THE CHARGER

The Cleveland Civil War Roundtable

February 2023 **Vol. 47, No. 6**

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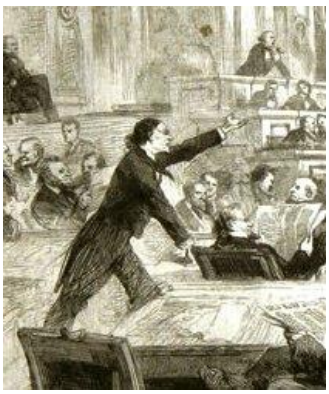
MEETING: Wednesday, February 8, 2023

SPEAKER: The Dick Crews Annual Debate

PROGRAM: "Who Was the Best Political General of the Civil War?"

LOCATION:
The Holiday Inn Independence at 6001 Rockside Road, Independence, Ohio 44131, off US Interstate 77



TIME: Social Hour at 6:00 PM and Presentation at 7:00 PM

THE PROGRAM WILL BE IN PERSON AND STREAMED ONLINE SO MANY CIVIL WAR ENTHUSIASTS CAN ENJOY OUR PROGRAM.

For reservations email:
ccwrtreserve@gmail.com or call 440-449-9311. To ensure a dinner is reserved for you, the reservation must be made by Wednesday, February 1, 2023, a week before the meeting.
Website:

http://www.clevelandcivilwarroundtable.com

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President's Message

It's February in Ohio, and you know what that means...cold, snow, and more cold. But the good news is that we will officially be more than halfway through winter by the time February 8 rolls around, so there should be fewer concerns about weather preventing people from attending our meetings from this point in the season onward. We are more than halfway through the 2022-2023 season as well, with only four meetings left to go before our summer break. How time flies!

Speaking of winter, given the travel schedules of some of our members, we had to swap the topics of our January and February meetings, which hopefully did not overly inconvenience anyone. The Roundtable's own Brian Kowell treated us to a fascinating presentation on Pook's Turtles last month, and ably fielded the wide variety of questions posed to him afterward. Speaking as someone whose knowledge of Civil War ironclads was primarily limited to the most famous vessels like the Monitor, Brian's lecture served as an excellent overview of City-class ironclads and the crucial role they played on the Mississippi River during the war. (I will have to get down to Vicksburg at some point to see the USS Cairo!)

Long-time members know that January is traditionally the month in which the Dick Crews Annual Debate is held. While the debate was moved to February this year by previous arrangement, our meeting announcements last month included the unfortunate news that Dick Crews, the debate namesake himself, had been hospitalized. Regrettably, he has since passed away. While I did not join the Roundtable until long after he had moved out of the Cleveland area, I did get to meet him and his son when they joined us on our field trip to Winchester, VA, in September last year, and I know many members who were around in the 90s have fond memories of conversations, camaraderie, and more from when he was active with the CCWRT. Given that this will be the first Dick Crews debate held since his passing, during the pre-dinner announcement period, I would like to welcome any members to feel free to come up and contribute any stories, memories, or other things that might appropriately commemorate his time with the Roundtable and friendship with its members. If you have any photos or anything that you would like to share, feel free to email clecwrt@gmail.com at least two days in advance of the February 8 meeting so that we can make arrangements to display them.

As for the topic of the debate itself...the question under discussion this year is "Who was the best political general of the Civil War?" The topic is kept deliberately somewhat broad--after all, how you define "best" is up to you, provided you can convince the voters you're correct! Even the question of what makes someone a "political general" can be somewhat ambiguous, provided the officer in question wasn't a career military man, and thus the sort of person who would ordinarily be placed in a key military role based on past training or performance. Our four debaters--Paul

Burkholder, Kent Fonner, Charles Patton, and Bob Pence--will be making the case for Benjamin Butler, John C. Breckinridge, Edward Ferrero, and John A. Logan respectively. William Vodrey will reprise his role as debate moderator. I am looking forward to seeing what kinds of lively arguments will ensue during the debate itself!

Please email ccwrtreserve@gmail.com to RSVP for the meeting at least a week in advance, and indicate whether you would like the chicken or vegetarian meal option. As mentioned previously, if people would like to see the regular monthly Zoom broadcasts of meetings continue, we are currently seeking new people to volunteer to run it. Running a hybrid event every month is much more cost-intensive and labor-intensive than running something which is either purely digital or purely in-person, and the burden would need to be a bit more evenly spread in order for it to be sustainable in the long run. The officers and executive committee will be having a meeting shortly to discuss options for this, so I hope to be able to update everyone on the results of our discussions at the February meeting.

Hope to see you all at the debate!

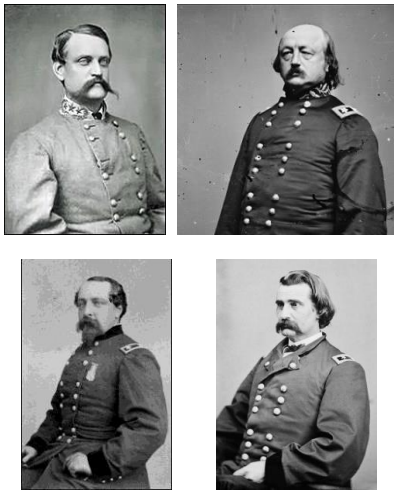
- Lily Korte

The Editor's Desk

While preparing for the Dick Crews Annual Debate, I have been learning a great deal about John C. Breckinridge. I must admit that I knew little before this. I knew he had been Vice President of the United States and U.S. Senator from Kentucky. In 1860, he ran for President as the Southern Democrat Party candidate. In my original home of Greene County, Pennsylvania, Breckinridge received two votes for every vote given to Lincoln. Stephen Douglas only received 26 votes, a miserable showing. I never quite understood these results in a Pennsylvania county, but now I believe I have a better understanding of Breckinridge's appeal. I am sure we will all learn much about the men being debated this month.

I have been reading and studying the history of the Civil War for nearly sixty years. It still amazes me how much more there is to learn. The Cleveland Civil War Roundtable certainly provides many opportunities to increase our knowledge. As always, I look forward to hearing from our members with suggestions and ideas to make "The Charger" a better publication, more informative, and a medium to generate public discussion on the history of this complex era in American history.

The Dick Crews Annual Debate, February 8, 2023



Generals Breckinridge, Butler, Ferrero, and Logan

Our topic this year is "Who was the best political general of the Civil War?" William Vodrey will again be our moderator. Debaters will be Paul Burkholder (Benjamin Butler), Kent Fonner (John C. Breckinridge), Charles Patton (Edward Ferrero), and Bob Pence (John A. Logan). Debaters will speak for five minutes, then take questions from the membership for another five, and finally take part in a general discussion/rebuttal opportunity with the other debaters. It's a lot of fun, and expertise is neither required nor expected. Younger and newer members of the Roundtable are particularly encouraged to take part. The debate winner, chosen by vote of the membership, will, as always, receive fabulous prizes.

Dennis Keating Speaks At Westlake Porter Public Library

CCWRT's Dennis Keating made a presentation on his new book, *Cleveland and the Civil War,* to a capacity crowd on Tuesday night, January 24, 2023, at Westlake Porter Public Library. His talk was attended by at least a hundred enthusiastic members of the community. The event was considered by all a wonderful evening as Dennis shared stories about the three future Presidents from our area along with the men who went to war and the women who supported them. We were also able to get a plug for CCWRT as Bob Pence, at Dennis' request, spread the word about us.

(Pictures by Steve Pettyjohn)

Pig-ett's Charge: George Pickett's Pre-Civil War Service in a Porcine-Provoked Conflict

(Part 1 of 2)

by David A. Carrino

As most fans of science fiction know, *Star Trek* was a television series that appeared in several iterations and was set in the future. In the original *Star Trek* series, one of the episodes featured a character named Dr. Richard Daystrom. Daystrom was a brilliant computer scientist who, at the young age of 24, invented the duotronic elements that were essential for the functioning of Federation starships. In spite of his revolutionary invention and the fame that came with it, 20 years after his invention Daystrom had become a terribly despondent person, because he felt that he had come to be known for only that one accomplishment. Even though he was the recipient of widespread acclaim for his invention, Daystrom was deeply unhappy and spoke of how he had spent the 20 years since his invention "groping to prove the things I'd done before were not accidents" and of giving "seminars and lectures to rows of fools who couldn't begin to understand my systems." He was anguished because he thought that others saw him as "the boy wonder" who had developed a phenomenal invention, but had not contributed anything else since then. Here was someone who had done something that revolutionized his society, yet he was miserable because that was the only thing he was known for. The lesson of the fictional Dr. Daystrom is that while association with a historic event of immense magnitude can bestow on someone a place in history, that historic event, specifically because of its immense magnitude, can become the only thing that that person is known for.

The Civil War figure who arguably more than anyone else is known for just one thing is George E. Pickett. Not that Pickett had an extensive list of accomplishments during his life, but even if he did, the event that bears his name is of such historic magnitude that Pickett could not help but be known for only that. Nevertheless, Pickett did some things before Pickett's Charge that are of enough significance that history has made note of them. Best known of these happened near the end of the Mexican-American War when the U.S. army under Winfield Scott was advancing on Mexico City. One of the last strongholds for the Mexican army was Chapultepec Castle, located just outside the Mexican capital. During the U.S. attack on Chapultepec, the troops storming the fort included George Pickett, who had graduated from West Point just a year earlier, last in the Class of 1846, a class that included such Civil War figures as Stonewall Jackson, George McClellan, Darius Couch, and Cadmus Wilcox. As the U.S. troops were assaulting the ramparts of Chapultepec, James Longstreet, Pickett's future corps commander in the Civil War, was carrying the American flag. A bullet struck Longstreet, and as he fell Pickett grabbed the flag and continued to rush forward with the flag in his grasp until he saw a flagpole, ripped down the Mexican flag, and hoisted the American flag up the flagpole, all while under fire. Pickett's heroic exploit was reported in newspapers throughout the U.S., but this event is not well known today because it has been supplanted in Pickett's legacy by a different assault, one that took place on July 3, 1863 in a small town in southern Pennsylvania.

In addition to Pickett's valiant deed at Chapultepec, there is another very intriguing and even lesser known event in U.S. military history in which Pickett played a prominent role. But this event, like Chapultepec, has been largely lost to the historical consciousness about Pickett due to the overriding glare of Pickett's Charge. This other event, which took place in the time between the Mexican-American War and the Civil War, is a war that never happened, but in spite of never happening is still called a war. This non-war that is called a war occurred, strangely enough, because of a pig, and, hence, it is called the Pig War. The Pig War is one of the most incongruous events in U.S. military history in light of the fact that a pig on a small

island in the Pacific Northwest caused an international confrontation between the United States and the British Empire and brought to the site of the confrontation a contingent from the U.S. Army, a contingent from the Royal Navy, the commanding general of the U.S. Army, the Royal Navy's commander in chief of the Pacific Ocean, and eventually even involved Kaiser Wilhelm I of Germany. In fact, a 1966 tourist guide describing this event said of it that "Gilbert and Sullivan might well have used the plot for one of their famous light operas." Moreover, some of the U.S. officers who played a role in this event later served in the American Civil War including George Pickett, after whom is named arguably the most well-known incident of the Civil War. But before Pickett's legacy was defined by the assault that is named after him, he was, for a time, both the commanding officer of U.S. forces that faced elements of the Royal Navy and also the sole individual from the U.S. who negotiated with representatives of the British Empire during an international confrontation that was ignited all because of a pig.

Prelude: James Buchanan's flawed treaty

The Pig War grew out of a boundary dispute between the U.S. and Britain regarding the San Juan Islands, which are a group of islands that lie between the present-day state of Washington and Vancouver Island (which was known as Vancouver's Island at that time). The incident that brought on the confrontation took place one of the largest of the islands, San Juan Island, from which the island group takes its name. Spain was the first European country to explore the San Juan Islands, which were explored by a Spanish

expedition in 1791, and this is when the islands and the surrounding waters were given the names that they still have. In 1792 the area was explored by the Royal Navy's George Vancouver, after whom Vancouver Island is named. Americans, including the Lewis and Clark Expedition, ventured into the Pacific Northwest in the late 1700s and early 1800s, but the first extensive U.S. exploration of the San Juan Islands happened in 1841 as part of a long U.S. Navy global expedition from 1838 to 1842. This expedition was led by Charles Wilkes, who, in 1861 as commander of the USS *San Jacinto*, gained notoriety when he seized the British ship RMS *Trent*, then removed Confederate envoys James Mason and John Slidell from the British vessel, and thereby precipitated the international incident known as the Trent Affair.

In 1818, between the time of Vancouver's expedition and Wilkes' expedition, the U.S. and Great Britain, as a means of improving relations after the War of 1812, negotiated an agreement to establish the boundary between the U.S. and British North America (i.e., present-day Canada). This agreement, the Convention of 1818, set the boundary along the 49th parallel of north latitude from Lake of the Woods in the present-day state of Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains (then known as the Stony Mountains). Both parties were forced to relinquish territory as a result of this agreement, but both parties benefited from the agreement because their boundary was established westward to the Rocky Mountains, although for the time being the boundary west of the Rocky Mountains was not set. Not surprisingly, a disagreement arose over that westernmost boundary as more settlers moved into the Pacific Northwest, and competition for the region's land and resources ensued. As part of the Convention of 1818, Britain and the U.S. were given joint control of the Pacific Northwest and free navigation there. Beginning in the 1820s, the British Hudson's Bay Company built trading posts in the region for fur trading with the indigenous people. American settlers began to move into this region in significant number in the 1840s after the Wilkes expedition explored the area. In light of its expansionist goals, the U.S. was intent on building settlements in the area as a way of beginning the process of absorbing the region into the U.S. This resulted in competition between the U.S. and Britain.

Some elected U.S. officials insisted that the entire Pacific Northwest belonged to the U.S. as far north as the southern border of Russian Alaska, that is, 54 degrees, 40 minutes north latitude, hence the slogan "fifty-four forty or fight." Britain, of course, thought otherwise, and some British officials wanted the border as far south as the Columbia River at the border of present-day Oregon and Washington. To resolve the dispute, the two countries negotiated a treaty known as the Oregon Treaty. Negotiating on behalf of the U.S. was James Buchanan, the secretary of state under James K. Polk, and negotiating on behalf of Britain was its minister to the U.S., Richard Packenham. The treaty, which was signed on June 15, 1846, set the Pacific Northwest's boundary between the U.S. and British territories by simply extending the border along the 49th parallel all the way to the west coast of the mainland and thence southward through the channel that separates the mainland from Vancouver Island and finally westward to the Pacific Ocean through the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which is south of the San Juan Islands. While this seems like an obvious and straightforward resolution, the Oregon Treaty had a serious flaw, which is not unexpected for an endeavor that involved James Buchanan and his shortcomings. Moreover, the flaw in the treaty later caused a critical problem for Buchanan during his presidency, and it happened at a most inopportune time, because Buchanan was already dealing with a more severe problem, namely the sectional crisis that was pushing the country toward civil war.

The flaw in the Oregon Treaty was the San Juan Islands. Like the proverbial fly lying in the ointment, the San Juan Islands lie in the channel between the mainland and Vancouver Island. As such, a single channel does not separate the mainland from Vancouver Island. Rather, there are two main channels: Haro Strait, which is west of the San Juan Islands and separates the islands from Vancouver Island, and Rosario Strait, which is east of the islands from the mainland. which channel comprises the of the treaty has ownership of that the treaty's negotiators did Islands, which seems unlikely been recorded by both British the negotiators were aware of resolving the situation quickly, and decided that possession of inhabited by only a very small could be, as the saying goes,

the San Juan Islands and separates The Oregon Treaty did not specify boundary and, hence, which party the San Juan Islands. It may be not know about the San Juan since the islands' existence had and American explorers. Perhaps the islands and, in the interest of they figuratively put foot to can some small, remote islands number of their countries' citizens kicked down the road and settled at a future date. Whatever the reason for this flaw, it is difficult to understand why a treaty that was intended to establish the border between two countries' territories failed to address some islands that lie exactly on that border. As a result, the vague language regarding the San Juan Islands led, 13 years later, to a confrontation between Britain and the U.S. over possession of the islands, and a pig played a leading role in the incident that ignited this confrontation.

The incident: tubers, tempers, and turmoil

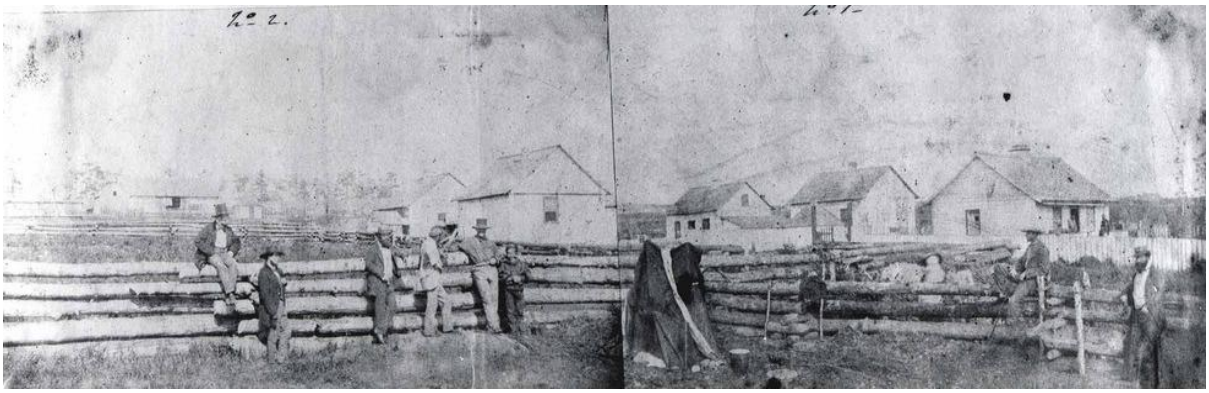
In the years after the signing of the Oregon Treaty in 1846, both the U.S. and Britain continued to intensify their holds on the Pacific Northwest. Since 1825 Britain's Hudson's Bay Company had had its Pacific Northwest headquarters at the site of present-day Vancouver, Washington. After the signing of the Oregon Treaty, the company moved its headquarters to Vancouver Island in order to locate it further away from an anticipated influx of American settlers. Many of the company's officials were greatly upset with the treaty, because they felt that Britain had given up too much on the mainland. Among these displeased officials was James Douglas, the company official who made the decision to move the

headquarters to Vancouver Island. Douglas was determined that the Hudson's Bay Company would not relinquish its claim to the San Juan Islands. In 1851, he shifted from an official of the company to an official of the British government when he was appointed governor of the British colony that comprised that area.

James Douglas was quite an interesting person. Douglas was an imposing man who had a commanding

presence. He was born in 1803 in present-day Guyana to a father of Scottish ethnicity and a free Barbadian mother of Afro-Scottish ethnicity. His mixed racial ethnicity was not an impediment to his rise in British industry. At the age of 15 he began to work in the fur trade in North America, and this was his profession for his entire working career prior to becoming a government official. His profession required that he negotiate with people of different ethnicities, including Russian, Mexican, American, and indigenous people. Perhaps his own mixed racial ethnicity helped him to become adept at this, and he rose to be a high-ranking official in the Hudson's Bay Company, eventually in the Pacific Northwest. Ultimately, he was appointed governor of the British colony in which he had served with the Hudson's Bay Company, and he remained there as governor until his retirement in 1864. There was no one who would more fiercely protect British interests in that region than James Douglas.

In 1851, the same year that Douglas was appointed governor, the Hudson's Bay Company set up a salmon curing station on San Juan Island. Two years after that, as a means of further securing Britain's hold on the island, the company, at Douglas' direction, established a sheep farm on San Juan Island. The company transported almost 1,400 sheep to the island, as well as other livestock and crop seed to make the farm self-sufficient, and placed the operation under the management of a man named Charles Griffin, who worked as an agent for the company. Griffin chose a site for the farm on the southwestern shore of San Juan Island, and the farm came to be called Belle Vue Sheep Farm. In just six years, the number of sheep increased to 4,500, and the operation produced a great deal of wool and became quite profitable.



Belle Vue Sheep Farm

Meanwhile, the U.S., after the signing of the Oregon Treaty, was not neglecting to advance its interests in the region, including on San Juan Island. In 1848 the U.S. designated the Pacific Northwest as Oregon territory, which was a clear sign that the U.S. intended to assimilate that region as new states sometime in the future. Oregon territory was split in 1853 into a northern portion, which was designated Washington territory, and a southern portion, which retained its designation as Oregon territory. This was further evidence of the intention of the U.S. to fully incorporate this land into the nation. In fact, part of this region was incorporated into the U.S. on Valentine's Day of 1859 when the state of Oregon was admitted to the U.S. As more American settlers moved into the Pacific Northwest, and the region from a U.S.

perspective became more developed, tensions grew between Britain and the U.S.

In early 1854, a U.S. customs collector went to San Juan Island and demanded that the Hudson's Bay Company pay duties on the property and animals which the company had in its possession, because the customs collector insisted that the farm was operating on U.S. land. The customs collector even went so far as to declare that, in his view, the animals on Belle Vue Farm had been smuggled into U.S. territory. In response, the farm's manager, Charles Griffin, threatened to have the customs collector arrested. The following year, 1855, a sheriff from Washington territory went to San Juan Island and demanded that county taxes be paid, because the territorial government had designated the San Juan Islands a county in Washington territory. Griffin, (pictured here) naturally, refused, and the sheriff told him that he intended to auction Belle Vue Farm in order to raise money for the taxes. Not long after, the sheriff returned at night with a group of men, and they removed some rams from the farm, held a nighttime auction, and then loaded the rams into some small boats. By this time, Griffin and other farm workers appeared, but the Americans brandished guns and left for the mainland. Griffin reported this to Governor James Douglas, which only hardened Douglas' resolve to keep San Juan Island a British possession.

Reports of these incidents reached the respective governments and drew a response from each of them. U.S. Secretary of State William Marcy wrote a letter to Governor Isaac Stevens of Washington territory directing him to stop inflaming an already volatile situation until this border dispute was resolved. Perhaps Marcy, who was the secretary of state under Franklin Pierce, should have also indicated in his letter to Stevens that the issue regarding possession of San Juan Island should have been resolved in the treaty that was negotiated by Pierce's successor, James Buchanan. To try to correct the flaw in the treaty that Buchanan helped craft, the U.S. and Britain agreed to a joint boundary commission in 1856 to resolve the question of the exact border in the channel separating Vancouver Island from the mainland. The U.S. delegation for the commission was led by Archibald Campbell, while Royal Navy Captain James Prevost headed the British delegation. Beginning in June 1857, the commission met on and off for two years and failed to resolve the issue. Of all the San Juan Islands, the British were adamant that any agreement must include the stipulation that San Juan Island be declared a British possession because of its proximity to Vancouver Island, and therefore its strategic importance relative to Vancouver Island. The Americans were equally insistent that the boundary was along Haro Strait, the channel that lies to the west of all of the San Juan Islands, which would make all of the islands, including San Juan Island, U.S. possessions.

The contentiousness of the negotiations is clear from the messages that were written by Campbell and Prevost. At one point Campbell wrote to the secretary of state that Prevost had "a blind adherence to a tortured interpretation of the meaning of the words of the treaty" and that "this perverted reading of the treaty has been his infallible guide throughout my connection with him." Campbell wrote further that he believed that even if someone "should rise from the dead" and tell Prevost that his interpretation of the treaty is incorrect, Prevost would not accept it. In a message to Prevost, Campbell accused Prevost of entering into the negotiations with instructions from his government to agree only to the British position without considering any evidence or discussions during the negotiations. For his part, Prevost protested in a message to Campbell, "I cannot recognize your pretensions to catechize me thereupon, and, therefore, I decline to return you either a positive or negative answer to your queries...Notwithstanding the apparent air of moderation with which you have clothed your words, there pervades your whole communication a vein of assumption, and an attempt at intimidation, by exciting apprehension of evil, not well calculated to produce the effect you profess so ardently to desire." With negotiators like that, it is no surprise that

there was no resolution of the border dispute.

The wording in the Oregon Treaty specifically states that the boundary runs "along the 49th parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, to the Pacific Ocean." At one point during the negotiations, Prevost made a proposal which most closely adheres to the wording in the treaty, namely that the border should run through San Juan Channel, the channel that separates San Juan Island from the other main islands in the group. This proposed border most closely approximates "the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island." This proposal would have given San Juan Island to the British and all of the other main islands to the U.S., but the Americans rejected this proposal. Consequently, the commission was unable to come to an agreement and failed to resolve the border issue for the San Juan Islands.

This tense situation was made even worse by the discovery of gold in 1856 near the Fraser River in present-day British Columbia. This led to what is known as the Fraser River gold rush. British authorities, fearing a massive influx of American gold-seekers, tried to keep the discovery secret, but news leaked in 1857. By the following year, prospectors began to arrive in the area until, by the fall of that year, tens of thousands of Americans, many from California, were seeking their fortunes in the Fraser River region. As is typical with such endeavors, most of the prospectors did not see their dreams realized and departed to seek a livelihood elsewhere. For some of these Americans, "elsewhere" was San Juan Island. Present estimates vary, but by 1859 approximately 20 Americans from the Fraser River gold rush had settled on San Juan Island. Not surprisingly, this angered British Governor James Douglas, who considered the Americans unwanted squatters in British territory. Years earlier Douglas had written to a colleague, "An American population will never willingly submit to British domination...and the consequence will be the accession of a new State to the Union." Clearly, Douglas foresaw that, in light of the unresolved ambiguity regarding the boundary between Vancouver Island and the mainland, the trickle of frustrated American gold-seekers to San Juan Island was but a portent of a wave of American settlers that would make retaining the island tenuous for Britain. However, before that wave could happen, something occurred that brought the volatile situation to a head. This is because the Fraser River gold rush led to a certain person settling on San Juan Island, and that person soon became the catalyst for a confrontation between Britain and the U.S.

One of the Americans who settled on San Juan Island was Lyman Cutlar. Very little is known about Cutlar, other than that he settled on San Juan Island after the Fraser River gold rush and that he set up a farm on the island. To make matters worse, Cutlar chose a site for his farm that was near Belle Vue Sheep Farm, the Hudson's Bay Company operation that by 1859 had become very profitable. While the diversity of crops that Cutlar grew on his farm is not known, it is known that he planted potatoes. This is known because a pig from Belle Vue Farm rooted in Cutlar's potato patch, and this led to a serious incident. It was the practice of Charles Griffin, the manager of Belle Vue Farm, to allow his animals to roam freely, and Cutlar repeatedly chased Belle Vue Farm pigs out of his potato patch, which was not completely fenced. Reputedly, Cutlar had complained to Griffin about this, but Griffin responded that nothing would be done, because, in Griffin's opinion, Cutlar was trespassing on British territory. On June 15, 1859, Cutlar again saw a pig rooting in his potato patch, and Cutlar evidently had had enough. Cutlar, presumably incensed at seeing a pig once more eating the potatoes, grabbed his shotgun, stormed after the pig, and shot and killed it. Ironically, Cutlar killed the pig exactly 13 years to the day after the signing of the Oregon Treaty, the treaty that had the flaw which caused the boundary dispute that led to Cutlar killing the pig.

Accounts vary regarding precisely what happened in the aftermath of the killing of the pig, but what is

known is that Cutlar wanted to compensate Griffin. Perhaps the sight of the dead pig shook Cutlar out of his rage and brought him to the realization of what he had done. Whatever the reason, Cutlar went to Griffin, informed the farm's manager that he had killed one of his pigs, and offered to pay for the dead animal. Griffin, however, was indignant and angrily replied that the pig was worth $100, but Cutlar refused to pay such a large amount for a pig that Cutlar later insisted was not worth even $10. A short time later, two Hudson's Bay Company officials, one of whom was the son-in-law of Governor Douglas, confronted Cutlar and threatened to have him arrested and tried. Because the British saw the Americans on San Juan Island as squatters on British soil, they were not at all inclined to take lightly the destruction of Hudson's Bay Company property. In their view, the killing of the pig by a person who should not even have been allowed to live on San Juan Island was sufficient reason to assert, once and for all, British claims to the island, no matter what means were necessary to enforce that. Hence, the killing of the pig turned out to be the first shot of the Pig War.

As events played out, except for the pig that Lyman Cutlar shot, no other creature, human or otherwise, was a casualty in the Pig War. This has led to the seemingly obligatory joke in many accounts of the Pig War that the pig was the only casualty. But in the aftermath of Cutlar's actions, it did not seem that this would be so. As the situation worsened, an American soldier stationed in the region wrote in his journal that "it is feared a collision will occur." One significant reason that bloodshed was a possibility was the officer in overall command of U.S. forces in the region. That officer had a dangerous proclivity for rashness and was ardently anti-British. In addition, the junior officer who was in direct command of U.S. troops on the scene proved to be overly zealous in protecting U.S. interests. That junior officer later became very well known, not for what he did in the Pig War, but for a different military action. Four years and 18 days after Lyman Cutlar shot the pig, that junior officer charged into history in the most iconic military action of the Civil War.

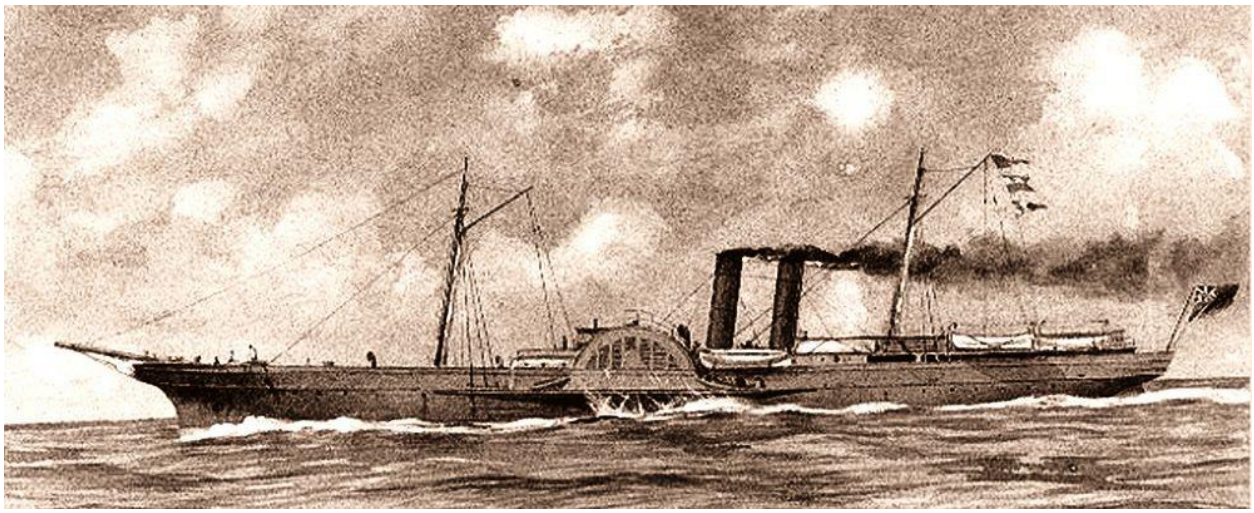
Part 2 of this article focuses on the confrontation between Britain and the U.S. over San Juan Island and the resolution of this confrontation.

Sources

The sources for this article are listed after Part 2.




How well do you know Civil War field artillery? Can you name each of these guns from left to right? Which are rifled? Smooth bore? Answers on last page.



OF PRUSSIANS, PANTS, AND A PIANO

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The sleek blockade runner was forty nautical miles east of the Carolina coast as the captain and the pilot argued about their exact location. The *Flora* was a light draft, iron-hulled, twin-screw, Clyde steamer, painted a greenish white. It had a smoke condenser to minimize detection and was said to be the fastest blockade runner as it could easily do 14 knots.

As the sun set and the wind picked up, fog began to thicken. The pilot and captain exchanged curses as they disagreed about the best heading to take. It didn't help that both had been drinking heavily. Despite this difference of opinion and with favorable conditions to hide from blockading warships, the captain ordered the helmsman to head west with the leadsman calling out his soundings. As they neared the coast the leadsman called out, "Five fathoms, four fathoms, two fathoms" before the *Flora* lurched to a stop, stuck on a sandbar. This brought more curses.

The captain knew there were 17 blockading vessels guarding the approaches to Charleston harbor and the *Flora* was a sitting duck. Working feverishly by reversing engines and vigorously switching power from one propeller to the other, and aided by a favorable tide, the *Flora*, after thirty minutes of effort, was once again free.

Moving slowly and cautiously, the *Flora* was underway for only a few minutes when a lookout suddenly called "Gunboat!" Instantly, a big gun boomed with a bright flash of light as a projectile zoomed across the foredeck. "Full speed!" roared the startled captain as he, the pilot, and the helmsman began to desert the bridge.

"Be calm," shouted a Prussian passenger who had been observing this. He was a large, imposing man with a full dark beard and flashing eyes. He was also sober and showed more sense and discipline than either the pilot or captain. "They can't hit us, he continued, "After all, it's dark." The shamed captain and pilot returned along with the helmsman and once again fixed on a westerly course. But the blockaders

were not idle. Soon a rocket was fired in their direction and a calcium light could be seen searching the waters for them.

The ship was flying across the water at full speed as the blockader shot thunderbolts in all directions. *Flora* soon outdistanced her pursuer and the captain decreased speed. The soundings resumed as they searched for the channel for two hours. All the while the drunken captain and pilot cursed each other. Frustrated, the captain ordered the ship to turn around and go back east to try again. "To the east! To the east. I must get out of this damned blockade!" he shouted at the pilot. No sooner was the ship heading east than masts appeared and a signal rocket hissed past the boat.

"To the west, full speed", the pilot yelled while the captained yelled, "North by east. Full speed." Despite the conflicting orders the helmsman turned the boat westward as the captain and pilot raced to their cabin to consult their charts or to have a couple of more swigs of liquid courage.

With an air of command, the stout Prussian strode to the cabin and got both back on deck shouting in broken English, "Gentlemen, you are not worth a charge of powder. At last we are inside the blockade, and we must absolutely stay inside it." The snarling captain returned to the bridge and kept the westward heading, once again outrunning the blockaders in the dark.

They kept traveling west until it seemed that there were sandbars everywhere. They dropped anchor and decided to wait for dawn. For anxious hours they watched for signs of the enemy. As the eastern sky lightened and the fog began to thin, a colossus near their starboard side gradually became visible in the mist. A ship? No, it was Fort Moultrie at the entrance to Charleston Harbor. As the Confederate flag was hastily raised at the stern, Fort Sumter fired a welcoming signal-shot. They had found port.[i]

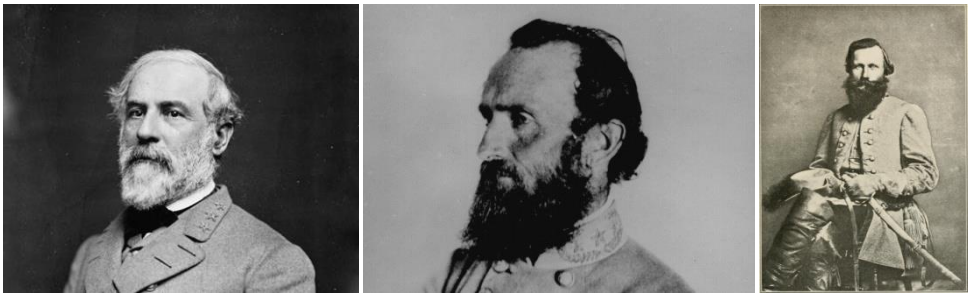
Who was this Prussian and why had he come to America? He was Captain Justus Scheibert (pictured), an engineer in the Prussian army and he had come to observe the conflict. Born in 1831 in Stettin, Pomerania, and the oldest of eleven children, he joined the Prussian Army in 1849 and moved up through the ranks after serving as an engineer officer in the forts at Glogov, Magdeburg, Silberburg and Neisse. In late 1862, he was summoned to Berlin by Prince von Radziwill, chief of the Prussian Engineer Corps. The Prince ordered him to America to observe the contesting armies and to "pay special attention to the effects of rifled cannon fire on earthen, masonry, and iron and the operation of armor on land and sea."[ii]

During the American Civil War many Europeans crossed the Atlantic to fight in, report on, or to observe the conflict. What made Scheibert so special? It was his keen eye and perceptive descriptions that he would record in his books after the war. As one historian stated: "[Scheibert was] one of the first European soldiers to understand the special characteristics of the Civil War armies … the most competent foreign authority on the Army of Northern Virginia, and …the only foreign observer to make a special study of the tactics of all three arms."[iii]

He was originally sent to observe the U.S. Army but, having strong sympathies towards the South, convinced his superiors to allow him to go south to witness the effects of operations against Fort Sumter. It was March 15, 1863, when the *Flora* docked. Thirty-one-year-old Captain Scheibert quickly dressed and by 9:00 a.m. was introduced to theater commander General P.G.T. Beauregard. The Confederate

general greeted Scheibert with friendliness and granted him permission to tour the Confederate defenses in the accompaniment of Lieutenant Colonel A.R. Chisolm. He inspected most of the city's defenses including Forts Sumter, Moultrie and Wagner.[iv] He wrote, "Although Charleston was very interesting at the time, the prospect of a siege seemed to be so far removed that I decided to get closer to the important struggles that were threatening to break out on the northern and western boundaries of the Confederacy . . ."[v] As a result he missed the opportunity to witness the effect of rifled artillery against earth, masonry and iron when on April 7th nine ironclads under Flag Officer DuPont steamed up the main channel and challenged the Charleston defenses. But he would get a second chance.

In mid-March Scheibert traveled north to Richmond by train. After meeting with officials in the War Department, he met Colonel Jeremy F. Gilmer, Chief Engineer, who lent Scheibert his horse so he could inspect the industrial sites in the capital, as well as tour the battlefields of the Seven Days campaign. He was also introduced to Secretary of War James A. Seddon, from whom he received a letter of introduction to General Robert E. Lee.[vi]



After arrival at Lee's headquarters, Scheibert met three of the Army of Northern Virginia's Most famous leaders: Robert E. Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, and J.E.B. Stuart

On March 29, he presented himself at General Lee's headquarters. Scheibert was much impressed with General Lee and felt a strong connection to him as "he had formerly been an officer of engineers, like me." Scheibert toured the Fredericksburg battlefield with Lee's staff member, Major Charles Venable. While in Venable's company at a Sunday service, the Major pointed to a man seated on a log and whispered in his ear, "Captain. That's Old Jackson!" Later, Scheibert spotted "riding into headquarters . . . a tall, stately major with a plumed hat, high boots, and big gauntlets . . ." Scheibert was delighted to be introduced to fellow Prussian, Heros von Borcke. As a result of this acquaintance, Lee sent Scheibert to General J.E.B. Stuart's headquarters near Culpeper Court House.[vii]

When Scheibert appeared at the cavalry camp the next day, the first officer on Stuart's staff to welcome him was Major von Borcke. Von Borcke had been a lieutenant in the Prussian cavalry. He stood six feet two inches tall and weighed between 250 and 280 pounds. He also possessed what was purported to be the longest and heaviest sword in the army. Von Borcke offered to share his tent with Scheibert, who described it "as a round tent with holes in it like a sieve – it was the only one of its type in the army."[viii]

Von Borcke (pictured here) introduced the Prussian observer to J.E.B. Stuart. Scheibert later recounted this meeting: "In a simple tent which also seemed to be his office, I found a young man in his thirties, with bold, flashing eyes and full beard, who looked very well in his gray jacket with the insignia of a general, in gray trousers tucked in high boots. He greeted me with frank and noble

propriety." Stuart welcomed the jolly Prussian who spoke broken English, telling him as he pointed to von Borcke, "If you have any more like him over there, send them all over here." Scheibert was treated like a member of Stuart's own staff and made him an honorary captain.[ix] Von Borcke gave him a gray coat to which he sewed a captain's insignia on the collar.

Scheibert was soon with Stuart at Lee's headquarters at Chancellorsville and became an eyewitness to the meeting between Lee and Jackson:

On the evening of May 1, 1863, Scheibert again saw Stonewall Jackson. Camped with the army's headquarters staff after the first day of fighting at Chancellorsville, he noticed Lee "peering thoughtfully into the distance, as if he were expecting someone. After some time, a thin man with a black beard, black hair, and a somewhat stooped posture dismounted. In spite of his weather-beaten countenance, this man had features more like those of a thinker than of a warrior. With an attitude of great respect, he approached the General, who shook hands with him in a manner that revealed sincere pleasure and esteem. The newcomer was the famous Stonewall Jackson."

Scheibert recalled "The silence was broken only by the shrapnel, pieces of which went over us with monotonous whirring, sending down twigs and leaves" on everyone. Soon the two Generals commenced a serious conversation" as they sat on cracker boxes around a campfire. This was about the plans for Jackson's famous flanking march around Hooker's right flank. When the conference ended, they shook hands and Jackson [mounted] and rode away. "I wonder," mused Scheibert later, "whether the friends suspected that this would be their last hand clasp."[x]

As part of the cavalry detachment leading Jackson's flank march, Scheibert witnessed the attack on May 2. The following day, he rode back alone toward the right on his way to Lee's headquarters near Hazel Grove. He stopped at a clearing when he came upon some Union soldiers. Surprised and outnumbered, he only had a dull saber and no time to deliberate. Snatching out his large sword and riding up to the Yankees, he demanded their surrender in a strong voice shouting that they were surrounded by cavalry. "Down with your weapons or you are dead men!" he shouted in bad English. The six Yankees complied. They belonged to the 6th Ohio Volunteers. After wandering around for a half hour through the Wilderness ("No more frightful place can be imagined") with his captives, Scheibert was relieved to come upon a confederate regiment and turned his prisoners over to their care. When they later heard the tale, Generals Lee and Stuart had a hearty laugh. The incident was reported in Southern papers and was reprinted in the *London Times.*[xi]

After the Confederate victory at Chancellorsville, Scheibert asked Lee how he conducted his battles. Lee replied, "I plan and work with all my might to bring the troops to the right place and at the right time. It is my generals' turn to perform their duty."[xii]

On May 10, Scheibert left for Richmond where he paid his respects to President Jefferson Davis and several cabinet members. He soon developed a severe fever and dysentery and was forced to bed for a week. On May 16 he was visited by Von Borcke. He invited him to rejoin General Stuart as an expedition of some magnitude was pending. Recovered and dismissing plans to travel to the Western theater, he rejoined the cavalry on May 21st at Culpeper, Virginia.[xiii]

Lee next decided to move north across the Mason-Dixon Line. In preparation, Stuart's cavalry were consolidated in the fields around Culpeper Court House and Brandy Station, picketing the crossings of the Rappahannock River. For the troopers it was a brief calm before the storm. Many of the cavalry officers' wives took the opportunity to visit. Social activities increased with the females nearby. In the middle of this was Justus Scheibert. With his Falstaffian size and demeanor, Scheibert "proved to be a most accomplished though somewhat eccentric gentleman to whom everyone became much attached. Awkward but ever jolly, he was a source of great amusement especially from his pronunciation and use of idiom of the English language." William W. Blackford of Stuart's staff wrote of Scheibert that "His simplicity of character and odd ways amused, as well as attracted, all who came into contact with him."[xiv]

General W.H.L. "Rooney" Lee's wife, Charlotte, had taken up residence in a house in Culpeper near Stuart's headquarters. Being introduced to Scheibert, Charlotte learned that, like her, he had an interest in art and was a skilled painter. Mrs. Lee set up a time for the captain to visit and touch up an oil painting that she had finished. As Blackford related: "Stuart and his staff were stretched out on their blankets on the grass outside enjoying the warm, spring sunshine." Scheibert, "dressed in a very short jacket and white trousers in which his fat person looked as if he had been melted and poured in, so tight was the fit," marched through the group toward Mrs. Lee's residence.

After working for some time touching up a small portrait of a female head with the moist sticky, paint the job was completed. He laid the wet canvas on a chair to dry and entered conversation. One of Scheibert's odd ways was that when he became interested in a conversation he would start up, walk about gesticulating in eagerness, and then abruptly sit down on the chair nearest him. Unfortunately for Mrs. Lee's work of art, in one of these fits of enthusiasm, the captain sat down, unnoticed by either, on the wet picture. When the time came for him to go, Mrs. Lee thanked him cordially and turned to get the picture for him to take one last critical look. Where was the picture?

"Bless my soul", said the captain, "I laid it down on one of these chairs, but I don't see it now." They looked and looked. "Oh," said Scheibert, "the wind must have blown it under the piano." He fell to the floor on his hands and knees, crawling under the piano. "Here it is," said Mrs. Lee, laughing uncontrollably, as she peeled the unfortunate canvas from Scheibert's broad posterior. Embarrassed and chagrined, Scheibert beat a hasty retreat without stopping for his hat and gloves. He bolted outside and ran across the field toward headquarters. Blackford wrote, "We saw him coming, waving his arms wildly and roaring like a bull with laughter. He threw himself on the grass, still convulsed, rolling over and over, and every time he turned that side up there was a bright picture of a lovely face on the seat of his trousers."[xv]

A similar embarrassment occurred when Scheibert accompanied staff officers on a visit to some ladies in Culpeper. While in the parlor waiting for the ladies to appear from upstairs, Scheibert seated himself at their piano and began playing one of his favorite tunes. Overly enthused, he rose to his feet and then came down heavily upon the piano stool which shattered under his weight. He fell to the floor just as the sound of the ladies' approach was heard. In terror and embarrassment, Scheibert kicked parts of the stool under the piano. Spotting a broken leg on the floor in the middle of the room, he grabbed it and quickly stood stiffly at attention with the leg concealed behind his back as the ladies appeared. Blackford and the other

officers were too convulsed with laughter to introduce him as he stood there with eyes and mouth wide open, crimson in face with sweat beading on his brow.[xvi]

Scheibert wasn't much of a horseman either and his awkwardness in the saddle was a never-ending source of amusement to the staff. He took their jokes with unfailing good humor.[xvii]

Early in June Scheibert was a witness to the Confederate cavalry reviews at Brandy Station. One participant described it as "the most imposing display of Confederate horsemen we have yet seen." He attended the various officers' balls, one of which was held outside with huge bonfires to dance by. [xviii]

At dawn of June 9, 1863, the Union cavalry splashed across the Rappahannock River Kelly's and Beverly's Fords. The largest cavalry battle on the North American continent began. According to Scheibert, a courier rushed breathlessly into headquarters and jolted Stuart and the staff awake with the cry: "Yankees in our headquarters!" The staff were instantly on their feet, dressed and outside with couriers in the saddle flying off to various commands. Scheibert accompanied Stuart towards St. James Church. When there was a lull in the fighting, Scheibert rode back towards Fleetwood Hill to retrieve his diary which he had left in his tent only to discover a quartermaster rushing toward him shouting "Yankees in our rear!" Soon Fleetwood Heights was immersed in dust clouds of swirling cavalrymen fighting hand to hand as Stuart rushed troopers to the hill. When the Yankee cavalry retreated toward the fords, Scheibert believed that his diary was lost. To his great satisfaction he discovered "Major Norman Fitz Hugh {sic}, with his characteristic cunning, had taken our baggage and Stuart's important papers through enemy lines to safety in the woods."[xix]

As Lee's army marched north toward Gettysburg, Stuart's cavalry screened their movements down the Shenandoah Valley, covering the gaps in the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east. A series of cavalry clashes occurred at Aldie, Middleburg and Upperville. Scheibert was temporarily with Longstreet's headquarters when word reached him that his friend von Borcke had been seriously wounded at Middleburg. The wounded major had been taken to the home of Stuart's Chief Surgeon Talcott Eliason in Upperville and treated by the doctor. While it was thought that he would die, the next day von Borcke seemed to be better. General Stuart promised von Borcke that if the Yankees pressed them back through Upperville, he would arrange for his removal to safety. Stuart sent for Scheibert to fetch von Borcke. As the sounds of gunfire drew nearer, the worried von Borcke was relieved when "to my great joy, my Prussian friend, Captain Scheibert, entered my room." He had brought General Longstreet's private ambulance and von Borcke "was carried by my friends to the ambulance in the midst of shells in the street and crashing through the house tops."[xx]

With von Borcke in the ambulance, Scheibert and von Borcke's servant, Henry, rode behind as they set off for safety. With Yankee horsemen in view, von Borcke watched in amusement as Scheibert tended to a mule reluctant to move. The captain was thrashing the mule's hindquarters with the flat of his sword while Henry was in front pulling on the reins. The mule was kicking and plunging while Scheibert was yelling at Henry that he was doing more harm than good. The mule eventually was controlled and off they went at speed. Two miles further on and out of sight of the Yankees, Scheibert brought the ambulance to 'Bollingbrook', the estate of Mr. Robert D. Bolling. Von Borcke was carried into a downstairs room. Despite Yankee troopers enthusiastically looking for him, having mistaken him for Stuart, he wasn't discovered. Days later he was moved further south to recover, but his wounds would end his days of campaigning.[xxi]

On the march to Gettysburg, Scheibert accompanied Longstreet's Corps. Joining him in Winchester on Monday, June 22, were two Englishmen – correspondent Francis Lawley and military observer Colonel Arthur Fremantle. All three found a friendly reception within Longstreet's headquarters. Scheibert

became familiar with Longstreet, Hood, and A.P. Hill on the march and at Lee's headquarters during the battle. On July 2, he shared a large oak tree on Seminary Ridge with Arthur Fremantle, who later wrote: "I climbed up a tree with Captain Schreibert [sic] of the Prussian army. Just below us were seated General Lee, Hill, Longstreet and Hood in consultation – the two latter assisting their deliberations by the truly American custom of whittling sticks. General Heth was also present; he was wounded in the head yesterday . . ." On July 3rd Fremantle rode to Longstreet's command south on Seminary Ridge while Scheibert maintained his vantage point in the tree. He wrote: "From here the battlefield lay before us like a panorama . . . I did not move a step from the tree, from where I frequently had to report what I saw." The tree afforded a clear view of the cannonade, where "I could see from my perch the effect of every single shot." He had a balcony seat to watch the failed Picket/Pettigrew assault, noting "The lines were mowed down, and the brave men were laid low by the thousands." As the remnants of the charge streamed back towards Seminary Ridge, Scheibert witnessed "General Lee in full grandeur, despite the unsuccessful attack. He was calm as usual, and he consoled in his solid and affable manner, those who were coming despondently down the hill."[xxii]

Scheibert accompanied Lee's headquarters staff on their retreat to the Potomac River. On July 10, due to his engineering skills, Lee asked Scheibert to help his men rebuild the pontoon bridge across the Potomac. On the night that General Lee's army re-crossed the Potomac River to safety, Scheibert was near the Confederate commander at the crossing. He noted that Lee "stood here with us through the night to regulate and enliven the march, to keep all in high spirits and on track." When Scheibert "express[ed] frankly my admiration for the lion-like bravery of his men," Lee responded, "Give me also Prussian discipline and Prussian forms and you would see quite different results."[xxiii]

Once Lee's army was safely across the Potomac River, Scheibert took his leave and traveled to Richmond. His plans were to return to Charleston. A farewell dinner with the recovering Heros von Borcke, the English Captain Fitzgerald Ross, Lawley, and the French consul in Richmond was held at Madam Zitelli's.[xxiv]

He revisited Secretary Seddon in the War Department as well as Judah P. Benjamin, the current Secretary of War. Most interesting to Scheibert was his visit to the Confederate White House for an interview with President Jefferson Davis. He was greeted warmly by Davis who questioned him about the battle of Gettysburg. The conversation turned to Vicksburg and more specifically the destruction of Davis' plantation and extensive library. Davis then asked Scheibert, if upon returning to Europe, he could seek an audience with Emperor Napoleon of France on behalf of the Confederacy. Davis explained, "If the emperor will free me from the blockade, and he will be able to do that with a stroke of a pen, I guarantee him possession of Mexico."[xxv] Scheibert promised Davis that he would do all within his power to help.

Thursday morning August 8, Captain Scheibert accompanied by Captain Ross, boarded the 5:00 a.m. train bound for Charleston. In the city, he and Ross lodged at the Mills House, and he fell in with Frank Vizetelly, who was staying at the Charleston Hotel. Scheibert "reported to General Beauregard and to Colonel David B. Harris, Chief of Engineers, who granted him access to the offices and maps" and forts.[xxvi]

Many things had changed since his last visit. The Federals were now on the James and Morris Island and many of Charleston's houses were riddled with shells. Half the city was vacant. Federal General Quincy Gilmore, supported by Admiral John Dahlgren's fleet, was determined to bombard the city and its forts into submission. Scheibert got a bird's-eye view of all the action from Fort Johnson. For the next nine days he watched the seemingly unending bombardment of Forts Sumter and Batteries Wagner and Gregg. He witnessed the effect of the large Union shells from the batteries and monitors on the masonry walls of

Fort Sumter, turning parts into rubble and disabling all of its guns except one. Batteries Wagner and Gregg were evacuated on September 6. And on September 9 the Union army tried to overwhelm Fort Sumter with a small boat attack at night that failed[xxvii].

Scheibert watched the effects and concluded: "1. Masonry is a poor defensive material.2. Earth is still the best material for breastworks.3. Even ironclad vessels play only a secondary role against land fortifications. 4. Torpedoes are mainly a psychological weapon, since no enemy vessel dared enter the harbor . . . They were important in rivers."[xxviii]

When in the city at the Mills House he experience shelling from the "Swamp Angel" on James Island. General Gilmore had received word that the marsh battery had been completed and sent a message to Beauregard at 10:45pm to surrender or the city would be fired upon. Beauregard was away inspecting fortifications so did not have a chance to respond. Impatient, Gilmore ordered the Swamp Angel to commence firing. At 1:30 a.m., August 22, incendiary shells-"Greek Fire"- were fired and parts of the city were in flames.

"One night Ross came into my room," recorded Scheibert, "and said, 'The city is being bombarded. A bomb-shell must have fallen in our section!'" From the window they soon saw Vizetelly approach and the three met in Mills House bar. Vizetelly described the scene at his hotel. He said a bomb had struck his hotel. Coming out of his room he found the hallways "filled with terrified patrons who were rushing about in the scantiest costumes. One perspiring individual of portly dimensions was trotting to and fro with one boot on and the other in his hand, and this was all the dress he could boast of." Whenever another shell exploded the entire crowd went down on their faces, every man of them in tobacco juice and cigar ends and clattering among the spittoons." The three "spent the rest of the evening making bets where the next shell would land." Ross described the game in his memoir: "We could hear the whiz of the shells before they passed over our heads, and I bet the Englishman [Vizetelly] a thousand to one that the next shell would not hit us. He took the odds, forgetting that if he won he would be unable to collect his wager, and of course I won my dollar."[xxix]

After seven months, Captain Scheibert decided it was time to return home. In mid-September he traveled to Wilmington to get a space on a blockade runner. He paid the captain of the *A.D. Vance* one hundred and fifty dollars in gold to secure his passage to Bermuda. While he waited for a new moon and favorable tide, he called upon General W.H.C. Whiting and with his permission was escorted by Colonel William Lamb to inspect the fortifications. There he inspected Fort Caswell, an iron fort covered by five feet of earth. He found "this method seems to me fully worthy of imitation in war.[xxx]

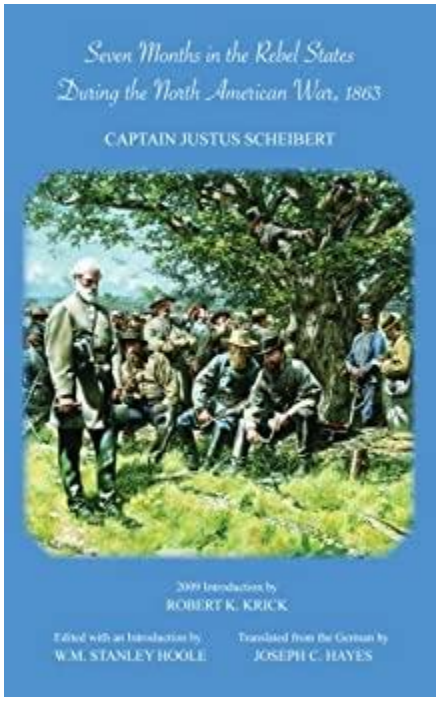
On the day of his departure as he leisurely rode into Wilmington, he was surprised when he saw that the *A.D. Vance* had her steam up and was about to weigh anchor well ahead of her announced departure time. Scheibert ran quickly aboard and confronted the captain. Embarrassed, Captain Crossan, a former naval officer, confessed that he would have liked to leave without passengers, since they were unpleasant, an additional burden, and that they would be in the way as he determined that he would resist with force any boarding of his vessel. Despite this he did allow Scheibert to retrieve his luggage. Word must have spread quickly, because by the time he again boarded, all twelve passengers who had paid for passage were on board. The swift paddle wheeler made it to the mouth of the Cape Fear River only to be told by the pilot that the bar was too shallow and they would have to wait a week in view of the blockaders for favorable tide.[xxxi]

Finally the pilot gave the word that it needed to be tried. With the cargo shifted and the moon setting, *A.D. Vance* opened the throttle with the wheels slashing madly at the waves. As she tried to force her way

over she floundered on the sand. She back peddled and tried two more times before she made it over the bar and into the ocean, through the blockaders and on safely to Bermuda.[xxxii]

From Bermuda, Scheibert took another ship to Halifax, Nova Scotia and there boarded the steamer *Europa* for the Continent. One of his companions on the voyage was "Prince de Joinville, an inoffensive, pleasant young man, who played shuffleboard most enthusiastically . . ." Upon his arrival in Europe, Scheibert hastened to Paris hoping to deliver Jefferson Davis' proposition to the French monarch. Before he could gain an audience, he was recalled to Prussia[xxxiii]

Justus Scheibert stayed in America for only seven months but experienced a lifetime of adventure. He returned to Prussia a confirmed Confederate and admirer of Lee. He authored two accounts of his experiences and observations – one for his superiors and the other for popular consumption. In 1866 he participated in the Austro-Prussian War, where Helmuth von Moltke used Lee's principles to devastating effect, despite Moltke's opinion that: "The U.S. Civil War was an affair in which two armed mobs chased each other around the country and for which no lessons could be learned." Scheibert also fought in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and remained in the army eight more years before resigning his commission as major. Retiring to Berlin, he wrote about and gave lectures on his military experiences and military theory. He died on May 10, 1895, at the age of seventy-two and is buried in Berlin.[xxxiv]



First published in an English translation in 1958, Scheibert's memoir, *Seven Months in the Rebel States During the North American War, 1863,* is often quoted but little remembered. Unquestionably, he saw more combat than any other observer in the Civil War. Historian Gary Gallagher states, it "abounds with perceptive biographical detail about Lee and a number of his subordinates (as well as about Jefferson Davis). In this regard Capt. Scheibert belongs alongside Lt. Col. Arthur James Lyon Fremantle . . . as a chronicler of the Army of Northern Virginia and its high command." Finally, historian Robert K. Krick

believed that the intimate tone and encounters "at the highest levels of the Army of Northern Virginia make Justus Scheibert's narrative a major source on Lee and his army."[xxxv]

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[i] Scheibert, Justus, *Seven Months in the Rebel States during the North American War, 1863*, translated by Joseph C. Hayes and ed. W. Stanley Hoole, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, The University of Alabama Press, 2009. Pp25-28. The *Flora* was twin screw Clyde steamer. It was painted greenish-white, was of light draft and could make 14 knots. It was said to be the fastest running steamer. It also had a self-condenser to minimize smoke. ORN. Series I, 9:153. Clark, Michael, *Alexander Collie: The Ups and Downs of Trading with the Confederacy, The Northern Mariner XIX, No.2,* April 2009, pp. 125-140. The ship was named after Alexander Collie's wife, Irish born Flora Jane Macneill. www.cnrs-scrn.org.tnm_19_125_148. For more information on the *Flora* see Wise, Stephen R., *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War*, Columbia, S.C., University of South Carolina Press, 1998. P.299

[ii] Scheibert, Justus, *A Prussian Observes the American Civil War*, ed. Frederic Trautman, University of Missouri Press

[iii] Luvass, Jay, *"A Prussian Observer with Lee", Military Affairs Magazine*, XXI, No.3, Autumn, 1957. Pp 113-116.

[iv] Scheibert, *Seven Months*. p. 28.

[v] Scheibert, *Seven Months*. P. 30.

[vi] Ibid. pp. 32-33. Jeremy Francis Gilmer, b. 23 Feb. 1818 in N.C. West Point class of 1839. Head of Bureau of Engineers in the Confederate War Department. D. 1 Dec. 1883.

[vii] Ibid. pp.ii, 39, 41. Heros von Borcke was born in Prussia in1835, arrived through the blockade in May, 1862 and shortly after joined Stuart's staff. Charles Scott Venable, (March 19, 1827-August 11, 1900) mathematician, astronomer, officer. Was teaching at University of Charleston when Ft. Sumter was fired on and surrendered. He joined R.E. Lee's staff as major June 1, 1862. Later promoted Lt. Col. Traveled to Europe after war where he was invited to the castle of Heros von Borcke.

[viii] Scheibert, *Seven Months*, p ii. Wert, Jeffery D., *Cavalryman of the Lost Cause: A Biography of JEB Stuart*, New York & London, Simon & Schuster, 2008. Pp 103, 211

[ix] Scheibert, *Seven Months*, pp 39-40. Wert, *Cavalryman of the Lost Cause*, pp. 103,211

[x] Gallagher, Gary, https://www.civilwarmonitor.com/blog/voices-from-the-army-of-northern-virgonia-part3. March 29, 2022. Scheibert, *Seven Months*, p. 61

[xi] Ibid. pp. 69-70.

[xii] Scheibert, *Seven Months*, fn.22, p. 75

[xiii] Ibid. pp. 85-86.

[xiv] Blackford, W.W., *War Years with JEB Stuart*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945. P. 206

[xv] Ibid. pp. 206-207

[xvi] Ibid. 206-207

[xvii] Ibid. 208

[xviii] Beale, Richard Lee Tuberville, *History of the Ninth Virginia Cavalry in the War Between the States*, Richmond, Virginia, B.F. Johnson Publishing Company, 1899. P.67

[xix] Scheibert, *Seven Months*, pp.87-93.

[xx] Von Borcke, Heros, *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence*, Nashville, Tennessee, J.S. Sanders & Company, 1999. pp. 432-434

[xxi] Ibid. pp. 434-437. O'Neill, Robert F. Jr., *The Cavalry Battles of Aldie, Middleburg, and Upperville, June 10-27*, 1863, Lynchburg, Virginia, H.E. Howard Inc., 1993. P.147

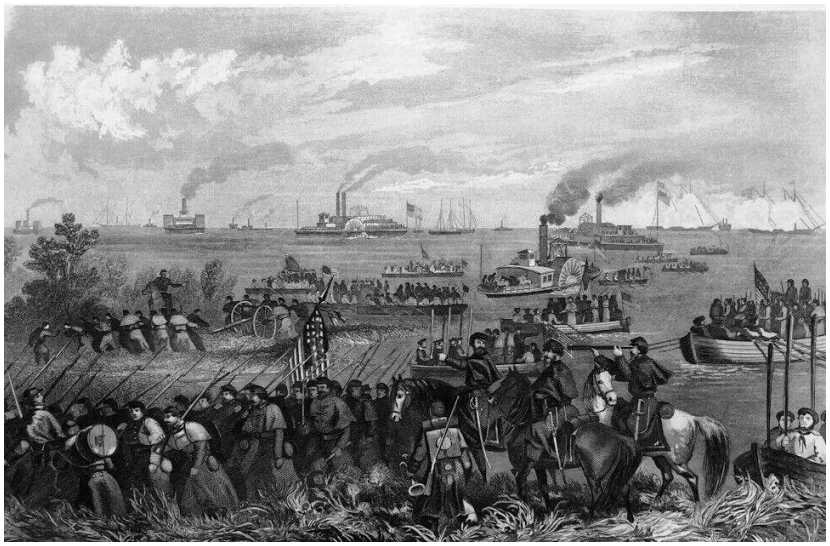
[xxii] Gallagher, Gary. https://www.civilwarmonitor.com/blog/voices-from-the-army-of-norhern-virginia-part3. 3/29/2022. Fremantle, Arthur J.L., *Three Months in the Southern States*, Edinburg and London, William Blackwood and Sons, 1863Time-Life Books Reprint1984. p. 263. Scheibert, Seven Months, p.112-116.

[xxiii] Guelzo, Allen C., *Robert E. Lee: A Life*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2021. Pp 231, 237, 275, 305.

[xxiv] Scheibert, *Seven Months*, p.125. Captain Fitzgerald Ross was a military observer from Austria and commissioned in the Imperial Austrian Hussars.

[xxv] Scheibert, *Seven Months*, p.12

[xxvi] Ibid. p.132 Wise, Stephen R., *Gate of Hell: Campaign for Charleston Harbor, 1863*. Columbia, South Carolina, University of South Carolina Press, 1994. pp170.
[xxvii] Scheibert, *Three months*, p132-137. Wise, Gate of Hell, pp.154-179.
[xxviii] Scheibert, *Three Months*, p.140
[xxix] Hoole, W. Stanley, *Vizetelly Covers the Confederacy*, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Confederate Publishing Co., 1957. Pp.93-99. Wise, *Gate of Hell*, p.170. Ross, Fitzgerald, *A Visit to the Cities and Camps of the Confederate States*, London, 1865. Pp118-120.
[xxx] Scheibert, *Seven Months*, p147. William Henry Chase Whiting, b. 22 Mar 1824, d. 10 Mar 1865. West Point class 1845, highest scholastic record ever attained by a cadet up until that time. Wounded twice at the Battle for Ft. Fisher. Col. William Lamb, b. 1835, d. 1909. Wounded and captured commanding Fort Fisher.
[xxxi] Ibid,p.147-148 Scheibert records the ship's name as *A.D. Vance* whereas most sources have *Advance* as the name of the ship and this is how her name appeared on her register and port records.The ship was purchased in England by Captain Thomas M. Crossen under the direction of Governor Zebulon Vance for the State of North Carolina. She was originally named *Lord* Clyde – "a long-legged steamer", iron-hulled, sidewheeler, 236'x26'x10', capable of making 17 knots. On her maiden voyage she successfully avoided the Federal fleet and entered the Cape Fear River on June 26, 1863. With Crossen at the helm she would successfully run the blockade 18 times before the vessel was captured by the *Santiago de Cuba* in summer 1864. Thomas M. Crossen was previously a lieutenant in the United States Navy until he joined the North Carolina Navy commanding the *Winslow* and operating out of Hatteras, N.C. capturing Yankee merchant ships. In one six week period he captured 16 prizes. Barrett, John G., *The Civil War in North Carolina*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1963, S>R. Mallory to Z.B. Vance, Jan 28, 1865, *Vance Papers*, NCDAH. https://civilwartalk.com/threads/notable-blockade-runner-captains.78616. For more on the *Advance* see Wise, Stephen R., *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War*, Columbia, S.C., University of South Carolina Press,1988. pp. 199-200, 286.
[xxxii] Ibid. 149-150.
[xxxiii] Ibid. pp, 154, 13
[xxxiv] https://gettysburgcompiler.org. Nadeau, Ryan, "*Justus Scheibert and International Observations of the Civil War".*
[xxxv] Gallagher, Gary, Series Editor Introduction, Scheibert, *Seven Months*, 2009. Scheibert, Seven Months, Krick, Robert K., introduction, 2009.



Brigadier General Ambrose Burnside makes a successful landing and captures Roanoke Island, NC, February 7 and 8, 1862.

Civil War Tokens

By Patty Zinn

In my last article, I wrote about Trimes – the small, silver or nickel 3c pieces, minted 1851 – 1889. Typical of war time, metal began to be hoarded, thus the reason the mint moved from the silver Trime (minted 1851 – 1873) to the nickel – people were hoarding gold and silver.

Also, as I shared before, during the Civil War, the Large Cent gave way to the Small Cent (1856 – Date). As in any wartime, prices increased and copper increased to an unsustainable level for minting the Large Cent. By 1857, the U.S. Mint's costs for manufacturing and distributing its large cents had risen so high that the Mint Director declared that copper coins "barely paid expenses".[1] Thus, the move to the Small Cent (see pictures below, actual size).

We all remember the coinage shortage during the recent pandemic. After the outbreak of the Civil War, people began hoarding federal coinage, causing a shortage of coins in commerce.[2] Private mints stepped in, creating Civil War tokens, the nation's only small-change spending money during much of the war.

[1] MEGA RED-A Guide Book of United States Coins, 8th Edition, Deluxe Edition, page 251

[2] A Guide Book of Civil War Tokens, page iv.

Civil War tokens were struck from 1861 – 1865, with the majority being minted in 1863. There were two primary types: Patriotic Civil War tokens and Civil War Store Cards.

Patriotic Civil War tokens typically depict items from the war, events or sentiments, such as "Army & Navy" or "Our Navy," with the reverse stating "NOT ONE CENT" to evade counterfeiting laws.

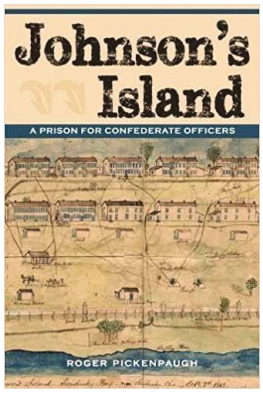
Civil War Store Cards were a series of tokens issued from approximately 1500 different merchants, doing business in a variety of states. Typically, the merchant put their name on the token. Some research finds more about each merchant. For instance, below is 1863 Smick's Neptune House in Atlantic City:

Another is C. Doscher, a Grocer and Liqour Sales company from Washington St., NY:

As these token producers interchanged multiple obverse sides with different reverse sides, a very interesting identifying system arose: obverse number/reverse number. For instance, the Patriotic Crossed Canons token would be identified as 163/352a., designed by Scovill Mfg. Company.

This is a fascinating part of numismatics – many tokens are very affordable and accessible. Building a varied collection of Patriotic and Store Cards is attainable and replete with history.

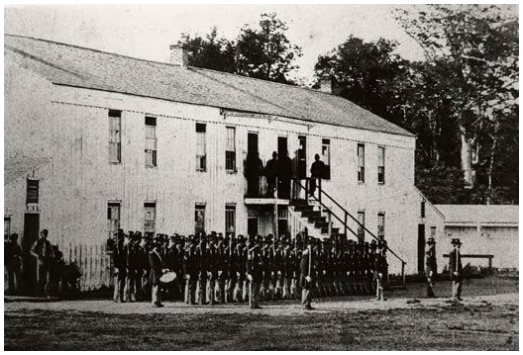
BOOK REVIEW



Roger Pickenpaugh, *Johnson's Island: A Prison for Confederate Officers*. The Kent State University Press: Kent, OH, 2016.

When Lt. Colonel William Hoffman became the U.S. Commissary of Prisoners in 1861, he was tasked with the job of locating an island on Lake Erie that would be suitable for a prison for captured Confederate military personnel. At the time, it was believed the facility would be the only POW camp needed by the Union, so Lake Erie was picked as a location in the extreme North that could provide the most security against escapes and raids, and, at the same time, would still be convenient for transportation of POWs from battlefields in the South. Hoffman looked at several islands near Sandusky, Ohio, before he settled on Johnson's Island in Sandusky Bay. The three-hundred-acre island offered several advantages. Forty acres were already cleared and ready for construction. The island was well-timbered and offered raw materials for construction of a large stockade and buildings for the post and heating fuel. It was far enough away from the Lake's Canadian islands to discourage escape attempts. Unlike other nearby islands, there were no vineyards or distilleries on the island to provide temptation to thirsty Union guards. The city of Sandusky, moreover, was in close proximity making it unnecessary to build large warehouses on the island for supplies, and the city provided easy access to transportation facilities for incoming loads of POWs. By the Spring of 1862, Johnson's Island prison was born.

Pickenpaugh's book is a short (123 pages including notes, bibliography, and index), well-written history of the prison. Originally designed to hold about 1200 prisoners, General Grant's capture of Fort Donelson soon demonstrated that the facility was too small for its intended purpose. It was evident that other POW depots were needed throughout the North. Eventually, the War Department determined to use the Johnson's Island facility as a prison solely for Confederate officers. Relying on official records and a host of first-hand accounts, Pickenpaugh does a great job in painting a picture of the challenges that Johnson's Island presented both its prisoners and their guards. In addition, he has much to say about the history of Northern military prisons in general.



Co. C, 128th OVI, originally part of the Hoffman Battalion,
Guards at Johnson's Island, the Battalion was increased to
Full strength and designated the 128th OVI.

The book's bibliography includes a strong list of primary and secondary research resources. Among the various works consulted by Pickenpaugh are such classic studies as William Best Hesseltine's *Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology*; a Kent State University Press publication edited by Professor Hesseltine titled *Civil War Prisons*; and Michael P. Gray's *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and Its Civil War Prison.* Primary sources used were several POW diaries, including the published journal of Lorain County, Ohio, native, Edmund Dewitt Patterson, who moved to Alabama shortly before the war and was made an inmate on Johnson's Island after being captured as an Alabama officer at the Battle of Gettysburg.

Pickenpaugh's previous books include *Captives in Gray: The Civil War Prisons of the Union* (University of Alabama Press, 2009). The present volume on Johnson's Island along with his earlier book makes a great place to start reading about the topic of POWs in the North during the Civil War.

--Kent Fonner

Answers to Civil War field artillery quiz (left to right): 10 pounder Parrot Rifle, 3 inch Ordnance Rifle, 12 pounder Napoleon (smooth bore), and 6 pounder field gun (smooth bore)