

THE CHARGER



The Cleveland Civil War Roundtable

January 2024

Vol. 48, No. 6

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MODERATOR –
Judge William F. B.
Vodrey, Past President
of CCWRT

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

For reservations email:

ccwrtreserve@gmail.com. To ensure a dinner is
reserved for you, the reservation must be made
by Tuesday, January 3, 2024

Website:

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MEETING – January 10, 2024

PROGRAM – The Annual Dick Crews
Memorial Debate: “Was Meade Aggressive
Enough in Chasing Lee After Gettysburg?”

Like us on Facebook!

President's Message

Fellow Roundtable Members:

I hope everyone had a happy holiday and wish all of you the best in the new year. We had an excellent meeting in December with a delicious prime rib buffet dinner followed by an outstanding presentation by Judge Vodrey on Salmon P. Chase. It was a great way to start the holidays.

This month marks the 67th anniversary of the first meeting of the Cleveland Civil War Roundtable. We will celebrate it with the Annual Dick Crews Memorial Debate, once again moderated by Judge Vodrey. The debate topic is "Was Meade aggressive enough in chasing Lee after Gettysburg?". Our debaters and their positions are as follows:

Bill Toler:	Defending Meade
Chris Howard:	Defending Meade
Steve Pettyjohn:	Critical of Meade
Gary Taylor:	Critical of Meade

Our social hour slide show this month will be a history of the debate. 2024 is the 28th scheduled "Great Debate" with one of those being cancelled due to 9/11. The first debate was held in January 1995 when Norty London was president of the Roundtable and has been scheduled every year since except for two years. Twenty-one members debated in more than one debate. We've had four members debate in four different debates, including the debate's namesake, Dick Crews, and the grand champion debater who has participated in five debates is... Come to the meeting to find out.

This also marks William Vodrey's twentieth year as the moderator of the

debate. Come celebrate this milestone with William.

Next month's speaker will be longtime member Dr. Michael Dory whose topic will be "The 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment after the Battle of Fort Wagner".

I look forward to seeing all of you at the meeting on January 10th.

Thanks,

Bob Pence



Retreat from Gettysburg

The Annual Dick Crews Memorial Debate

January 10, 2024

Topic: "Was Meade Aggressive Enough in
Chasing Lee after Gettysburg?"

Moderator: Judge William Vodrey

Debaters: Bill Toler – Defending Meade
Chris Howard – Defending Meade
Steve Pettyjohn – Critical of Meade
Gary Taylor – Critical of Meade

The Winner receives fabulous prizes!

The Editor's Desk



MAPS—even in this modern age of GPS, don't leave home without one! In the summer of 2022, Patty Zinn and I made a trip to Logan County, WV, to search for a couple of Zinn family cemeteries. After much driving on back-country roads, we found one cemetery on top of a lonely ridge next to a wood-frame, white, country Baptist Church. There were several Zinns buried in the cemetery, but not a particular ancestor we were searching for. A phone number posted on the gate soon got us in touch with the caretaker who happened to be a distant Zinn cousin and who lived a few hundred yards down the mountain below the church and cemetery we had first located. He told us the second cemetery we were seeking was probably the Baptist cemetery near Oxford. The church had burned down years before, but the cemetery still stood in the middle of a cow pasture on the hill above the village. How do we get there? Well, go back up to the top of the ridge, turn left, follow the road (it will be blacktop for a piece, then gravel, then blacktop again). Just keep our eyes open for an abandoned trailer . . . the cemetery is in the field behind the trailer. Sounded simple enough but

Past Presidents Cleveland Civil War Roundtable

1957	Kenneth Grant	1991	Joe Tirpak
1958	George Farr, Jr.	1992	Bob Baucher
1959	John Cullen, Jr.	1993	Kevin Callahan
1960	Howard Preston	1994	Robert E. Battisti
1961	Charles Clarke	1995	Norton London
1962	Edward Downer	1996	John Sutula
1963	Paul Guenther	1997	Dan Zeiser
1964	Gur DiCarlo	1998	John Moore
1965	Lester L. Swift	1999	Dick Crews
1966	Donald Hamill	2000	Bob Boyda
1967	William Schlesinger	2001	William Vodrey
1968	Frank Moran	2002	Bill McGrath
1969	Donald Heckerman	2003	Maynard Bauer
1970	Frank Schuhle	2004	Warren McClelland
1971	Kenneth Callahan	2005	Mel Mauer
1972	Bernard Drews	2006	Dave Carrino
1973	Arthur Jordan	2007	John Fazio
1974	Nolan Heidelbaugh	2008	Terry Koozer
1975	Thomas Gretter	2009	Jon Thompson
1976	Milton Holmes	2010	Dennis Keating
1977	James Chapman	2011	Lisa Kempfer
1978	Richard McCree	2012	Paul Burkholder
1979	William Bates	2013	Michael Wells
1980	Charles Spiegle	2014	Jim Heflich
1981	Thomas Geschke	2015	Patrick Bray
1982	John Harkness	2016	Chris Fortunato
1983	William Victory	2017	Jean Rhodes
1984	Neil Evans	2018	Hans Kuenzi
1985	Brian Kowell	2019	Dan Ursu
1986	Tim Beatty	2020	C. Ellen Connally
1987	George Vourojanis	2021	Steve Pettyjohn
1988	Martin Graham	2022	Mark Porter
1989	Neil Glaser	2023	Lily Korte
1990	Ken Callahan, Jr.	2024	Bob Pence

imagine how many abandoned trailers we saw on a lonely stretch of WV mountain-country road. We eventually came to an intersection with a Methodist Church, an abandoned post office, a couple of houses, and (YES) an abandoned trailer sitting on the hillside with a fenced area behind that, through the tall grass and brush, looked like

a cemetery. Needless to say, there were no Zinns buried there, but we did find a grass and mud cow track leading to a gas well which bore a sign, “Zinn Road.” Not having the right vehicle for a further drive down rutted, unmaintained farm lanes, we decided to leave “Zinn Road” for another day’s adventure. As we took our leave of the village of Oxford, however, we found that our cell phones had no service, no access to the internet, and no GPS! Of course, we didn’t have a physical map either. Who needs one in the 21st Century? WE DID! Observing that one road at the intersection had painted lines, we decided that way must eventually lead to civilization. The story of our adventure down that road can wait for another day. To make a long story short, it was miles before we found any cell phone coverage.

This long introduction is made simply to recommend to all our CCWRT members that an important step in preparing for the September field trip to Gettysburg is to arm yourself with a good map and/or set of maps of the battlefield. Accordingly, I have three books I think you should consider bringing with you in September. Of the three, by far, the first book is the best. Bradley M. Gottfried, author of *Brigades of Gettysburg* and *The Artillery of Gettysburg*, did a great service for Civil War scholars when he published *The Maps of Gettysburg: An Atlas of the Gettysburg Campaign, June 3-July 13, 1863* (New York: Savis Beatie LLC, 2010). The book charts the campaign day by day, and, for the three days of battle, generally hour-by-hour. Most maps show movement and combat at the brigade and regimental level. The edition I have in my library is a “revised full color edition” and the maps are truly works of art. At 363 pages, including commentary on each map, a bibliography,

and an index, Gottfried’s book is everything you need to understand Gettysburg in detail.

A classic cartographical study of the Gettysburg Campaign, and one that I was introduced to in college, is found in Brigadier General Vincent J. Esposito’s *The West Point Atlas of American Wars*, Vol. I (1689-1900) (revised and updated, published New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1995). Esposito’s work was used as a textbook at West Point for decades. The maps are easy to follow (CSA troops marked in red, Union troops marked in blue) and provide good overviews of the action. Esposito also includes a page or so of commentary on each map and a recommended reading list. Since the atlas covers more than just the battle of Gettysburg, however, it does not have the same detail as Gottfried’s book. Some maps are at Corps level, and many are at Division level. Still, Esposito provides a very reliable study of the ground and the overall combat.

Finally, I have found Time-Life’s *Echoes of Glory: Illustrated Atlas of the Civil War* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1998) to be a good general atlas of the battles, including its section on Gettysburg. The maps include commentary, but also are surrounded by various period photos and paintings of the action. It is a great tool for someone less interested in the minute details of Gettysburg, but who simply wants an easy way to orient himself/herself on the ground.

Any one of these books will help you prepare for the trip. Most importantly, however, as our trip to West Virginia demonstrated, remember to include a map of Gettysburg—don’t leave home without it!

CIVIL WAR ROOTS



*Union Troops enter Richmond, including
One of the Beck brothers.*

The Beck Brothers in the Civil War

Submitted by Dennis Keating

My mother Dorothy Beck's side of our family lived in Greensburg, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania (east of Pittsburgh). At time of the Civil War, there were seven children: of the five brothers, William and John both served in the Pennsylvania Volunteers.

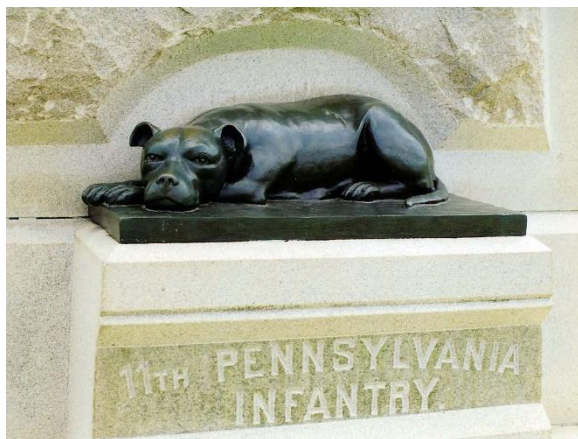
William was born in 1835 and served in Company H of the 168th Pennsylvania. The militia regiment was drafted in the Fall of 1862. It was stationed in Fortress Monroe, Newport News, Suffolk, Virginia, and New Bern, North Carolina. While due to be mustered out in June 1863, its members volunteered to stay on in the face of Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania. The regiment was sent to Harper's Ferry, July 7 through 9, after the battle of Gettysburg and then joined the Army of the Potomac at Boonesborough, Maryland, July 11, 1863. Shortly afterwards, Lee led the Army of Northern Virginia back across the Potomac River, ending the campaign. The 168th Pennsylvania was mustered out in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on July 24, 1863. William died in 1913.

John was born in 1842. He served in Company E of the 206th Pennsylvania in the Army of the James. He enlisted on August 25, 1864. At Bermuda Hundred outside Richmond, the regiment was attached to the 3rd Brigade, 1st Division, 10th Corps and then the 24th Corps. After the Petersburg breakthrough of April 2, 1865, and the Confederate evacuation of Richmond, the 206th Pennsylvania entered the Confederate capitol on April 3 along with the 25th Corps commanded by Ohioan General Godfrey Weitzel, where it was assigned to Provost duty. John served on guard duty at the city jail. In a May 5, 1865 letter to his brother David, John wrote that he is: "garding the Sity Gale we have 5 in the sells to gard for Steeling Horses." As described by Richard Duggan, the city of Richmond was in terrible condition after much of the city burned following the Confederate withdrawal. It was inundated with returning Confederate soldiers, food was in short supply, especially for the poor, and there was considerable lawlessness confronting the occupying Union troops. After serving in Richmond and then elsewhere, the regiment was mustered out on June 26, 1865. John died in 1891.

As far as I can tell, neither regiment saw combat. In contrast, two companies of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Reserves Infantry also came from Westmoreland County: Company H (the Westmoreland Guards) and Company I (the Washington Blues). It participated in McClellan's Peninsula campaign, suffering heavy casualties at the battle of Gaines' Mill in June, 1862, where hundreds were captured and imprisoned. It fought at the battles of South Mountain, Antietam, Second Manassas, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg. In Grant's Overland campaign, it fought at the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House, ending its Civil War service at Bethesda

Church before being mustered out on June 3, 1864. During its three years, 1,179 served in the regiment, with 196 dying in combat and 113 dying from disease.

In addition, one company of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry came from Greensburg. It became known as “the Bloody Eleventh.”. Initially a 3-month regiment, it became a 3-year regiment in August, 1861. In 1862, it served in General Irvin McDowell’s Corps and fought in the battles of Cedar Mountain and Second Bull Run. The reconstituted regiment then became part of the 1st Corps of the Army of the Potomac and fought at Turner’s Gap at the battle of South Mountain. At the battle of Antietam in the West Woods, it suffered 27 killed, 89 wounded, and 2 captured. It fought at the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. It then became part of the 5th Corps after the army was re-organized. It fought in Grant’s Overland campaign, the siege of Petersburg, and the Appomattox campaign. Overall, of a total of 1,800 men during the war, it lost 12 officers killed and mortally wounded, 224 enlisted men killed and wounded – and one dog killed, and 4 officers and 177 enlisted men dead from disease.



Sally Ann Jarrett

Its mascot was Sallie Ann Jarrett, a brindle, bullterrier. At Gettysburg, after the first day,

she lay down with the dead of the regiment, was found on July 4th, and nursed back to health. She was mortally wounded at the battle of Hatcher’s Run in February 1865. In 1890, when the memorial of the 11th Pennsylvania was dedicated on Oak Ridge in the Gettysburg Military Park, her bronze image sat at the bottom of the monument.

Two members of the regiment were awarded the Medal of Honor for capturing Confederate colors at the battles of Globe Tavern and Five Forks. The regiment was the oldest Pennsylvania unit in continuous service during the war.

During the Civil War, Pennsylvania raised 215 infantry regiments plus militia units. 360,000 from Pennsylvania served in the Union armed forces, a number second only to those from New York state. As this account shows, Westmoreland County provided many troops to Pennsylvania’s contribution to the Union army, including my two ancestors.

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When One Is Greater Than 620,000

by David A. Carrino

Everyone who labored through grade school arithmetic is familiar with the mathematical signs for greater than ($>$) and less than ($<$). Students are required to do many simple arithmetic problems just to drill into them what each of those signs means. If students were presented with the equation " $1 _ 620,000$ " and asked to fill in the blank with the correct mathematical sign, they would have to give " $<$ " as the answer in order to be given credit for responding correctly. But in one circumstance, the equation " $1 > 620,000$ " is correct, and that circumstance is hauntingly described in a poem and in a story based on the Civil War.

The total number of Civil War dead will never be known with certainty. The American Battlefield Trust puts this number at 620,000. For those who lived in America during the war, the immense number of deaths was so horrific and mind-numbing as to be incomprehensible. When such a huge number are dying, people can become so inured to death that the loss of one more person can seem of no great matter, to the point that an after-action report indicating a small number of deaths sounds pleasant. But as terrible as the enormous number of deaths was,

a single death was more painful when that death was a loved one. This reality was poignantly expressed in two items that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* during the Civil War. One of these was a poem that appeared in the November 30, 1861, issue, and the other was a short fictional story that appeared in the May 24, 1862 issue. The poem and the story describe two different situations when 1 is greater than 620,000.

The fictional story, which appeared without being credited to anyone, is titled "Only One Killed." The story begins with someone speaking about the news of a "brief, sharp engagement" in which there were "one killed and three wounded." The first-person teller of the story replies, "That all! Hardly worth the cost of a telegram." But after this remark, this person notices a man glance at him and sees in the man's eyes "a silent rebuke for this lightness of speech." Two days later, the storyteller "had forgotten the trifling matter of one killed and three wounded," but he notices a house that has "crape on the door." He asks someone about this and is told that that is the house of a Mr. B—— and that the soldier who was the "one killed" is "Mr. B——'s son," a young man named Edward. Mr. B—— is the person who glanced at the storyteller after he remarked that the report of "one killed and three wounded" was "hardly worth the cost of a telegram."

The storyteller is told that the dead soldier is Mr. B——'s only son. He also hears that "the mother hasn't left her room since the terrible news was communicated," to which someone else replies, "How little do we think of what is really involved when we run our eyes so carelessly...over these almost daily announcements of one or two killed!" Another person indicates that Edward's death is going hard "with his father and mother" but also "for one besides them." He is told that Edward was engaged to be married. When he later sees Edward's fiancée, a young woman named Alice, he can clearly observe in her face "sadness and suffering" and "something more than bodily sickness." He sees in her face "heart sickness."

When the storyteller sees the funeral procession for Edward, he wonders if any of the "thousands who had lingered scarcely a moment over the brief telegram announcing but one killed and three wounded" had "pictured distinctly a solemn scene like this" or had "given the faintest realization of the sorrow and suffering that lay veiled behind." He also tells himself, "Fifty killed and two or three hundred wounded! Ah! now the pulses beat. Here is something worth while! How strangely this familiarity with war ices over the heart! One, two, three hundred killed or mangled. It is awful to contemplate; and yet we must come down to the single cases to get at the heart of this fearful matter."

After observing the impact of Edward's death on his father, mother, and fiancée, the storyteller reminds himself of the words he spoke when he first heard the news of the skirmish in which Edward was killed. "Only one killed! How insignificant the fact seemed when the telegraph made this announcement; but what bitterness had followed! Only one killed!" This touching story is a reminder of the largely unseen sorrow and anguish that occurred for every one of the 620,000 Civil War deaths. The story also makes clear that one death does not become less significant simply because it did not happen along with a large number of other deaths. (The complete story can be viewed in an online archive of *Harper's Weekly* on pages 330-331 of the May 24, 1862, issue, <https://archive.org/details/harpersweeklyv6bonn/page/330/mode/2up>.) Reading the story on the pages of *Harper's Weekly* exactly as it looked to those who read it in

1862 is an excellent way to come in direct contact with history.

A poem that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in 1861 also speaks to the equation of 1 > 620,000. The poem, which was simply attributed to someone with the initials E. B., tells the story of a Union soldier who is shot and killed while on picket duty. The poem, titled "The Picket-Guard," relates how the soldier is intently thinking of his family and his home as he tramps along the ground during the night. He hears a sound, but he is so lost in warm reverie that he pays it no heed. He sees a flash of light that he takes to be from the moon, when it is actually a discharge from a rifle. Before he even realizes it, he is shot. As his blood and his life flow out from his body, he utters a mournful good-bye to his wife. The poet's words create a sad contrast between the military situation of that night, which is deemed "all quiet," and the lethal outcome for the picket guard. The loss of his life is cruelly characterized in the poem by the likely reaction among most who will read about the picket guard's death: "'Tis nothing—a private...only one of the men."

The poem was written by Ethel Lynn Beers, who indicated that she was inspired to write the poem when she was having breakfast at a boarding house and a woman sitting across from her at the table "looked up from her morning paper" and said that the newspaper reported, "'All quiet along the Potomac, as usual.'" But this placid report blithely continued with the words, "A picket shot." Beers related that she was "haunted" afterward that the death of a soldier could be described in such a nonchalant way, and she pictured a picket guard losing his life in the midst of a reportedly "all quiet" situation. Beers "wrote the whole poem before noon" that day and made "but one change in copying it."

The first verse sets the scene:

"All quiet along the Potomac," they say,
Except, now and then, a stray picket
Is shot as he walks on his beat to and fro,
By a rifleman hid in the thicket,
'Tis nothing—a private or two, now and then,
Will not count in the news of the battle;
Not an officer lost—only one of the men
Moaning out, all alone, the death rattle."

Another verse describes the picket's thoughts as he patrols his assigned area:

There's only the sound of the lone sentry's tread
As he tramps from the rock to the fountain,
And thinks of the two in the low trundle-bed,
Far away in the cot on the mountain.
His musket falls slack—his face dark and grim,
Grows gentle with memories tender,
As he mutters a prayer for the children asleep—
For their mother—may Heaven defend her!

The last two verses describe the picket's death and his unheard good-bye to his wife:

He passes the fountain, the blasted pine-tree,
The footstep is lagging and weary;
Yet onward he goes, through the broad belt of light,
Toward the shade of the forest so dreary.
Hark! was it the night-wind that rustled the leaves?
Was it moonlight so wondrously flashing?
It looked like a rifle— "Ha! Mary, good-by!"
And the life-blood is ebbing and plashing.

All quiet along the Potomac to-night,
No sound save the rush of the river;
While soft falls the dew on the face of the dead—
The picket's off duty forever!

Like the story about Mr. B——, Beers' poem draws attention to the misguided sentiment that amid so much death, the loss of a single life seems trivial. Moreover, the picket's death is minimized even further by stating that it is "not an officer lost—only one of the men," as if the life of an officer is more precious than the life of a private. But to "Mary" and to "the two in the low trundle-bed," the picket's death is not merely one more lost life among the 620,000 deaths in the Civil War. His death is the Civil War death that is the most devastating one for them, which makes it thoughtless and insensitive if the picket's death is viewed with a sense of relief simply because the picket was the only one who was killed that night. (The complete poem is available in an online archive of *Harper's Weekly* on page 766 of the November 30, 1861 issue (<https://archive.org/details/harpersweeklyv5bonn/page/766/mode/2up>). This archive makes it possible to read the poem just as it appeared in its original publication. The complete poem, with slightly different wording, is also available online on page 13 of *"All Quiet Along the Potomac" and Other Poems*, a book that contains the complete works of Ethel Lynn Beers (<https://archive.org/details/cu31924021985084/page/n17/mode/2up>.)

An interesting sidelight about the poem is that after its publication it was attributed to several different people. This is probably because the attribution in *Harper's Weekly* was simply made with Ethel Beer's initials. It is not clear how each of these incorrect attributions came about, but in her collected works, Beers included a brief discussion of this, which is available online on page 349 of the book (<https://archive.org/details/cu31924021985084/page/n353/mode/2up>). Beers wrote that the poem "was attributed to various pens," and these included, among others, a Union private, a Confederate soldier in whose pocket the poem was found after he was killed, an Irish American poet named Fitz-James O'Brien, and a Confederate officer named Lamar Fontaine who served in the U.S. Navy prior to the war but went with the South. As proof of her authorship, she referred to the "ledger at Harper's," which showed payment to her for the poem.

Beers was born in 1827 in Goshen, New York and died in Orange, New Jersey in 1879 very soon after publication of her complete works. It is fortunate that she included the brief discussion of her authorship because it allowed her to set the record straight before death prevented her from doing so, and this makes it possible for history to assign proper credit to the person who

rightfully deserves it. Arguably the most definitive proof of Beers' authorship comes from Alfred Guernsey, an editor of *Harper's Magazine*, in a letter dated March 22, 1868 which Guernsey sent to someone who was trying to establish authorship of the poem. Guernsey emphatically asserted that Beers was the author and added that Beers is "a lady whom I think incapable of palming off as her own any production of another."

Beers' poem was so popular and was held in such esteem that it was included in some post-war collections of personal reminiscences, stories, poems, and songs. In a couple of these collections, poignant illustrations were added, such as one showing a mother tucking her children into bed and another showing a lone soldier lying dead in the field at night with the caption "The picket is off duty forever." In addition, the widespread popularity of Beers' poem, led to it being set to music. Ironically this was done by a staunch Confederate named John Hill Hewitt, who was so renowned for his songs about the South that he was nicknamed "the Bard of the Confederacy" and "the Bard of the Stars and Bars."

Hewitt, a Northerner by birth (New York City in 1801), moved to Augusta, Georgia in 1823 and lived in the South for most of the rest of his life until his death in 1890 in Baltimore, Maryland. An accomplished musician, music instructor, and composer, Hewitt tried to enlist in the Confederate army early in the war even though he was 60 years old. As qualifications for service, he cited the time that he spent as a cadet at West Point, but he actually had not graduated due to bad grades and also due to an incident when he challenged an officer to a duel. Hewitt turned down the drillmaster position offered to him in the Confederate army and remained in his civilian profession. In 1863, he composed music for a song that he titled "All Quiet Along the Potomac To-Night" with Beers' poem used as the lyrics. The song became so popular that the sheet music went through five printings. However, Hewitt's song probably contributed to the incorrect attributions of authorship for Beers' poem, because the sheet music was published with the lyrics credited to Lamar Fontaine. (Some recordings of Hewitt's song can be found online (e.g., www.youtube.com/watch?v=lhWG-4k9EZ4, www.youtube.com/watch?v=1LRwsdNOj5I, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xu1XCHle900.)

The story "Only One Killed" and the poem "The Picket-Guard" are two examples of written works which cast light on the kind of individuals who have been largely overlooked by history but who were caught up in a terrible event involving an immense mass of such people. This same sentiment was articulated in a direct way by Drew Gilpin Faust in her monumental book *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*. In that book Faust wrote, "War cannot be understood or communicated as a grand panorama. It is real only in the context of individual lives—and deaths." When so much attention is focused on the appallingly large forest of Civil War deaths, there is a tragic tendency to lose sight of the individual trees whose lives were cut short. Charles Lewis, an officer in the 119th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment, expressed well how feelings of relief regarding a low number of battle losses are misplaced. Lewis wrote about his unit after a battle that "the Brigade lost but one killed," then continued "we say 'but one,' never thinking that that one was somebody's all perhaps. Had a million been slain, it would have been 'only one' in a million homes."

A line in the movie *Unforgiven* conveys in a simple and piercing way the far-reaching impacts and unrealized experiences that result from a person's death. One of the characters in the movie

says that death takes from someone "all he's got and all he's ever gonna have." But there is even more than that. Death does the same thing to all the people whom the dead person leaves behind, because death takes from them all that they would have shared with the dead person. For each person killed in the Civil War, there was a lifelong void created for every one of the countless loved ones. Viewed in this way, even if the death of a soldier occurs unaccompanied by the death of any of his comrades, this does not make that death less significant, and it is misguided to view any soldier's death casually no matter how few die along with him. For someone whose loved one is the one who dies, there is no such thing as "only" one.

Sources

A number of sources were used for this article. The most useful sources are as follows.

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The Living Writers of the South by James Wood Davidson, page 201 (1869)

Biography of Ethel Lynn Eliot Beers, Access Genealogy

<https://accessgenealogy.com/new-jersey/biography-of-ethel-lynn-eliot-beers.htm>

Ethel Lynn Beers, Song of America (<https://songofamerica.net/composer/beers-ethel-lynn/>)

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(<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/36631749/ethelinda-beers>)

John Hill Hewitt: Dixie's Original One-Man Band by E. Lawrence Abel

(<https://www.historynet.com/john-hill-hewitt-dixies-original-one-man-band/>)

John Hill Hewitt by Christie Finn (<https://songofamerica.net/composer/hewitt-john-hill/>)

This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War by Drew Gilpin Faust (2008)

Facing the "King of Terrors": Death and Society in an American Community, 1750-1990 by Robert V. Wells (2000)

Soldier Details: Lewis, Charles F., Soldiers and Sailors Database for the Civil War, National Park Service (<https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/soldiers-and-sailors-database.htm>)

(<https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-soldiers-detail.htm?soldierId=1B8053B3-DC7A-DF11-BF36-B8AC6F5D926A>)

The Civil War in the East: 119th New York Infantry Regiment

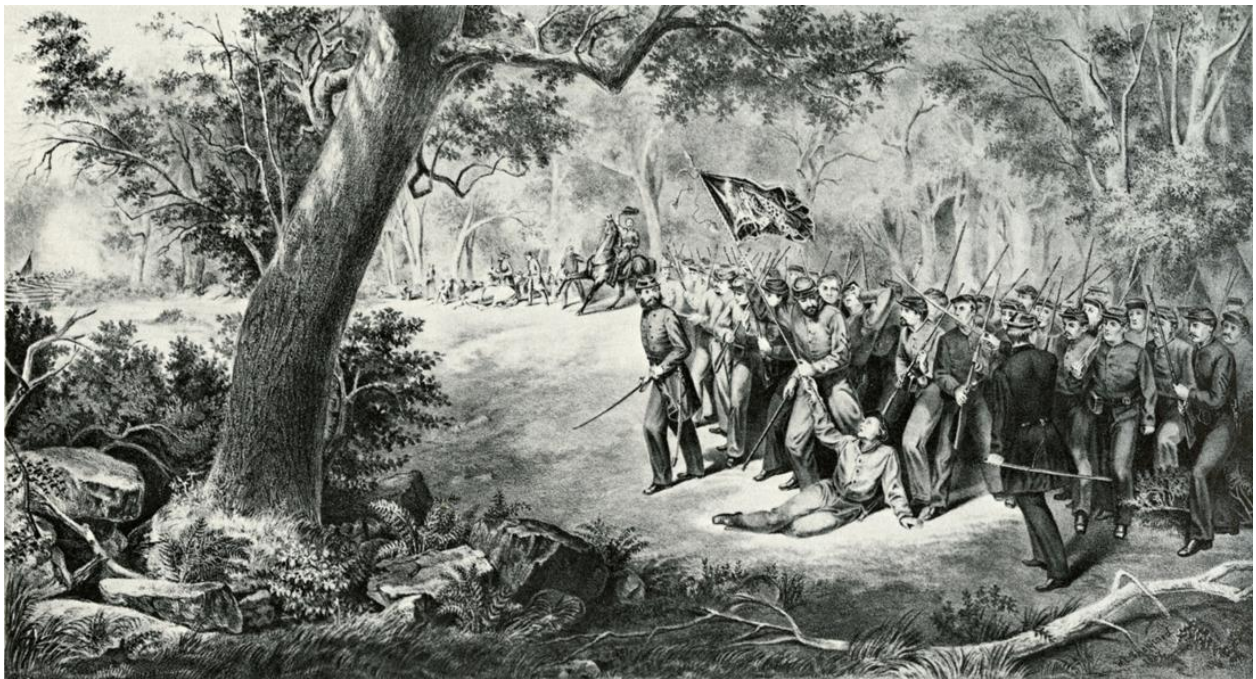
(<https://civilwarintheeast.com/us-regiments-batteries/new-york-infantry/119th-new-york/>)

Camp Fires of the Confederacy edited by Benjamin La Bree, page 524 (1898)

Under Both Flags: A Panorama of the Great Civil War edited by C.R. Graham, pages 456-457 (1896)

Civil War Casualties, American Battlefield Trust

(<https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/civil-war-casualties>)



Charge of 1st Maryland (CSA) at Front Royal, VA, during “Stonewall” Jackson’s Valley Campaign

Maryland Whip Maryland, or Is There More?

By © Brian D. Kowell, November 2023

The fratricidal Civil War has sometimes been referred to as “Brother against Brother.” There are many instances of family members fighting on opposite sides and regiments from the same states fighting each other in battle. Historian Dennis Keating has brought to the author’s attention two incidents of units from the same state fighting. On May 19, 1863, at Vicksburg, the Confederate 2nd Missouri Infantry engaged the Union 8th Missouri Infantry at Stockade Redan. At Gettysburg, some members of the Confederate 1st Maryland Battalion could have exchanged

shots with the 1st Maryland Potomac Home Guard and the 1st Maryland Eastern Shore Regiment of Brigadier General Henry Lockwood's Union Brigade along the stone wall in Pardee Field near Spangler's Spring at the base of Culp's Hill.ⁱ I am sure there are more such examples.

But it is a very rare occurrence when two regiments with the same numerical designation from the same state find themselves engaging one another in battle. Many historians say this happened only once at the Battle of Front Royal, Virginia, on May 23, 1862, during Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign.

The 350 men of the 1st Maryland Infantry were led by Colonel Bradley Johnsonⁱⁱ as they followed in the column of Jackson's army toward Front Royal. The mood in the 1st Maryland was grim. Part of the regiment was in mutiny and under arrest. Companies organized the year before in Harpers Ferry had mustered in for 12 months, while companies mustered in at Richmond had entered for the duration of the war. Those whose terms had expired wanted to go home. In protest, they had stacked their muskets and refused to budge. Colonel Johnson pleaded with them to defer their grievance until after the campaign. Half of those returned to the regiment; the rest were arrested and put under guard and marched along at the rear of the regiment without their guns.ⁱⁱⁱ

Two miles from Front Royal, Jackson was informed that the 1st Maryland Infantry (Union) were camped at the far side of the town. He summoned Colonel Johnson to report to him. Unaware of any discord, Jackson chose the 1st Maryland (Confederate) to lead the charge. With a bit of irony, he did not inform Johnson that it was the 1st Maryland (Union) holding the town.^{iv}

Johnson rode back in the column and addressed his regiment. With a flushed face and barely suppressed anger, he held aloft the order and spoke: "I have just received an order from General Jackson . . . and I will read it to you. 'Colonel Johnson will move the 1st Maryland to the front with all dispatch, and in conjunction with Wheat's Battalion, attack the enemy at Front Royal. The army will halt while you pass. Signed Jackson.'"

Looking into the eyes of his men, he continued:

"You have heard the order, and I must confess are in a pretty condition to obey it. I will have to return it with the endorsement upon the back that 'the First Maryland refuses to meet the enemy', despite being given orders by General Jackson. Before this day I was proud to call myself a Marylander, but now, God knows, I would rather be known as anything else. Shame on you to bring this stigma upon the fair name of your native state What Marylander ever before threw down his arms and deserted his colors in the presence of the enemy Go home When you meet your fathers and mothers, brothers, sisters, and sweethearts tell them it was you who, when brought face to face with the enemy, proved yourselves to be cowards.'"

The shame was too much. From the ranks came cries of, "we won't leave you," "we will not disgrace our state," and "Give us our guns back."^{vi}

With the mutineers armed and back in the ranks, the 1st Maryland marched twelve miles at a rapid gate to the front of Jackson's column singing their favorite song, "Baltimore Ain't You Happy." By 2:00 p.m., they were in line on the east side of the Gooney Manor Road and began to descend Dickey Ridge toward the unsuspecting pickets of the 1st Maryland (Union) at Front Royal.^{vii} "You never in your life heard such a fiendish yell of joy as it was given when we received the order to charge, claimed Captain William Murray of Company H.^{viii}

The camp of Colonel John R. Kenly's 1st Maryland (Union) was on Richardson's Ridge on the far side of Front Royal, on the east side of the South Fork of the Shenandoah River. He had nine companies with him. The tenth, Company E, had been detached to Linden Station. Kenly also had a section of Knap's Battery, consisting of 2 10-lb. Parrot rifles, under the command of Lieutenant Charles Atwell, two companies of the 29th Pennsylvania under Lieutenant Colonel Charles Parham, and two companies of the 5th New York Cavalry under Major Phillip G. Vought. All in all about 1,100 men. Kenly sent Companies C and D south of town to establish a line of outposts. Company F was stationed in Front Royal at the courthouse to act as provost guard. All were unaware of what was coming down Dickey Ridge toward them.^{ix}

As Johnson's men advanced, they captured the first picket post. The colonel asked, "What regiment do you belong to?" When the reply was the 1st Maryland, Johnson shouted to his command and pointed his sword, "There's the 1st Maryland!" The Confederates, with the desire to prove their mettle against their fellow Marylanders, dashed on with resolve.^x

Colonel Kenly ordered the long roll as his six companies formed a line with their backs to the South Fork of the Shenandoah River, protecting the two bridges over that span. After a brief exchange of musketry from the pickets and provost near the hospital in town, the three companies quickly ran before the gray storm, joining Kenly's line. Atwell's two guns went into battery on Kenly's left flank to cover both of the bridges and Kenly's infantry. Lieutenant George W. Thompson wrote, "We had scarcely been placed in position when the Rebels were seen advancing in great force."^{xi}

Confederate Marylander Randolph McKim recalled as he was running through the streets of Front Royal, "a lovely girl of about fifteen years ran out of one of the houses and waving a Confederate flag cried, 'Go it, Boys! Maryland whip Maryland!'"^{xii}

Kenly's Marylanders tried to put up a good fight, but they were outnumbered and overpowered. While the 1st Maryland (CSA) took a firing position behind a stone wall at the foot of Richardson's Hill, the Louisiana troops on their left tried to outflank the Yankee position. With no time to save their camp equipment and with the 5th New York covering their retreat, the 1st Maryland (Union) and Atwell's guns escaped across the bridges. Forming a second line on Guard Hill, Kenly discovered Confederate cavalry crossing the river to cut off their route of escape. Ordering the second bridge to be burned, Kenly's command retreated toward Winchester. Two hundred men of Confederate cavalry pursued and attacked the Yankees at Cedarville. Kenly's 1st Maryland suffered five officers and 38 men wounded and a total of 535 captured. Combined with the other units, Kenly lost 904 men, 750 of whom were captured, including Kenly who was also wounded. Jackson's casualties were 35 men.^{xiii}

The 1st Maryland (Confederate) gleefully ransacked the camps of the 1st Maryland (Union). McKim later wrote: “It must be acknowledged that the ‘loyal’ Marylanders were made of good stuff. They put up a gallant fight and when, on their defeat, they were pursued by our cavalry, they would form in small squares and fight to the death.”^{xiv} Another Confederate exclaimed, “the real 1st Maryland whipped the bougus.”^{xv}

It was well after sundown when the prisoners were brought back to Front Royal along with their regimental flag. McHenry Howard, a former member of the 1st Maryland now serving on the staff of General George “Maryland” Steuart’s staff recalled, “I heard several stories of meetings of relatives and acquaintances in the two Firsts.” Captain William Murray of the Confederate 1st Maryland came across an old acquaintance who was the quartermaster of the Union 1st and told him, “I am no longer a friend of yours Lt. George – but will do all in my power to make you and all of you comfortable.”^{xvi}

Colonel Kenly was visited by Colonel Bradley T. Johnson and despite his wounds declined any special favors. Another visitor was Captain Alexander White who was a friend from the Mexican War. He presented Kenly with \$100.00 to help during his imprisonment.^{xvii}

Despite what some historians believe, that was not the only time that two regiments with the same state and numerical designation faced each other in combat during the Civil War.

On December 16, 1864, Colonel Edmund W. Rucker was ordered to hold open the Granny White Pike. After his defeat at Nashville, General Hood’s retreating army clogged Franklin Pike. Holding the Granny White Pike protected the vulnerable army’s flank as it moved south to Brentwood. The 29-year-old, Tennessee-born Rucker commanded a brigade of cavalry consisting of his old regiment, the 12th Tennessee now commanded by Colonel John U. Green, along with the 14th Tennessee and 7th Alabama Cavalry regiments.^{xviii}

General Wilson’s Union cavalry was trying to cut off Hood’s escape routes. Rucker placed his brigade across the Granny White Pike near the intersection of the road to Brentwood south of Nashville and ordered his men to construct a barricade on across the road. With the sun setting, he placed the 12th Tennessee on the pike in the center of his line. Soon Lieutenant Colonel David Kelly’s 3rd Tennessee Cavalry came galloping to the barricades, joining Rucker’s men after skirmishing with the advancing Yankee cavalry a mile and a half north.^{xix}

The 12th Tennessee cavalry (Confederate) was nervous. As one historian wrote: “The 12th Tennessee (CSA) had been roughly handled, having been forced to retreat earlier in the day from [a nasty firefight]. In addition, they overheard David Kelly talking to the commander of the 14th Tennessee about [the large numbers of Federals ahead and rumors] of the enemy passing to the left” to outflank them. The shaky troopers of the 12th peered ahead into the darkness for any signs of the Yankee cavalry. They didn’t have long to wait.”^{xx}

The Federal cavalry brigade commanded by 33-year-old Colonel Datus E. Coon^{xxi} soon approached south along the pike. Coon’s brigade had three regiments, the 6th and 8th Illinois Cavalry and the 12th Tennessee Cavalry led by Colonel George Spalding.^{xxii} A cold rain turned to sleet as night fell. In the pitch-black darkness, Coon had the two Illinois regiments dismount

on the flanks, while Spalding's Tennesseans remained mounted in the center of the line arrayed perpendicular across the pike. When Coon gave the word the Union battle line moved forward.

The troopers of the 12th Tennessee (Confederate) could hear them coming but could not make out their targets in the dark, until the charging Federals from Tennessee were 20 rods from their front. They let loose one volley before breaking to the rear for their horses. This created a gap in the center of the Confederate line which allowed the 12th Tennessee Cavalry (Union) to penetrate. The two 12th Tennessee's soon became inextricably mixed up in a hand-to-hand fight. In the dark, mad confusion, it was difficult to recognize the color of the uniforms, making it almost impossible to distinguish friend from foe. One U.S. cavalryman later recalled, "It was so dark we could not see the ears of our horses." There was no way to tell other than by the usual challenge, "Halt, who comes there?" The answer, "12th Tennessee" did little to allay any confusion. In the melee, Majors Kirwan and Bradshaw of the Federal 12th had charged entirely through the Rebel 12th. While returning to their friends through the Rebels, when challenged, they passed themselves off as belonging to the 12th Tennessee (Confederate) and with vows of wanting to kill Yankees.^{xxiii}

On another part of his line, Colonel Rucker could hear the increased noise coming from the direction of the center. He rode over expecting to find his 12th Tennessee. When he neared the melee, he asked a trooper where his colonel was. The trooper pointed at a mounted officer, then rode away while Rucker approached him in the dark.

Colonel Spalding was in the foremost of the charge and was intermingled in the melee when he heard a clear voice ring out, "Who are you, anyhow?" He saw the figure before him and answered, "I am Colonel George Spalding, commander of the 12th Tennessee Cavalry."

Rucker grabbed at the reins of Spalding's horse and declared, "Well, you are my prisoner, for I am General Ed Rucker, commanding the 12th Tennessee Rebel Cavalry."

"Not by a damned sight," shouted Spalding, and putting spurs to his horse, with a bound, broke free and leaped out of danger. Nearby Yankee troopers began to shout, "Kill the man on the white horse." A trooper tried to cut off Rucker from escaping, but the colonel struck him down with his sword.^{xxiv}

Captain Boyer of the 12th Tennessee (Union) witnessed this exchange and rode at Rucker with an uplifted sword. Rucker slashed at Boyer, wounding him on the forehead with the hilt of his sword. Boyer lunged at Rucker's sword hand and was able to wrench his sword from his grasp. Rucker countered by seizing Boyer's sword and the two continued to whack at each other with exchanged swords. Unidentified Union troopers shot at Rucker, shattering his left arm above the elbow. His horse was killed from under him, pitching him head-over-heels into the barricade of fence rails, compelling Rucker to surrender.^{xxv}

In the melee, Private Barry Watson (12th Tennessee Union) captured the colors of the 12th Tennessee (Confederate). He killed the Confederate color bearer and grabbed the flag. A Confederate officer rode up to Watson, thinking him the Southern color bearer and trying to rally

his men, calling out, “Stick to your colors, boys!” Watson replied, “I’ll do it” and rode off with his prize.^{xxvi}

With Rucker wounded and captured, his brigade was overwhelmed and cut in two. Losing a third of their numbers, the Confederates retreated toward Brentwood leaving control of the Granny White Pike to the Federals.

Author’s Note: These are the only two instances I could find of combat between two regiments from the same state with the same designation. If anyone knows of any other instances, please let the author know.



Regimental flag of the 1st Maryland (CSA) and the flag of the Maryland Brigade (USA)

ⁱ Smith, Timothy B., *The Union Assaults at Vicksburg: Grant Attacks Pemberton, May 17-22, 1863*, Lawrence, Kansas, University Press of Kansas, 2020. Pp. 111-114. Pfanz, Harry W., *Gettysburg: Culp’s Hill & Cemetery Hill*, Chapel Hill & London, The University of North Carolina Press, 1993. P. 321. Wert, Jeffery D., *Gettysburg: Day Three*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 2001. P. 67. At Gettysburg, the Confederate 1st Maryland faced the 147th & 5th Ohio in their charge across Pardee Field. When the 1st Maryland Potomac Home Guard charged across Pardee Field they engaged the 2nd Virginia, not the 1st Maryland Confederate. The 1st Maryland East Shore was in reserve behind the Federal lines and did not directly engage the Confederate Marylanders. However, they did encounter some of the Confederate Marylanders who were either captured and/or wounded when brought into their lines. This prompted one of the Yankees to ask, “Do you know that you are fighting your own men?” “Yes,” replied the Confederate, “and we intend to fight them.”

ⁱⁱ Warner, Ezra J., *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1959. Pp. 156-157. Bradley Tyler Johnston (September 29, 1829 – October 5 1903) was an American lawyer, soldier and writer. Born in Frederick City, Maryland he graduated from Princeton and received a law degree from Harvard. He was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in 1860. When the war broke out, at his own expense, he organized and equipped a company of Marylanders that joined the 1st Maryland Infantry under Colonel George H. Steuart. When Steuart was promoted, Johnson became the regiment’s colonel.

ⁱⁱⁱ Cozzens, Peter, *Shenandoah 1862: Stonewall Jackson’s Valley Campaign*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 2008. P. 290. The best work on the battle of Front Royal is in Gary Ecelbarger’s book *Three Days in the Shenandoah: Stonewall Jackson at Front Royal and Winchester*, Campaign & Commander Series, Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press 2008.

^{iv} Ibid. P.295. Toomey, Daniel Carroll, *Hero at Front Royal: The Life of General John R. Kenly*, Baltimore, Toomey Press 2009. P.46. Lieutenant William Buck of the 7th Virginia Cavalry was born three miles from Front Royal and had been sent to the town by Turner Ashby to spy.

^v Booth, George W., *Personal Reminiscences of a Maryland Soldier in the War Between the States, 1861-1865*, Baltimore, 1898. Pp. 31-32. Gill, John, *Reminiscences of Four Years as a Private Soldier in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865*, Baltimore, 1891. p. 52. Cozzens, *Shenandoah*, Pp. 295-297.

^{vi} Johnson, Bradley, *Memoir of the First Maryland Regiment*, Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. 10, 1882. Pp. 446-456. Booth, *Personal Reminiscences*, p.32.

^{vii} McKim, Randolph H., *A Soldier's Recollections*, New York, Longman's, Green and Co., 1910. Reprint Collector's Library of the Civil War, Alexandria, Virginia, 1984. P.96.

^{viii} William H. Murray to a friend, n.d., Murray Papers Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

^{ix} <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/5894625/john-reese-kenly>. John Reese Kenly (January 11, 1818-December 20, 1891) was a 44-year-old bachelor at Front Royal. He was born in Baltimore, became a lawyer and fought as an officer in the Mexican-American War. In 1861 he organized the 1st Maryland Infantry and became its colonel. For a complete biography see Toomey, Dan, *Hero at Front Royal: The Life of General John R. Kenly*. Toomey, *Hero of Front Royal*, Pp. 45-46. Cozzens, *Shenandoah*, p. 299

^x Johnson, *Memoir*. P. 54. Cozzens, *Shenandoah*. p. 298.

^{xi} George W. Thompson, Letter to the editor [George Smith], May 29, 1862, printed in the *Baltimore American*, May 30, 1862. Toomey, *Hero at Front Royal*, pp. 48-49. Cozzens, *Shenandoah*, p. 299

^{xii} McKim, Randolph H., *A Soldier's Recollections*, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1910. Reprint Collector's Library of the Civil War, Time-Life Books, Alexandria, Virginia, 1980. Pp 96-97.

^{xiii} Toomey, *Hero at Front Royal*, p.53. Sergeant William Taylor in Company H was awarded the Medal of Honor for his actions at the Front Royal Bridge. "On May 23, 1862, though painfully wounded, obeyed an order to burn a bridge, preserved in the attempt, and burned the bridge, preventing its use by the enemy." Broadwater, Robert P., *Civil War Medal of Honor Recipients: A Complete Illustrated Record*, Jefferson, N.C., McFarland & Company Inc., Publishers, 2007. P.199. www.nps.gov/articles/000/battle-of-front-royal.htm.

^{xiv} Clark, Champ, *Decoying the Yanks: Jackson's Valley Campaign*, Alexandria, Va., Time-Life Books, 1984. P. 128. McKim, *Soldier's Recollections*, p. 97.

^{xv} Gill, John, *Reminiscences of Four Years as a Private Soldier in the Confederate Army*, Baltimore, Sun Printing Office, 1904. Quote taken from TimeLife Books, *Voices of the Civil War: Shenandoah 1862*, Alexandria, Virginia, 1997. P.99.

^{xvi} Howard, McHenry, *Recollections of a Maryland Confederate Soldier and Staff Officer*, Baltimore, 1914. P.106. Ruffner, Kevin C., *Maryland's Blue & Gray*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1997. pp. 246-247. Toomey, *Hero at Front Royal*, p.53, 87-90. The flag of the Union 1st Maryland regiment is in the Museum of the Confederacy. It measures 68"x82"x34 with gold painted stars and in the canton and ' 1st REGT .Maryland Volunteers painted on the center stripe. It had been presented to the regiment in 1861 by the ladies of Baltimore. The circumstances of its capture are up for debate. Bradley Johnson claimed that a private in Co. H captured the Union flag in the Yankee camp or near the river bank. Another version has it discovered in a field north of Front Royal.

^{xvii} Toomey, *Hero at Front Royal*, p.55. Kenly was exchanged on June 5, 1862. Johnson and Kenly became lifelong friends and Johnson would serve as an honorary pall bearer at Kenly's funeral in 1891. Captain White was captured in 1864 and imprisoned at Fort Lafayette. Being destitute of funds, he wrote to Kenly requesting the return of his \$100.00. Kenly happily complied.

^{xviii} "General Edmund W. Rucker," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XXXII, May 1924. Pp 163-164. Edmund Winchester Rucker (July 22, 1835-April 13, 1924) was born in Tennessee and at a young age worked as a surveyor on the Nashville & Decatur Railroad. A self-taught engineer, he settled in Memphis and became that city's engineer. On the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted as a private in a Sapper unit and was soon promoted as a lieutenant of engineers. He transferred to the artillery and was a captain at New Madrid and Island No. 10. He again transferred to the cavalry, serving under Forrest and Chalmers and fought at Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Brice's Crossroads and Tupelo. He was promoted colonel of the 12th Tennessee Battalion and was later given brigade command. He was described as having "obstinate courage worthy of praise." For a full biography see Rucker, Michael P., *The Meanest & 'Damnest' Job: The Civil War Experiences and Civilian History of Colonel Edmund Winchester Rucker*, Montgomery, Alabama, NewSouth Books, 2019. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (O.R.), Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Department, 1880-1901.

128 volumes. Rucker received written orders from Gen. Hood at 3:15 p.m. to “. . . hold the Granny White Pike at all hazards.” O.R., Series 1, Vol. 45 (part 1), p.765.

^{xix} <https://tngenweb.org/civilwar/12th-Richardsons-tennessee-cavalry-regiment/> The 12th Tennessee Cavalry Regiment was organized behind Federal lines in February 1863 and first under the command of Colonel Richardson. They were recruited from the counties of Fayette, Tipton, Shelby, Haywood, and Gipson. Belcher, Dennis W., *The Cavalries in the Nashville Campaign*, Jefferson, N.C., McFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, 2020. Pp. 266-268.

^{xx} Belcher, *The Cavalries in the Nashville Campaign*, p.268.

^{xxi} Pierce, Lyman, *History of the Second Iowa Cavalry*, Burlington, Iowa, Hawkeye Steam Book & Job Printing Establishment, 1865. P.10. Datus E. Coon (1831-1893) was born in New York, moved to Iowa and became a newspaper man. He organized Co. I of the 2nd Iowa Cavalry and fought at New Madrid, Island No. 10, and Corinth, and in the Meridian and Yazoo Campaigns. He was noted as a “zealous worker and brave fighter.” Coon’s Brigade was the 2nd Brigade in General Hatch’s 5th Cavalry Division.

^{xxii} Hunt, Roger D. & Jack R. Brown, *Brevet Brigadier Generals in Blue*, Gaithersburg, Md., Old Soldier Books, Inc., 1990. P. 573. George Spalding (November 12, 1836 – September 13, 1915) was born in Blairgowrie, Perthshire, Scotland and immigrated to the U.S. in 1843. He was a school teacher in Monroe, Michigan and enlisted as a private in Co. A, 4th Michigan Infantry. He was promoted through the ranks to colonel of the 12th Tennessee Cavalry organized in Nashville on August 24, 1863. He was promoted to brevet brigadier general on March 21, 1865. After the war he became postmaster, then mayor of Monroe and was elected to Congress 1895-99.

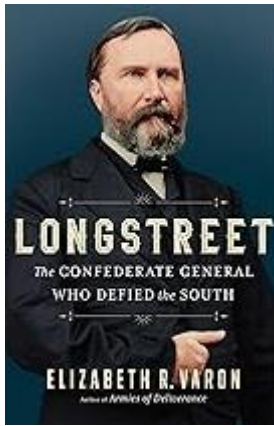
^{xxiii} *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. 45, pt.1. Pp. 591-592 & 765. Report of Datus Coon.

^{xxiv} Ibid. Pp.591-592. Wilson, James, *Under the Old Flag, Vol. II*, New York & London, D. Appleton & Co., 1912. Pp. 122-123. Rucker actually held the rank of colonel although he commanded a brigade. His men referred to him as general out of respect for his position and even General Forrest on occasion referred to Rucker as “one of my best and bravest generals.” Rucker, Michael P., *The Meanest and ‘Damnest’ Job*, p. 212

^{xxv} Ibid. It is unclear who shot Rucker. One account says Boyce drew his pistol and shot the colonel, another says it was an unknown soldier. The author thinks there were multiple shots at Rucker, especially when the call went to “Kill the man on the white horse,” and since Rucker’s horse was also shot and killed in the melee. Rucker’s left arm was amputated and he was sent to Johnson’s Island Prison in Sandusky, Ohio. Rucker, Michael P., *The Meanest & ‘Damnest’ Job: The Civil War Experiences and civilian History of Colonel Edmund Winchester Rucker*, Montgomery, Alabama, NewSouth Books, 2019. fn. p.287. Captain Boyer presented Rucker’s saber to Colonel Spalding as a trophy. Spalding returned the weapon to Rucker 25 years later amid considerable publicity. Sword Wiley, *Embrace an Angry Wind: The Confederacy’s Last Hurrah: Spring Hill, Franklin, and Nashville*, New York, Harper Collins Publishers, 1992. P. 389.

^{xxvi} Ibid. Thanks to historian Greg Biggs for pointing out that some sources mistakenly say the flag was Rucker’s colors. Private Watson was promoted to sergeant by Colonel Spalding the night of the conflict for “gallant conduct.” There is much controversy over the Confederate banner. It is thought that the flag was not the regimental flag of the 12th Tennessee Cavalry as they never mentioned in any accounts that they lost their colors. Instead, some researchers contend it was Rucker’s Brigade flag. For more information see www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/us-csrb.html.

BOOK REVIEWS



Varon, Elizabeth R. *Longstreet: The Confederate General Who Defied the South*

(New York: Simon & Schuster, 2023), ISBN # 978-1-9821-4827-0

I just finished reading *Longstreet: The Confederate General Who Defied the South* by Elizabeth Varon. What an exceptional work it is! Her research has been fantastic. I have been collecting Civil War bios for years and the big problem with most of them is that they present twenty pages on the individual's antebellum life, twenty more pages on their post war career and 450 pages on what they did during the Civil War which one can get almost anywhere. One never really gets to know them as people. In her work Ms. Varon de-emphasizes the Civil War career

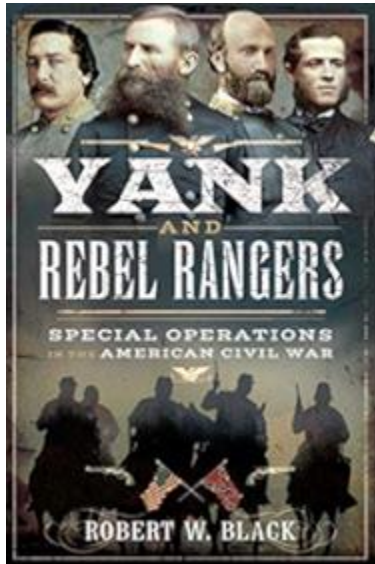
of General Longstreet and instead dwells on his post war life and his reasons for espousing the Republican agenda after the War, which I gathered was partially due to his long friendship With General Grant. The book goes into his career as New Orleans Custom House official, his Integrating the New Orleans police force and his commanding of the African American State Militia in what the became known as the Battle of Canal Street, and he used his position on the New Orleans School Board to implement integration in early 1871. Meanwhile all this was bringing down the ire of the defeated south on Longstreet. Why did he take this stand? The author goes in much detail as to why. During the 1870s Longstreet left New Orleans and moved back to Gainesville, Georgia his ancestral home taking along his Republican and reconciliation policies. He was no more popular there than he had been in Louisiana. After serving several posts in Georgia he accepted in 1880 the position of U.S. Legate to the Ottoman Empire. He served with distinction and after returning home he was appointed U.S. marshal for the Northern District of Georgia. In 1896 his account of the Civil War appeared, "From Manassas to Appomattox" which proved to be his definitive work. The author describes the reception his work received and goes into his revisions of it. In 1893 he married Helen Dortch a newspaper editor and friend of his daughter-- an interesting character and another biography. Longstreet died in January 1904 and was one of the last of the Confederate high command still surviving at the time.

The author goes into his different positions and philosophies regarding his acceptance of defeat, the acceptance of African Americans as voters and citizens and his controversial position regarding his fellow defeated Confederates many of which came after him with "claws barred". Jubal Early, William Pendleton and Charles Marshall, to name a few, espoused the Lost Cause Philosophy which came into direct conflict with Longstreet and his way of thinking.

The author goes into so much detail regarding Longstreet's post war career that I had to read several chapters twice to understand the order in which things were happening. The book including index and the bibliography is 459 pages and the print size makes it easy to read. There are several pages of photos that are helpful including photos of both his wives and some of his

contemporaries. As always when reading Civil War bios a map of the various areas is recommended, and one does need somewhat of a prerequisite knowledge of the Civil War era to enjoy the book. All in all, “Longstreet” is a must for anyone who wants to get to know the General, politician, author and educator as a person and not just as a name in the history books. The book is currently in print and can probably be purchased at your local bookstore, online or taken out of one’s local library. To say this book fulfills a long-felt need is an understatement. I would highly recommend it.

--Paul Siedel



Robert W. Black, *Yank and Rebel Rangers: Special Operations in the American Civil War* (Philadelphia: Pen & Sword Books, Ltd., 2020).

This past summer I purchased a Civil War book at Wall Drug in South Dakota; *Yank and Rebel Rangers: Special Operations in the American Civil War* by Robert W. Black. The author is a highly decorated Colonel who served with the U.S. Rangers in Korea and Vietnam.

The book has 320 pages, contains a bibliography, endnotes, and costs \$24.95. The book is in two parts – part one covering the Rebels and part two the Yankees. The Rebel chapters (61%) deal with well-known rangers such as John D. Imboden, Turner Ashby, Harry Gilmore, Elijah V. White and John and Jesse McNeill. The Yankee chapters (39%), cover the Loudoun Rangers, Blazer’s Scouts, the Jesse Scouts, and Sheridan’s scouts.

In reviewing the book Michael Westermeier wrote:

“A rehash of the trite and often thoroughly debunked romantic myths surrounding Confederate soldiers. While the book is well researched, it is apparent he has not consulted recent works in the field, and the book is rife with unsupported opinion and uncited assertions. Regrettably, this book cannot be assessed as scholarly....”^{xxvii}

One Yankee chapter I found particularly intriguing was titled *Grant’s Ranger*. It is about the exploits of C. Lorain Ruggles. I had never heard of him before and I learned that he was an Ohioan from Copley, Summit County, Ohio. An historian recorded: “C. Lorain Ruggles is one of the most interesting” spies “who could easily pass for a Southerner. [He was] Quite a character.”^{xxviii}

Ruggles was born on June 17, 1823. His father was a blacksmith named Alfred Ruggles. The elder Ruggles was married twice and fathered 12 sons and 7 daughters. He died when Lorain was 10 years old leaving him and his siblings orphans.

Lorain got a job as a cabin boy on a packet boat on the Ohio Canal, eventually managing the horse teams that dragged the boats along the canal. Later, he traveled down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, having various occupations. He was a woodcutter in Arkansas and Mississippi. He was a hunter and trapper, wandering as far as Colorado and Salt Lake City. He returned to Arkansas and Mississippi to again chop wood for the river boats and for one year became an overseer at a Mississippi plantation. He was living in Memphis when the Civil War erupted. Eyed suspiciously by the locals because of his northern roots, Lorain went back to Ohio.^{xxx}

C. Lorain Ruggles enlisted in the 20th O.V.I. under the command of Colonel Charles Whittlesey and Lieutenant Colonel Manning F. Force. When issued equipment, Lorain saw one of his comrades receive a knapsack. Not knowing what it was called, he asked his lieutenant, Edward (Edmund) C. Downs, if he too could have a “Bunker Hill?” From then on, his comrades called him “Bunker”. His regiment traveled to Cincinnati where it helped build that city’s defenses. As Union forces under General Grant moved south, the regiment participated in the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh.^{xxx}

I wanted to know more about C. Lorain Ruggles. Colonel Black’s endnotes listed two sources on Ruggles – *Four Years a Scout and Spy*, ‘General Bunker’, *One of Lieut. General Grant’s Most Daring and Successful Scouts* and *The Great American Scout and Spy*, ‘General Bunker’. The former was ghost written by Major Edward C. Downs, who enlisted with Ruggles in 1861. The book went through several editions and in a later edition, Ruggles listed himself as the author and eliminated Major Downs’ introduction. The title was also changed to *Perils of Scout-Life*. Did Ruggles dictate this narrative to Downs? Who made the most money from the books - Downs or Ruggles? I found both versions available for free on the internet.^{xxxi} It seems that Colonel Black took these narratives at face value for his chapter *Grant’s Spy*.

Written in the first-person, Ruggles’ adventures are amazing to say the least. His regiment was based in Bolivar, Tennessee. He convinced his superiors that he was fearless, and knew the dialect and the people of the South. That is how Ruggles became a scout. He traveled alone or with a small group under his command, in either civilian dress or Confederate uniforms. Riding a mule, “he soon knew every road and settlement. LaGrange, Van Buren, Saulsbury, Grand Junction, Davis’ Mill, Middleburg, New Castle and Somerville became his daily haunts.” He blended seamlessly with the locals and seemingly gathered information without effort. On his first trip to LaGrange he took breakfast with a local doctor, duping him into believing that he was a member of Vaughan’s 13th Confederate Infantry Regiment.^{xxxii}

Ruggles wrote: “When a man goes out to spy, he goes with a rope around his neck ready for anybody to draw it tight.” The second time he visited LaGrange, the streets were clogged with Confederate cavalry. Stopping in front of a drugstore he saw the colonel of the regiment talking with a large, corpulent, red-faced old man leaning on a walking stick. The citizen recognized

Ruggles and cried out: “Colonel, there is a Yankee spy, he ought to be shot. I know him, colonel, and know he is a Yankee spy!” Ruggles found himself surrounded. The colonel drew his pistol and demanded, “Who are you?”

“Ruggles of Memphis”, was the reply. “I have been out to Somerville and beyond to Bolivar to see some friends.”

“Yes, Bolivar,” cried the old man, “the rascal has come from Bolivar, and there is where he belongs. I tell you, colonel, I know him; I know he is a Yankee spy!”

Cocking his revolver the colonel ordered Ruggles to dismount, as the Confederate troopers shouted, “Shoot him! Shoot the rascal!”

Hearing the tumult in the street, a surgeon from the 4th Tennessee Infantry stepped out of the drug store and recognized Ruggles. “Wait, sir! I know him. You will be shooting the wrong man.” It was the doctor with whom Ruggles had breakfasted months earlier.

“Well, doctor, if you know that he is alright and you are willing to vouch for him, I’ll let him go,” said the colonel.

“I’ll vouch for him, for I know who he is.” Turning to Ruggles, the colonel said, “Get on your mule and go about your business.”

Ruggles quickly mounted and escaped to Bolivar.^{xxxiii}

This is just one of the questionable stories Ruggles tells in his book. It was entertaining throughout but seemed too good to be true. Research confirmed some of my skepticism.

While in civilian disguise in a Confederate camp trying to get a pass south from an officer, Ruggles claimed to be the younger brother of Confederate General Daniel Ruggles. “Is that so?” replied the officer. “General Ruggles happens to be here.” According to Lorain, when brought before his brother, he was warmly greeted and spent the night as the general’s guest, sharing his food, his tent and memories. Unfortunately, this does not hold up. General Daniel Ruggles was born in Barre, Massachusetts, not Ohio, and the general’s father’s name was Gardner Ruggles, not Alfred.^{xxxiv} In addition, he clearly says his older brother Lorenzo is the well-known “General Ruggles”, so he evidently didn’t know the General’s name was Daniel.

In another episode, Ruggles was trying to get to Jackson and Vicksburg, Mississippi to spy for Grant. At General Sterling Price’s headquarters, Ruggles was again trying to get a pass when he ran into an acquaintance - General Joseph Wheeler. Wheeler vouched for Ruggles and invited him to accompany him to Jackson by train. They arrived at the state capital and checked into a hotel. In an amazing coincidence, General Joseph Johnston is meeting with Confederate President Jefferson Davis in the hotel lobby. Wheeler introduces the spy to both men and the men shake hands. Ruggles asked and received a pass from Johnston to visit Vicksburg where he stayed for two days before returning to Jackson. There, he was issued yet another pass allowing him to travel north. Such tall tales are hard to believe.

There are no references to C. Lorain Ruggles in Grant's Memoirs. Despite this, on page 201 of his narrative, Ruggles claims to have received the following missive:

Headquarters Department of the Tennessee
Office of the Provost-Marshal General
Memphis, Tenn., February 6, 1863

The bearer Loraine Ruggles is in scout service of the Government. He will pass through all lines, at all hours. He will be furnished with whatever assistance he may require.

He has authority to make arrests, reporting the same to the nearest military commander or provost-marshal.[sic]
All officers and soldiers of this command will in every way facilitate his operations.

By command of Major-General U.S. Grant
William Hillyer
Provost-Marshal General

Ruggles writes of joining the Union forces besieging Vicksburg whereupon Grant gifts him a Henry rifle and Ruggles spends much time in the trenches picking off Confederates. He gets a pass to visit Admiral Porter's flagship and while conversing with the Admiral in his cabin, he discovers a Confederate spy on board. The Confederate spy, masterfully, disappears before Ruggles could have him arrested. There is no reason given why Ruggles is visiting Porter.

There is very little in modern literature about C. Lorain Ruggles. In Chester Hern's biography, *Admiral David Dixon Porter: The Civil War Years* and the Admiral's own *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War*, there is no mention of Ruggles. Neither does he appear in Edwin C. Fishel's book, *The Secret War for the Union: The Untold story of Military Intelligence in the Civil War*, nor in Donald E. Markle's *Spies & Spymasters of the Civil War* is he mentioned. However, in William B. Feis' book, *Grant's Secret Service: The Intelligence War from Belmont to Appomattox*, there is a passage concerning spies being sent into Vicksburg that mentions "Two other operatives, Lorain Ruggles and Solomon Woolworth, had earlier made trips into the town, but none of these men were on Grant's payroll by early May [1863]."^{xxxv} It is also interesting that there is a note in the *Grant Papers* from the General to Edward C. Downs dated July 9, 1866, that reports Grant's acknowledging that Ruggles reports were "always reliable and were held in high estimation by me."^{xxxvi}

When Grant was promoted and went East, Ruggles supposedly traveled to Washington to petition President Lincoln and Secretary of War Stanton to have him transferred with Grant. This effort failed as he never got an audience with either. He rejoined Sherman's army but Sherman doesn't say much, if anything at all, about Ruggles. There is no mention of him in Sherman's Memoirs or in four modern biographies of the general. Another of Ruggles' claims is that he was at the side of General James B. McPherson when he was mortally wounded at Atlanta.

What is true and what is fabrication? While Edward (Edmund) Downs and C. Lorain Ruggles do have pension records in Record Group 15 of the National Archives, and they are listed on the roster of the 20th O.V.I. - proof that they did exist- it is difficult for this author to put much credence in the exploits of C. Lorain Ruggles during the Civil War described by Downs and/or Ruggles in *The American Scout and Spy*. Nor can I recommend *Yanks and Rebel Rangers*.

--Brian Kowell

^{xxvii} <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/807782> The reviewer was Michael Westermeier, a U.S. Army field artillery officer and from 2004-2011 a park ranger at Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park.

^{xxviii} <https://repository.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article35907content=cwbr.htm>. For another review of Black's book by Meg Groeling, Summer 2021, article 5.

^{xxix} Black, Robert W., *Yank and Rebel Rangers: Special Operations in the American Civil War*, Philadelphi & Yorkshire, Pen & Sword Books, LTD., 2019. p.267. <https://civilwartalk.com/threads/story-of-a-union-spy-lorain-ruggles.77073/htm>. The plantation that he was overseeing was owned by James and Charles Ford of Memphis, Tennessee.

^{xxx} Ibid. Reid, Whitlaw, *Ohio in the War, Volume II: The History of her Regiments and Other Military Organizations*, Cincinnati, The Robert Clarke Company, 1895. Pp.139-145.

^{xxxi} Black, fn. p. 341. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcmassbookdig/greatamericanscoOdown/greatamericanscoOdown.pdf.htm>. *The Great American Scout and Spy, "General Bunker": A Truthful and Thrilling Narrative of the Adventures and Narrow Escapes in the Enemy's Country, Under Orders from Generals Grant, Logan, McPherson, and other Leading Commanders*. Written by Edward Downs but narrated by C. Lorain Ruggles. Published in New York, by Olmsted & Wellwood Publishers, 1868. Did Downs write this after the war from Ruggles dictation? Was Ruggles unable to write?

^{xxxii} <https://civilwartalk.com/threads/story-of-a-union-spy-lorain-ruggles77073/>. For information about the 13th Tennessee Infantry Regiment see <https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-battle-units-detail.htm?battleUnitCode=CTNOO13RI#-text=13th%20infantry%20regiment>. One of Ruggles' stories was that he was conscripted into the regiment.

^{xxxiii} Ibid. *The Great American Scout*, pp.131-133.

^{xxxiv} www.wikiTree.com/ruggles

^{xxxv} Feis, William B., *Grant's Secret Service: The Intelligence War from Belmont to Appomattox*, Lincoln & London, University of Nebraska Press, 2002. P. 146.

^{xxxvi} Grant to Edward C. Downs, *Grant Papers*, Vol. 12, p.458. Feis, *Grants Secret Service*, fn. 11, p.291.