Recker noted, "it was those 'undiscovered' images that we really wanted to see." Gould's images were taken before the War Department greatly altered the lay of the land in 1895, when it added avenues for tourists to use to view the battlefield. ¶ Gould's detailed logbook indicates his son took dozens of images at Antietam in 1891. Only one other 1891 Gould Antietam image had previously been discovered. I The Gould images once belonged to Irving B. Lovell, an uncle of Bill and Marie Trembley. In 2016, four years after Irving died, the Trembleys found the package containing the Antietam images while cleaning out Lovell's property in Eastport, Maine. The photos weren't viewed by the couple again until November 2017, when Marie opened the package with the words "Civil War photos" written in red marker on the side. When and where Lovell, who lived most of his life in New Jersey, acquired the images is unknown.



#### A CONTROVERSIAL PLAN for redevelopment of land adjacent to the Civil War-era Fort Negley in Nashville has been halted following an archaeological survey of the site. Land near the fort, where Greer Stadium was built, was known to be a burial ground, and the study by Tennessee Valley Archaeological Research concluded that the presence of pre-WPA deposits spotted under asphalt and rubble "indicates a strong possibility of burials still being present." The report identifies archaeologically sensitive areas that should be preserved and reintegrated into the Fort Negley site, and recommends the presence of a trained monitor during any land disturbance. An estimated 600-800 black workers died during the fort's construction, and three contraband camps sprang up where Union officers described dreadful conditions and horrifying death rates. One commander of a Tennessee black regiment noted that "the suffering from hungar [sic] and cold is so great that those wretched people are dying by scores—that sometimes thirty per day die and are carried out by wagon loads, without coffins, and thrown promiscuously, like brutes, into a trench."



## DIRTY REBE AND PUBLIC GRI



On February 16, 2018, descendants of Thomas Jackson, an Englishborn businessman in Reading, Pa., donated his extraordinary letters to the Library of Congress. The letters span from 1856 to 1874. In an 1862 letter, Jackson recounts a prewar auction of slaves; in 1863, he describes the ragged appearance of captured Confederate troops in Harrisburg, "no two of them had any thing like uniforms except in filthiness," and in 1865, he learns of the assassination of President Lincoln and tells of the mourning that followed: "Strong men stood weeping in the streets, and women shrieked with horror at the heinous crime. The poor blacks take it very hard and seem entirely inconsolable." John Paling, a Jackson descendant, has posted the letters online. A retired scientist and filmmaker, he views himself as an "ambassador" for his ancestor and the letters. For more information, visit Thomasjacksonletters.com.

## FLOWER FROM LINCOLN'S TUNERAL PRESERVED

#### LONG FORGOTTEN IN STORAGE.

the cardboard box, six inches long and covered with a pane of glass, held a small white rosebud, and when Sandy Vasko, director of the Will County Historical Society in Lockport, Ill., turned it over she found an inscription indicating the flower was taken from Abraham Lincoln's Washington, D.C., funeral bier in 1865. Wording on the box stated that General J.S. Todd gave it to General I.N. Haynie, who in turn gave it to Mrs. Ellwood, wife of General James Ellwood. Todd, a cousin of Mary Todd Lincoln, had organized the president's funeral in Washington; Haynie had organized the memorial service in Springfield; and James Ellwood was the mayor of nearby Joliet, Ill. The flower was displayed at a special fundraising dinner on February 17, 2018, and will again be showcased over Father's Day weekend. Vasko hopes to display the bud regularly for local enjoyment, but she notes, "We had to buy a safe."







### SEEING AMERICA

From February 27 to May 27, 2018, the J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Center in Los Angeles will host "Paper Promises: Early American Photography." The exhibit features 19th-century imagery that shows a country both exuberant and growing, while at the same time rent by grim war. Numerous military images, like the one at left depicting Union artillerymen crossing the Potomac River on an experimental, lightweight raft, are featured. For more info, visit getty.edu.

### TITE WAR ON THE CONTROL

www.shsmo.org

"John was 1st Lieutenant... [and hel commanded the...admiration of the whole company. In the death of John we feel that we have lost a kind and generous Officer and our best friend....when we were despondent he would always endeavor to revive us for he was ever cheerful And long will we gratefully remember our friend and comrade...." Those words of condolence were signed by six men who served in Lieutenant John Sterne's company, and they informed his father, Major Charles Sterne, of Carroll County, Mo., of John's death at the Battle of Corinth in October 1862. Their letter is just one of the hundreds of items that the State Historical Society of Missouri (SHSMO) has digitized from its "American Civil War Collection" and placed online for the public to enjoy.

Digitized collections represent a small portion of what is available on-site at most repositories. But for those who are interested in easily exploring Missouri's Civil War complexities, the digitized materials are invaluable and will hopefully inspire visits to the SHSMO. The letters of William E. and Bettie Redding Hill, for example, reflect the border tensions in Missouri. The Hills were Confederate sympathizers whose letters detail the destruction of their property and



their significant loss of wealth.

The Benecke Family Papers offer the perspective of Louis Benecke, a German-American immigrant, Union veteran, and prisoner of war who served as a claims agent in the postwar period. The digitized portion of this large collection focuses on rare claims and pension applications of African-American men and women. including a number of veterans and their widows.

Other items are brief, like the threepage 1934 memoir of Lavonia Ray Burton that captures her memories of

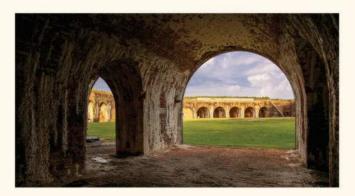
the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

The SHSMO presents these records in high-resolution images with brief descriptions accompanied by more detailed finding aids, and most documents include transcriptions.

Still, the lack of detail with some records can be frustrating. It remains unclear, for example, if Lieutenant Sterne fought for the North or the South, or what company he commanded. Other finding aids, however, are rich with detail, making this collection worthy of readers' time and attention.

-Susannah J. Ural

## **Explore the History of Alabama's Gulf Coast**



Visit historic Fort Morgan and travel back in time when the thundering booms of cannons protected the turquoise waterways. And imagine the shout of Admiral David Farragut, "Damn the torpedoes. Full speed ahead!" as he led his troops into battle across the sugar-white sand. The fort was built between 1819 and 1823 and is a site not to be missed. Another historical point of interest is the Mobile

Bay Civil War Trail that highlights famous Civil War battles. Drive the impressive, historic trail that stretches from the Gulf of Mexico to north Mobile County.

Tour the many unique, historical museums and sites throughout Alabama's Gulf Coast including Native American museums and mounds, lighthouses, plantations and antebellum

mansions, military
history, maritime and
railroad museums,
agricultural and
cultural museums,
and much more. Visit
GulfShores.com
for details.









## CONFEDERATE CLOTH TO CRAFT BEER

#### A craft beer renaissance

is brewing in Rocky Mount Mills, N.C., a historic producer of cloth for Confederate uniforms and varn for socks. Six breweries are already operating in the town, which is about an hour's drive east of Raleigh.

The site started out in 1816 as the home of Great Falls Mills. the second cotton mill founded in North Carolina. Over time it grew to become Rocky Mount Mills and encompassed more than 100 structures dating from the 1830s to 1940s, including several dozen homes for workers. Making fabric to clothe enslaved workers was the mill's original



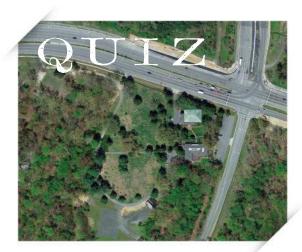
An ad for Rocky Mount Mills shows one of the Tar River dams that powered the factory.

business, but during the Civil War, Rocky Mount Mills owner William Battle supplied textiles to the Confederacy and provided meat and corn for troops from his plantation. In July 1863, Federal troops burned the mill, but the historic Battle home, built in 1831, was spared, apparently due to the intervention of the mill superintendent, who was from the North.

The mill complex expanded after the war to become a small village. To check on the redevelopment project, including breweries, restaurants, and events at the village, visit rockymountmills.com.

At some point in early February, vandals defaced the small monument to Confederate Brig. Gen. Samuel Garland located at Fox's Gap, Md., by covering it with red paint and heavily chipping the granite marker's face. The monument honored Garland's service and mortal wounding at that location during the September 14, 1862, Battle of South Mountain. At presstime, the Maryland Department of Natural Resources was investigating, but had no leads.





#### NAME THIS CHURCH

Send your answer to dshoaf@historynet.com or via regular mail (1919 Gallows Road, Suite 400, Vienna, VA, 22182-4038) marked "Union plunder." Hint: George Washington worshipped here. The first answers will win a book. Congratulations to April issue winners B.D.K. Brown of Fort Wayne, Ind. (email), and Gerard E. McGough of Newport News, VA (regular mail), for correctly identifying the Chancellor House ruins on the Chancellorsville battlefield.

HEROES AND FLAGS OF THE CIVIL W COMMEMORATIVE COIN

#### **GREAT AMERICAN HEROES** AND FLAGS OF THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War pitted American against American, state against state, and hero against hero. General Robert E. Lee left the Union Army when his beloved Virginia seceded. He bravely commanded the Southern forces as they fought under the Battle Flag of the Confederacy. General Ulysses S. Grant took command of the Union forces to deliver battlefield victories that would preserve the United States, leading his own men to fight bravely under the Stars and Stripes. Both men were brave soldiers, beloved leaders and great American heroes.

#### **COMMEMORATING THE 150TH** ANNIVERSARY OF THE CIVIL WAR

Meticulously designed by American Mint - in conjunction with The National Civil War Museum – for the Sesquicentennial of the Civil War, this massive 2" coin features a highly detailed engraving of Generals Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant along with the Union and Confederate flags on the obverse. Minted to the highest quality "Proof" standard, it is layered in 24k gold and accented in brilliant color.

- · Officially endorsed by THE NATIONAL CIVIL WAR MUSEUM
- Highest minting quality "Proof"
- Layered in 24k gold
- · Features a highly detailed engraving of Generals Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant
- The Union Flag and the Battle Flag of the Confederacy are accented in brilliant color
- An impressive 2" in diameter (50 mm)
- · Available exclusively from American Mint



• Begins the Civil War Battle Flags coin collection which is limited to only 9,999 complete collections worldwide (If you do not wish to preview future issues in the collection, please x-out the Satisfaction Guarantee on your order form.)



#### ACT NOW TO GET YOUR EXCLUSIVE COIN – A \$99.95 VALUE – FOR JUST \$19.95!

<del>_</del>			
Yes! I want to order the <i>Heroes a</i> coin (Item # 917-215-6) — a \$99 and handling is FREE. <b>PA RESIDENTS</b>	.95 value – for just		
Name			
Address			
City	State	Zip	
Customer Number (if known)	Phone	Phone	
E-mail		-	
	Yo	Your Keycode:	
AMERICAN Mail to:		735.01	

PLEASE REMIT PAYMENT IN ORDER FOR SHIPMENT TO BE PROCESSED

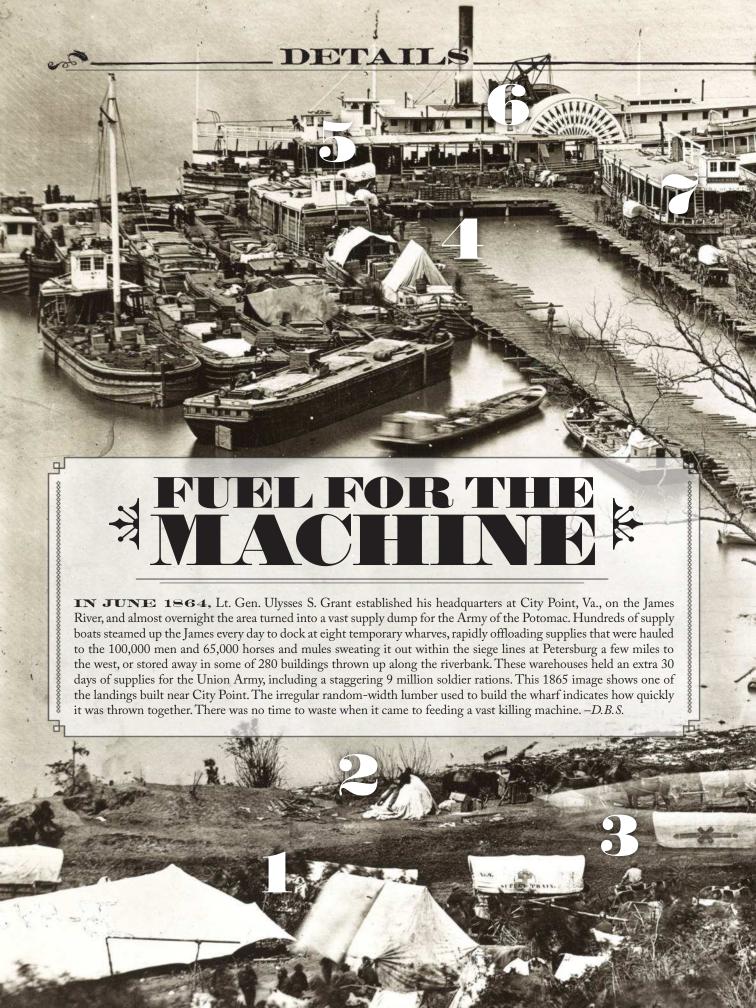
Signature required below			
Please charge my:	DISCOVER		
Credit Card Number	MM / YY Valid Through		
Signature (All orders subject to acceptance by American Mint)	MM / DD / YY Date		
Check / Money Order enclosed (made payable to American Mint)			
A service Mark Series of the Comment			

By returning this form, you will have the privilege of receiving future issues in the collection through our FREE in-home approval service. No further action is required on your part. The American Mint Preferred Collector's Price is guaranteed for you. You will be billed only for the items you decide to keep. If you pay by credit card, future shipments will not be charged until 25 days after the invoice date. You are under no obligation! If you are not satisfied with any item that is shipped to you, you may send it back within 20 days at our cost for replacement, credit or refund. American Mint has no minimum purchase requirements. You can cancel this service at any time by calling toll-free 1-877-807-MINT.

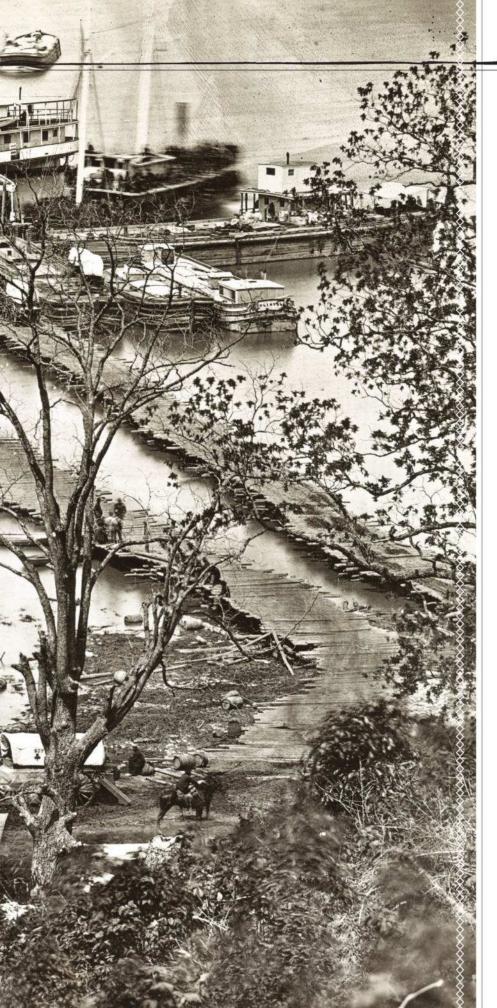
easy ways to order:  Mail in your completed order form and payment

P.O. Box 10, Mechanicsburg, PA 17055

- · Call us toll-free at 877-807-MINT (6468)
- Or visit us at americanmint.com/735.01



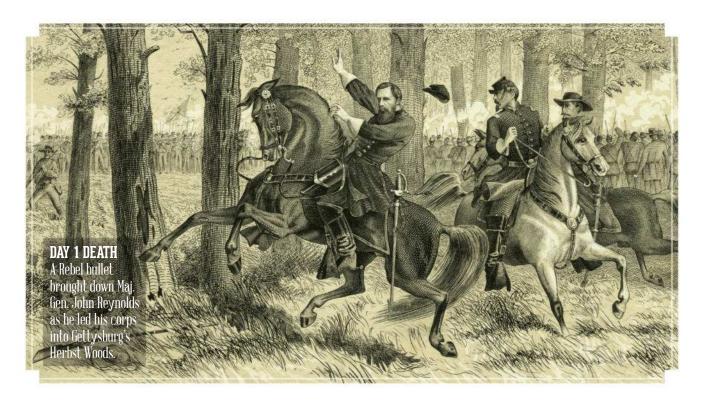




- 1. A small camp has been set up near the wharf. To the right is a wagon marked with the Greek Cross corps badge of the Union 6th Corps and the words "supply train."
- 2. A Union soldier has found a comfortable vantage point to watch the goings on—or perhaps take a nap.
- 3. More supply wagons and their ghostly mules, blurred because they moved during the image's exposure, are along the riverbank. Another 6th Corps wagon is visible, with the corps' cross symbol applied in the form of an "X." The wagon to the right, partially obscured by a tree, bears the club insignia of the 2nd Corps.
- **4.** A careful perusing of the barges reveals blurred, busy workers, and some taking their ease. One barge has been set up with a temporary residence—an Army "A" tent.
- 5. More 6th Corps wagons are getting loaded up with supplies at the very gunwales of a newly arrived steamboat. An abundance of supply crates are stacked on the dock, testifying to the North's production capability. It's impossible to say what they hold, but some look like the boxes used to contain cartridge ammunition.
- **6.** The steamer's sidewheel has a decorative housing and the iron frame of the rocker arm that went up and down with the wheel's rotation can be clearly seen. Approximately 150 to 200 vessels a day pulled up to the Union wharves at City Point.
- **7.** Supply wagons from unidentified units await goods to be offloaded from the steam packet Cedar Hill. "Port of New York" is painted across the fascia of the roof over the deck, indicating the packet's origin. After June 18, 1864, the United States Military Railroad also hauled supplies from City Point to very near the front lines.



By Gary W. Gallagher



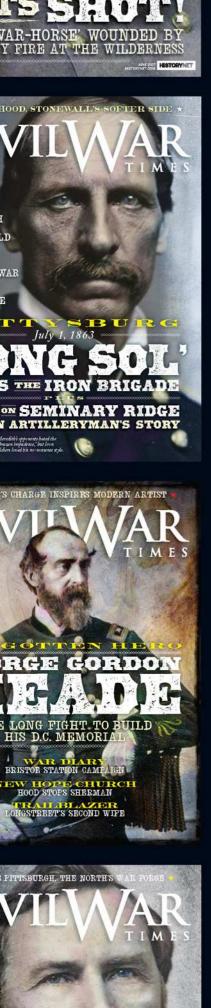
# TO SUCCEDE

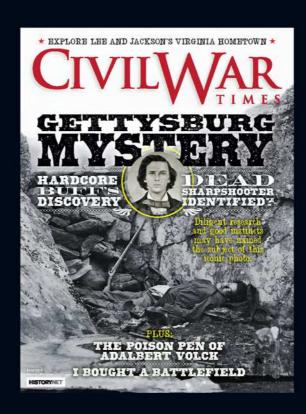
DO UNION ICONS JOHN REYNOLDS AND JOHN SEDGWICK DESERVE THEIR REPUTATIONS?

MAJOR GENERALS John Fulton Reynolds and John Sedgwick died in striking circumstances that undoubtedly burnished their reputations as successful Union corps commanders. On July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Reynolds accompanied the leading units of his 1st Corps into action. Positioned behind the Iron Brigade's 2nd Wisconsin near the eastern fringe of McPherson's Woods, he urged his troops to stop the approaching Confederates. "Forward men," he shouted, "forward for God's sake, and drive those fellows out of the woods!"Turning to look back toward Seminary Ridge, he went limp in the saddle after a Minié ball entered the back of his neck. He was dead before hitting the ground. Sedgwick's story on the second day of the Battle of Spotsylvania could be conjured from a novelist's imagination. Steadying a portion of his 6th Corps line opposite Laurel Hill on the morning of May 9, 1864, he noticed men dodging as Confederate musket rounds struck nearby. "I am ashamed of you," he told them: "They can't hit an elephant at this distance." He repeated those words, with a good-natured laugh, after a sergeant dropped to the ground for safety. A moment later, an unmistakable thud told observers that

Sedgwick had been hit, incurring a mortal wound just below his left eye.

William Swinton, who covered the Army of the Potomac for The New York Times, anticipated the tenor of many subsequent evaluations of the two generals. Reynolds' death, wrote Swinton in Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac (1866), was "a grievous loss to the Army of the Potomac, one of whose most distinguished and best-loved officers he was; one whom, by the steady growth of the highest military qualities, the general voice of the whole army had marked out for the largest fame." As for Sedgwick, the "loss of this lion-hearted soldier caused the profoundest grief among his comrades, and throughout the army, which felt it could better have afforded to sacrifice the best division." Edward J. Nichols, whose Toward Gettysburg: A Biography of General John F. Reynolds (1961) remains the most detailed biography, quotes Winfield Scott Hancock, the Comte de Paris, Joseph Hooker, and others proclaiming Reynolds the best soldier in the army. In General John Sedgwick: The Story of a Union Corp Commander (1982), Rich-





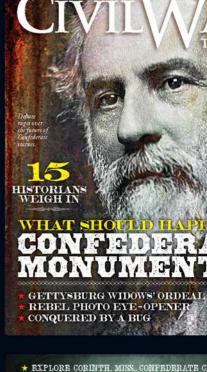
# Subscribe Today!

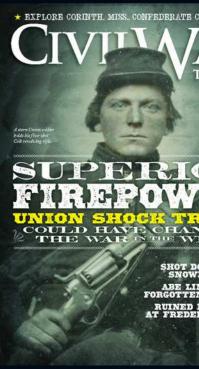
HistoryNet is the world's largest publisher of history magazines; visit **SHOP.HISTORYNET.COM** 

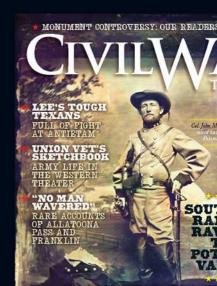
to subscribe to any of our nine titles

**HISTORYNET** 













#### By Gary W. Gallagher

ard Elliott Winslow III pronounces his subject "a steadfast soldier who contributed much to ultimate Union victory" in the course of playing a "crucial role during the Civil War."

Did Reynolds and Sedgwick merit such praise? As corps chiefs, the answer must be no. At Fredericksburg, Reynolds' initial battle as head of the 1st Corps, the commander's penchant for overseeing details relating to his artillery rendered him ineffectual in directing the activities of key subordinates such as George G. Meade. One careful student of the battle concludes that Reynolds' dallying among the guns "made him completely ineffective when Meade sought critical reinforcements." At Chancellorsville, Reynolds and his corps saw almost no action, suffering fewer than 300 of the army's more than 17,000 casualties. His actions at Gettysburg on July 1 were solid but scarcely sufficient to warrant extravagant praise.

Sedgwick's terrible wound in the West Woods at Antietam, where his division was butchered, kept him out of the Fredericksburg Campaign. Promoted to command of the 6th Corps, he played an important role at Chancellorsville, where his corps absorbed the heaviest casualties in the army. Sedgwick's actions on May 1-5 certainly lacked aggressiveness and have inspired a good deal of criticism. Edward Porter Alexander, the most astute of all Confederates who wrote about the war in the Eastern Theater, pulled no punches: "I have always felt surprise that the enemy retained Sedgwick as a corps commander..., for he seems to me to have wasted great opportunities, & come about as near to doing nothing with 30,000 men as it was easily possible to do." At Gettysburg, Sedgwick's corps, the army's largest, played only a minor part in the fighting and lost just 212 men killed or wounded.

Sedgwick put in a mixed performance during the Battle of the Wilderness, earning praise from U.S. Grant for his bravery but receiving harsh critiques from others for allowing John B. Gordon's successful flank attack on May 6



against the 6th Corps. "This stampede," wrote Theodore Lyman of Meade's staff regarding Gordon's routing of two Union brigades, "was the most disgraceful thing that happened to the celebrated 6th corps during my experience of it." Lyman also thought some of Sedgwick's other actions "amounted to nothing."

Both Reynolds and Sedgwick unquestionably inspired a good deal of admiration. A pair of officers, one from each general's staff, offer useful testimony on this point. Stephen Minot Weld met the ambulance carrying Reynolds on July 1, which triggered a surge of emotion. "He was the best general we had in our army," wrote Weld in his diary: "Brave, kind-hearted, modest, somewhat rough and wanting polish, he was a type of the true soldier. I cannot realize that he is dead." Sedgwick's nickname—"Uncle John" revealed the degree to which his soldiers thought of him as a leader who looked

after their welfare. Thomas W. Hyde referred to Sedgwick as "our friend, our idol." Hyde described the feeling when news of the general's death settled in: "Gradually it dawned upon us that the great leader, the cherished friend, he that had been more than father to us all, would no more lead the Greek Cross of the 6th corps...."

Such heartfelt tributes should not obscure that neither Reynolds nor Sedgwick crafted a sterling record as a corps commander. Both fit comfortably within the culture George B. McClellan created in the Army of the Potomac. That culture prized caution, seldom sought a killing blow to the enemy, and accepted, almost preferred, inaction to any movement that might yield negative results. Yet, their dramatic deaths lifted Reynolds and Sedgwick to a special position in the pantheon of Union generals. As Edward J. Nichols admitted in his biography of Reynolds, "A hero's death sits well with posterity." ★

## Consumer Cellular





#### LOW PRICES

Plans start as low as \$15/month and unlimited talk and text is just \$25/month!



#### **VARIETY OF PHONES**

Select any device, from flip phones to smartphones including the latest iPhones.



#### **BRING YOUR OWN PHONE**

With our free SIM card, you can even bring your own phone if vou'd like!



#### SAVINGS FOR TWO-OR MORE!

Share your monthly plans for iust \$15/month for each additional line.



#### **RANKED #1 BY J.D. POWER**

"Highest in Customer Service among Non-Contract Value Wireless Providers. 4 Times in a Row."



#### **WE'VE GOT YOU COVERED**

Enjoy superior service on the nation's largest cellular networks.



#### **AARP MEMBER BENEFITS**

AARP members receive a 5% discount on service and usage every month.

#### OUR MOST POPULAR PLANS FOR 1 & 2 LINES! See all of our plans at ConsumerCellular.com

1 LINE

1 LINE

UNLIMITED TEXT

UNLIMITED TALK

250MB

2 LINES

UNLIMITED TALK

UNLIMITED **TEXT** 

1GB DATA

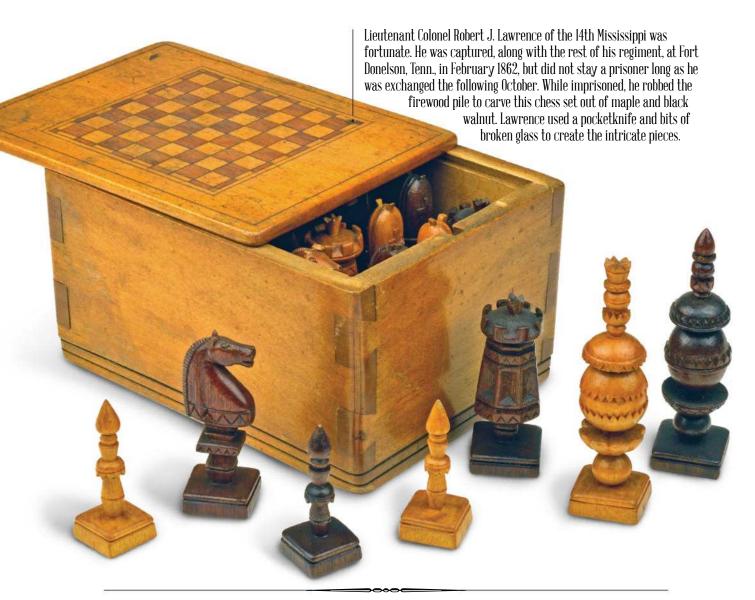
CALL CONSUMER CELLULAR AT (888) 502-3585

**VISIT US ONLINE AT** ConsumerCellular.com/3585

AVAILABLE AT TARGET.

© 2018 Consumer Cellular, Inc. New service activation on approved credit. Cellular service is not available in all areas and is subject to system limitations. Terms and Conditions subject to change. The totals shown here are costs for monthly Consumer Cellular service only. They do not include any state or local taxes. Consumer Cellular received the highest number among four non-contract value providers in the J.D. Power 2016 V2 - 2018 V1 U.S. Wireless Customer Care Performance Study. 2018 V1 based on 4,210 total responses measuring the experiences of current wireless service customers who made a sales transaction with their current carrier within the past three months, surveyed July-December 2017. Your experiences may vary. Visit jdpower.com. AARP member benefits are provided by third parties, not by AARP or its affiliates. Providers pay a royalty fee to AARP for the use of its intellectual property. These fees are used for the general purposes of AARP. Some provider offers are subject to change and may have restrictions. Please contact the provider directly for details.





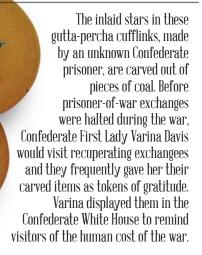
FROM MASSACHUSETTS TO NEW YORK CITY TO MISSOURI, approximately 215,000 Confederates suffered through the horrors of often overcrowded

and unsanitary prisons throughout the conflict. G.T. Taylor of the 1st Alabama Heavy Artillery wrote after the war that his prison at Elmira, N.Y., was "nearer Hades than I thought any place could be made by human cruelty." Some Confederates tried to mentally break free from their Hell on earth for a few moments by carving items of whimsy and practicality out of bone, bits of wood, or more unique material. As they carved, no doubt, they dreamed of the day they could present their handmade trinkets to loved ones—if they were lucky enough to return home. – D.B.S.



A member of John Hunt Morgan's Rebel raiders made this refined fork out of a beef bone while he was cooped up in Fort Delaware, and William Hays of the 2nd Kentucky Cavalry brought it home with him. The delicate utensil features a serrated handle with a crosshatch design.

An unknown Southern soldier carved this bone ring while imprisoned at Point Lookout, Md. References to Confederate prisoner art have appeared in unexpected places. The Georgia rock group R.E.M.'s 1986 song "Swan Swan H" contains the lyrics, "Johnny Reb, what's the price of fans? Forty apiece or three for one dollar. Hey, captain, don't you want to buy some bone chains and toothpicks?," referring to a Union officer's attempts to buy handmade items from his prisoners.





Coconut shells could be made useful as bowls, cups, or dippers, and sutlers even sold the fruit to Union troops eager for variety in their diet. Perhans Joe Green, a Confederate soldier incarcerated at Point Lookout, Md., got this shell from a guard. Green made it into a bowl carved with "Cousin Anna, From Joe Green." That cousin, Anna Thornton, eventually donated it to what is today called The American Civil War Museum.



The prison at Johnson's Island in Lake Erie, off the coast of Ohio, processed 15,000 Confederate inmates during the war. George Humphrevs of the Washington Artillery of New Orleans was one of the Rebels who shivered through brutal winters on the ice-bound island. He must have pined for the steamy, tropical weather of his native state when he carved this box adorned with the Louisiana coat of arms and a shell-inlay cross.





with Gary Gallagher



GARY GALLAGHER recently retired from a 30-year career teaching history at Penn State and the University of Virginia.



A prolific scholar, he has mentored many students who are leading Civil War experts and is also an important member of this magazine's advisory board, as well as a Fortunately, columnist. Gallagher will continue his scholarship. He is working on several book

projects and will continue to be involved in the University of Virginia's Nau Center for Civil War History. One project involves essays by 25 historians describing a Civil War site that has affected each profoundly. The field of Civil War history, Gallagher says, is more vibrant than ever. CWT: How did you get interested in the Civil War?

GG: I grew up on a Colorado farm and I got interested by reading an April 1961 article in National Geographic that anticipated the centennial and featured a lot of the sketches that the British artist Frank Vizetelly had done during the war. It just captivated me. I was 10 when I bought The American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War. That absolutely became a presence in my life; I practically memorized it. By the time I was in high school, I probably had 250-300 books about the war.

**CWT:** How has the field shifted over the decades?

GG: When I was young, most of the books focused on military or political topics, and a little bit of diplomacy. Bell Wiley pioneered writing about common soldiers and African Americans in the Confederacy, and since then there has been an unbelievable broadening of the field. The social history wave was first, then gender history, memory—topics that are hot now were discussed a little bit, like guerrilla war, the home front, and so forth. Memoirs became interesting to me early on. I had an undergraduate teacher—a Civil War specialist—who never even mentioned a battle. That was my first real exposure to somebody who had a really different view of the war than what I had learned as a boy and in high school.



## I'LL TAKE MINE BLACK...NO SUGAR

In the early 1930s watch manufacturers took a clue from Henry Ford's favorite quote concerning his automobiles, "You can have any color as long as it is black." Black dialed watches became the rage especially with pilots and race drivers. Of course, since the black dial went well with a black tuxedo, the adventurer's black dial watch easily moved from the airplane hangar to dancing at the nightclub. Now, Stauer brings back the "Noire", a design based on an elegant timepiece built in 1936. Black dialed, complex automatics from the 1930s have recently hit new heights at auction. One was sold for in excess of

\$600,000. We thought that you might like to have an affordable version that will be much more accurate than the original.

**Basic black with a twist.** Not only are the dial, hands and face vintage, but we used a 27-jeweled automatic movement. This is the kind of engineering desired by fine watch collectors worldwide. But since we design this classic movement on state of the art computer-controlled Swiss built machines, the accuracy is excellent. Three interior dials display day, month and date. We have priced the luxurious Stauer *Noire* at a price to keep you in the black... only 3 payments of \$33. So slip into the back of your black limousine, savor some rich tasting black coffee and look at your wrist knowing that you have some great times on your hands.



27 jewels and handassembled parts drive this classic masterpiece.

An offer that will make you dig out your old tux. The movement of the Stauer *Noire* wrist watch carries an extended two year warranty. But first enjoy this handsome timepiece risk-free for 30 days for the extraordinary price of only 3 payments of \$33. If you are not thrilled with the quality and rare design, simply send it back for a full refund of the item price. But once you strap on the *Noire* you'll want to stay in the black.

Exclusive Offer—Not Available in Stores

Stauer Noire Watch \$399

Your Cost With Offer Code \$99 + S&P Save \$300

OR 3 credit card payments of \$33 + S&P

1-800-333-2045

Offer Code: NWT372-06

You must use this offer code to get our special price. † Special price only for customers using the offer code versus the price on Stauer.com without your offer code.

### Stauer®

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. NWT372-06 Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 www.stauer.com





27-jewel automatic movement • Month, day, date and 24-hour, sun/ moon dials • Luminous markers • Date window at 3' o'clock
• Water resistant to 5 ATM • Crocodile embossed leather strap in black fits wrists to 6½"-9"

#### NADDRAGORA





*CWT:* How has the perception of the war changed?

**GG:** The Lost Cause was powerful down through the 1960s. Birth of a Nation and Gone With the Wind are dramatic expressions of that. But since the centennial, a much larger amount of attention has been been paid to emancipation, related to the mature civil rights movement. In terms of popular culture, I don't think we would have the African American Civil War memorial in Washington, D.C., if not for the movie Glory. I think before that film came out, most people were literally not aware that black soldiers had fought in the Civil War. It shows just how much of an effect a movie can have, a much greater effect than any historian's book or books. In many ways, people get their impressions of the Civil War more from popular culture than they do from anything that historians write.

CWT: What drew students to your class?

**GG**: Some come to class because they got interested in battles, and others are drawn to it because the questions are so huge-whether the work of the founding generation would survive, whether slavery would continue or not, and some even have a sense of how much was at stake in defining the relative powers of local and state governments. You'd have to work really hard to make the Civil War boring.

*CWT:* How do you develop interest among your students? GG: One of the best ways to have them really engage with the war is through the voices of the people who lived through it. For example, I often use the diary of Kate Stone, the daughter of a Louisiana slaveholder. She's their age, and lives in a Jane Austen kind of world, then loses a brother and becomes a refugee. Stone's account is a way of getting at major themes of what was going on inside the Confederacy's white populace. I used other firsthand accounts to get students into the world view of other parts of the Civil War population.

CWT: Is there a Civil War question that nags at you?

**GG:** When you study something for a long time you realize that the more you learn about something, the less certain you can be about almost anything. It's so complicated, and there is so much evidence that the wartime generation

bequeathed to us. This literate population engaged in great events, wrote about it both in the midst of events and then retrospectively, and it just gives historians such a great mass of evidence to work through. It's changed my view about Gettysburg. When I was young, I thought it was the turning point of the war, but the more I read about it, the more I was persuaded that it wasn't really that at all. There were a number of other battles that were much more important in terms of how they shaped the broader direction of the war. There's such a wealth of evidence. It's really intimidating.

**CWT:** The Civil War still makes news. GG: The Civil War continues to resonate in such powerful ways, and I really do believe that if you don't try to come to terms with how people have remembered and used the war, you have no chance of understanding United States history. It's a culmination of huge questions that grew out of the generation that wrote the Constitution and created the nation. And then it puts in place elements relating to race and governmental relationships at different levels. The current controversies over the Confederate memorial landscape are only one element of how the Civil War has a continuing power

to affect America. I think it is wonderful to make people confront the past. There are lots of warts with the Civil War, but there are also lots of empowering elements in terms of how the field has expanded.

**CWT:** How long will the Civil War remain topical? **GG:** I have no idea, and neither does anyone else. I've done a lot of work with high school teachers over the years, and I think some schools are shying away from the Civil War because they think it's too controversial. I think that's absolutely the wrong approach. I find that heartbreaking. I think pretending things didn't happen or pretending things weren't complicated is really a destructive approach to engaging with the past.

CWT: What part of your career are you most proud of?

GG: I've been extremely lucky. For more than 30 years I have been paid to teach and write about the Civil War, give lectures and battlefield tours, and it has been wonderful. I think some of the books I've written, both The Confederate War and The Union War, have had an impact on the academic side of things. The book that has surely reached the most readers is Porter Alexander's memoir, Fighting for the Confederacy, probably the most quoted primary account on the Army of Northern Virginia. That's because of the inherent quality of Alexander's analytical and descriptive powers.

**CWT:** Anything you would like to add? **GG:** The first article I ever published was in Civil War Times about Abraham Lincoln and the plan for black colonization on Île à Vache off the coast of Haiti. I read the magazine in the early 1960s and started subscribing in 1965. I soon bought all the back issues, so I have a complete run of Civil War Times. It's been part of my life for almost as long as I've been interested in the Civil War. \*

Interview conducted by Senior Editor Sarah Richardson

## In 1918, They Entered the Trenches. 100 Years Later, We Honor Their Courage.



## Just Released: 2018 WWI Silver Dollar Proof

During The Great War, approximately four million American men and women served in uniform—half of them overseas. Within months of entering the trenches in Europe, these two million Americans helped Allied forces achieve victory in 1918.

100 years later, the World War I American Veterans Silver Dollar has been released to commemorate their service.

#### A Design Befitting A Hero

For this release, the U.S. Department of the Treasury looked to the American people for inspiration with an open call for artists.

The winning design came from LeRoy Transfield of Orem, Utah. Transfield captures the patriotic resolve of a U.S. soldier fighting overseas, paired with a second design that reminds us all that war is never the end.

In 1915, Lieutenant Colonel John McCrae wrote "In Flanders Fields," a poem inspired by the sight of poppies overflowing a field that had been all but destroyed by the blasts and bombs of war. The poppy has since become an international symbol of remembrance for the veterans who served in World War I.

#### **Limited Release**

Congress has ordered that no more than 350,000 of these commemorative Silver Dollars will be released to the Public. Don't miss out on this important commemorative. Order now!

2018 WWI Centennial Silver Dollar Proof \$59.95 ea. + s/h

#### Free Shipping on 3 or More!

Product total over \$149 before taxes (if any). Standard domestic shipping only. Not valid on previous purchases. As always, your order is protected by our 30-day return privilege.

Call toll-free today for fastest service 1-800-386-7195

Offer Code WLD132-01

Please mention this code when you call.



14101 Southcross Drive West, Suite 175 • Dept. WLD132-01 • Burnsville, MN 55337

Dual Dates of 1918 and 2018
Shimmering Proof Condition
\$1 U.S. Legal Tender
38.1 mm Diameter

Prices and availability subject to change without notice. Facts and figures deemed accurate as of February 2018. NOTE: GovMint.com® is a private distributor of worldwide government coin and currency issues and privately issued and licensed collectibles, and is not affiliated with the United States government. GovMint.com is not an investment company and does not offer financial advice or sell items as an investment. The collectible coin market is speculative, and coin values may rise or fall over time. All rights reserved. ©2018 GovMint.com.

To some, sunglasses are a fashion accessory...

## But When Driving, These Sunglasses **May Save Your Life!**

Drivers' Alert: Driving can expose you to more dangerous glare than any sunny day at the beach can... do you know how to protect yourself?

he sun rises and sets at peak travel periods, during the early morning and afternoon rush hours and many drivers find themselves temporarily blinded while driving directly into the glare of the sun. Deadly accidents are regularly caused by such blinding glare with danger arising from reflected light off another vehicle, the pavement, or even from waxed and oily windshields that can make matters worse. Early morning dew can exacerbate this situation. Yet, motorists struggle on despite being blinded by the sun's glare that can cause countless accidents every year.

Not all sunglasses are created equal.

Protecting your eyes is serious business. With all the fancy fashion frames out there it can be easy to overlook what really matters-the lenses. So we did our research and looked to the very best in optic innovation and technology.

Sometimes it does take a rocket scientist. A NASA rocket scientist. Some ordinary sunglasses can obscure your vision by exposing your eyes to harmful UV rays, blue light, and reflective glare. They can also darken useful vision-enhancing light. But now, independent research conducted by scientists from NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory has brought forth ground-breaking technology to help protect human eyesight from the harmful effects of solar radiation



Slip on a pair of Eagle Eyes® and everything instantly appears more vivid and sharp. You'll immediately notice that your eyes are more comfortable and relaxed and you'll feel no need to squint. The scientifically designed sunglasses are not just fashion accessories—they are necessary to protect your eyes from those harmful rays produced by the sun during peak driving times.

light. This superior lens technology was first discovered when

NASA scientists looked to nature for a means to superior eye protectionspecifically, by studying the eyes of eagles, known for their extreme visual acuity. This discovery resulted in what is now known as Eagle Eyes®.

The Only Sunglass Technology Certified by the Space Foundation for UV and Blue-Light Eye Protection. Eagle Eyes® features the most advanced eye protection technology ever created. The TriLenium® Lens Technology offers triple-filter polarization to block 99.9% UVA and UVBplus the added benefit of blue-light eye protection. Eagle Eyes® is the only optic technology that has earned official recognition from the Space Certification Program for this remarkable technology. Now, that's proven science-based protection.

The finest optics: And buy one, get one FREE! Eagle Eyes® has the highest customer satisfaction of any item in our 20 year history. We are so excited for you to try the Eagle Eyes® breakthrough technology that we will give you a second pair of Eagle Eyes® Navigator™ Sunglasses FREE a \$59.95 value!

That's two pairs to protect your eyes with the best technology available for less than the price of one pair of traditional sunglasses. You get a pair of Navigators with stainless steel black frames and the other with stainless steel gold, plus one hard zipper case and one micro-fiber drawstring cleaning pouch are included. Keep one pair in your pocket and one in your car.

Your satisfaction is 100% guaranteed.

If you are not astounded with the Eagle Eyes® technology, enjoying clearer, sharper and more glare-free vision, simply return one pair within 30 days for a full refund of the purchase price. The other pair is yours to keep. No one else has such confidence in their optic technology. Don't leave your eyes in the hands of fashion designers, entrust them to the best scientific minds on earth. Wear your Eagle Eyes® Navigators

Studies by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) show that most (74%) of the crashes occurred on clear, sunny days

> Navigator™ **Black Stainless** Steel Sunglasses

Receive the Navigator™ Gold Sunglasses (a \$59.95 value) FREE! just for trying the Navigator™ Black



Navigator<sup>™</sup> Gold Stainless Steel Sunglasses

Certified EAGLE EYES® was developed from original NASA Optic technology and was recently inducted into the Space Foundation Technology Hall of Fame.

Fit-ons available for \$39+S&H Black or Tortoise-Shell design



with absolute confidence, knowing your eyes are protected with technology that was born in space for the human race.

Two Pairs of Eagle Eyes® Navigator™ Sunglasses \$119.90

Offer Code Price \$49 + S&P Save \$70.90 Offer includes one pair each Navigator™ Black and Navigator™ Gold Sunglasses

1-800-333-2045

Your Insider Offer Code: EEN721-06 You must use this insider offer code to get our special price.



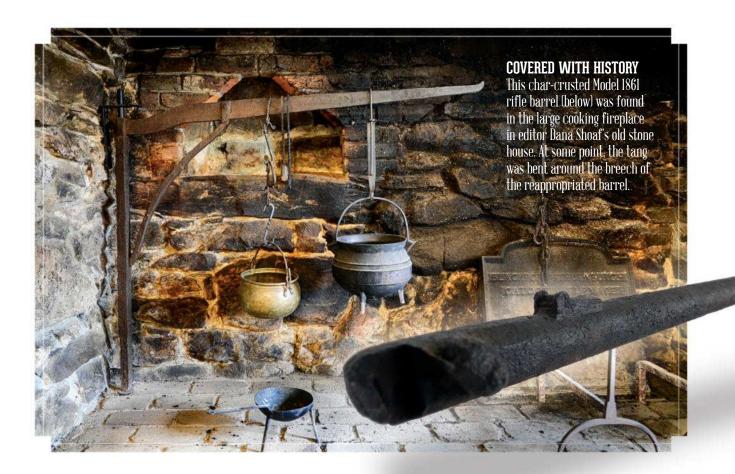
Dept. EEN721-06 Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 www.stauer.com

† Special price only for customers using the offer code versus the price on Stauer.com without your offer code.

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices™







## RANGASINGRIN

IT WAS MADE TO KILL, BUT HELPED FEED A FAMILY



I DON'T LIVE ON A BATTLEFIELD like Peter Svenson did (P. 50), but I do live in an 18th-century stone house in rural Maryland that sits next to a road traveled by Civil War soldiers of both armies. It didn't take long for me to find a wartime connection to the property after we moved into the stone pile nearly a decade ago. My wife noticed that a "bar" from which kettles were hung on the right side of the huge cooking fireplace—big enough to stand in—had come loose. I went to place it back on its brackets, and I was astonished to discover that the bar was actually the barrel from a Model 1861 rifle-musket, slightly bent from the weight of pots, and covered with black char from years of hanging over greasy, smoky cooking fires. I imagined a resident of the house finding and reusing this piece of military junk that was lying in the yard. Did they brag about their innovative reappropriation? Well, I brag about finding that gun barrel to friends when they come over. And when I sit and work on this magazine, I gaze out my windows at that road once tromped by soldiers blue and gray. Depending on a combination of my mood, the weather, and the music I'm playing, I sometimes see ghostly columns marching by, up the hill, and out of sight. –D.B.S.



DEVIL'S DEN SHARPSHOTER'

BY SCOTT FINK





# KT IS ONE OF T

A Confederate soldier, his youthful face turned toward the viewer, lies behind a stone wall built between two boulders in Gettysburg's notorious Devil's Den. His head rests on a knapsack, and his rumpled uniform coat makes it almost appear as if he is asleep under a blanket. But relics of war intrude on the scene so there is no mistaking he is a casualty of ferocious combat. A musket leans against the wall in the background, and an open cartridge box lies at his side. A cap is next to his head, where it landed after the soldier fell dead. Photographer Alexander Gardner took the arresting image on July 6, 1863, and when he published it for public consumption, he titled it "Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter" to convey that the soldier was a marksman who had been picking off Union soldiers on Little Round Top, seen in the distance, before a shell fragment fired by a Union cannon snuffed out his life.

An overarching question about the image had long intrigued me: Just who was the unfortunate Confederate casualty? The desire to answer that set me on a research quest to find a name, and I am confident I have been successful. But first a bit of history on the image with one of the most intriguing Civil War photography backstories.

Gardner and his assistant, Timothy O'Sullivan, actually staged that dramatic scene by moving the dead soldier, who was not a sharpshooter but a common foot soldier, from another location in Devil's Den to the barricade to create a dramatic tableaux, complete with carefully dressed accessories that included the musket, accoutrements, and uniform items. Gardner and Sullivan took two plates of the Confederate at the wall, one of which was a stereoview. The fact that the corpse was photographed in two separate locations went unnoticed for nearly a century until Frederick Ray, an illustrator for Civil War Times, wrote the short article, "The Case of the Rearranged Corpse" in the October 1961 issue of this magazine.

In 1975, photographic historian William Frassanito published his groundbreaking book on Gettysburg photographs titled Gettysburg: A Journey in Time. In his study of the "sharpshooter" photographs, Frassanito identified the body in its first location and estimated the body was moved 40 yards (later revised to 72 yards) to the stone barricade. And now, the story of the image continues, with the great possibility that the soldier in the image has been identified.

Before that hypothesis is explained, a bit of background on Gardner and the battle situation at Devil's Den will be helpful. When the war began, Gardner had been managing Mathew Brady's Washington, D.C., gallery. In September 1862, Brady assigned Gardner to take images of the aftermath of the Battle of Antietam. Those images of battlefield dead shocked the nation, but Brady got the fame, not Gardner. That prompted Gardner to leave Brady, and in the spring of 1863, he opened his own gallery in Washington with his brother James. He also took with him photographers O'Sullivan, James Gibson, William Pywell, David Knox, John Reekie, and W.

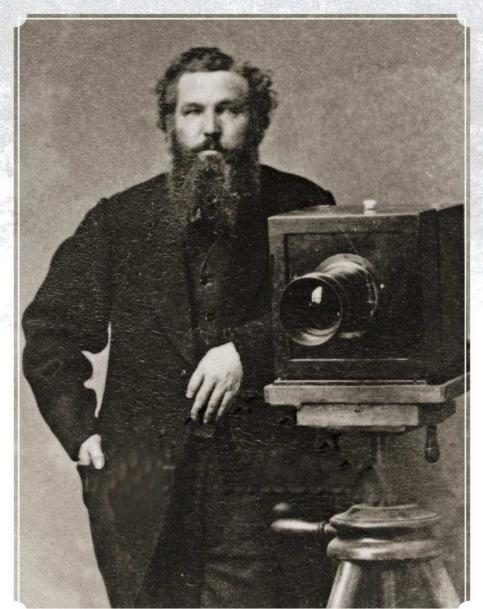
Morris Smith.

Soon, Gardner and a few of his photographers were following the Army of the Potomac in June as it chased the Army of Northern Virginia's movement toward the Potomac River. Gardner's exact whereabouts in the days leading up to the battle are murky, but it is clear that Gardner arrived on the battlefield late on the afternoon of July 5, possibly after he had stopped in Emmitsburg, Md., on July 4 to check on the welfare of his son attending a boarding school there. And it is possible he may have sent the rest of his photographic team on to Gettysburg that day.

Historians only have a general idea of the travels of Gardner's team during their time at Gettysburg, but it is certain that during the morning to early afternoon on July 6, they were busy photographing scenes on the Trostle and Rose farms on the southern portion of the battlefield. A Union officer in the 17th Maine, Charles Mattocks, witnessed the photographers at work and wrote in his journal on July 6 that, "Photographic artists have been busy in taking views upon the battlefield. Groups of the dead, graves, dead horses, and in fact almost everything forms the base of their operations."

Then the photographers most likely made their way to the Devil's Den area when they happened upon the fallen Confederate soldier in an open space on the west side of the rock formation, near what is now known as the "Triangular Field." The youthful appearance and relatively good condition of the body may have piqued their interest enough to spend extra time on this particular soldier. They expended six exposures on him, including three stereoviews at various angles and a large format photograph at the downhill location.

At the sharpshooter's position Gardner took one stereo for-



IN SEPTEMBER 1862, BRADY ASSIGNED GARDNER TO TAKE IMAGES OF THE AFTERMATH OF THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM. THOSE IMAGES OF BATTLEFIELD DEAD SHOCKED THE NATION, BUT BRADY GOT THE FAME. NOT GARDNER.

PERHAPS GARDNER WAS EAGER TO MAKE A NAME FOR HIMSELF AND MOVE OUT FROM BRADY'S SHADOW.

#### HIS OWN MAN

**Burly Alexander** Gardner emigrated from Scotland and started his photographic career in the mid 1850s.

mat photo and one large view version. It is unknown who came up with the notion to move the body, but perhaps Gardner was eager to make a name for himself and move out from under the shadow of Brady, his former mentor.

Brady would also travel to Gettysburg, but he began taking images around July 15, after the bodies had

been interred in their hasty graves. The public expected another death series from Brady, so he took some of his own artistic license. In several photographs, Brady had posed an assistant as a dead soldier. And even though those portrayals were rather unconvincing, and although Gardner had truly captured the horrors of the three-day battle, Brady's Gettysburg views again received most of the recognition.

In August 1863, Brady's photographs appeared in Harper's Weekly, a nationally circulated newspaper, in the form of woodcuts. The next month, Gardner released his Incidents of the War catalog that contained all his Gettysburg views. But it was not until 1865, after the end of the conflict, that Gardner's Gettysburg views appeared as woodcuts in Harper's Weekly. A montage of several of Gardner's photos included the "sharpshooter" photographs, titled "A Sharpshooter's Last Sleep." The image of the dead Confederate at the barricade also appeared in Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War that was published that same year, 1865.

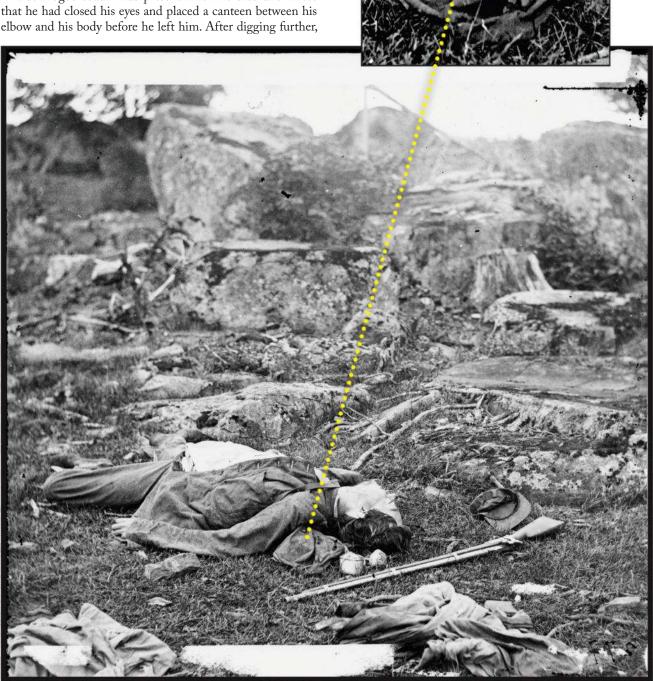
I knew it would be a daunting task to identify the dead soldier, and the probability that I would find the answer was extremely low, but I kept on through the twists and turns of my investigation. The results, it turned out, surpassed my expectations and were more than I could have hoped for. I first set out to investigate some notions that are still prevalent today. Shockingly, some people believe that the "sharpshooter" was a live person posing as a dead soldier, just as Brady had used his assistant for a few of his views. As is clear from the

detail of the soldier's face, however, one eye remains slightly open, his face had swollen, and hands had shriveled up, all indications of the onset of decomposition.

I then looked into some of the identifications attributed to the soldier in the past and focused in on one intriguing possibility. In 1911, family members claimed that the soldier was Andrew Hoge, who died at the Battle of Gettysburg. His story appeared in Confederate Veteran magazine in 1925. The story of Hoge's death seemed plausible and even contained a detail not known to the general public. Gardner had inexplicably mentioned a canteen in his rough draft of the narrative for the photograph even though there was no canteen visible in any of the six photographs (the detail never made it into the final draft of Gardner's Sketch Book).

But Hoge's cousin was present when he died and wrote

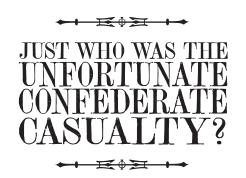
**LOTS OF ATTENTION** The images below were taken at the first location of the "sharpshooter" before he was dragged to the stone barricade at Devil's Den. The number "2" is stenciled on the haversack under the body, one of several clues that leads the author to believe he served in the 2nd Georgia Infantry.



I found that an early photograph of Hoge shows a similar facial likeness to the sharpshooter. I can see why Hoge's family members could have thought the soldier was their relative and why they would have rationalized him being in Devil's Den. There is one glaring problem with this theory: Hoge and his cousin were both members of the 4th Virginia Infantry, and as Frassanito pointed out in another of his books, *Early Photography at Gettys*-

burg, that regiment was nowhere near Devil's Den during or after the battle. I had to resume my search.

In 2014, John Heiser, a historian at Gettysburg National Military Park, wrote a series of articles on the photo for the park's blog, *From the Fields of Gettysburg*. He surmised that the

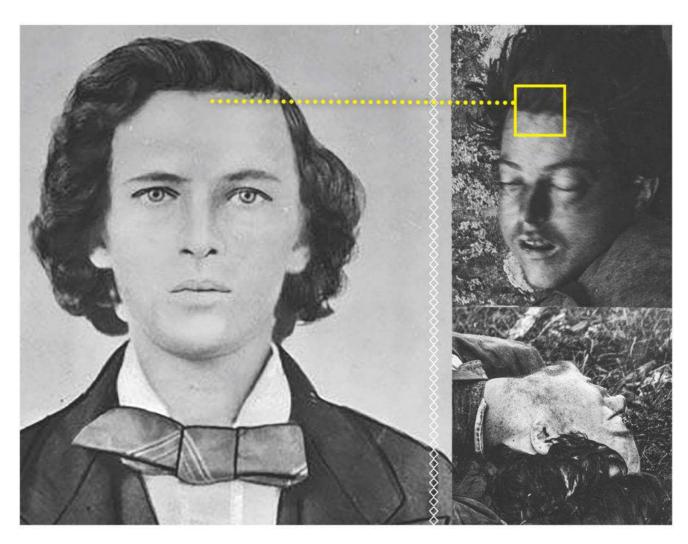


casualty was a Georgian because Brig. Gen. Henry L. Benning's 2nd, 5th, 17th, and 20th Georgia infantry occupied both locations throughout the day and into the evening of July 3 where the dead Confederate was photographed.

Heavy skirmishing began in the Devil's Den vicinity late in the afternoon on July 3, after the repulse of Pickett's Charge. Emboldened Pennsylvania regiments of Colonel William McCandless' brigade pushed

toward the rock formation about 5:30 or 6 p.m., eager to take back ground lost by the Union on July 2. McCandless' men began turning Benning's left flank, forcing the Confederate commander to withdraw his regiments from Devil's Den to the west under heavy fire.





Heiser was leaning toward the idea that the soldier was a member of the 15th Georgia because that regiment served as the brigade's rear guard as their fellow Georgia regiments retreated toward the Emmitsburg Road, and I agreed with

that. But, although the 15th lost more than 100 men at Gettysburg, I found only three reported as being killed in action on July 3. Two were mortally wounded and had been buried miles away from Devil's Den. The remaining soldier was Everard Culver, who was just 19 years old when he was killed.

Everard had four brothers in the regiment, and Edgeworth Bird, a member of the 15th, wrote home that they were "very distressed that poor Ev's body could not be recovered from the hands of the enemy for burial." Because of the age of Culver and that his body was left on the field, this possibility required further investigation. I could not find a photograph of Everard, but I managed to find one of his brother who bore little resemblance to the "sharpshooter," and my suspicion that Everard was the soldier in the photograph began to diminish.

My search of the 17th Georgia's casualties yielded no candidates, and I turned my attention to the 2nd and 20th Georgia, but I could find no soldiers who were killed in action on that date. It was disheartening, and I feared that incomplete Confederate records may have stalled my investigation, but I continued my search and finally got the break I needed.

I found the accounts of two soldiers from the 2nd Georgia Infantry: William Houghton's Two Boys in the Civil War and After and copies of John Bowden's papers in the Gettysburg battlefield library. Houghton, who served in Company G of the 2nd, had mentioned that when they received orders **UNCANNY** An 1850s image of John Rutherford Ash, when he was about 13 or 14 shares striking similarities with the Devil's Den corpse, including dark hair and a unique, small "widow's peak" hairline feature. The teenager and the slain soldier also have thin noses, narrow chins. attached earlobes, and distinctive eyebrows.

to withdraw, they formed up again about where Gardner may have taken his first image of the body. The other soldier, Bowden from the 2nd's Company B, wrote that a soldier was killed crossing the "danger point" where the regiment was exposed to Union fire during their withdrawal.

I finally found a soldier listed in Robert K. Krick and Chris L. Ferguson's book, Gettysburg's Confederate Dead: An Honor Roll From America's Greatest Battle, who was killed in action late in the afternoon or the early evening of July 3, when Benning's Brigade

was driven from Devil's Den. His name was John Rutherford Ash of Company A of the 2nd Georgia.

Private Ash was only 25 years old when he died at Gettysburg, and his body was never recovered. Ash was born in 1837, and by searching the Find a Grave website, I found that a memorial stone, not a gravestone, had been erected for him in the Hebron Presbyterian Cemetery in Banks County, Ga., along with another one for his younger brother who was killed at Vicksburg in April 1863. The date of death on John's stone is July 4, but it is reasonable to believe that the information about his death came from a comrade, and I recalled that John Bowden had mistaken the regiment's withdrawal date as July 4 in his account.

My good luck persisted when I found a crisp 1850s photograph of John Ash at the Georgia Department of Archives and History, and I stared at it on my computer screen in disbelief. Ash and the dead soldier at the barricade shared the same exact facial features, including their ears, nose, chin, lips, and eyebrows. The likeness was haunting. I also realized that if Ash was killed on July 3, it would help explain why his body was not as decomposed as others photographed by Gardner. It would be reasonable to believe that John Ash and the Devil's Den casualty photographed by Gardner are one and the same, even if absolute proof may forever remain elusive.

I am hopeful, however, that in the future, more information will come to light to help confirm the identification one way or the other. Gardner's actions in staging the photograph on July 6, 1863, were morally wrong and unethical by our standards, but he clearly explained the intent of his photograph in his Sketch Book: "Such a picture conveys a useful moral: It shows the blank horror and reality of war, in opposition to its pageantry. Here are the dreadful details! Let them aid in preventing such another calamity falling upon the nation."

Scott Fink, an Army veteran who received the Purple Heart for injuries sustained in Iraq, frequently travels to Gettysburg from his home in Olney, Md. His forthcoming book, Photo History: Gettysburg, will delve into great detail about the "sharpshooter" image as well as other photographs.

# A MOVING CONTROVERSY



In 1998, a new theory emerged about the "sharpshooter" photographs when James Groves, a Maryland artist, produced an online study of the images titled The Devil's Den Sharpshooter Re-Discovered, in which he concluded that the photographs at the barricade were taken first and then the body was moved for additional images in the vicinity. The premise of his study was based on an account by Union artillery Captain Augustus P. Martin (pictured below), who was stationed on Little Round Top. Martin claimed that just after the battle he saw a "dead Confederate lying upon his back behind a stone wall" who had been killed by a Federal artillery fire. Martin explained the dead Rebel had been an actual sharpshooter, whose accurate shooting had drawn Union shellfire. Martin's telling seemed to establish the Rebel had died at the stone wall, and was then moved farther downhill. thereby validating Groves' speculation.

Captain Martin's story first appeared in the Gettysburg Compiler in 1899, and he was very likely aware of Gardner's photograph and "sharpshooter" caption. Also in 1867, local Gettysburg photographers had taken photos at the barricade, and their caption indicates they were aware of Gardner's photograph. Furthermore, photographer William Tipton had

reprinted Gardner's image around the time of Martin's 1899 article. Therefore, Gardner's published story about the image was well known by 1899, and it is plausible that Martin molded his account to mesh with Gardner's.

Some of Groves' key points have been disproved, while others have maintained their merit. Nothing, however has convinced me the soldier was a specialized sharpshooter.



**BIG GUN** Captain Augustus P. Martin served as the artillery commander of the 5th Corps of the Army of the Potomac at Gettysburg.

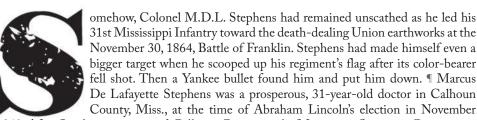
As I continue to study Gardner's Gettysburg photography, I agree with Frassanito's theory that the soldier was dragged to the barricade to compose an absorbing image. While I may disagree with Groves' conclusions, I do applaud his effort to challenge perceptions of the famous photograph.-S.F.

### The war in their words

# VAS HAL

#### A MISSISSIPPI COLONEL RECOUNTS THE 1864 TENNESSEE CAMPAIGN

BY KEITH S. BOHANNON



1860. After Stephens represented Calhoun County at the Mississippi Secession Convention, he became a lieutenant in the 17th Mississippi Infantry, serving in Virginia until February 1862. Stephens returned home at that point to raise a company of the 31st Mississippi, and was elected lieutenant colonel of the regiment shortly after its organization. The men of the 31st spent the following two years marching, camping, and fighting in their home state and Alabama before joining the Army of Tennessee during the Battle of Resaca, Ga., the first major engagement of the 1864 Atlanta Campaign. ¶ Stephens led his regiment through that campaign, during which he received a promotion to colonel. Due to illness, he missed one of the 31st's bloodiest days of the Civil War at the Battle of Peachtree Creek. Following the evacuation of Atlanta and several weeks of rest in September 1864, the 31st marched with the Army of Tennessee into northern Georgia in an offensive movement led by Lt. Gen. John B. Hood. The Confederates eventually advanced into northern Alabama, Hood planning to cross the Tennessee River and liberate middle Tennessee.



On October 26, 1864, Hood ordered a portion of his army to surround the fortified Union garrison occupying the town of Decatur, Ala., on the Tennessee River. Hood hoped to seize the town and use the pontoon bridge constructed there by the Federals to get his army over the river. The 31st, part of a brigade of Mississippians commanded by Brig. Gen. Winfield S. Featherston, occupied the far right of the Confederate line around Decatur, supporting a number of Southern artillery batteries adjacent to the Tennessee River. Unfortunately for the Confederates, the earthworks protecting these cannon had been poorly prepared. ¶ Following a day of relative inactivity on October 27, the Federal commander in Decatur decided to attack the Southern batteries located on the Tennessee River because they threatened the Union's pontoon bridge. The unit chosen for the assault was the untried 14th U.S. Colored Troops. This regiment, numbering 363 enlisted men and officers, charged across open ground for several hundred yards before going over the "slight works" protecting the Confederate artillery and capturing four pieces. Before the Federals could move the guns, Confederate infantry, including the 31st Mississippi, advanced to retake the cannon and the 14th quickly retired to the Union earthworks with a loss of 55 men killed and wounded. This action is described by Colonel Stephens in the following memoir excerpt. ¶ Stephens, like many Confederates, expressed contempt for the fighting ability and bravery of African-American troops. The Union commander at Decatur, Brig. Gen. Robert Granger, however, expressed a positive opinion about the 14th U.S.C.T.'s action on October 28, 1864. Granger claimed that the performance of the African Americans "was everything that could be expected or desired of soldiers. They were cool, grave, and determined, and under the heavy fire of the enemy exhibited no signs of confusion." The day after the action at Decatur involving the 14th and the Mississippians, Hood decided to march his army farther west to find a different crossing of the Tennessee. In the weeks following the engagement at Decatur, Hood's Army eventually crossed the Tennessee River at Florence, Ala., and moved into Tennessee. On November 30, 1864, the Confederates faced an entrenched Union Army at Franklin. In the frontal attacks launched by Hood that day, Featherston's Brigade occupied a position on the far Confederate right. As the Mississippians advanced through the cut of the Nashville and Decatur Railroad, they found themselves under artillery fire from Union cannon on the other side of the Harpeth River in Fort Granger. Once the Southerners had passed through the cut, they faced lines of abatis and obstructions placed in front of the Federal lines. Advancing on both sides of the Lewisburg Pike, Featherston's men faced a hailstorm of canister fire from Union cannon as well as volleys of musketry. Incredibly, some Confederates made it to the Union parapet, including Colonel Stephens, although most quickly became casualties. When the fighting ended, the 31st Mississippi had lost approximately 145 men killed and wounded out of 250 taken into the battle. I Stephens survived, and in 1899, he penned a memoir of his Confederate service, which included the sections below of fighting at Decatur and Franklin. Stephens' unpublished memoir is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. Some paragraph breaks have been added to enhance readability.



#### FRONT YARD. FRONT LINE

Union troops pose along a breastwork constructed during their 1864 defense of Decatur. Ala. Confederate Lt. Gen. John Bell Hood failed in his effort to seize the town in order to use a Union-built pontoon bridge to transport his army across the Tennessee River.



## Engagement at Decatur

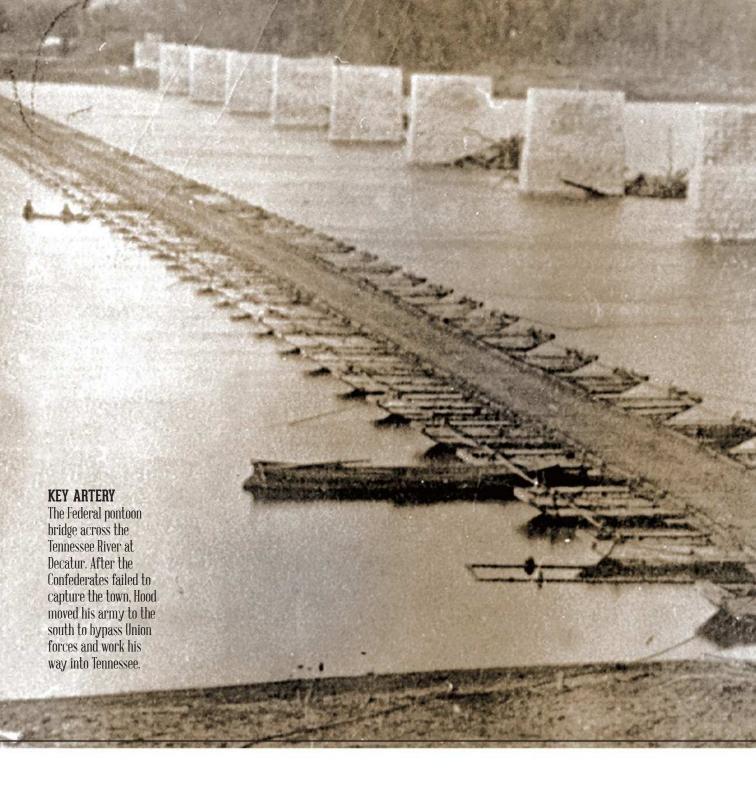
We rested a day and marched to Decatur, Ala. where we attacked and drove the enemy back within their entrenchments [on October 26, 1864]. We formed line of battle all around Decatur but on the river side, the enemy came down the river with Gunboats and shelled our position several hours. I was now in command of my Regiment[,] Gen'l [Winfield S.] Featherston in command of Brig[ade]. My Regt was on our extreme right near the river.

We had thrown up temporary breastworks and had a battery of 4 guns, in our line. The battery was ordered some 200 yards in front of the line of our entrenchments...and was shelling the enemies' line. When a Brigade of Negroes [actually only the 14th U.S.C.T.] moved under cover of the

river bank and attacked and drove back our skirmish line & captured the 4 pieces of artillery. Then, my Regt. rose up from the trenches and poured a galling fire into the enemy, now surrounding the captured cannon.

... We gave them 3 or 4 vollies, and then charged them. It was about 300 yards to their line and we pressed them with our small arms and cannon as long as it could be used. We captured our 4 pieces and killed and wounded many of the negroe troops. They all seemed drunk & made but a feeble resistance. We killed many but did not attempt to capture any.

The reason they captured our battery was that we had two of our companies on skirmish line in front of the bat-



tery and the enemy pressed our skirmish line back, but the skirmishers held them in check as long as they could & then slowly retreated back...so the battery could not fire at the enemy without killing our men. Our men could not fire on the enemy until our men came back to us. Companies E & F were on the skirmish line and several of them were killed and many wounded. As the Regiment drove back the brigade of Negroes the field was colored black with dead negroe soldiers. We took the line of entrenchments in our front and I sent Gen'l. Featherston word that we had the enemies' line of entrenchments and could enter the city if he wished.

He ordered [us] to hold our position for further orders. My soldiers all got a nice silver watch & \$30 from the pockets of the dead negroes as they had recently been paid off. We had a regiment full of watches & money for a while.

At midnight we were ordered back to our line of entrenchments and then ordered to move to the left and follow the moving column, which we did, and morning found us on the R.R. moving in the direction of Tuscumbia the rest of the army having already moved forward, we bringing up the rear. My Regiment had been continuously moving and fighting for three days and nights without rations or sleep....



Pattle of Franklin

Our division early in the morning [on November 29, 1864] crossed Duck River some 8 or 10 miles above Columbia and moved in the direction of Spring Hill which place we reached at dark and formed line east of RR. We rested on our arms in battle line all night, while the enemy was rapidly retreating on the [Columbia] Turn Pike road not more than 200 yards from our line. The men were restless and wanted to charge & fire upon the retreating line, but we were restrained and let the enemy with artillery & baggage trains pass. Early

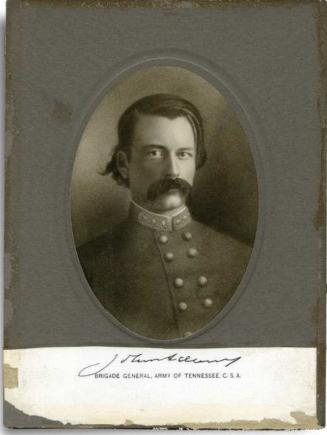
in the morning we moved out on the Pike road and followed closely upon the retreating enemy. The road was blockaded with broken weapons & dead horses. We arrived in front of Franklin late in the evening and found the enemy well posted and fortified in a circle around the city from Harpeth River above to the river below. They appeared to have three strong lines of entrenchments posted in our front.

We formed line of battle our Division was on the extreme right—all of the bands before going to our army were posted on a high ridge and commenced playing Dixie and our whole line was ordered to charge in 2 lines. Just as the cannonading opened and we moved to the onset, a shell bursted in front of Company A of my regiment & killed & wounded seven men, the killed and wounded were sent to the rear. The men took the line of advance and the line closed up into a scathing fire of shot and shell from our right across the river and in front. We crossed the [Nashville & Decatur] R.R. and moved on the enemy's line, just to the left of an old gin house. We found a spring abatis in our front of locust without timber about 60 yards in front of their breastworks....This main line was well built & stubbornly defended...with cannon well posted all along the line [and] troops...armed with 16 shooting Henry Rifles...behind strong breastworks with large heavy head logs assembled in the top of works with post holes.

We came in range of small arms as soon as we crossed the Rail Road and with a "solid rebel yell" we charged the works and soon reached the abatis which deranged our line, but we soon pressed through the obstructions and rapidly reformed in front of the last breastworks, when the order was given to fix bayonets and charge. Color bearer after color bearer had been shot down until the colors were borne by the color Sergt. [G.A. Spencer] Neal, and as he fell, he handed me the flag, which I took rather reluctantly for [there] had already been killed & wounded 10 men bearing this flag in this battle, but I took it in my left hand and looked around for the command only a few scattering men were seen advancing. The rest were lying down.

With the flag in my hand & repeated the command charge...the few living men, rushed forward with me to the breastworks. Some went over the works, others were shot at the works. Just as I was in the act of planting our flag in the breastworks of the enemy, I was shot down wounded in my right thigh just below my hip-the thigh bone being shattered and a small artery severed. I fell down in the trenches of the enemy and Sergt. [Gregory T.] Hunter ran up to me. I handed him the flag, and as he took it, his right arm was shot & took the flag in his left hand and I told him to run back with it & save it, if possible, which he did, and the old





**BLOOD FEST** Brigadier Generals Winfield S. Featherston, left, John Adams, right, and Thomas M. Scott led William Loring's attack on the Union right flank at Franklin. Colonel Stephens, serving in Featherston's Brigade, was one of seven of Loring's 16 regimental commanders wounded during the attack. Six Confederate generals were slain in the battle, including Adams. Below: Featherston's headquarters flag.

flag is still preserved at Houston, Miss. The few men that were not killed or wounded fell back on the reserve and charged again with them but were again repulsed.

Gen'l [John] Adams with his Brig[ade] supported Featherston in this charge and the 15th Miss. Regt. Col. [Michael] Farrell was the support of my Regt. & as my men fell back he cried out "Steady men, fix bayonets." Adams' Brig[ade] was soon repulsed and fell back. Gen'l Adams and Col. Farrell were both mortally wounded in this charge. I lay in the trenches, while the charge was being made and when Adams' Brig[ade] fell back and night came on, a Fed-

eral soldier came over their works and came to me. He saw I was rapidly bleeding to death and he cut off the tail of my coat and made [a] bandage and bound around my thigh-placed the knot in the wound-gave a stick & twisted the bandage tight around my leg & place[d] the stick in my hand, which stopped the bleeding. He went to his Colonel & reported my condition and

the Col. sent a litter with four of his men, and they took me over the breastworks to. their Col. [Lt. Col. W. Scott Stewart, 65th Illinois Infantry].

I found the Col. a nice man....When they laid me down...in rear of the enemy's lines, a heavy night assault was made by our forces and the bullets ate up the ground all around me when my men fell back Col. Stewart came to me and said you must be sent to the rear as your men may charge again and you will be killed. He sent me back on a litter to the hospital where I remained but a short time when they put me in an ambulance and sent me back across the

> river and placed [me] in an old field and threw me out on the frozen ground.

The battle was now over, it was late in the night, and the enemy began to fall back toward Nashville. The army was moving all night. It was very cold and I lay on my back on the rough frozen ground until I was almost dead. When along came a kind, generous... Federal soldier and gave me a pair of good heavy ground



#### I LAY ON MY BACK ON THE ROUGH FROZI WAS ALMOST

blankets and kindly folded them around me and soon along

came another noble so[u]led Federal soldier and built a good fire at my feet out of boxes found nearby & placed boxes of crackers & meat all around me to protect me from the cold north wind....About sunrise Capt. [Thomas J.] Pulliam of Co. C of my Regt. and quite a number of the men of my regt found me. They asked where I had been. I told them that I had been out drawing rations for them.

The ambulance soon arrived and I was placed in it with coffee, canned food, meat, crackers &c and taken back across the river....As we crossed the river, Col McGavvicks [John McGavock] handed me a canteen full of good brandy. I drank until I was ashamed & went on to the hospital at Col. McGavick[']s [home, Carnton], in good spirits. I was placed in a room with wounded officers. Capt. [Roland W.] Jones of 1st Miss. Battalion was in the room & the dead bodies of Genl. Adams & Col. Farrell. (Farrell died at Carnton on December 25, 1864.) That evening our army pressed

the enemy on to Brentwood and on to Nashville and the battle of Nashville was fought in a short time. Dec. 2nd, my uncle, Miles R. Hanson, that lived 8 miles from Franklin, came with a 2 horse hack...and took me to his house where I lay in bed until our army fell back when I was placed on my horse & my leg tied to the horn of my saddle and I rode out with my negro boy Mervin walking in front of me and assisting me in every way he could.

The creeks & branches were all up from heavy rains. We often had to ford these streams with Mervin riding behind me. Sometimes we were with our army & sometimes in the rear. We finally reached Florence....Our army was crossing the [Tennessee] River at Bainbridge on a pontoon bridge some 7 miles above Florence. I sent my boy, Mervin, with my horse to cross the river with the army. Late in the evening Miss Kirkman had a small skiff going across the river and she very kindly offered me a seat on her boat which [I] accepted and were soon out in the middle of the river. When a Gun Boat of the enemy came steaming up the river and commenced shelling the boats crossing the river.

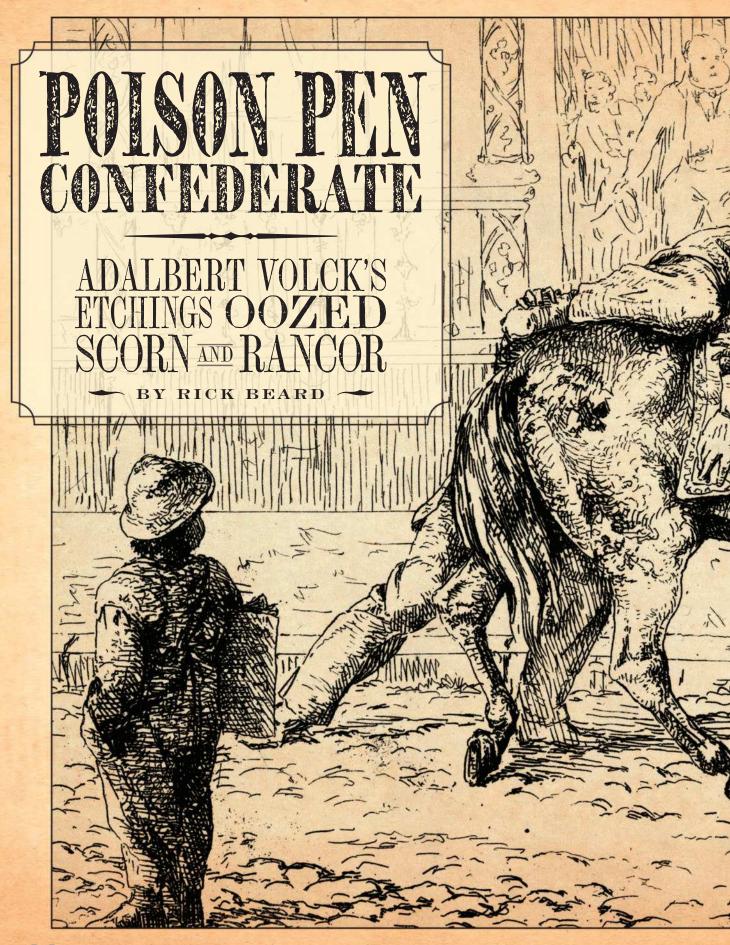
Miss Kirkman stood in the boat when the shells were bursting in the river and splashing the water all around us, as cool and restrained as an old soldier, brave noble woman. We landed in safety on the south side of the river, in South Florence. Miss Kirkman...insisted that I should go with her to her home, but my leg being broken & I on crutches had to decline her kind offer. She and her servants dashed up the hills in the direction of her home some mile or so away. I set out on my crutches to a house on the road side near by. The man of the house was not at home, [but] his daughter invited me in. The Gun Boats were still shelling at a fearful rate and everything was in confusion amongst the few settlers of South Florence. It was quite cold, but the young lady soon had a good fire in a small outhouse in the yard, and I lay down on a quilt on the floor before the fire.



**TEMPORARY HOSPITAL** During the attack, Confederates swept past the McGavock family's Carnton Mansion, which would soon be used to house 300 casualties.

After another week of travel, Stephens made it to his home in Sarepta, Miss., on New Year's Day 1865 with the assistance of his teenaged African-American slave named Mervin. Colonel Stephens' shattered thigh ended his Confederate military service, the wound confining him to bed for two months and then to crutches for a year. In the decades after the Civil War, Stephens was a merchant, den leader and Grand Cyclops in the Ku Klux Klan during Reconstruction, and holder of several local and state government offices in Mississippi. M.D.L. Stephens died April 15, 1911, and is buried next to his wife in Oak Hill Cemetery in Water Valley, Miss.

Keith Bohannon is a professor of history at the University of West Georgia in Carrollton, Ga. His essay on the destruction of Confederate Army records during the Appomattox Campaign will appear in the forthcoming 2018 University of North Carolina Press book, Petersburg to Appomattox: The End of the War in Virginia, edited by Caroline Janney.





T WAS LATE 1861 and the Baltimore dentist Adalbert Volck faced interrogation by Union Maj. Gen. John Adams Dix over a series of scathing caricatures of Maj. Gen. Benjamin Butler, who had occupied the city the previous May. Dix quickly

secured a confession from Volck, and decades later, the artist recalled what happened next. After Dix retired to a nearby room, with drawings in hand, "sounds of loud laughter" could be heard. When he returned, Dix told Volck he was free to go, so long as he issued no more caricatures of Butler.

Volck was not chastened by the experience. A German immigrant, he would go on to launch some of the Civil War's harshest visual assaults on Abraham Lincoln and the Union cause. While no more than a few hundred people ever saw his etchings during the conflict, Volck captured the prejudices and passions that shaped the secessionists' cause better than any other visual artist of his time. His sharp caricatures stand as vivid representations of his view of Northern perfidy and Southern nobility.

Volck seemed an unlikely Confederate sympathizer. The son of a well-to-do chemical manufacturer, he was born in 1828 in Augsberg, Germany. He studied the sciences, first at Nuremberg's Polytechnic Institute and then the University of Munich, and also spent time with a colony of artists from whom he learned to draw and etch. In Munich, Volck was caught up in political protests that culminated in an early 1848 march on Berlin to demand liberal reforms and a unified Germany from Frederick Wilhelm IV, the King of Prussia. His arrest guaranteed forced service in the Bavarian Army, which led Volck to emigrate to America.

Volck's movements upon first arriving in the United States remain somewhat mysterious. He went first to St. Louis, where his brother-in-law was a Lutheran minister, and may also have traveled west to California's gold fields. By 1850 he was in Boston, working as an assistant to dentist Nathan Keep. Impressed with his knowledge of chemistry, Keep recommended Volck for a position teaching science at the Baltimore School of Dental Surgery in 1851. While teaching there, Volck also completed the requirements for a doctorate in dental surgery. Several months after his graduation in 1852, he opened his practice and married Letitia Roberta Alleyn, a Baltimore woman with whom he would have two sons and three daughters.

We can only guess at what compelled the young professional to adopt the Confederate cause. One biographer suggests that "Volck's professional activities and cultural affiliations had



# VOLCK SEEMED AN UNLIKELY ONFEDERAT

placed him in closer contact with the more radically Southern portion of the city's population and that in the process he had absorbed its outlook." No doubt the Southern sympathies of his brother Frederick, who spent the war years in Virginia, also influenced Volck's thinking. Before long the young dentist's house on Charles Street was a refuge for Confederate agents, and Volck began smuggling intelligence and medical supplies across the Potomac River. Volck also allegedly recruited mechanics and artisans for the South's cause and at one point acted as a special agent for Jefferson Davis.

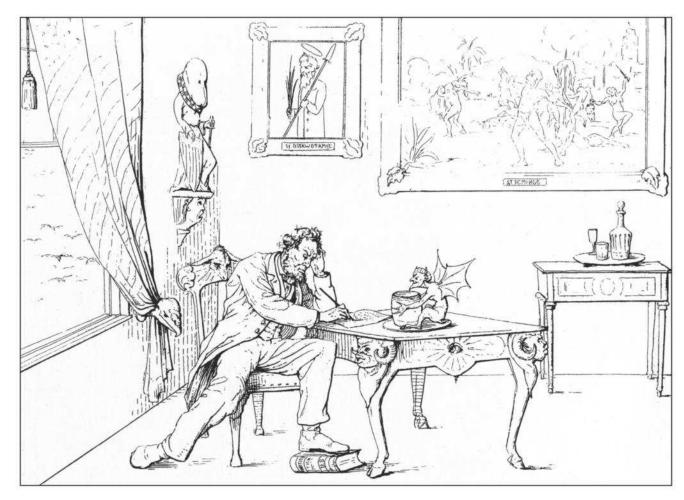
Specifics about Volck's Confederate activites are somewhat suspect: the sole source is the artist himself in a late-in-life interview. At times he appeared to exaggerate his role as a Southern supporter, claiming frequent arrests when none seem to have occurred. Several of his etchings do, however, attest to his presence behind enemy lines and it is likely that Volck narrowly escaped imprisonment for smuggling, thanks to a \$500 bribe paid to a Union officer. Furthermore, his postwar correspondence suggests that he enjoyed a personal relationship with Davis and his family.

What is clear is that by the summer of 1861 he was at work on his first satirical foray against the Union. Ye Exploits of Ye Distinguished Attorney and General B. F. B. (Bombastes Furioso Buncombe) targeted General Butler, who on May 13, 1861, had occupied Baltimore, arrested several prominent citizens, interfered with the Maryland legislature's debate on secession, and confiscated weapons intended for Confederate forces. Butler's actions directly contravened instructions from Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, the Union Army's commanding general. But Northerners, anxious to avenge the April attack on the 6th Massachusetts Regiment when it passed through Baltimore, applauded the move. Within five days, Butler was promoted to major general and reassigned to Fortress Monroe.



**EPIC SKEWERING** Volck's sketches illustrated James Fairfax McLaughlin's 1868 poetic takedown of Ben Butler.

Butler's heavy-handed occupation made a lasting impression on Volck. While the sketches comprising Bombastes Furioso Buncombe lack the technical polish of Volck's later work, they display a characteristically venomous eye for his subjects' human foibles. Butler appears as a disheveled, somewhat bloated character given to personal indulgence and military misadventures. Volck issued two packets of six prints each, accompanied by satiric comments. In 1868, Volck would repurpose many of the 1861 prints as illustrations for James Fairfax McLaughlin's The Ameri-



can Cyclops, the Hero of New Orleans, and Spoiler of Silver Spoons.

A second portfolio, Comedians and Tragedians of the North, followed close on the heels of Bombastes Furioso Buncombe. Butler and Lincoln both appear twice among the dozen caricatures. Other Union luminaries lampooned included Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley, John C. Frémont, Simon Cameron, and Winfield Scott. In summer 1863, Volck began distributing Sketches From the Civil War in North America, 1861, 1862, 1863, the portfolio that would cement his critical reputation with future generations. Relying on the pseudonym V. Blada—the initial of his last name and the first five letters of his first name in reverse order, he issued 10 etchings to 200 subscribers. In July 1864, he issued 20 additional prints in a second portfolio.

Volck's etchings contained in equal measure harsh attacks on the North and benign Confederate portrayals. The portfolio's first etching—"Worship of the North"—is among Volck's most detailed and vitriolic works. It illustrates a white man being sacrificed by a knife-wielding Henry Ward Beecher on the altar of "Negro Worship," while Lincoln, Stanton, and other Northern leaders look on.

A second etching in the portfolio, "Passage through Baltimore," is today one of Volck's most well-known images. It reveals the president-to-be, poorly disguised in a cloak and a Scotch cap to help foil an assassination plot, fearfully reacting to a spitting cat while passing through Baltimore on a late February morning. The suggestion that he had skulked into Washington bedeviled Lincoln until his death.

The Scotch cap appears again—draped over a statue of Liberty-in "Writing the Emancipation Proclamation," another image familiar to students of the Civil War. Volck's image shows a beleaguered Lincoln laboring over the executive order that Confederate President Davis would describe as "the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man."

Volck's opinions of Northern society and Union soldiers were equally jaundiced. "Free Negroes in the North" suggests a level of poverty and debauchery that gives the lie to Northern claims of moral superiority over the slaveholding South. Two etchings, "The Enlistment of Sickles Brigade" and "Buying a Substitute in the North during the War," capture Volck's belief in the degenerate qualities of the Union soldier. The first shows Union officers recruiting troops from a New York City mob, while the second shows a dandified Yankee selecting a paid substitute from among a roomful of disreputable-looking characters.

The release of his second portfolio of 20 etchings in mid-1864 included a flier announcing



#### DIABOLICAL FOUNDATION

Stones representing supposed Yankee debauchery support the altar in Volck's "Worship of the North."

plans for an additional 17 images. But, Volck told his subscribers, "In consequence of the great depreciation in Currency...the present rate of Subscription will barely cover cost of the materials required for completing the undertaking, leaving nothing to repay the time and labor bestowed upon the work."

Volck's investments of time and labor were extensive. "From nightfall to far into the small hours," he recalled more than four decades later, "I worked alone on these sketches, drawing, etching, and printing them myself alone. There are only 200 copies by my hand in existence issued to subscribers only." Payment in advance was vital if the additional etchings were to be published.

An apparently disappointing response from his subscribers and the end of the war stymied plans for the third portfolio. Shortly after Lincoln's assassination, Volck sent 18 engraved plates to England with a friend, with instructions for their publication in London. The death of his friend before



# 

animosities, the bitter resentments, the implacable prejudices, the passion, the frenzy, and the ferocity of the war." In Volck's eyes, the South was home to brave women sewing uniforms for Rebel soldiers, slaves hiding their master from Union cavalrymen, and God-fearing troops and their general who prayed regularly for divine inspiration. And his portrayal of the South evoked themes that would become central to the creation of the Lost Cause myth. The brave nobility of Southern women, the chivalric qualities of the Confederacy's leaders, the loyalty of enslaved blacks, and the wartime depredations of Union troops, many of them recent immigrants, would all fuel the psychic needs of defeated Southerners for decades to come.

Volck lived until 1912 and remained largely unapologetic for his Confederate sympathies. During an 1870 visit to Washington College, he made sketches from which he painted the last life portrait of Robert E. Lee, and in 1872 he illustrated an admiring biography of the recently deceased Confederate general. In a 1905 letter to the Library of Congress confirming that he was V. Blada, he did express "the greatest regret ever to have aimed ridicule at that great and good Lincoln." But, he continued, "outside of that the pictures represent events as truthfully as my close connections with the South enabled me to get at them." Four years later, when the nation was celebrating the centenary of Lincoln's birth, Volck chose to present a carved silver shield to the Confederate Museum in Richmond to honor the "Brave Women of the South." Volck remained a Southern partisan to the end.

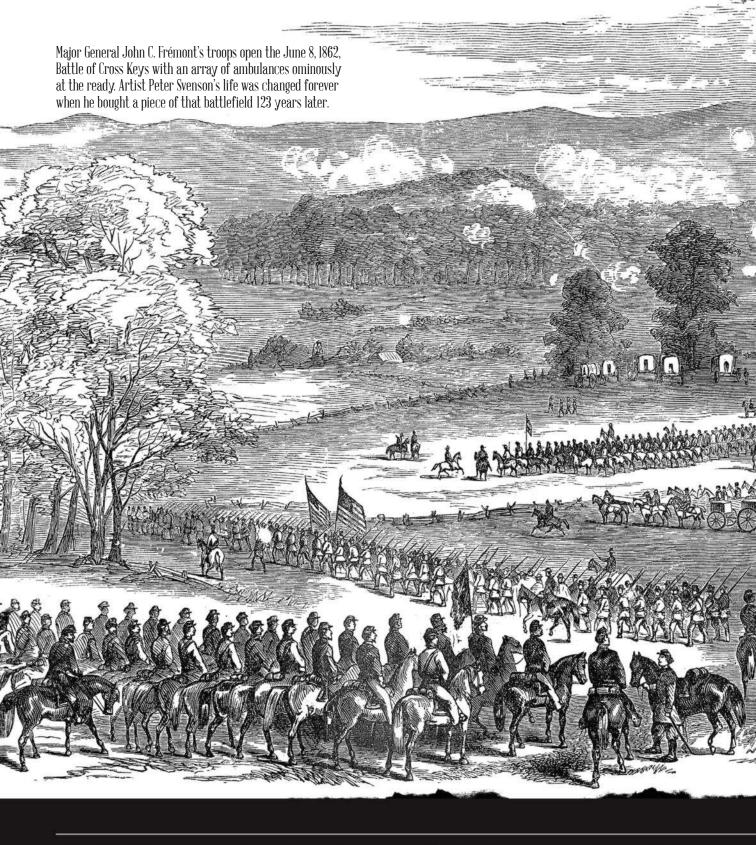
Rick Beard, an independent historian, museum consultant, and frequent contributor to Civil War Times, writes from Harrisburg, Pa.

financial arrangements with the publisher were finalized consigned the plates to storage for nearly a decade until Volck's brother Paul discovered them in a ruined condition. By that time, Volck recalled years later, "Feelings and time had changed much of my sentiment of the war and I had neither heart nor energy to make them over again."

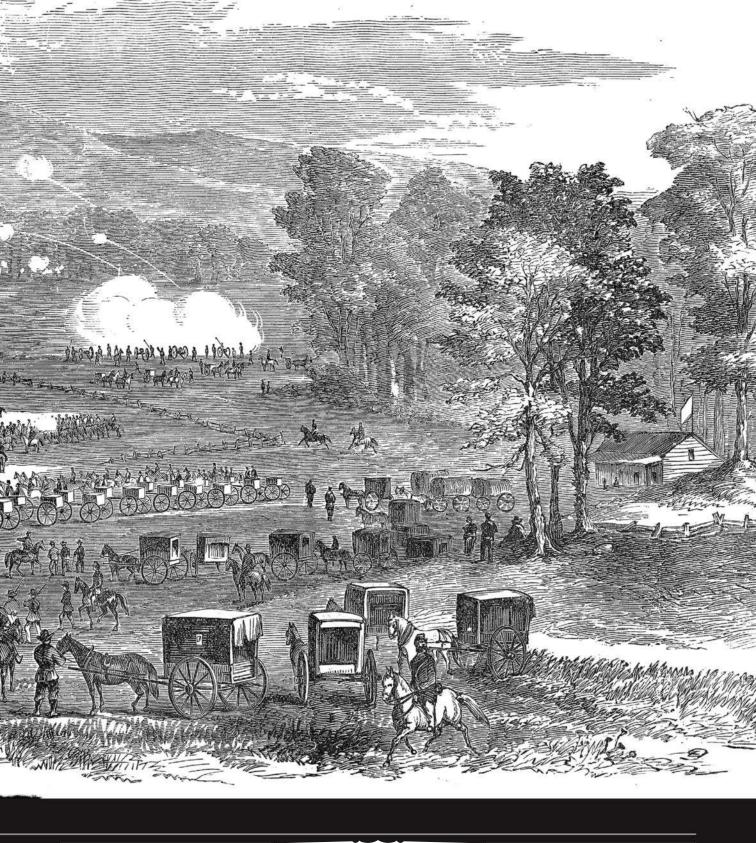
Volck's reputation today as one of the South's greatest caricaturists rests on the publication of his work in the decades after the Civil War. In 1882, 100 sets of Sketches From the Civil War in North America were printed under the title Confederate War Etchings. Another set appeared 10 years later, although they were of a smaller scale. And in 1917, the *Magazine of History* published a bound photogravure edition as a supplement.

A Republican newspaperman of the era wrote that "these etchings [are] full of the sharpest scorn and of rancorous hatred...a record of the fierce





# Battlefield Elomestead



A FARMER FORMS A CLOSE CONNECTION WITH THE CIVIL WAR WHEN HE DISCOVERS BATTLE RAGED ON HIS LAND



In 1985, author and artist Peter Svenson was looking for farmland in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley. Exasperated in his search, he asked a local farmer, "Well, do you know anyone around here who's got land for sale?" "I'll sell you forty acres," was the unexpected reply. Svenson eagerly bought that 40 acres near Cross Keys. He had never worked the land before, and he had little knowledge of the Civil War. To his astonishment, he discovered his property was the site of core fighting during the June 8, 1862, Battle of Cross Kevs. The Confederate victories there and the next day at nearby Port Republic marked the conclusion of Brig. Gen. Stonewall Jackson's legendary Shenandoah Valley Campaign. Svenson documented his experiences in the 1992 book Battlefield: Farming a Civil War Battleground. His prose poignantly describes both his struggles with farm machinery and the stunning realization that Americans fought and died in his hay fields and woodlots. His unique look at the war was reprinted in 2017, and the following excerpted material presents some of his journey of discovery.

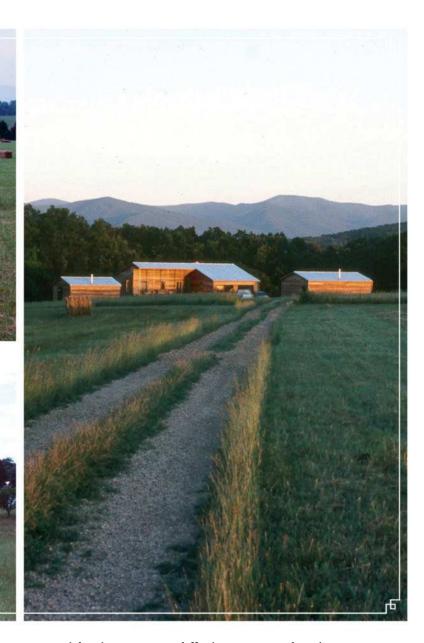




In this passage, Svenson discusses his growing connection to the land, fueled by a deep sensitivity to the horrible human ordeal that occurred on his farm in 1862.

rom time to time, people ask me if I have ever seen ghosts on the battlefield. No fewer than 150, and possibly as many as 350 men, Union and Confederate, perished here on that fatal Sunday. Death struck each soldier, here as in any other battle, in a straightforward way. The trajectory of a piece of metal ended upon a target of flesh, the odds of good aim and bad luck coinciding perfectly. For the soldiers who looked death in the face and died, the experience could not have ended without a metaphysical transformation of some sort.

As mortality passed forever in the midst of searing pain, I believe that souls must have been left hovering. There is no other way to say it. Of life after death I know nothing, or next to nothing. Like anyone else, I theorize and build soaring arches of faith, but my conjecture about the moment of



corporeal dissolution remains difficult to put in words without veering into the realm of Special Effects. The farmboy in butternut who was reluctant to abandon his kinfolk, or the blue-uniformed immigrant who cherished memories of the old country—each dying individual was transformed in some incomprehensible way. Is it wrong to surmise that the soul flew up and away?

Seen or unseen, ghosts must have been here. But to answer the question: no, I have never seen ghosts on the battlefield. This is not to say I am unmoved in the presence of departed spirits, for I am. The very first time I walked on the battlefield, there seemed to be a faint emanation that may have been germane to these considerations. It was nothing I could put my finger on. For lack of an answer, I dismissed it as a product of my imagination. I soon realized, however, that it had nothing to do with me, no matter how susceptible my brain was to the power of suggestion. The overgrazed pasturage, with its barn and machine shed, was adding up to more than the sum of its physical characteristics.

Granted, it was a comely quarter, distanced from the blur of traffic, peaceful as any 40 acres could be. The pastoralism set me aquiver, to be sure, but there was more to it. In the lengthening shadows of that first **LAND BEAUTIFUL** The Cross Keys area is located at the southern end of Massanutten Mountain in the Shenandoah Valley. Clockwise from far left, hay bales await pick up by the author, Svenson's low-impact home and art studios, Confederates held the high ground behind the 1921 barn.

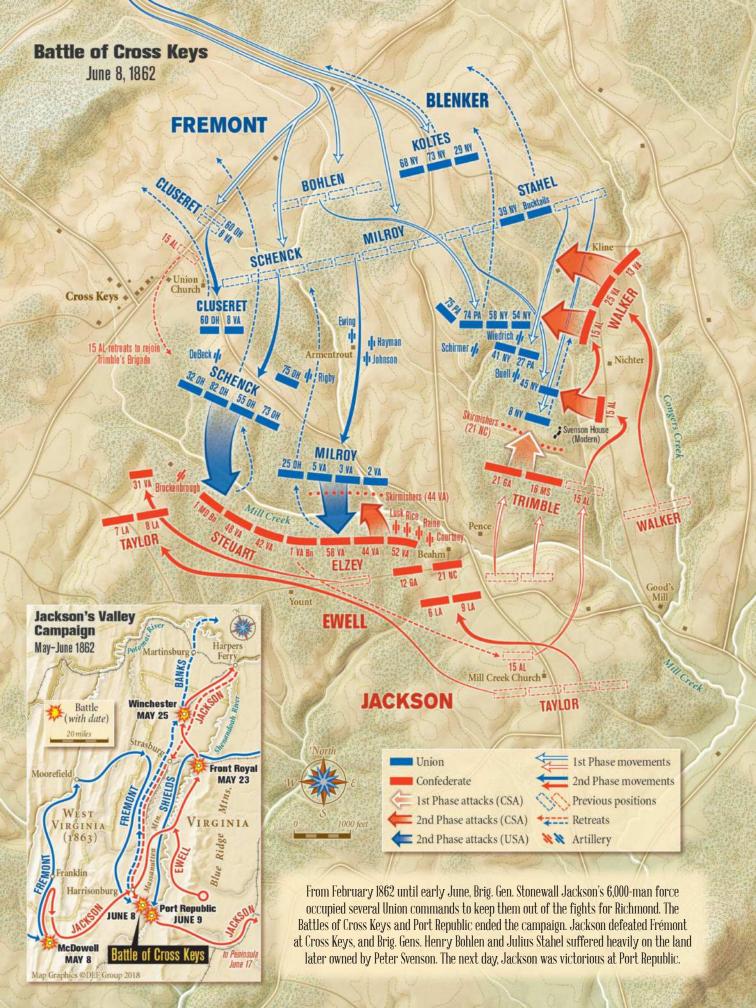
afternoon, as I perambulated the fields among the skittish cattle that fled my approach, yet followed from behind as though I were a Pied Piper, I pondered the evidence.

And then, Eureka! I understood. The thing I sensed was that people had been here before, en masse. At times, I have noted a comparable intimation after a public auction, when the last item of furniture has been carted off and the buzz of the crowd and the auctioneer's warble still echo in my ears. A whiff of humanity lingers, a subtle indefinable something, but it is not an olfactory sensation. A similar presence lingered in these pastures 123 years after the battle.

Having respect for the dead means that future generations don't pave over cemeteries for parking lots. There is no law, however, that says cemeteries can't be tourist attractions. A headstone, plain or fancy, reminds onlookers that so-and-so existed within the confines of two dates.

In Harrisonburg, there are more than 250 Confederate graves in a quadrant of the oldest cemetery. Each small marble marker reads like a word in a chilling sentence, or a sentence in a numbing chapter. The regularity with which the markers are placed, row upon row like a marching battalion, suggests an orderliness, a solidarity of purpose. The Southern Cause is given shape and substance. I know it was an act of practicality, the organizing of corpses in a limited space, but still the geometry of the graves disturbs me. Death for any cause, lost or won, is not quite so cut and dried as a cemetery layout.

There are Union mass graves on the Cross Keys battlefield, but no one knows precisely where. A likely location may be not more than 100 feet from our new house. In the aftermath of Civil War battles, mass graves were dug with shovels and corpses were covered with less than two feet of earth. At Gettysburg and elsewhere, heavy rains exposed the bones of the dead during the weeks and months following interment. Given the passage of time, it seemed odd that treasure hunters had neither discovered nor plundered the mass graves at Cross Keys. Whatever the reason, far more than a century has passed, and nobody has stumbled upon the evidence. Once in a great while, sheer forgetfulness accounts for the survival of places and things. In this case, the abandoned Union dead were thrown together in



unmarked ditches, their final camouflage as unknown soldiers, and they are still resting there.

Svenson's piqued interest in the Battle of Cross Keys led him to do archival research on the fight. During a research trip he poured over the diary entries of a young Confederate officer who had crossed near his land, and had died in the June 9 fight at Port Republic.

eep in the card catalogue of the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, I came across a morsel of research that brought the battle home to me as no other item had done. More than information, it was a glimpse through a window that opened onto a frightened individual's soul. On Sunday morning, June 8, 1862, 25-year-old Joseph H. Chenoweth, a major in the 31st Virginia Regiment, sat on his horse in a field to the south of our 40 acres and wrote in his diary.

By volunteering for duty, he had taken leave of a promising career as a mathematics teacher at Maryland Agricultural Institute. He had graduated second in his class from Virginia Military Institute. His diary, as well as his letter writing, attested to a finely wrought patriotism and sense of religion. He had acquired the habit of interrupting his observations from time to time with heartfelt, written prayers, and in doing so he may have been nursing a premonition of his own death.

His first entry for the morning gave his location as "Near Harrisonburg on the road to Port Republic, June 8th. 9 o'clock A.M. Cannon have been heard to the left of us near Port Republic. Gen. Jackson I doubt not understands his position, but I think we will have a hard battle soon."

By 10 o'clock the Confederates' long defensive line was at the ready and, with the emplacement of the Union batteries, the galling artillery exchange began. Chenoweth's regiment was in a reserve position to the rear of center.

"Later 12 o'clock A.M. Heavy cannonade is being kept up on the side of us next to Harrisonburg. Some of our men I think have been wounded—I saw on going to the road. The 31st is supporting the battery which is engaged. I do not like our position, though it is a commanding one. We may possibly have our flank turned but Jackson is here if Frémont is with the enemy. Our movements yesterday and today are incomprehensible to me."

Chenoweth meant that Jackson would be there to lead the army out of danger if the battle took a turn for the worse. It was a statement of faith. Old Jack was a hero and an inspiration. The ferocity of the barrage distressed the young major. He sat on his horse toward the rear of the center of the Confederate line and considered the fragility of his life and that of his fellow soldiers.

"Later—there is a lull in the firing—I know not why. My fervent prayer is that our Heavenly Father may lead our beloved country through the labyrinth of troubles which envelop her-and give peace to her persecuted and muchtried people. We seek not, O God, for conquest...."

The prayer rambled on, as if the act of writing it were a shield of sorts, and as Chenoweth wrote, the tide of the battle turned. The flank was holding. Chenoweth mustered more courage after this to the point where he could acknowledge a



**TWO CONFEDERATES** At Cross Keys, Brig. Gen. Isaac Trimble, top, led an attack that swept over Svenson's fields and crumpled the Union left flank, staggering the Federal attack and winning the day for the Confederacy. Major Joseph Chenoweth of the 31st Virginia, above, was a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute. He survived Cross Keys, but was killed the next day at Port Republic.

grim beauty to the fight.

"Later, 2:30 P.M. This is decidedly the warmest battle with which I have ever had anything to do. The artillery fire is superb—and the musketry is not so slow. We are in reserve, but the shells fly around us thick and fast. We will soon be into it."

Now that the Confederates seemed to be gaining the upper hand, the bolder officers and men of the 31st Virginia were vexed by their lack of participation. Their inaction was ended in response to a renewed Union offensive. Chenoweth was getting a stronger taste of battle.

"Later, 4 P.M. We have been firing in the fighting and poor Lt. Whirly has been killed, shot thro' the head. A cannon has been planted on our left, and several of our poor men have been wounded. I pity them from the bottom of my heart. We will be at it again soon I think. And, Oh God, I renew my earnest prayer for the forgiveness of my many sins and for strength. In the name of Thy Son, grant me mercy. Amen."

With casualties nearby, the shadow of disaster cast a pall over the good news received earlier. Half an hour later, the artillery duel was still going strong, but Chenoweth steeled his nerves and reported what he saw: "Later, 4:30 P.M. The cannonading has recommenced and is very severe on the part of the enemy."

Not quite two hours afterward, the firing ceased. Chenoweth had weathered the worst of it and now he recorded a gentler scene: his regiment in repose.

"Later, 6:13 P.M. All is now quiet. Our regiment (31st) is lying down on line of battle, in full view of the enemy's battery, which only one hour ago was pouring grape into the regiment's noble soldiers! It tortures me to see them wounded. How many of them now, as they rest, looking quietly and dreamily up into the beautiful sky, are thinking of the dear ones at home, whom

they have not, many of them, seen for twelve months. This is a hard life for us refugees who fight and suffer on without a smile from those we love dearest to cheer us up."

Then, in a philosophical digression, Chenoweth wondered if the invading Yankees would need to be forcibly removed from the continent in order to reunite the divided nation.

"Can the convictive feelings of hatred which burn in the breasts of our Union neighbors be obliterated by a treaty of peace? Or will they be compelled to expatriate themselves-or be exiled deservedly-exiled from a land to which they have all proven themselves traitors in thought if not in deed?"

It was a protest against unjust persecution, and a solution that came straight from the bowers of make-believe. It showcased the young major's ivory-tower innocence. He had no more understanding of hate than he had of his commanding general's tactics.

During the night, the 31st Virginia was marched to Port Republic to rejoin the main body of Jackson's army. Monday morning found the major committing to his diary the brisk beginnings of a new battle, but this time his regiment was in the thick of it. Chenoweth's literary style shifted to nervous metaphor.

"Port Republic, June 9th, 1862—8 o'clock A.M. The ball is open again and we are from what I see and hear to have another hot day. It is [in] sheets this time. I may not see the result, but I think we will gain a victory though."

The crossfire, in which he wrote, intensified. His diary stumbled to a halt with two disjointed sentences. "I do not think our men have had enough to eat. I can't write on horseback."

Chenoweth was killed shortly after he dismounted. Why did he leave the saddle? Did he feel too exposed? Did he decide to finish the paragraph on solid ground? In a memoir by his



**RAGAMUFFIN MARCH** Looking more like refugees than soldiers, Brig. Gen. Frémont's Union men trudge along a Valley road, chasing the elusive Stonewall. Union Brig. Gen. James Shields' troops were no better off, and nicknamed themselves "Shields' Ragamuffins."

fellow soldier Joseph H. Harding, the following account describes his death:

"As the battle progressed, he was...advancing up the line encouraging the men and calling upon them to advance and follow where he led when he was shot, the ball entering just behind his left ear and passing entirely through the head. He fell without a groan with his sword still in his grasp pointed toward the enemy, nobly discharging his duty."

After 10 years at Cross Keys, Svenson sold the farm and moved away. During a return visit, he found, to his chagrin, that the land had been altered. He wrote the following passage that described what he had seen in 2011 and sent it to The Washington Post as an op-ed, but it was never published. As he says, "It makes a fitting conclusion to this new edition of the book."



uestion: when is property no longer your property? Answer: when you haven't owned it for 17 years and are staring at it across a barbed wire fence.

This was my experience recently in Cross Keys, Va., where I used to own a 40-acre hay farm that turned out to be situated at the epicenter of a Civil War battlefield.

The Battle of Cross Keys, the penultimate clash in Stonewall Jackson's Shenandoah Valley Campaign, was fought on June 8, 1862, and is singled out for uniqueness because of the wily tactics of a 60-year-old Confederate field commander, Brig. Gen. Isaac R. Trimble, who led his relatively small force to unexpected victory over a much larger Union presence.

Now, after so long an absence, I'm looking at the rolling hay fields that I still practically know by heart, having driven farming equipment over them for 10 years, and walked them countless times.

With a map or guidebook in hand, armed with an elementary knowledge of the battle's particulars, most visitors can figure out what happened and where, and in the process gain that spooky, spiritual thrill which often accompanies tours of battlegrounds from any era. The Cross Keys battlefield is easily walked, easily understood, and as others have said, one of the "prettiest" battlefields in Virginia.

Mindful of all this before I sold and moved away from my farm, I placed a preservation easement on the 40 acres in perpetuity with the Virginia Outdoors Foundation (VOF) in 1994—the first easement of its kind in the Cross Keys area. This initiative on my part did not come without a price. The farm became instantly devalued and difficult to sell because, in the place of limitless options for agriculture and agribusiness, there were strictures: no building or structure could be erected without permission of the VOF, no residential development, no commercial industry, and most importantly, no disturbance to the topography.

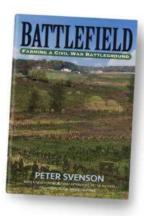
After two years of unsuccessful listings with realtors, I wound up selling the farm at auction, barely breaking even on my original investment. I was quite satisfied, however, knowing that I had done the right thing by preserving this historic acreage for all time.

Or so I thought. Fast-forward to 14 years later: the current landowner decides to build a horseback riding ring, more than an acre in size, breaching a ravine along the property line—basically filling it to a height of 12 feet and leveling off the top. Staffers at the VOF grant it approval. Giant yellow machines are brought in to do the work. The resulting flatness, considerably wider than the ring itself, looks like the deck of an aircraft carrier.

As I stare at it from across the fence, I cannot think of a more incongruous intrusion upon the gently rolling terrain. There was obviously leftover soil, too, which got graded into an adjacent hillock like an oversize ski mogul. The ring itself has been packed with many truckloads of fine gravel, and board fence delineates its boundaries.



Peter Svenson's. Battlefield: Farming a Civil War Battleground, was first released in 1992. His unique, personal take on the conflict was nominated for a National Book Award and was his first attempt at writing nonfiction and history.



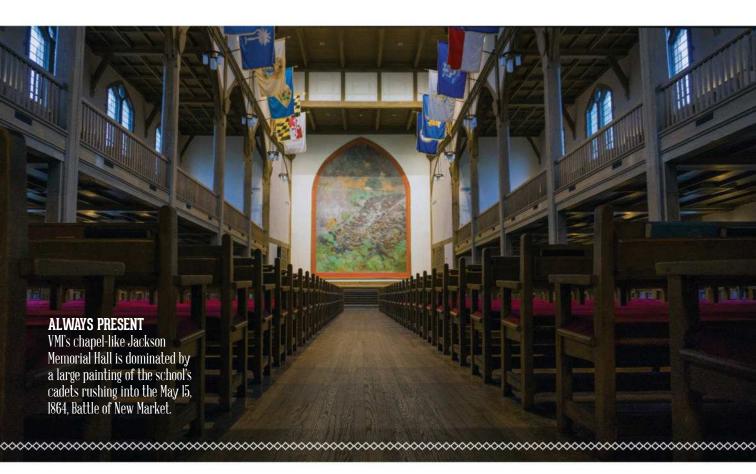
But there's more. What the staffers at the VOF and the landowner didn't realize—and apparently never bothered to find out—is that this particular ravine figured prominently in the 1862 battle, for it lies at the heart of the area where the Union troops advanced to meet the hidden Confederate line and were repulsed with frightful casualties. In other words, the ravine and its surroundings are as hallowed as hallowed ground gets. And now the ravine is no more.

So I'm standing there, looking across the barbed wire at this desecration that's already four years old. Apparently, nobody did anything to try to stop it (I certainly wasn't notified). Two adjectives, heedless and thoughtless, come to mind. I can hardly believe my eyes. As Grantor, I feel betrayed, and I also feel a sense of shame. In the intervening years, I moved on with my life, never doubting that the easement had teeth and was enforceable. Besides, I was under the impression that 1860s battlegrounds were all but sacrosanct in the public's consciousness.

At this point, I can only make a plea, on behalf of all Americans, that the full measure of my preservation easement be honored. I'd like to see the Virginia Outdoors Foundation and the current landowner admit what I think is an egregious error, and immediately make amends. That same squadron of heavy equipment should be brought back to undo the desecration, so the ravine is no longer bridged by 12 feet of fill dirt. If it were returned to its original state, visitors to the Cross Keys battlefield, now and in the future, will be able to better visualize the attack and subsequent slaughter that transpired on a sunny late-spring day 150 years ago.

Peter Svenson is an artist and writer who now lives in Fayetteville, N.Y. His other books include, Starter Home: Discovering the Past in Central New York.





# A DAY DIRAY D **PROFESSORS**

THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE feels like a place untouched by time, and yet the town it is in, Lexington, Va., finds itself responding to 21st-century concerns about history and heritage. Nestled in the Shenandoah Valley, Lexington is associated with two of the war's best-known figures-Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. The latter had been an unpopular professor at VMI before the war, but once he made a name for himself, in every sense, on the battlefield, his association with VMI would be forever burnished. Lee, Jackson's longtime comrade in arms, assumed the presidency of Washington College, adjacent to VMI, in August 1865, serving until his death in 1870. University officials moved quickly to change the school's name to Washington and Lee University in his honor, and it is LEXINGTON the site of Lee's final resting place. Despite those associations, the most poignant reason to visit Lexington might be to read the names of relative unknowns. In May 1864, 257 young cadets, one only 15 years of age, marched 80 miles to fight in the Battle of New Market, where 10 would lose their lives. The VMI statue called Virginia Mourning Her Dead remembers the cadets and marks the gravesite of six of them. Located just off Interstate 81, Lexington is about an hour southwest of Charlottesville and an hour north of Roanoke. After you've toured the walkable town, consider heading north to visit the New Market Battlefield, whose famous annual reenactment takes place near the May anniversary of the fight. -Kim O'Connell





**HOME AND HEARTH** The downtown Stonewall Jackson House preserves the only home that the general ever owned. Now operated as a museum, the house has been restored to its prewar appearance and contains several Jackson artifacts. Historical markers in the outside garden provide additional context.



#### LEGACY OF WAR

Begin your tour at VMI. You'll immediately notice the dramatic sweep of the parade grounds and the fortresslike barracks building behind it. VMI's crenellated Gothic architecture owes much to its influential original architect, Alexander Jackson Davis, whose pale olive stucco-covered buildings were copied by subsequent architects as the campus expanded. Your first stop should be the VMI

Museum located in the Jackson Memorial Hall. The museum and gift shop are on the lower two floors of this building.

Here, you can begin a cadet-led tour of the campus that allows you to learn the history of several school buildings and statues, such as the modest twostory structure that served as a field hospital during the Civil War, and get a firsthand account of such longstanding traditions as the "Rat Line"—the



In addition to fighting at the 1864 Battle of New Market, cadets helped train recruits in Richmond in 1861 and formed as reserves during the 1862 Shenandoah Valley Campaign. They helped resist some 1863 Union cavalry raids, and following New Market, the cadets helped bolster Richmond's defenses. They then rushed to Lexington to defend against Hunter's Raid. In 1865, they returned to Richmond's defenses.

#### COMMANDANT OF CADETS

Colonel Scott Shipp

#### STRENGTH

257 Cadets marched to New Market

#### WARTIME STUATOR

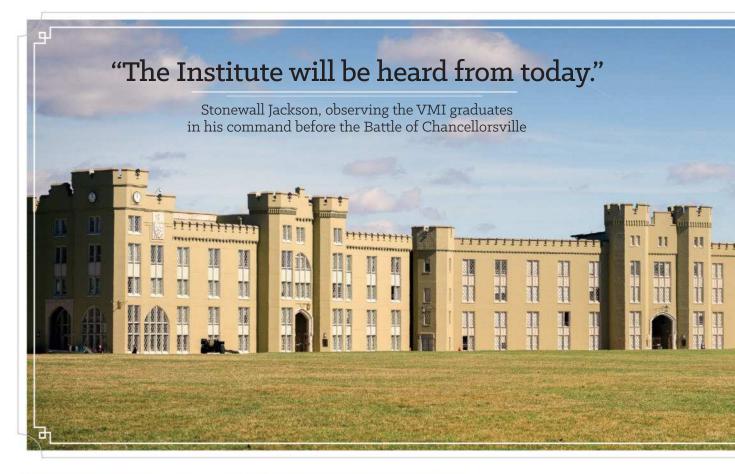
Killed: 5 Mortally wounded: 5 (All above at New Market) Wounded/died of disease: 50

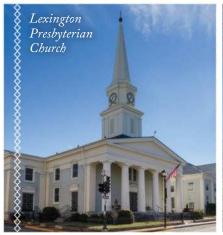
rigorous routine expected of the freshman class.

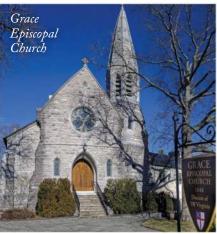
#### HORSE PRESERVIED

Stonewall Jackson's mount Little Sorrel was not particularly handsome, but he was hardworking and withstood Jackson's long marches. After the war, Anna Jackson donated the gelding to VMI, where he could often be seen grazing. Little Sorrel has been preserved and is on display at the VMI









CHURCH LESSONS The Jackson home is not far from the Lexington Presbyterian Church, a circa-1845 building in the Greek Revival style whose spire dominates Main Street. Jackson was an active parishioner here and taught Sunday school to enslaved people and free blacks. This fact has fueled debate over the paradox of Jackson's devotion to literacy and religiosity among the enslaved, but not to ending their enslavement. The parish is still active and open to visitors. The Grace Episcopal Church, in whose original antebellum building Lee served as a senior warden, can still be seen, too, in the southeast corner of the campus. For years, the church (now housed in a building that dates to the 1880s) was named R.E. Lee Memorial Episcopal Church, but in 2017, the congregation voted to revert back to its historical name, the name Lee would have known it by.

Museum, along with other Jackson artifacts, an impressive collection of firearms, and other college and military mementos. A small gravestone on the parade grounds marks the site of Little Sorrel's cremated remains.

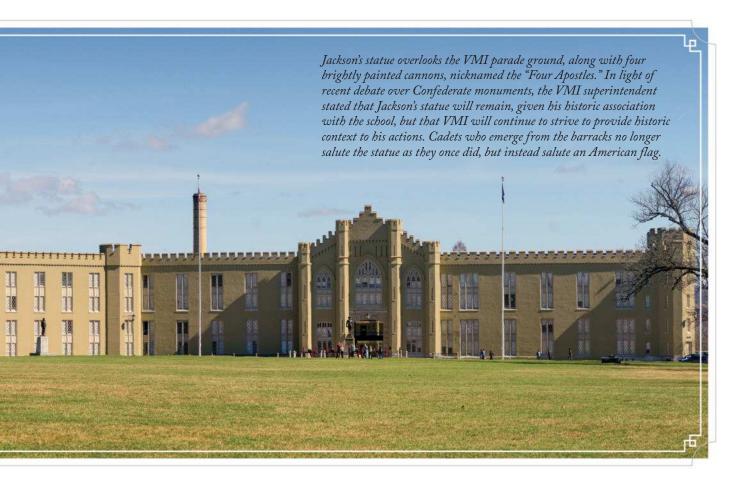
#### WANDERING GEORGE

Union troops confiscated George Washington's VMI statue in June 1864 during Hunter's Raid, a fourday engagement in which Union General David Hunter ordered that VMI be burned, causing great damage to the original barracks. The Washington statue was returned and rededicated in 1866.

#### THERE TEACHES JACKSON...

Jackson spent 10 years teaching at VMI. He met and married his first wife, Elinor Junkin, there, who died in childbirth along with a stillborn son in 1854. He subsequently married Mary Anna Morrison in





1857 and brought her home to Lexington.

#### LEE THE EDUCATOR

Lee struggled with the postwar offer of the presidency of Washington College, worried that it might "draw upon the College a feeling of hostility." After accepting the position, Lee updated the school's curriculum to include new courses in science, business, and journalism.

#### LEE CHAPEL AND MUSEUM

This building at Washington and Lee is famous for its "Recumbent Lee" statue by sculptor Edward Valentine. Below the chapel lies the Lee family



crypt, where the general, his wife Mary, and several members of their family are entombed. The museum contains Lee artifacts and exhibits, but a highlight is the historic orrery (a mechanical planetarium) that Lee had commissioned to promote the study of astronomy. The general's office sits not far away, restored to its appearance as he left it in fall 1870.

#### **RESTING PLACES**

On the edge of town sits Stonewall Jackson Memorial Cemetery, where the commander was laid to rest after his fatal wound at Chancellorsville. Another statue of him, also by Valentine, commands the cemetery, and old, gray headstones add an eerie appearance. Others buried here include two Virginia governors and nearly 300 Confederate veterans. Make sure to seek out the tall round bush near Jackson's statue, which caretakers have hollowed out to create a little cove for contemplation.

#### LOCAL COLOR



The menu at Pure Eats packs a Southern punch. In this casual burger joint located only steps from Washington and Lee University, you can choose from a locally sourced beef burger, chicken sandwich, or veggie burger, along with other wraps and salads, and a nice selection of beer and cider. Delicious fried pickles are the extra-napkins star attraction. Doughnuts are made in house every morning, as well. pure-eats.com



# HERITAGE TRAVEL & LIFESTYLE SHOWCASE



Home to more than 400 sites, the Civil War's impact on Georgia was greater than any other event in the state's history. Visit www.gacivilwar.org to learn more.



Explore Maryland with once-in-alifetime commemorations—all at one destination. Create your family history by exploring ours. Go to visitmaryland org to plan your trip today.



There's no other place that embodies the heart and soul of the True South in all its rich and varied expressions— Mississippi. Find Your True South.



To discover more about Tennessee and to order your free official Tennessee Vacation Guide, visit: TNVACATION.COM or call 1-800-GO2-TENN



Known for sublime natural beauty, captivating history and heritage and warm hospitality, West Virginia really is the great escape. Start planning your getaway today.



Founded in 1783, Greeneville has a rich historical background as the home for such important figures as Davy Crockett and President Andrew Johnson. Plan your visit now!



Rutherford County, TN urfreesboro · Smyrna · La Vergne · Eaglevil

Walk where Civil War soldiers fought and died. A short trip from Nashville and a long journey into America's history! Call (800) 716-7560. ReadySetRutherford.com



#### Wilmington.c

Join us for our Civil War Anniversary Commemoration including attractions and tours, exhibitions, memorials and a selection of artifacts from Fort Fisher.



Lebanon, KY is home to the Lebanon National Cemetery, its own Civil War Park, and it's part of the John Hunt Morgan Trail. VisitLebanonKY.com today.



History lives in Tupelo, Mississippi. Visit Brice's Crossroads National Battlefield, Natchez Trace Parkway, Tupelo National Battlefield, Mississippi Hills Exhibit Center and more.



"Part of the One and Only Bluegrass!" Visit National Historic Landmark, National Civil War Trust tour, historic ferry, and the third largest planetarium of its kind in the world!



Arkansas Inland Maritime Museum

North Little Rock, Arkansas, is one of only two places to have two vessels that bookend World War II: tugboat USS Hoga and submarine USS Razorback. www.AIMMuseum.org



A vacation in Georgia means great family experiences that can only be described as pretty sweet. Explore Georgia's Magnolia Midlands.





Experience the Civil War in Jacksonville at the Museum of Military History. Relive one of Arkansas' first stands at the Reed's Bridge Battlefield. jacksonvillesoars.com/museum.php



Baltimore. Winterstand

Explore the past in Baltimore during two commemorative events: the War of 1812 Bicentennial and Civil War 150. Plan your trip at Baltimore.org.



Are you a history and culture buff? There are many museums and attractions, Civil War, and Civil Rights sites just for you in Jackson, Mississippi.



Experience living history for The Battles of Marietta Georgia, featuring reenactments, tours and a recreation of 1864 Marietta. www.mariettacivilwar.com



Experience the Old West in action with a trip through Southwest Montana. For more information on our 15 ghost towns, visit southwestmt.com or call 800-879-1159, ext 1501.



mississippihills

National Heritage Area

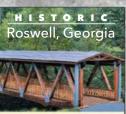
The Mississippi Hills National Heritage Area highlights the historic, cultural, natural, scenic and recreational treasures of this distinctive region. www.mississippihills.org



Once Georgia's last frontier outpost, now its third largest city, Columbus is a true destination of choice. History, theater, arts and sports—Columbus has it all



Fayetteville/Cumberland County, North Carolina is steeped in history and patriotic traditions. Take a tour highlighting our military ties, status as a transportation hub, and our Civil War story.



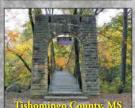
Whether you love history, culture, the peacefulness of the great outdoors, or the excitement of entertainment, Roswell offers a wide selection of attractions and tours. www.visitroswellga.com



Over 650 grand historic homes in three National Register Historic Districts. Birthplace of America's greatest playwright, Tennessee Williams. The ultimat Southern destination—Columbus, MS.



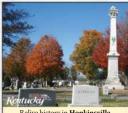
Six major battles took place in Winchester and Frederick County, and the town changed hands approximately 72 times more than any other town in the country! www.wisitwinchesterva.com



With a variety of historic attractions and outdoor adventures, Tishomingo County is a perfect destination for lovers of history and nature alike.



History surrounds Cartersville, GA, including Allatoona Pass, where a fierce battle took place, and Cooper's Furnace, the only remnant of the bustling industrial town of Etowah.



Relive history in Hopkinsville, Kentucky and explore Jefferson Davis' birthplace, the Trail of Tears Commemorative Park and the vigilante rebellion of the Black Patch Tobacco War



British fort and an ancient trade path car be found on the Furs to Factories Trail in the Tennessee Overhill, located in the corner of Southeast Tennessee



Through personal stories, interactive exhibits and a 360° movie, the Civil War Museum focuses on the war from the perspective of the Upper Middle West. www.thecivilwarmuseum.org



There's a place where a leisurely stroll might lead to an extraordinary historic e, a beautiful monastery or a lush peach orchard. That place is Georgia. ExploreGeorgia.org/HistoricHeartland



in History! Explore 3000 acres of Hill and 1774 at Old Fort Harrod State Park. www.HarrodsburgKy.com



n County, Tennessee, is rich ir Civil War history. Here, you can visit the House, Fort Granger and Winstead Hill Park, among other historic locations.



Explore the Natchez Trace. Discover America. Journey along this 444-mile National Scenic Byway stretching from the Mississippi River in Natchez through Alabama and then Tennessee.



Come to Helena, Arkansas and see the Civil War like you've never seen it before. Plan your trip today! www.CivilWarHelena.com www.VisitHelenaAR.com

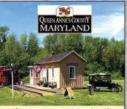


Join us as we commemorate the 150th anniversary of Knoxville's Civil War forts. Plan your trip today! www.knoxcivilwar.org





Near Chattanooga, find glorious mountain scenery and heart-pounding white-water rafting. Walk in the footsteps of the Cherokee and discover a charming historic downtown.



Charismatic Union General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick had legions of lmirers during the war. He just wasn't much of a general, as his men often learned with their lives.



Sandy Springs, Georgia, is the perfect hub for exploring Metro Atlanta's Civil War sites. Conveniently located near major highways, you'll see everything from Sandy Springs!



hospitality in London and Laurel ty! Attractions include the Levi Jackson Wilderness Road State Park and Camp Wildcat Civil War Battlefield.



Hip and historic Frederick County Maryland is home to the National Museum of Civil War Medicine, unique shopping, dining covered bridges and utdoor recreation. www.visitfrederick.org



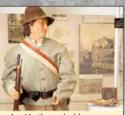
If you're looking for an easy stroll through a century of fine architecture or a trek down dusty roads along the Blues Trail, you've come to the right place. www. visitgreenwood.com



Southern hospitality at its finest, the Classic South, Georgia, offers visitors a combination of history and charm mixed with excursion options for everyone from outdoorsmen to museum-goers.



Relive the rich history of the Alabama Gulf Coast at Fort Morgan, Fort Gaines the USS Alabama Battleship, and the area's many museums Fort-Morgan.org • 888-666-9252



Just 15 miles south of downtown Atlanta lies the heart of the true South: Clayton County, Georgia, where heritage comes alive



St. Mary's County, Maryland. Visit Poin Lookout, site of the war's largest prison camp, plus Confederate and USCT ents. A short drive from the nation's capital.



Vicksburg, Mississippi is a great place to bring your family to learn American history, enjoy educational museums and check out the mighty Mississippi River.



Follow the Civil War Trail in Meridian Mississippi, where you'll experience history first-hand, including Merrehope Mansion, Marion Confederate Cemetery and more. www.visitmeridian.com.



Fitzgerald, Georgia...100 years of bringing people together. Learn more about ur story and the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Civil War's conclusion at www.fitzgeraldga.org.



Hundreds of authentic artifacts Voted fourth finest in U.S. by North & South Magazine. Located in historic Bardstown, Kentucky. www.civil-war-museum.org



Come to Cleveland, Mississippi—the birthplace of the blues. Here, you'll find such legendary destinations as Dockery Farms and Po' Monkey's Juke Joint.



Prestonsburg, KY - Civil War & istory attractions, and reenactment dates at PrestonsburgKY.org. Home to Jenny Wiley State Park, country music entertainment & Dewey Lake



Search over 10,000 images and primary documents relating to the Civil War Battle of Hampton Roads, now available in The Mariners' Museum Library Online Catalog www.marinersmuseum.org/catalogs



History, bourbon, shopping, sightseeing and relaxing—whatever you enjoy, you're sure to find it in beautiful Bardstown, KY. Plan your visit today. www.visitbardstown.com



London, KY-The reenactment of the Battle of Camp Wildcat, Camp Wildcat Historic Site, Wilderness Road Trail & Boones Trace Trail, & antique and flea market shopping. www.LaurelKyTourism.com



STEP BACK IN TIME at Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park, a Union Army supply depot and African American refugee camp. Museum, Civil War Library, Interpretive Trails and more



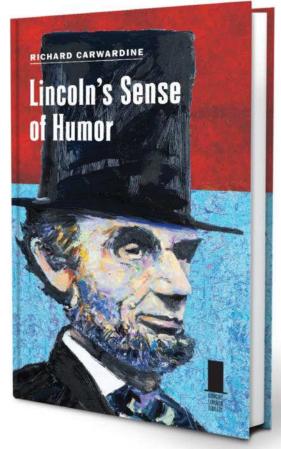
#### REVIEWED BY LOUIS P. MASUR

PEAKING in Congress in 1848 about his experience during the Black Hawk War, Lincoln jested that he was a military hero who never saw combat "but had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes." It was typical Lincoln: self-effacing, wry, and humorous. Lincoln's love of jokes and stories is well known, but until now no one has attempted to analyze Lincoln's humor.

In this volume, Richard Carwardine does an outstanding job of unpacking Lincoln's comic sense. At a fundamental level, humor was what kept Lincoln going. Gangly, awkward, even ugly, Lincoln had the ability to make others laugh, which made him popular. Especially during the Civil War, humor provided the president with what Carwardine calls a "lifeline." According to one account, Lincoln said, "If it were not for these stories, jokes, jests I should die; they give vent—are the vents—of my moods and gloom."

Lincoln's style of humor evolved over time. In 1840, while running for the legislature, Lincoln blistered an opponent with a speech characterized by coarse satire, ridicule, and mimicry. He left his victim in tears and Lincoln soon regretted his behavior. By the time he debated Stephen Douglas, cruelty had given way to amusement. "When he begins to tell a story," Douglas lamented, "I feel that I am to be overmatched."

The sources of Lincoln's stories were varied. He came of age in a frontier culture filled with tales of farming, hunting, and fishing. Life on the legal circuit also provided an opportunity for replenishing his supply of anecdotes. Among literary sources, he memorized the poems of Robert Burns, read Aesop's Fables, and devoured vernacular humor books. Found in his desk after his death was a copy of Joe Miller's Jests. Of course, he never voiced many of the jokes and stories attributed to him. Asked about the material in Old Abe's Joker,



Lincoln's Sense of Humor (Lincoln Concise Library) Richard Carwardine Southern Illinois University Press 2017, \$24.93

published in 1863, Lincoln said he reckoned that only about half of the volume consisted of gags he had told.

Of all the comic writers of the day, no one appealed more to Lincoln than David Ross Locke, who created the character Petroleum V. Nasby, a Copperhead preacher. Nasby spoke as the pastor of "a stikly Dimecraktic Church" and he held "a holesum prejoodis against everything black." Lincoln would read Locke aloud and howl. "For the genius to write these things, I would gladly give up my office," he said.

Not everyone appreciated Lincoln's humor. Many Northern Democrats viewed him as "a smutty joker," and opponents turned his storytelling against him in the election of 1864. One cartoon showed Columbia demanding her 50,000 sons and depicted Lincoln as responding, "Well that reminds me of a story." Some may have groaned every time Lincoln uttered those words, but jokes and stories helped save the man who saved the Union.



# CANNONS AND CASUALTIES

#### REVIEWED BY STUART MCCLUNG

n recent years, Savas Beatie has become a prime purveyor of titles on our fratricidal conflict, commendably so. These three books focus on Gettysburg subjects that don't always receive the coverage they deserve. They are also interrelated, as the considerable artillery present during the battle altered not only the landscape but also caused extensive casualties that created the need for so many hospitals, aid stations, and other venues around the battlefield and Adams County.

George Newton's Silent Sentinels is a wonderful reference guide. Its chapters cover, among other things, general definitions and descriptions of field artillery, its organization, loading and firing, the history of the many pieces on the battlefield, touring the many artillery positions, and artillery trivia. For an overview of both armies' artillery tactical usage, consult the selected official reports in Appendices 3 and 4.

There also are helpful diagrams of tubes, caissons and limbers, photographs mostly of pieces on the battlefield, and several maps found in the first chapter's overview of the entire Gettysburg Campaign.

When it comes to battles.

most of us do not stop to consider the landscape, physical and human, after the fighting ends. The late Gregory Coco's A Strange and Blighted Land examines the aftermath of Gettysburg. The five chapters range from descriptions of the battlefield itself, the burial of the dead, care of the wounded and the captured, stragglers and deserters, and on to the transition from battlefield to hallowed ground. In addition, there is an appendix that covers the history of battlefield guiding up to the present-day government licensing program.

Interspersed through the text are photographs, illustrations, and maps and also the results of Coco's excellent research in the letters. archives, journals, and other primary sources that give personal post-battle perspective. These are the real heart and soul of the book. Coco's text includes his own reflection on the Gettysburg experience.

Although covered to an extent in the volume above, the hospital sites involved in the battle and aftermath, including the renowned Camp Letterman, get a closer look in Coco's other book, A Vast Sea of Misery. All of the venues used for the medical aid and care of soldiers on both sides are numbered consecutively

on maps for easy reference for those wishing to explore this aspect of the campaign. Each site is provided with a useful description, including a short summary of the history of the owner, farm, house, barn, or other building along with corroborating primary source citations.

Photographs, modern and period, of many of the structures are included, though their size, distance to subject, and resolution in black and white sometimes leave something to be desired in the way of detail, unfortunately.

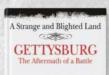
Four appendices include a list of the surgeons and physicians present, how the wounded made their way to hospitals or aid stations, their actual movement or conveyance to hospitals and, lastly, some unusual medical observations noted by the author.

Each of these volumes can stand alone yet, taken together, give an insightful look at Gettysburg's artillery, the physical and environmental landscape degradation, and the locations of medical facilities for casualties.

There is much here for readers to consider and explore when visiting the battlefield, over and above simply trying to visualize and understand the fighting and influence of terrain.



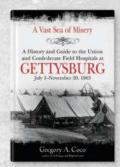
A Reference Guide to the Artillery at Gettysburg George W. Newton Savas Beatie 2018, \$22.95





A Strange and Blighted Land. Gettysburg: The Aftermath of a Battle

> Gregory A. Coco Savas Beatie 2018, \$24.95



A Vast Sea of Misery: A History and Guide to the Union and Confederate Field Hospitals at Gettysburg, July 1-November 20, 1863

> Gregory A. Coco Savas Beatie 2018, \$19.95





# SIGNAL CORPS

#### REVIEWED BY GORDON BERG

rom the first artillery salvo fired toward Fort Sumter in April 1861 and for each of the 567 days that followed, the stately antebellum structures of Charleston, S.C., and the citizens who inhabited them were under constant menace from long-range Yankee guns and mortars. This unrelenting land and sea campaign was witnessed by Augustine Thomas Smythe, a native son serving in the Confederate Signal Corps. His letters contain many prescient observations on the devastating effects of siege warfare on the city, as well as describing his daily life and duties as a signalman. Taken together, they provide a unique perspective on a relatively unknown arm of the Confederate military and the role it played in defending the cradle of secession.

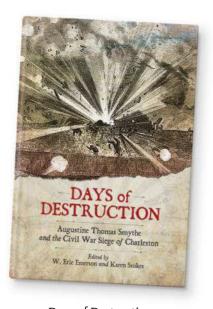
Smythe was a 19-year-old student when he enlisted in the Washington Light Infantry, part of the 25th South Carolina Infantry, and fought at the Battle of Secessionville on June 16, 1862. His letter describing his experiences in the battle is rich in detail and personal feeling, calling it "A scene of such blood I trust never again to behold." Four months later he was transferred to the newly created Confederate Signal Corps. Although he would later serve aboard the CSS Palmetto State as a signal officer, the majority of Smythe's wartime service kept him around Charleston, a city whose inhabitants and geography he knew well.

Smythe described how signals were given and received. The system used a 12-foot staff and 4-foot-square heavy flag to create a sequence of signs or symbols by waving it in a specific manner, either individually or in combination

with others. In addition to sending and receiving signals, Smythe confided to his sister that part of his job was to intercept and decode Union signals. "Some little while back we captured some of their signal men & one of them divulged their system," he wrote. "This should not be spoken of, of course, for if it was known by the Yankees they would immediately change & thus put us again at sea."

The Confederacy operated numerous signal stations in and around Charleston. For nine months in 1864, Smythe occupied one in the steeple of St. Michael's Episcopal Church, high above the corner of Meeting and Broad streets in downtown Charleston. "Here I am on my lofty perch behind a big telescope looking out for any movement of the Yankees which may be of sufficient importance to send up to Genl. Jordan. My tour of duty to-night is from 1:30 A.M. to 9 A.M. & I have been on duty half the day..." he wrote on March 31, 1864. Later he reassured his mother about his safety in so precarious a perch. "We have a rope ladder outside in case the steeple should be struck for us to descend," he wrote, "but it has passed safely thro'so much that I am in hopes it will go thro' the rest."

While Smythe's letters are almost always precise and professional, he is not above inserting his own brand of humor as a personal touch. While aboard the Palmetto State, he playfully describes his encounter with "the cockroaches which infest every thing every place....I have several tame ones in my room who bring me my shoes, &c. & throw empty my basin." He also expresses his loneliness and anxiety at being far from loved ones on his 21st birthday. "I feel very sad today



Days of Destruction: Augustine Thomas Smythe and the Civil War Siege of Charleston Edited by W. Eric Emerson

and Karen Stokes University of South Carolina Press. 2017, \$29.99

& very thoughtful. It may be owing in a measure to the circumstances in which I am placed, in the midst of strangers, with no one to wish me 'happy returns' even...."

As with any compilation of letters, the annotations provided by the editors are important to provide clarification and context. Emerson and Stokes are both expert in South Carolina history and their footnotes are consistently well written and informative.

When Confederate forces abandoned Charleston on February 15, 1865, Smythe moved north and joined the 5th South Carolina Cavalry, fought at Monroe's Crossroads and Bentonville, and surrendered with General Joseph Johnston's army at Durham's Station, N.C. He returned to Charleston and studied law, maintained a successful practice, and acquired and directed numerous businesses. He served in the State Senate from 1880-94 and remained active in Charleston political and civic life until his death in 1914. His letters remain some of the best accounts of wartime Charleston.



#### BEYOND BAND OF BROTHERS TOURS

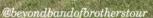
Procom America LLC | 811 Corporate Drive Suite 108 | Lexington, KY 40503

Contact us Monday-Friday 9 am to 5 pm EST at 1-888-335-1996 (toll free) | 1-859-368-7292 info@procomtours.com

**EXPLORE HISTORY 24/7 AT** www.beyondbandofbrothers.com













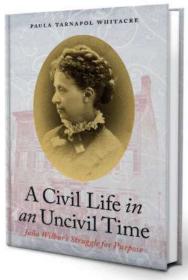
### ABOLITIONIST GRIT



#### REVIEWED BY GORDON BERG

ulia Wilbur's life could easily have slipped into historical anonymity, unnoticed and unappreciated by modernity. Fortunately her highly descriptive diaries and letters fell into the hands of Paula Whitacre, who recognized a remarkable woman when she found one. After years of relentless research, insightful and empathetic reading, historical and archaeological digging, meticulous writing and rewriting, Whitacre has brought into crystalline clarity the life of a woman both of her time and ours. Whitacre's thorough and thoughtful biography reveals a well-educated single woman who was independent, personally active, socially conscious, and determined to carve out a meaningful place of her own in a world roiling with change.

After years of a rather conventional rural life of teaching school and tending to the needs and wants of various members of a large, extended family, a spirited and socially aware Miss Wilbur found herself caught up in the evangelical spirit burning through western New York. Living in the environs of Rochester brought her into contact with prominent abolitionists and social reformers who, in the decades prior to the Civil War, advocated various forms of social and political change.



A Civil Life in an Uncivil Time: Julia Wilbur's Struggle for Purpose By Paula Tarnapol Whitacre Potomac Books, 2017, \$32.95





Becoming a member of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society (RLASS) in 1852 probably rescued Wilbur from the life of an unassuming spinster and transformed her, at age 47, into an energetic social activist just as the nation was slipping into secession and war.

Determined to do more than darn socks and send food packages to the local boys in the Union Army, Wilbur traveled to Washington, D.C., as a representative of RLASS, armed at first with little more than a few general letters of introduction and a heart full of grit and compassion. In October 1862, she was sent to Alexandria, Va., to help provide aid and comfort to the thousands of contrabands streaming into the Union-held city. Whitacre notes that "nothing prepared [Wilbur] for the sights, sounds, and smells she encountered." For the rest of the war, Wilbur did all she could to change the dreadful conditions she found there.

Whitacre ably weaves Wilbur's activities into the larger story of Alexandria during the war, exploring the extensive problems facing military occupiers, civilian administrators, and the legions of volunteers seeking to provide food, clothing, and lodging for thousands of formerly enslaved and, after January 1, 1863, newly emancipated African-American men, women, and children.

By skillfully incorporating Wilbur's own words into a scrupulously organized, elegantly written narrative, Whitacre brings to life Wilbur and the scores of historical figures she encountered during the war.





shooting sports organization. Competitors shoot original or approved reproduction muskets, carbines and revolvers at breakable targets in a timed match. Some units even compete with cannons and mortars.

Each team represents a specific Civil War regiment or unit and wears the uniform they wore over 150 years ago. Dedicated to preserving our history, period firearms competition and the camaraderie of team sports with friends and family, the N-SSA may be just right for you.

For more information visit us online at www.n-ssa.org.



# CIVILWAR MARKETPLACE

Shenandoah Civil War **Associates** 

presents:

Stonewall **Iackson** 



Tour dates: June 15-17, 2018

From Cedar Mountain to 2nd Manassas Join tour historians Scott Patchan and Michael Block as we follow Stonewall Jackson's route:

- Gordonsville, VirginiaTravel a portion of the original roads Jackson took on
- his advance to Culpeper

  Orange Courthouse train station and the little known fight at Orange

  • Crooked Run Ford
- Cedar Mountain Battlefield
- Jeffersonton, where Jackson and Longstreet planned Jackson's flank march
- Thoroughfare Gap BattlefieldManassas Battlefield
- Brawner Farm, Jackson's Defense of the Railroad Cut
   Robert E. Lee's headquarters
   The struggle for Chinn Ridge
- Saturday night lodging will be the Holiday Inn Manassas Battlefield

#### Friday presentations by:

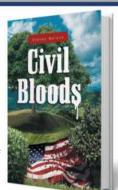
- Scott Patchan: "Controversy and Confusion: Interpreting US attacks against Stonewall Jackson on August 29, 1862 at Second Manassas"
   Michael Block: "I'm Not Making Much Progress: Stonewall Jackson's Approach to Cedar Mountain"
   Dr. John H. Matsui: "Its Time that the Government took off its Gloves: The Army of Virginia as a Revolutionary Force"
- Revolutionary Force"

For program information email shencivilwar@gmail.com
To register contact Bonnie Powell of
Conference Services at James Madison University (540) 568-8043

#### Civil Bloods by Steven Nelson

"Compelling storyline for the Southern brothers who stand together through multiple life obstacles. And an overall allegory of the American Dream That is, even during the Civil War, these guys made their dreams come true under the toughest of circumstances."





#### Available on Amazon

#### **CANNONS** STEEN



Manufacturer of: Full Scale, Authentic Reproduction Artillery

515 29th Street Ashland KY 41101

Phone/www 606-326-1188

www.steencannons.com

# Reb

Specializing in Civil War Memorabilia

-Bought and Sold--Priced right for the beginning collector-

S. Coleman & Company P.O. Box 215 - Raphine, VA 24472

540-377-2057

E-mail: scoleman@rebacres.com

Check Out Our On-line Catalog at: www.rebacres.com or send three 1st class stamps for a complimentary catalog.

### REINFORCEMENTS



Nobody even comes close to building a Civil War tent with as much attention to reinforcing the stress areas as Panther. Our extra heavy duty reinforcing is just one of the added features that makes Panther tentage the best you can buy!

#### ■PANTHER'S Catalog No. 26 ... \$2.00

126 pages of the best selection of historical re-enactment items from medieval era to Civil War era. Includes over 60 pages on our famous tents.

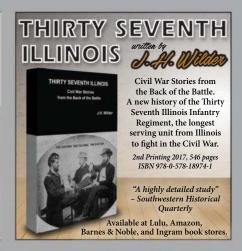
Your \$2, cost is refundable with first order. SEND for copy TODAY

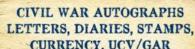


The Best Tents in History P.O. Box 32C Normantown WV 25267 (304)462-7718 www.pantherprimitives.com

### HISTORYNET NOW

Sign up for our free monthly E-NEWSLETTER at historynet.com/newsletters







Visit our website at: www.shop.bmgcivilwar.net

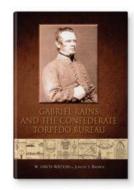








Gabriel Rains and the Confederate Torpedo Bureau By W. Davis Waters and Joseph I.Brown Savas Beatie 2017, \$16.95



#### REVIEWED BY JON GUTTMAN

mong the most feared and despised weapons American servicemen have faced in the 21st century is the improvised explosive device, a variation, essentially, of the explosive mine, or torpedo. The Confederacy was the first to use what its Union foes condemned as "villainously concealed....infernal machines." For better or worse, the credit or blame for producing these insidious devices falls primarily on the shoulders of Brig. Gen. Gabriel M. Rains. Given their secretive nature, it is hardly surprising that while John Ericsson is famous for creating the turreted ironclad Monitor, Rains and his equally game-changing weapons have gone relatively unnoted. Rains biographer W. Davis Waters and naval mine expert Joseph I. Brown have combined their research to give the "devil" his due in Gabriel Rains and the Confederate Torpedo Bureau.

An 1823 West Point graduate, Rains devised his first torpedo while fighting the Seminoles in 1840—it was a failure—and during service in the Mexican and various Indian wars he proved better at garrison duty than with expeditionary commands. When the Civil War broke out, growing Confederate desperation gave him a perfect venue in which to hone his dazzling variety of underground "terra shells" and underwater torpedoes (all thankfully illustrated in the book). By 1864, an Alabama soldier in Mobile described him, saying "a great torpedo man, you remember, is a perfect monomaniac on the subject-talks of nothing else." Short but concise and comprehensive, this volume would no doubt be one its subject would approve and appreciate.



#### America Invaded: A State by State Guide to Fighting on American Soil

By Christopher Kelly and Stuart Laycock History Invasions LLC 2017, \$29.95

#### REVIEWED BY ROBERT GUTTMAN

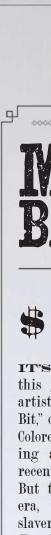
merica Invaded is a follow-up to Christopher Kelly and Stuart Laycock's earlier book, America Invades, which presented the history of U.S. invasions of other countries. America Invaded does the same for instances in which the United States was invaded by others. The authors have presented their history of these invasions on a stateby-state basis, with each state represented by an individual chapter. They have also included a list and map of relevant historical sites in each state.

Although the title of the book implies stories of America being invaded by "foreigners," much of the book is concerned with instances of the invasion of "Native-American" territory by "Europeans," frequently denoting explorers, settlers or military forces from the expanding United States. In addition, a good many of the "invasions" recounted involve incidents in which Americans invaded American soil during the Civil War. A notable example involves the peculiar case of West Virginia. After Virginia seceded from the Union in 1861, western Virginia in turn seceded from Virginia in order to remain in the Union. For the remainder of the war, West Virginia would be invaded by Rebel armies bent upon returning the breakaway state to Virginia, and by Union armies equally determined to prevent them from doing so.

America Invaded is a lively, meticulously researched, and provocative history of military incursions into the various states down through the years. It will undoubtedly find a place on the bookshelves of American history buffs every-

CREDITS Cover: Library of Congress; Inset: Courtesy Georgia Archives, Vanishing Georgia Collection, fra112; P. 2: Shenandoah Sanchez; P. 3: From Top: Courtesy keithrocco.com; The American Civil War Museum; National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; P. 4: National Archives; P. 6: Courtesy Tennessee State Library and Archives; P. 8: Melissa A. Winn; P. 9: Top: Courtesy Thomas Jackson Collection of Civil War Letters; Bottom: AP Photo/Mark Humphrey; P. 10: From Top: Library of Congress; Courtesy the State Historical Society of Missouri; P. 12: Clockwise From Top: Rocky Mount Mills; Google Earth; Melissa A. Winn; P. 14-15: Library of Congress; P. 16: Library of Congress; P. 18: Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images; P. 22: Photos Courtesy Gary Gallagher; P. 20-21: The American Civil War Museum (7); P. 27: Melissa A. Winn (3); P. 28-29: Courtesy Scott Fink; P. 30: Library of Congress; P. 31: Library of Congress; P. 32: Library of Congress; P. 33: Library of Congress; P. 34: Clockwise From Left: Courtesy Georgia Archives, Vanishing Georgia Collection, fra112; Library of Congress (2); P. 35: USAHEC; P. 37: Courtesy keithrocco. com; P. 39: Courtesy Morgan County Archives; P. 40-41: Courtesy Morgan County Archives; P. 42: Clockwise From Top Left: Courtesy Mississippi Department of Archives and History; The American Civil War Museum; Courtesy the Collection of the Museum Division; Mississippi Department of Archives & History; P. 43: Brian Jannsen/Alamy Stock Photo; P. 44: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; P. 46: Courtesy the Maryland Historical Society, P. 47: Top: Heritage Auctions, Dallas; Bottom: Library of Congress; P. 48-49: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; P. 50: Photo by Buyenlarge/Getty Images; P. 52-53: Photos by Peter Svenson; P. 55: Top: Library of Congress; Bottom: Courtesy Virginia Military Institute; P. 56: Photo by MPI/Getty Images; P. 58-61: Shenandoah Sanchez (8); P. 72: Image Courtesy Skinner, Inc., www.skinnerinc.com.





# MORBID



\$5,228

IT'S HARD TO LOOK AT, this grim wartime sculpture by artist Karl Muller, titled "The Biter Bit," of a determined United States Colored Troops soldier brandishing a bayoneted bloodhound, and recently sold by Skinner Auctions. But to African Americans of the era, bloodhounds meant despised slavery and slave catchers. A Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper account of an 1864 battle in South Carolina described how Confederates set bloodhounds upon attacking USCTs, "but they were soon shot or speared on the bayonets of the men, who held aloft... the beasts that had been so long a terror to their race." ★

# Proudly Serving the Military since 1936.

**GEICO** salutes our Military members. We've made it our mission to not only provide you and your family with great coverage, but also to offer flexible payment options, numerous discounts, and overseas coverage to suit the demands of your unique lifestyle.

We stand ready to serve you. Get a free quote today.



GEICO: MILITARY

geico.com | 1-800-MILITARY | local office



## **HISTORYNET**

## CRUISE THROUGH HISTORY ON AN AMAZING SMALL SHIP ADVENTURE

Discover the Atlantic Coastal Waterway, Hudson, Erie Canal, Great Lakes, St. Lawrence & Saguenay River



Save up to \$1,000 per cabin on select departures with promo code *HistoryNet* 

1-888-271-9932

blountadventure.com/historynet