

CROSSFIRE



The Magazine of the American Civil War Round Table (UK)





crossfire

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Additional information about the ACWRT (UK), and articles that have been published in the current and past issues, can be found on the Round Table's website, www.americancivilwar.org.uk

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President's Last Report.

Welcome, ladies and gentlemen, members, guests and my Mum to my final report as the President of 'Crossfire', the magazine for the ACWRT (UK). I trust the recent inclement weather has not caused any ill health to our gallant band.

By the time this drops through your letterbox, along with the first of the Christmas cards, we shall have had our AGM and a new President will be leading us into 2020. Whomever it may be, I wish he, or she all the best for the future and I know that you will all support them the way you have supported me over the last three years.

From a personal perspective it has been a great year, a splendid conference on a subject we have not really covered previously. When I first announced that, "War in the Carolina's" was the topic I was told by one member that, "We have never covered it before because nothing of any note happened there"! Those of us who attended can testify that is not the case. Eric Lindblade and Kyle Sinisi were superb and ably supported by our own David Kirkpatrick and Brendan Meehan.

I was unable to attend the field trip to the Ardennes but, I know that Ian Mitchel and Jim White were splendid throughout the trip and my thanks to them, I am so sorry that I missed it. As always thanks to Peter Lockwood at OCT for organising the event.

We were blessed with top class speakers at the meetings the entire year so, thanks not only to the speakers but also those involved in contacting and bringing them to our meetings, it was much appreciated

My thanks to the committee goes without saying, Crossfire

and Vedette continue to go from strength to strength and that is down to the efforts of Greg Bayne and Charles Rees, thanks to you both. Brendan Meehan continues to keep the purse strings well managed. Jim Carroll and Michael Somerville have always been there when there was something to be done and they never failed, wonderful support from two great chaps.

Looking forwards, conference next year features the, "Forgotten Battles of Gettysburg and Elite Units". I you haven't booked your place there is still time. If you have not been to a conference previously, make this your first and I wager it will not be your last.

We never stop looking for speakers, places are open for our meetings in 2020, so if you want to give a talk or know someone who wants to give a talk, contact Jim Carroll or Mike Somerville and they will progress the issue with you.

If you know of anyone who might be interested in joining the ACWRT (UK) they can visit for a taster meeting and there will be no cost, they will our guest for the day.

I should also like to thank, 'OCT', or more specifically Peter Lockwood for his time on the committee but also for his splendid efforts in running of the Field trips and the annual conference.

Thank you, the members, who chose me to be your President, it is much appreciated.

I did not achieve everything I set out to do, but I had a great time trying, I hope I leave with a positive impression.

Derek W. Young. Former President ACWRT (UK).



Meeting Dates for 2020



- 14th September** – Derek Young — D H Hill
- 25th January** – Professor Rodney Steward - The Confederate Act of Sequestration - tales from the Civil War's ragged edges.
- Mid March tba** – Greg Bayne – Is this the worst regiment in the Union army?
- 24th-26th April** – Conference: Gettysburg's elite units and the forgotten battles. Main speakers are Scott Mingus and Eric J Wittenberg with Erick Bush filling a cameo slot.
- 18th July** – TBC
- 19th September** – TBC
- 14th or 21st November** – AGM

Editors Report

by Greg Bayne

Welcome to Crossfire 121

Thanks to the members who took time to emphasise with my rant in the last issue. We live in interesting times to say the least. Life is moving at a frantic pace and at times seeming to be enveloped in chaos. Everything is instantaneous and easily challenged via the web, social media Tv and radio. Spare a thought to how news travelled in the 1860's and the contrast between the portrayal in the political leanings of the newspapers of the time. This issue contains a surfeit of riches. So many that Steve French agreed that we could split his article into two. I really enjoyed Graham Whitham's piece on Vizetelly and Waud despite his insistent on including the footnotes! I usually sign off the year with a run through of the books I have enjoyed



during the year. The raffle prize winnings have not failed to disappoint and the bedside table is groaning under the weight of the partially reads. Top of the list must be Kevin Levin's Searching for Black Confederates. It finally nails the coffin lid tightly shut of the myth of Black Confederate

soldiers. Good research and evidence will always win the day. If only the message could be gotten through to the die hards.

Reading for early 2020 will cover Gettysburg topics in preparation for the Conference. First up will be one of my favourite regiments, the 6th Wisconsin at the railway cut courtesy of Messrs Herdegen and Beaudot. April issue will likely be Gettysburg themed so if

you have an article you would like to write then please let me know.

And we have some good news. The Apostrophe Society has finally given up the fight. This will cut the editing process down by at least three days per issue. A major victory and no more emails from Mr Grumpy pants of Bagshot need dealing with. Seriously, we try our best, the odd gremlin gets through but hope that it doesn't spoil your enjoyment.

I will sign off by saying I am grateful Mike Somerville for allowing me to share my research on the worst regiment in the Union army with you in our March meeting (date tba). As with most of my civil war studies, I came across this regiment by accident and the story just kept giving. No clues until the day I'm afraid, but it is a sad story from start to finish.

No mint julep at this time of year – a batch of eggnog is waiting.



Railroads in the Gettysburg Campaign

by Scott L. Mingus, Sr.

The shrill sound of steam whistles echoed through the lush countryside in rural Adams County, Pennsylvania, in the weeks following the July 1-3, 1863, battle of Gettysburg. Long trains of rail cars, filled with wounded soldiers in blue and gray, slowly steamed eastward into York County. From there, the injured men were destined for further rail transport to formal U. S. Army hospitals in York, Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, and a host of other communities. The rails were uneven; the ride was agonizing for most patients. A few did not make it, expiring in the hastily improvised cars and being buried upon arrival or

prepared for further shipment home to family members. Others would expire in the next few weeks, unable to be saved despite the efforts of often overworked military and civilian physicians and surgeons. For most of the wounded, the often-torturous ride out of Gettysburg was the first step in a long road to convalescence and eventual recovery.

Railroads played a key role in the Gettysburg Campaign, not only after the battle in carrying wounded men away from the borough for subsequent treatment, but also to transport ammunition and supplies for the Union forces gathered at Gettysburg during and immediately after the battle.

Confederate forces frequently targeted the railroads that ran between Maryland and Pennsylvania in an effort to disrupt the Union supply network. Rebel troops destroyed scores of bridges, culverts, turntables,

warehouses, engine houses, switches, and rails in multiple counties in the days before the battle. And yet, through the valiant efforts of Brigadier General Herman Haupt and his hard-working crews of the United States Military Railroad, almost all of the railroads were back in operation within two weeks enabling the transport of the wounded.

Those key railroads were, from west to east, the Cumberland Valley Railroad (Hagerstown, Maryland, to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), the Gettysburg Railroad (Gettysburg to Hanover), the Littlestown Railroad (Hanover to Littlestown), the Western Maryland Railroad (Baltimore County to Westminster, Maryland), the Hanover Branch Railroad (Hanover to Hanover Junction), and the Northern Central Railway. The latter was the largest and arguably most important of these lines, running from Baltimore northward through Harrisburg all the way to Elmira, New York. The NCR—along with its archival



Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad—had long been a major route for vast amounts of supplies and soldiers headed for Washington, D.C., through Baltimore. The Pennsylvania Railroad and the Baltimore & Ohio both played auxiliary roles in the Gettysburg Campaign but much of the focus was on the aforementioned smaller railroads in south-central Pennsylvania.

The Cumberland Valley Railroad began operations in 1837 between Harrisburg and Chambersburg. By the Civil War, it had taken operational control of the Franklin Railroad from Chambersburg south to Hagerstown. In the spring of 1861, the CVRR transported Brig. Gen. Robert Patterson and his newly raised Union volunteers to their training camps in Chambersburg. Later, the CVRR/FRR carried Patterson's force to Hagerstown, from which the aged general staged his foray into the Shenandoah Valley. He had failed to pin down Confederates under Gen. Joseph Johnston, allowing Johnston to move his army via rail to Manassas Junction in time to join P.G.T. Beauregard in defeating the Union army at First Manassas/Bull Run. In 1862, the CVRR again provided vital support, transporting equipment, ammunition, guns, and supplies for George McClellan's Army of the Potomac during the Maryland Campaign. Robert E. Lee dispatched Jeb Stuart's cavalry to wreck the CVRR in October 1862. Stuart's cavaliers burned the key railroad buildings in Chambersburg, forcing the railroad company to rebuild.

Now, in the early summer of 1863, the Cumberland Valley Railroad again faced the Confederate torch. It would be the first of multiple railroads in south-central Pennsylvania to attract unwanted Rebel attention. In the two weeks before the battle of Gettysburg, Rebel cavalry under Brig. Gen. Albert Gallatin Jenkins tore down telegraph lines and burned key bridges (including a strategically significant one at Scotland north of Chambersburg). Jenkins' men preceded the infantry of Lt. Gen. Richard S. Ewell's Second Corps. Ewell's men did further damage to the CVRR. Major General Robert Rodes' division destroyed the railroad at Carlisle in the northern Cumberland Valley, again focusing on bridges and railroad infrastructure.

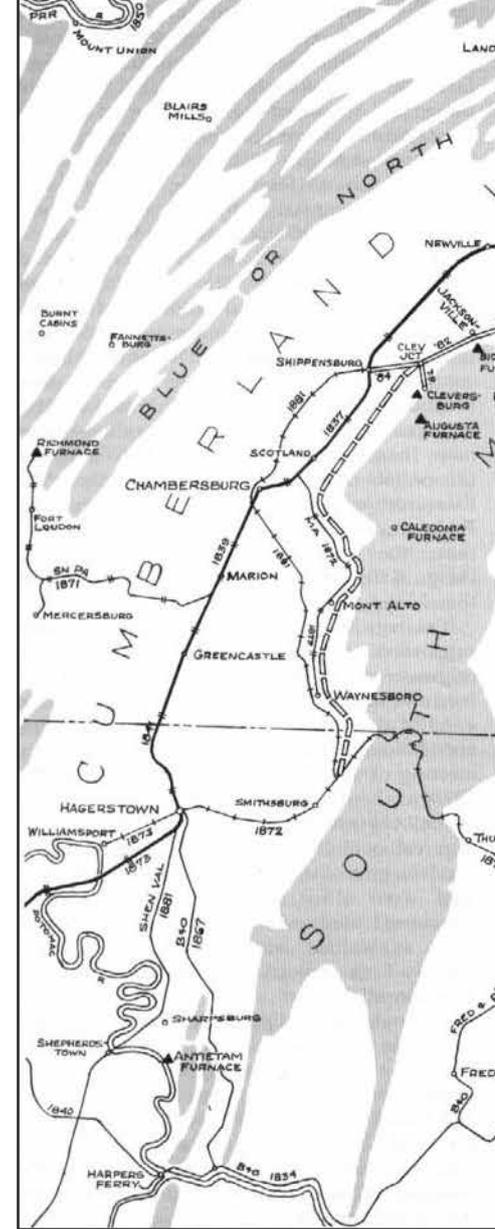
The major damage to the CVRR came, however, from Maj. Gen. George E. Pickett's Virginians. In the rear of the Army of Northern Virginia, they had

the luxury of taking their time to attend to the railroad. Soldiers pulled up the rails of the subsidiary Franklin Railroad south of Chambersburg and bent them over blazing piles of cross-ties. They destroyed switches and culverts. On July 1, while the battle of Gettysburg opened some 25 miles to the east, Pickett and his men again burned the offices, engine house, turntables, depot, and other buildings the CVRR had rebuilt in Chambersburg following Stuart's 1862 foray. Little did the residents of Chambersburg know that significantly greater destruction to their town awaited them a little more than a year after the Gettysburg Campaign when "Tiger John" McCausland's Rebels applied the torch liberally to private homes, businesses, and churches in July 1864.

Across South Mountain to east, in Adams and York counties, railroad officials had been busy pondering the fate of their own lines should Lee's Confederates come calling. The NCR, in particular, began erecting defenses. Work crews—paid and unpaid, black and white, railroad employees and refugees—toiled in the bright sunshine to construct earthworks, rifle pits, blockhouses, and barricades to protect the railroads. They focused their efforts on protecting bridges, especially the two vital passenger and railroad bridges across the Susquehanna River linking the Cumberland Valley to Harrisburg.

More than 30 miles downstream, the only other bridge south of Harrisburg before the Mason-Dixon Line linked Wrightsville in York County to Columbia in Lancaster County. The wooden bridge, at the time the world's longest covered bridge, also connected the Northern Central Railway to the Pennsylvania Railroad and to the Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad. It was also the key bridge on the long turnpike between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, a road that included the soon-to-be famous section between Chambersburg, Cashtown, and Gettysburg.

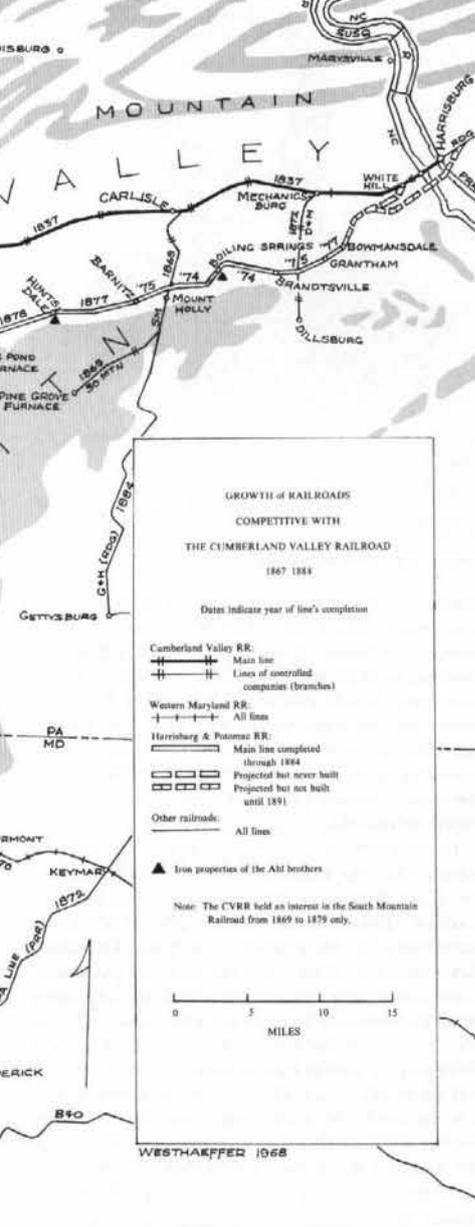
On the rainy morning of June 26, 1863, the Confederates of Maj. Gen. Jubal A. Early's division departed their temporary camps along the western slopes of South Mountain in Franklin County. They marched eastward across the mountain gaps and easily captured Gettysburg, scattering hastily-organized Pennsylvania militia that had arrived via train earlier that day. Early's men lacked sufficient empty wagons, having left their supply train behind in order to



march faster. Hence, after taking what the men could haul themselves, they torched several railcars of supplies the militiamen had brought with them. For good measure, the Rebels burned the Gettysburg Railroad's covered bridge over Rock Creek east of town.

Early and his men headed on June 27 to York, again destroying bridges and ripping down telegraph wires between Gettysburg and Hanover. Lieutenant Colonel Elijah V. White's 35th Battalion, Virginia Cavalry occupied Hanover, riding among the railroad buildings but not causing much destruction in the town. Outside of town, however, was another matter and several bridges on the Hanover Branch Railroad fell victim to the firebrands. Barrels of Pennsylvania coal oil poured over the old wooden structures provided the accelerant.

Riding into Hanover Junction at 2 p.m., "Lige" White's troopers (deemed later in the war as "the Comanches" for their Indian-like war cries and lightning swift raids) again brandished the torch. After readily chasing off more frightened state emergency militiamen, they destroyed



several railcars, the turntable, and a number of bridges on the intersecting, north-south-running Northern Central Railway. Over the next two days, White as well as Col. William H. French's 17th Virginia Cavalry, ruined 12 bridges on the NCR's main line in York County, as well as 19 bridges and culverts on the east-west spur from York to Wrightsville. On the evening of Sunday, June 28, the

state militia, augmented with patients from the U. S. Army General Hospital in nearby York and a home guard company of local black men, defended the massive covered bridge over the mile-and-a-quarter-wide Susquehanna River. After a brief firefight, the Union men retreated eastward across the bridge and ordered four civilian volunteers to set it on fire. Early's men desperately tried to extinguish the blaze but failed. Six hours later, the bridge was gone, severing the rail and highway connection between York and Philadelphia.

Meanwhile that same day, Jubal Early ransomed York for massive amounts of supplies and shoes, as well as \$100,000 in cash (he received \$28,610 in door-to-door canvassing of the town by civic officials). General Ewell sent word to Early late on June 29 to prepare his division to march the following down westward to Heidlersburg, essentially retracing their line of march used to reach York from Gettysburg on June 27. Early had his soldiers burn several railcars left behind by the NCR. The feisty Virginian, however, refrained from torching the depot and nearby structures for fear the blaze could start an uncontrollable inferno that might consume much of the borough of 8,600 people. York became the largest town in the North to fall to the Confederates in the entire Civil War but received little in the way of physical damage from the Rebel incursion. A year later, Early showed no such mercy, ordering John McCausland to destroy Chambersburg some 50 miles west of York.

At the same time that Early was marching back to Adams County on Tuesday, June 30, Union cavalry under Brig. Gen. John Buford had occupied Gettysburg. Witnessing a foray by Confederates of

Pettigrew's brigade of Heth's division, Buford prepared to defend the town. West of Gettysburg, two unfinished railroad cuts, designed for the planned westward expansion of the Gettysburg Railroad, figured in his planning. Well to the south of Gettysburg, the Western Maryland's railhead at Westminster, Maryland, remained intact. Jeb Stuart had driven off a small defensive force on June 29 but he had not wrecked the railroad. That enabled the Army of the Potomac to use Westminster as a staging area for supplies sent there during the battle from Baltimore via the Northern Central and Western Maryland.

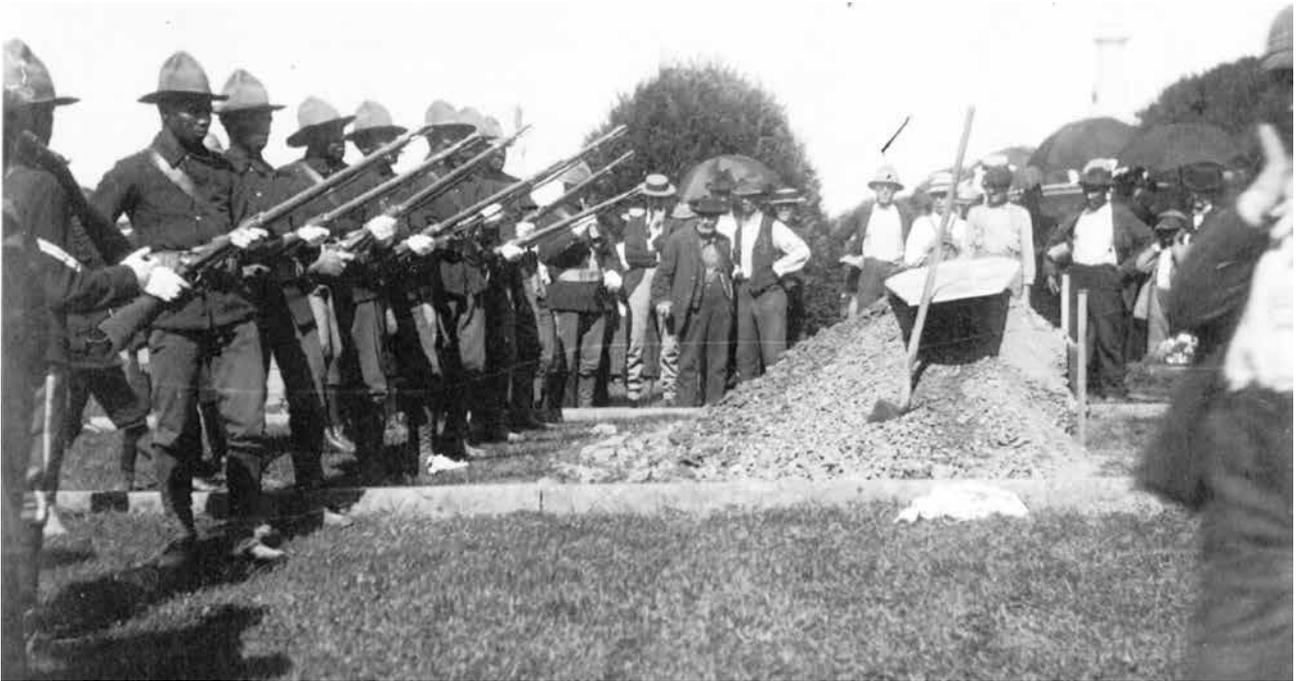
Union and Confederate forces collided on July 1-3 at Gettysburg. One of the first temporary field hospitals was established in the Gettysburg Railroad's depot on Carlisle Street. With telegraph service out across much of south-central Pennsylvania, it took effort to restrung the lines in order for news of the battle to be relayed from the Hanover Branch Railroad's three-story depot in Hanover Junction to government and army officials, as well as to newspapers across the North.

Almost immediately, the U. S. Department of War began preparations to move additional supplies into position at Westminster and to begin repairing the CVRR, Gettysburg Railroad, Hanover Branch RR, and the Northern Central Railway. General Haupt, a Pennsylvanian intimately knowledgeable about the lines in south-central Pennsylvania, led an efficient process to repair or replace the burned bridges and switched. By July 7, Haupt had made sufficient repairs to allow the evacuation of wounded from Gettysburg.

Twice a day, sometimes more depending upon the availability of rolling stock and



The Railroad Cut, Gettysburg National Military Park, Pa.



Burial at the National Cemetery

crews, the railroad network over the next several weeks evacuated more than 14,000 wounded soldiers, both Union and Confederate, from the temporary field hospitals. The depot on N. Carlisle Street was one point of collection; the others were at the railheads south of town at Westminster or Littlestown, as well as in Hanover. Among those taken by train to more permanent army hospitals was Union Maj. Gen. Daniel E. Sickles of Peach Orchard fame. An ambulance carried him to Littlestown, from which he took the cars through Hanover Junction south to Baltimore.

Confederate prisoners taken at Gettysburg were often herded into railcars and transported to Fort Delaware near Philadelphia, to Fort McHenry in Baltimore, and to other prison camps, some as far away as Johnson Island in northern Ohio. Railroads brought relief workers to Gettysburg to help in the hospitals or, later, at Camp Letterman, the temporary army hospital established east of town. The railcars also brought curiosity seekers, as well as anxious families seeking news

of missing loved ones or coming on the somber mission to locate a grave and recover their fallen soldier.

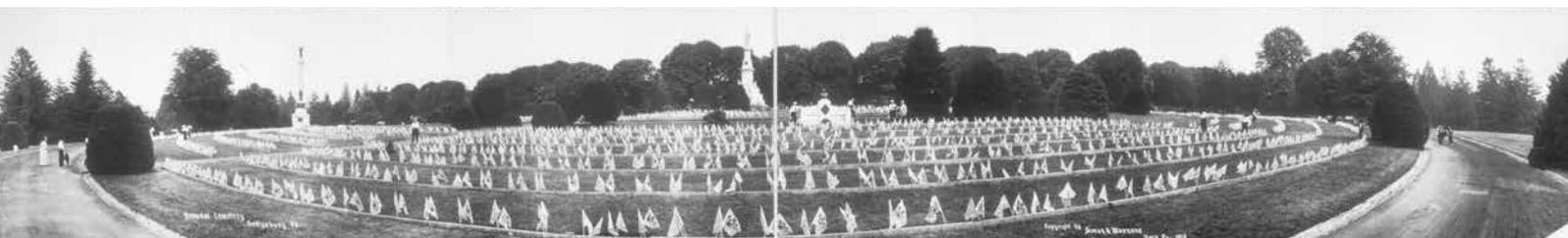
In mid-November, the rail network again brought throngs to Gettysburg for the dedication of the new Soldiers National Cemetery. Among the visitors traveling to the war-torn borough via rail was President Abraham Lincoln, coming to deliver a few dedicatory remarks, a brief speech that has down in history as the poignant Gettysburg Address. Lincoln used the Baltimore & Ohio RR to go from Washington to Baltimore. He then switched to the Northern Central Railway for the two-hour ride north to Hanover Junction. After a brief delay there while awaiting a southbound train from Harrisburg carrying several Northern governors and other dignitaries, Lincoln's five-car train headed west on the Hanover Branch RR to Hanover and then on through New Oxford on the Gettysburg Railroad. He alighted from the train at the Carlisle Street station and stayed overnight at the home of attorney David Wills. The following day, Lincoln repeated the process in reverse while heading back

to the Executive Mansion.

Despite the Confederates' best efforts to render the railroads of south-central Pennsylvania impotent, through the efforts of Herman Haupt and his often unsung USMRR crews, regular passenger service resumed on all affected lines within mere weeks of the battle of Gettysburg. The sound of steam whistles reassured the populace they were again connected to the outside world.



Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road logo



National Cemetery, Gettysburg,

TWO LETTERS FROM POLIGNAC

by Charles Priestley

In an earlier article ("Crossfire" Number 114, Summer 2017), I quoted briefly from a letter written to Beauregard on March 22, 1861, by Prince Camille de Polignac, the future Confederate Major-General. The letter is in fact worth studying in its entirety, not merely for its significance as a historical document but also for the glimpse it gives us of Polignac's character and personality. In its somewhat naïve view of America and Americans, it forms an interesting contrast to a letter which Polignac wrote thirty-five years later to be read out before a reunion of the veterans of his old Texas brigade.

The 1861 letter is in French, which was Beauregard's first language; according to his biographer T. Harry Williams, Beauregard "probably could not speak English until he was twelve years of age." A copy of the letter is held in the Hill Library at Louisiana State University, and I was able to obtain a scanned version of this through the kind offices of Dr. Germain Bienvenu there. The letter was accompanied by a typescript translation. This is in general reasonably accurate, but it does contain several errors which unfortunately have been repeated by writers in English on Polignac who have clearly relied on the typescript translation rather than going back to the French original. In translating the letter now myself, I have tried to be as faithful as I can to what Polignac actually wrote, while at the same time avoiding a too literal translation which would sound unnatural in English; I have also inserted punctuation here and there where the sense demands it. Here, then, is Polignac's letter to Beauregard:

"Paris, March 22, 1861

"Sir,

"I do not know whether you will recall meeting me in New York, a little over a year ago, at the office of your friend and mine Major Barnard. In expectation of my visiting New Orleans, you were good enough to invite me to tour the defences which had been constructed through your efforts. Unfortunately, I



A bareheaded Polignac in Confederate uniform

was unable to take advantage of your kind invitation, being forced, to my great regret, to return at short notice to France. Since then, I have followed with great interest the momentous events which have been unfolding in your country, and all my sympathies have been with the Democratic Party, whose rights, it seems to me, are unquestionable. I was pleased to see that you had been appointed to the command of the military forces of South Carolina; please allow me to congratulate you. I regularly see over here compatriots of yours interested in the cause of the South, including your acquaintances Messrs. Michael Heine, Calhoun (of Louisiana) etc. All of these gentlemen have told me that, according to the reports they received, one of the objects of the new government was to form a regular army large enough at least to guard the frontiers. Since you may perhaps have some difficulty

in raising a mobile body of troops*, given the lack of poor and unemployed men in your happy country, I felt that I should let you know you that I might be in a position, should you wish to have recourse to this, to supply you with some Irishmen, through one of my cousins who has estates in Ireland and who recently offered the French Government 10,000 peasants for Algeria. Enlisting is very much in fashion at the moment, thanks to Garibaldi, Türr and Klapka, although, because of the coming events in Italy and Hungary, these three absorb a large proportion of it in all countries. I would also be able to find a number of retired French non-commissioned officers who could be useful in specialist arms of service. I am well aware that, while you have no lack of quality over there, it may perhaps be otherwise where numbers are concerned, whereas in France we have, at least, no shortage of numbers.

"I write to you about all this as a soldier. I was in the French Army. I served my apprenticeship in the trenches before Sebastopol, but I have always had a deep admiration for your country. I have always considered it my adopted country, a country where one day I should be happy to settle. Indeed, I left the French Army purely in order to start to put this plan into effect. When I was charged by a transit company in Nicaragua to which I belonged with organising the defence of the works, the government of Nicaragua put all its forces at my disposal, with the power to modify them as I saw fit, in order to fortify the weak points on the coast and protect the country. As this was an international enterprise, my idea was to propose to the government of the United States that it put me in charge of protecting and guaranteeing the lives and goods of those of its subjects making use of the transit. It was to be a sort of military consulate, set up in that country by the United States, and one which would have been helpful to them in counterbalancing the influence of England, which is both very harmful to them and disastrous to Central America. I will not bore you with the details of this plan, which I explained in its entirety, while in New York, to Messrs. Slidell and Benjamin, and which failed through lack of funds. I merely wanted to show you that I continue the traditions which make sisters of our two nations, and that I would be happy to offer your cause the gift of my person.

"Forgive this long letter, and allow me to clasp your hand warmly and extend to you my very best wishes."

*[This is a literal translation of Polignac's phrase "un corps de troupes mobile". What exactly Polignac meant by this phrase is not clear, but Daniel Frankignoul of the Confederate Historical Association of Belgium suggests that Polignac probably had in mind something similar to the later French Garde Mobile, a locally-raised force responsible for security and public order, especially in the case of invasion by enemy troops – in other words something like the Confederate Home Guard].

How much of what Polignac says in this letter should we take at face value? In reality, probably not very much, apart from his obvious desire to find a position of some sort in the Confederacy. Polignac's biographer Jeff Kinard has aptly pointed out that it reads like "any typical job application". Polignac, like many another job applicant, is exaggerating his qualifications and experience, emphasising his enthusiasm for the

job in question and making extravagant claims in order to appeal to potential employers.

Let us start with his claim to be able to supply troops to the fledgling Confederate Army. It is perfectly possible that Polignac had a cousin, presumably on his mother's side of the family, with estates in Ireland; what is less easy to believe is that this cousin had offered the French government 10,000 Irish peasants for service in Algeria, or that Polignac himself might be able to procure numbers of them for the Confederacy. Equally, how could he, as a mere second lieutenant who had resigned his commission two years before, hope to be able to persuade all of these experienced French non-commissioned officers to join the Confederate service? It is not even clear what Polignac meant by "the coming events in Italy and Hungary". With the invasion and occupation of the old Bourbon Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, most of Italy was now forcibly unified under the Piedmont monarchy. Garibaldi had retired to Caprera, although he did attempt an unsuccessful assault on Rome in the summer of 1862. István Türr was now a general in the Italian Army and was also being entrusted with certain delicate diplomatic missions by King Victor



This photo is thought to be Polignac in a French uniform. He is wearing the Kei or bicorne hat.



The Nicaragua Transit Route

Emmanuel. György Klapka was in exile. It is true that Türr and Klapka planned another abortive Hungarian national uprising together, but that was not until 1866.

Then there is the question of what exactly Polignac was doing in Nicaragua. We know that he arrived in Costa Rica sometime in March 1859, spent a few weeks there and then went on to Nicaragua. He can have been in Nicaragua for no more than about three or four months, since after that he returned to Costa Rica and spent four months there before boarding a ship for New York in November, 1859. Writers in English have asserted that Polignac was working for the Nicaraguan government, yet he states clearly that he was employed by "a transit company". There was much international interest in Central America at this time for a number of reasons, but one reason for Nicaragua's importance was the discovery of gold in California in 1848; Nicaragua provided probably the shortest and most secure route between New York and San Francisco. There were a number of attempts to make use of this route, and Michael Schreiber's excellent article in *Nicarao, the Philatelic Journal of the Nicaragua Study Group* (Volume 25,



Number 2) provides a clear summary of what is an extremely complicated story, involving a large number of different companies and entrepreneurs.

The first passengers for California via Nicaragua left New York in February, 1849. Shortly after this, Cornelius Vanderbilt inevitably became involved. His American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company was incorporated in Nicaragua in March, 1850, and began operations in July the following year. In August of that year, Vanderbilt's partner, Joseph Livingston White, secured the agreement of the Nicaraguan authorities to the creation of a new company, the Accessory Transport Company, to operate the route. During Vanderbilt's absence in Europe in 1853, White and an accomplice were able to gain temporary control of this company, and two years later operations were interrupted by the invasion of Nicaragua by William Walker and his filibusters, who seized the company's assets and used its steamers to ferry in new recruits. Although Vanderbilt had by then regained control of his company and was able to use his money and influence to ensure that Walker was finally ousted, regular service on the Nicaraguan transit route ceased in early 1857, and Vanderbilt's interest increasingly shifted thereafter to Panama.

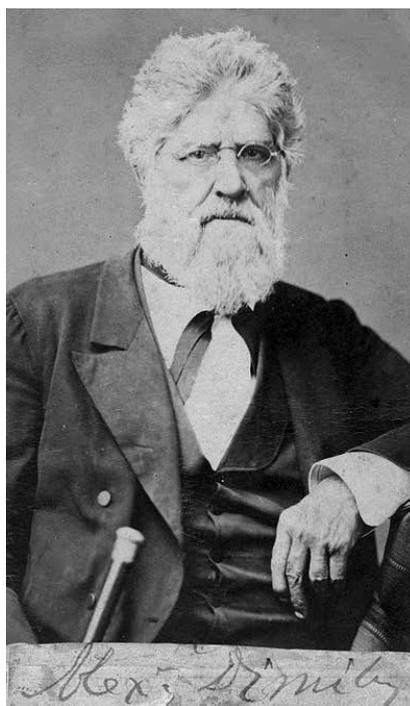
Though regular service on the transit route was not resumed until 1864, Vanderbilt's former partner Joseph L. White made two attempts, in 1858 and 1859, to reopen it. White was a former member of the House of Representatives from Indiana. Vanderbilt's most recent biographer, T.J. Stiles, describes him as "an astonishingly vain and treacherous man", who had "double-crossed" Vanderbilt more than once." White had a misplaced but unshakeable belief in his own abilities, and was somehow able to persuade others at times to share this belief. He had now formed a new company, the American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company, in early 1858, and in November of that year one of his steamers arrived at Greytown, Nicaragua, from New York with passengers bound for the land route, by road and

river, to the Pacific coast and then on by ship to California. White's contract had not been ratified, however, and the Nicaraguan authorities refused to let him land. Meanwhile, his steamer on the Pacific side had to be sold through lack of funds. Nothing daunted, White announced in September, 1859, that a

new company of his, the United States and Central America Transit Company, would begin operations on October 5. This scheme, too, fell through, this time from lack of river steamers.

There was thus no transit company actually operating in Nicaragua during the three or four months which Polignac spent there in the spring and summer of 1859. Given that White was planning to start operations in October, however, either he himself or one of his agents must have been in Nicaragua for some months before this time in order to make all the necessary preparations. It was presumably the United States and Central America Transit Company, then, which employed Polignac during his time in Nicaragua. It is less easy to see why White and his partners would have put him in charge of organising the various defences which he mentions, since he was not an engineer but had served in a light cavalry regiment; possibly he was able to convince them that his military experience was wider than it really was, or perhaps they simply felt that a French aristocrat with some military experience would be a useful addition to the Board. What appears highly unlikely is that the Nicaraguan government would have put "all its forces" at his disposal for the work of fortifying the route. Previous agreements between Nicaragua and individual transit companies had given the company the right to fortify, but it is clear that this work was intended to be the responsibility of the company, not of the Nicaraguan government.

In any case, Polignac cannot have spent very long in White's employ, because he must have been back in Costa Rica by the end of July. Perhaps he and White had fallen out, or perhaps he had simply realised that there was no substance beneath White's bluster. Whatever the reason for his leaving Nicaragua, Polignac probably devoted much of the four months he now spent in Costa Rica to planning his next move. A draft treaty of 1857 signed by Buchanan's Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, and the Nicaraguan Minister to the United States had given the United States "rights to all transit routes, their security and protection, and the right to protect the lives and property of U.S. citizens." It must have been this which inspired Polignac to formulate the plan which he was later to present to Slidell and Benjamin, and to propose that he be appointed some sort of military representative of the United States, with responsibility for protecting the transit



Alexander Dimitry

route. It was, by any standards, an extraordinarily audacious proposal to be put forward by a young man of 27, and a foreigner at that, with little real military experience and no connection with the United States, but then Polignac was never lacking in confidence. Certainly he seems to have succeeded in convincing Alexander Dimitry of Louisiana, the U.S. Minister to Costa Rica and Nicaragua, since it was Dimitry who gave Polignac the letters of introduction to Slidell and Benjamin.

What, though, was his real reason for leaving France to travel to Central America? Was it really, as he claims in his letter, both to help the United States to counter Britain's baleful influence in the region and to enable himself eventually to settle in the United States? Whatever he may have said, then or later, there is no real evidence that either of these considerations was in his mind when he crossed the Atlantic. Certainly Britain had an interest in Central America at this time; indeed, the Mosquito (Miskito) Coast of Nicaragua and Honduras was a British Protectorate until 1860. There had been clashes in the past between British and Americans in Nicaragua and, despite the 1850 Bulwer-Lytton Treaty between the two countries, many American politicians may well still have been nervous of the British presence in the region. Polignac himself, however, had no reason to be anti-British. He was, after all, half English himself, his mother being the Honourable Maria Charlotte Parkyns, daughter of the 1st Baron Ranciliffe. Furthermore, Polignac's father had been French Ambassador to Britain during the reign of Charles X, had spent a number of years, as a Royalist exile, in London and had many English friends. As with Polignac's repeated protestations of love for the United States, the most likely conclusion is that he was once again playing the part of a candidate for a job, telling his interviewers what he thought that they would want to hear. From an early age, Polignac had shown himself almost obsessively determined to make a name for himself and to prove himself worthy of his ancestors. His unexpected failure, in 1852, to pass the entrance examination to the École Polytechnique, and thus, on graduation, to be automatically commissioned into the French Army, was therefore a severe setback. He refused to be daunted, however, resolved instead to work his way up through the ranks and accordingly

enlisted the following year as a private in the 3rd. Chasseurs. Learning, in the spring of 1854, that the 4th. Hussars was being sent to the Crimea, he managed to get himself transferred to that regiment, distinguished himself in the fighting before Sebastopol and was finally commissioned second lieutenant in the Chasseurs d'Afrique in July, 1855. The simplest explanation, then, for his choosing to travel to Central America in 1859 may well be the correct one - that he saw the region as likely to provide the sort of opportunity to win fame which the peacetime French Army could not.

As we know, the plan which Polignac presented to Slidell and Benjamin in late 1859 never came to fruition. Nevertheless, it can be said to have led indirectly to his distinguished career in the Confederate Army. While in New York, Polignac had met Slidell, Benjamin and Beauregard. He and Benjamin had become particularly friendly, and the two remained in contact long after Polignac's return to Paris, where, as he says, he followed closely the dramatic events taking place in America. In March, 1861, the infant Confederacy sent its first three Commissioners to Europe, William Lowndes Yancey, Ambrose Dudley Mann and the French-born Pierre A. Rost. On March 9, Benjamin wrote to Polignac about Rost as follows:

"I beg of you to extend to him all the aid in your power towards the accomplishment of the object we have in view – any hints, suggestions, or information that you can give will be valuable and will be highly appreciated, and all courtesies that you may be able to render him will be particularly acknowledged as a favor to myself."

This, however, was unfortunately not the sort of assignment likely to appeal to Polignac's restless and ambitious nature. The result, less than a fortnight later, was his letter to Beauregard.

It would be a great mistake, at this point, to see Polignac as nothing more than an adventurer or a soldier of fortune. Certainly he was determined to make his mark, but he also needed a cause in which he could believe. His family was a Royalist one. His grandfather had fought against the French Revolution in the émigré Army of Condé and had then joined the Russian service, as had other members of the family, and his father had continued the fight against Napoleon. He would have seen himself as following in their footsteps. How

much he was influenced in his choice by his earlier meetings in New York with Slidell, Benjamin and other Southerners it is difficult to know, but all the evidence is that in the Confederacy he had found a cause to which he could devote himself wholeheartedly. From then on, he showed total and unconditional loyalty to the South. Commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel on July 6, 1861, he was promoted to Brigadier-General on January 10, 1863, for his performance the previous August at Richmond, Kentucky, was made Major-General on April 8, 1864, after the victory at Mansfield and in January, 1865, embarked for France, at his own suggestion, in a final, desperate attempt to persuade Napoleon III to intervene on behalf of the Confederacy.

For the rest of his life, Polignac never wavered in his conviction that the South had been right. In 1896, over 30 years since the end of the war, he drafted an address to the surviving veterans of his old Texas brigade, sending it to a "Mr. Derden" with the request that it be read out "at the next Confederate meeting." This is a very different document from his 1861 letter to Beauregard. With the benefit now of four years' service in the Confederate Army and another thirty years of reflection, Polignac sets out, clearly and cogently, the reasons for the Civil War as he sees them, explaining why, in his opinion, the South had no option but to secede and why he himself was naturally drawn to volunteer for the Confederate cause. The manuscript address, together with its accompanying typescript letter and two photographs of Polignac, was sold through Heritage Auctions on June 8, 2010. It fetched \$1,900. It reads as follows:

"Honoured Confederate Soldiers & companions in arms!

"Many years have come & gone since the time when rising for the defense of your rights you stood shoulder to shoulder amid the clash of arms & in the din of battle, yet often still some magnetic attraction turns my thoughts towards the fading shadows of the Past, & as my mind dwells on the warlike incidents of those memorable days, I ever feel thankful that the opportunity was afforded me of devoting a span of my life, however brief, to the Defense of the South, & proud to have had the honour of leading into battle many of its noble Sons, none of whom more patriotic or better remembered than

the gallant citizens of your State. To an impartial mind, at this distance of time, the fierce struggle assumed even greater proportions & a more significant import than that which at the time appeared involved in the particularities of the contest. To justify this remark, it is only necessary to recall into mind the two main currents of political opinion which ran in the United States prior to the war. In the North, more especially in New-England, the leading men of the day aimed at a greater concentration of political Power & advocated the Supremacy of the Federal Government over the States. The Southern Statesmen unanimously denounced that tendency as unconstitutional. They contended that, in practice, it must end in placing a dictatorial power in the hands of an oligarchy & would leave all interests, general & local, at the mercy of a shifting majority. In conformity with the traditions established by the Founders of the great Republic, they adhered to the doctrine of States-rights as the only means of preserving an equitable Balance of Power throughout the Union. With these two conflicting political tendencies, viewed in the abstract, the social question of domestic slavery had nothing

whatever to do. The two opposed doctrines & consequently the main issue would have remained the same if Slavery had already ceased to exist

in the Southern States, only, in this case the Northern wire-pullers would have had to screen their selfish aims & motives behind another – possibly less convenient – pretext. In espousing the cause of political Decentralization as against the undue predominance of a Central Power, you have fought the universal & ever recurring fight of Liberty against Oppression for such is indeed the lesson which the History of the World teaches. It shows that individual rights & civic liberties can only be maintained through a wholesome division of political Power & are incompatible with too great a Centralization of Authority & an absorption [sic] of political initiative, which tho' it may put forward the excuse & assume the appearance of benevolent State-paternalism, sooner or later degenerates into Party favouritism & oppression.

“Viewed in this light the Southern cause ceases to appear as the mere outcome of petty & temporary party squabbles, but assumes a wider importance & must appeal strongly to the sympathies of all Lovers of Freedom & Justice, at all times & in all countries.

“That our immediate object was not attained, does not affect the substance of the Principle involved in our Cause. He who only fights for spoils & plunder needs success indeed to save him from disgrace. But he who fights in defense of a high principle can face

adversity unblushingly & with brows erect. If our Cause was unrewarded by Victory, it was unstained by Defeat, & the gigantic effort of the Southern people in their struggle for Liberty will for ever remain a noble Example of Civic Virtue set to their own generation & to generations yet unborn throughout the world.

“From the beginning of the struggle, disregarding all side-issues, my mind had fully grasped the principle which lay at the root of the contest & it was the consideration of the higher motives herein referred to, which impelled me to go out & join your ranks in battle, not as a common adventurer but as a thinking man, with an upright purpose seeking no personal advantage beyond the honour of devoting his youthful energies, bodily & mental to the defense of everlasting Principles of justice & liberty. The testimonies of regard which my former companions in arms are pleased to send me from time to time across the Ocean I accept gratefully as a proof that I did not err in my appreciation of the Southern Cause, & those welcome tokens fill my heart with legitimate pride & with responsive feelings of esteem & friendship.

“That God may vouchsafe prosperity to your families & to your country is the most fervent wish of your former General C. J. Polignac”

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Depicting Combat:

Veracity in drawings by Frank Vizetelly and Alfred Waud

by Graham Whitham

Illustrated newspapers and 'specials'

...all battle art to this time had been drawn in studios and commercial art rooms by artists whose closest experience with combat was in most instances a monthly battle with their bill-collectors... [They] portrayed warfare in the romantic and heroic traditions of strenuous hand-to-hand combat by bare-chested heroes and occasionally a general dying magnificently on the battlefield in the arms of his grief-stricken aides. (1)

During the Civil War, established traditions of depicting battle scenes as described above were transformed by so-called special artists, familiarly known as 'specials'. Employed by illustrated newspapers, 'specials' often travelled with the armies, drew what they saw and, as a result, depicted aspects of war in a relatively truthful way. From an historian's point of view, these drawings and the published engravings made from them provide evidence that contributes to a fuller understanding of the war. But how far are we able to rely on these pictures as accurate testimony? Just as the written word can present us with a subjective and biased view, so can drawings.

'Specials' were not impartial reporters; how could they be? Like anyone, they had their own opinions and beliefs, and they also had their own artistic methods and practices which determined the appearance of drawings and, consequently, how they were 'read'. What's more, 'specials' were employed by newspapers with economic and political objectives; even if artists aspired to absolute truth, it was editors who selected what was published and had a say in what they looked like, since the drawings were transcribed by engravers under the direction of those editors.

Notwithstanding the subjectivity of the artist and the vagaries of publishing, drawings were the only way of visually recording combat. Despite its sophistication and quality, photography couldn't do this; the equipment was cumbersome, the materials of the wet-plate collodion technology dangerous, and exposure times were typically a few seconds, making movement blurred. Besides, in the 1860s photographs could not be printed in newspapers; the first photograph printed as a halftone

reproduction in an American paper was eight years after the end of the Civil War. So, the only ostensibly truthful images of fighting reached the public as engravings made from artists' drawings and published in illustrated weeklies.

Daily newspapers in mid-nineteenth century America occasionally included pictures related to news events, but the wood engraving process used for reproducing images was labour intensive and costly (2). However, there was a demand for images and a number of illustrated weekly newspapers began to appear that attempted to fill the gap left by the dailies. Whilst economic and technical difficulties forced some out of business, in 1856 Henry Carter, who used the pen name Frank Leslie, successfully published Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper. An English immigrant with six years experience working in the engraving department at the Illustrated London News, Leslie modelled his publication on this first and oldest illustrated newspaper. The circulation of Leslie's periodical grew impressively and its success inspired similar ventures, notably Harper's Weekly, founded a year after Leslie's journal, and the New York Illustrated News, founded in 1859.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, illustrated newspapers began to employ 'specials' as visual reporters to draw battles, life in camp, armies on the march, and other things of interest. Generally working quickly to capture the immediacy of the scene, 'specials' would often re-draw their rapid on-the-spot sketches to create a finished picture that could be copied by engravers. The Harper's Weekly 'special' Theodore Davis bemoaned the problems of sketching quickly whilst on a battlefield:

...there would be no time to secure detailed sketches, and under some circumstances it would often be impossible to get more than a very rough sketch from which to finish a drawing of some very important occurrence. (3)

The transposition of a quick sketch into a finished drawing ready for the engraver might sometimes result in the artist adding elements he remembered but had been unable to draw at the time, or he might change features for editorial or aesthetic reasons. Such amendments could compromise the drawing's authenticity.

To remain newsworthy, drawings were dispatched to newspaper offices as quickly as possible using horse courier or the army's mail service. Once at the offices, a grid of squares or rectangles was put on the drawing's surface so different engravers could work from the various sections, which speeded up the copying process. When completed, the engraved wooden blocks were screwed together and electrotyped (4). Generally, an engraving from a drawn image appeared in print two to three weeks after its creation.

Between 1861 and 1865, tens of thousands of drawings depicting various aspects of the war were made by 'specials', ranging from notational sketches of a few lines quickly drawn, to highly finished, detailed renderings. However, only about two thousand of those sent to American publishers were engraved and printed.

In order to make their drawings, 'specials' often travelled with the armies and endured considerable hardships. After the Battle of Shiloh, the artist Henri Lovie wrote to his employer,

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper:

Riding from 10 to 15 miles daily, through wood and underbrush, and then working until midnight by the dim light of an attenuated tallow 'dip' are among the least of my *désagrémens* and sorrows. To use an indigenous but expressive phrase, I am nearly 'played out', and as soon as Pittsburgh is worked up, and Corinth settled, I must beg a furlough for rest and repairs. I am deranged about the stomach, ragged, unkempt and unshorn, and need the conjoined skill and services of the apothecary, the tailor and the barber, and above all the attentions of home and the cheerful prattle of children, who, by this time, would almost have forgotten that they had a father...

In the same report, *Leslie's* also published an extract from another of their 'specials':

We were only able to buy the fag-ends of the sutler's stores on board ship – no flour, or sugar, or meal, only preserved meats and 'stuff' that needs no cooking. Our diet therefore is simple, if not cheap, consisting of hard ship biscuit – which we beg of the marines opposite – harder salt tongue, and coffee without milk or sugar. Add to this that we have to take a big dose of quinine every morning to keep off the fever; that sandflies and mosquitoes are abundant and of gigantic size; that our sleeping arrangements imply no blankets, which I neglected to bring and I cannot buy; imagine all this and more, and you will form some notion of the delights of a 'Special Artist' off the mouth of the Mississippi. (5)

Danger was also present. If a 'special' wanted to get close to the fighting in order to record it, he risked his life. The artist Edwin Forbes wrote:

The fighting here was very severe; huge columns of yellow smoke rolled up from the roads; the faint rattle and roll of distant musketry came across the open fields, interrupted occasionally by the boom of a heavy gun...I was in the hottest of the fire for quite awhile. When I attempted to get away I found myself cornered. I started with a party of skirmishers through a dense road, leading my horse, and after passing under a severe fire of shell, got a safe position. (6)

Some 'specials' weren't as fortunate as Forbes. Confederate guerrillas led by William Quantrill killed the artist James

R. O'Neill at Baxter Springs, Kansas, in October, 1863, and John Hillen was severely wounded during Sherman's advance to Atlanta; he died in 1865, in part as a result of the wound. Theodore Davis, who had his horse shot from under him and was wounded at the Battle of Raymond during Grant's campaign against Vicksburg, wryly recalled:

My most peculiar experience...was having a sketch-book shot out of my hand and sent whirling over my shoulder. At another time, one chilly night after the day of a hard battle, as I lay shivering on the ground with a single blanket over me, a forlorn soldier begged and received a share of the blanket. I awoke at daybreak to find the soldier dead, and from the wound it was plain that but for the intervention of his head the bullet would have gone through my own. (7)

However, some 'specials' simply took it all in their stride, apparently focused on their work and indifferent to their personal safety. Major Edgar Kimball of the 9th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment wrote to *Leslie's Illustrated News*:

I beg to say that your illustrations of the victories on Roanoke Island are very correct. I noticed, and so did the whole of the Ninth regiment, Mr Schell, your Artist, sitting on a log sketching under the hottest fire from Fort Defiance. His nonchalance and coolness did as much toward inspiring our troops as the enthusiasm and bravery of any of the officers. (8)

The role of the 'special' was essentially that of a reporter using images rather than words. Some went to considerable lengths to create accurate representations:

Infantry, cavalry, and artillery soldiers, each had their particular uniform, and besides these, *t h e i r* equipments, such as belts, swords, guns, cartridge-boxes, and many other things, were *d i f f e r e n t*. Their tactics and maneuvers were not alike, and some distinguishing point in each *u n i f o r m* designated the corporals, sergeants, lieutenants, captains, majors, colonels, and generals. As many as ten different saddles were in use, and of the army homes – tents – there was a great variety. The harness for artillery horses was peculiar, as was that of the mules which drew the army wagons and ambulances. Now,

these are only some of the things, – a few of them, – but sufficient to show the necessity for a special sketch-book, in which to make, whenever I found an opportunity, memorandum sketches of every new thing. I thus provided myself with a reference book for use when active campaigning commenced...(9)

Although objectivity was usually the intention, accurate and truthful representations were always subject to a myriad of factors. It was principally pressure from his employer to create a battle picture that led Frank Vizetelly to draw Battle of Chickamauga – the Confederate General Hood receiving his wound. As special artist for the *Illustrated London News*, Vizetelly had gone to America at the outbreak of war to make drawings and write articles for the newspaper. Born in London in 1830, he had worked for his brother's weekly, the *Pictorial Times*, and then edited *Le Monde illustré* in Paris, but, in 1859, he landed a job better suited to his temperament and taste for adventure. As a war correspondent, he reported on Garibaldi's so-called Expedition of the Thousand in Sicily and soon after sailed for New York. Initially, he travelled with and reported on the Federal armies, but in the summer of 1862 transferred his allegiance to the Confederacy.



Studio of Mathew B. Brady Frank Vizetelly c. 1861 (glass negative, stereograph), Library of Congress.



Mathew B. Brady Alfred R. Waud c. 1865, (albumen silver print) National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

If Vizetelly's *Battle of Chickamauga* drawing was primarily the consequence of editorial demands for a combat image, Alfred Waud's sketch at the Battle of Cold Harbor, *The 164th N.Y.V charging Col. killed*, illustrates how an artist's aesthetic preferences might affect a seemingly direct response to the event. Waud was born in London two years before Vizetelly. At the age of twenty-two, he sailed to New York intending to design and paint theatre scenery, but this didn't work out and he found alternative employment making illustrations for various publications. He began covering the war for the *New York Illustrated News*, but towards the end of 1861 became a special artist for *Harper's Weekly*, remaining on assignment with the Federal armies until the war ended.

Vizetelly at Chickamauga

Sometime during the afternoon of 20 September, 1863, Brigadier General Jerome Robertson's Texas and Arkansas regiments advanced against Federal positions near the La Fayette Road west of Chickamauga Creek. The troops drove the Federals from the top of a hill, but, Robertson reported,

[a]fter holding the hill a few moments, pouring a destructive fire into his [the enemy's] fleeing columns in my front, a fire was opened on both my right and left flanks...but before I could stop it my line had been thrown into confusion, and I found it necessary to fall back to reform. (10)

As the Confederate soldiers regrouped, Major General John Bell Hood rode over to help organize a counterattack and whilst discussing this with Robertson, a minie ball struck him in the leg. Fifteen years later, Hood himself recalled:

...I was pierced with a Minie ball in the upper third of the right leg; I turned from my horse on the side of the crushed limb and fell...into the arms of some of the troops from my old brigade...(11)

William Lee White, National Park Service Ranger at the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, added more information about Hood's wounding:

... Hood rode in among the men of his old brigade. He grabbed the flag of his old regiment, the 4th Texas, and tried to rally his men – all the while still receiving fire... Among his milling men, holding the flag and the reins of his horse with his disabled arm, Hood made an excellent target. He soon went down with a gunshot in his right thigh. (12)

There is enough written detail of this event to give us a pretty good idea of what happened, but we're also fortunate there was an artist on hand to provide us with a visual record that complements the image conjured up by the words.

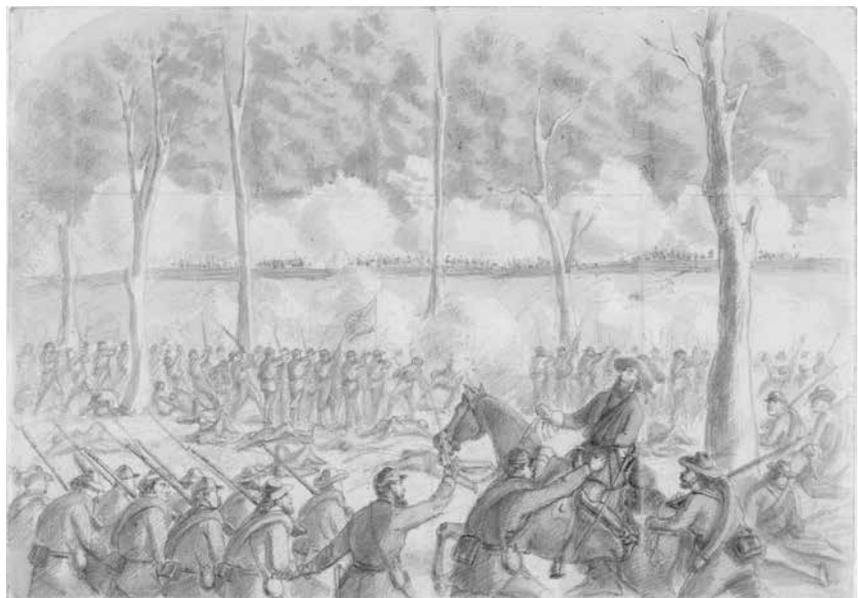
An engraving and a report of the Battle of Chickamauga appeared in the *Illustrated London News* on 26 December, 1863 (13), provided by the newspaper's so-called 'Special Artist and Correspondent in the South'. What luck, we might think, that Frank Vizetelly

was at Chickamauga, that he was with the Texas and Arkansas regiments as they surged forward, that not only did he see Hood fall from his horse, but also had his pencil in hand and was able to capture the moment. What are the chances of such a confluence of events?

Vizetelly's drawing depicts the very moment the minie smashed into Hood's right thigh, but it's obvious the drawing wasn't made in that instant. It's too complex and too finished to have been made at that moment. Not only are there thirteen figures and a horse in the foreground, there are at least another fifty figures, albeit sketchily rendered, numerous trees, and the distant lines of the Federal army – all too much for even the speediest sketch artist to draw in a few minutes. Moreover, the pencil image has a brushed watercolour or ink wash with touches of opaque white paint, materials unlikely to have been used by an artist working quickly to capture the heat of battle.

A credible answer to this conundrum is that Vizetelly quickly sketched the scene and subsequently, perhaps in the relative calm and safety of his tent or some other location, worked up the sketch into a more finished drawing, ready to be sent to the engravers in London. However, all isn't what it seems; Vizetelly did not sketch the scene on 20 September; he was more than a hundred miles away. So, what purports to be an accurate record of Hood's wounding made by an observer is nothing of the sort.

The circumstances of the drawing's creation began when Vizetelly set off



Frank Vizetelly *Battle of Chickamauga - the Confederate General Hood receiving his wound* September, 1863 (pencil, grey wash & Chinese white on paper) 25 x 36 cm. Houghton Library, Harvard University

for Georgia from Charleston, South Carolina, with fellow Britons Fitzgerald Ross and Charles Byrne (14). They arrived in Augusta on 15 September, where the town proved to be something of a distraction for the trio and they made merry for a few days. However, when they heard Lieutenant General James Longstreet and his staff had passed through, they decided to follow him in the hope of finding the Confederate army and see a battle, which Vizetelly was desperate to record for his newspaper. Acquiring transport in the railway car of Brigadier General Micah Jenkins and his staff, they reached Atlanta on 20 September, the day of Hood's wounding. Jenkins went on ahead, leaving the Britons to board another train, but by the time they found the Confederate army on the afternoon or early evening of 21 September, the Battle of Chickamauga was over. Byrne hurried off to seek out Major General Patrick Cleburne, whilst Vizetelly and Ross made their way to Longstreet's headquarters. The next day, 22 September, the Britons set off across the battlefield, appalled by the dead and wounded they saw, and it was either this day or the next when Vizetelly met Longstreet's Assistant Adjutant General, Colonel Moxley Sorrel, and requested his help. Sorrel wrote:

[Vizetelly] arrived...long after the battle. He took me aside with: 'Colonel, I am in an awful mess. I must send drawings and a picture of this great battle to my paper somehow. Cannot you help me?' We were at the time not very far from a little field that had a scene during the fighting which struck me, even then, as somewhat picturesque. The open field crowned with thick woods at one side, through which frowned half a dozen Federal guns and a brigade of ours moving up in beautiful order to capture it. I said as much as this to Vizetelly [sic], and sent him to look at the spot. He returned, on fire with his artist's fancies, and shut himself up for several days. Then he emerged with drawings, and much letter-press of what he had actually seen; and principally a very large drawing beautifully finished of the so-called 'Little scene'. But heavens! All resemblance had ceased. Instead of the slight affair, three solid lines of infantry were moving across a great stretch of ground against hundreds of guns that were devastating our troops in fire and smoke. In the central portion there was the wounding and

fall of a great officer and the closing in of the soldiers to protect him. 'What think you?' said the proud Vizetelly [sic]. 'Splendid, but nothing like it took place.' 'No matter, it might have happened, and besides all battle-pictures are drawn with such freedom.' 'Who is the general just falling?' 'That, sir, is General Hood, drawn the instant of being shot.' 'But, my good Vizetelly [sic], Hood was not within a mile of that little field I gave you.' 'No matter, he was shot, no one will deny that; and I must have a great interesting center for my picture. You fellows are altogether too particular. This goes by first underground chance, and you will see it in the London Illustrated News [sic].' (15)

Vizetelly was desperate to send a drawing to his newspaper; perhaps his editor was pushing the correspondent to dispatch something quickly. So, having missed the battle, the 'special' chose invention over veracity. In spite of this, it seems improbable deception was his intention. More likely, he wanted to create as accurate a record as he could and to do this he used his knowledge and experience of combat gained during two years reporting the war, and probably eye witness accounts as well, to represent Hood's wounding. Even though the location was, according to Sorrel, incorrect, Hood is shown with his left arm in a sling, the consequence of a wound received at Gettysburg (16). Moreover, the General is being caught by a man as he begins to fall from his horse, which Hood himself recorded in his memoirs. Since Vizetelly didn't see the incident, such details can only have come from the recollections of those who did. This, together with the artist-correspondent's own familiarity with battle formations, uniforms, and equipment, gave the drawing some accuracy.

Even if he didn't make it to the battle at Chickamauga Creek, there's no doubting Vizetelly was on hand at a number of other battles and skirmishes. He was with Brigadier General Irvin McDowell's Army of Northeastern Virginia at the First Battle of Manassas and made a number of sketches, dispatching them to the Illustrated London News, which reported:

Our Special Artist, who was present at the battle of Bull Run, has sent us some sketches of the fight and the flight, two of which are engraved on the previous

page. He writes as follows respecting the first illustration:- 'About midday, the battle raged at its highest. Two of the most gallant charges that I witnessed on the portion of the field where I had taken position ...form the subject of the accompanying Sketch'. (17)

What he wrote was enough for historian Amanda Foreman to conclude: "Vizetelly placed himself rather precariously in a field and made sketches of the Federal regiments charging into their Confederate opponents..." (18), although there's no evidence to confirm he sketched on-the-spot. That's not to say he didn't want to be close to the action; Vizetelly was daring and sometimes impetuous, but his presence near the battle lines doesn't prove he was drawing.

In December, 1862, with Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia at Fredericksburg, he and others came under fire from Federal artillery. He wrote, "...a South Carolinian had a portion of his head carried away within four yards of myself by a shell..." (19). The incident was described in more detail by Major Heros von Borcke:

In the town of Fredericksburg a great many Yankees had been found straggling and lurking in the houses, either with a view to desertion, or too overpowered by the liquor they had stolen to leave with their army; and a body of those captives marching along the turnpike road escorted by a detachment of our soldiers, attracted the curiosity of Mr Vizetelly, who immediately rode down to meet them. Having reached the column, he had just entered into conversation with a corporal from a South Carolina regiment who commanded the detachment, when the hostile batteries, mistaking their own men for enemies, opened fire, and one of their very first shells, passing quite close to our friend, tore the head of the poor fellow with whom he was talking completely off his shoulders, scattering pieces of skull and brains in every direction. Horror-stricken at this sad incident, and having no call of duty to remain, the artist at once put spurs into his charger's flanks, and galloped off as fast as the noble steed could carry him. But the hostile gunners seemed to take particular pleasure in aiming at the flying horseman, and ever closer and closer

flew the unpleasant missiles about his ears...(20)

Vizetelly's desire to be close to the action is indisputable; or is it? The Baltimore newspaper proprietor, William Wilkins Glenn, noted in his journal: "...he [Vizetelly] gave me a brilliant account of the battle of Fredericksburgh [sic], all of which he had witnessed. Capt. Phillips, Guards, who was there and did see the fight laughed at V. [Vizetelly] & said he kept himself in a very safe place all day." (21)

Was it Vizetelly's practice to draw events at some later time, perhaps after listening to verbal accounts, as he seems to have done at Chickamauga? Did he sketch on-the-spot and then make a more finished drawing for publication? Did he observe the action and draw from memory? Could he even have incorporated drawings by others into his own work? Captain William Willis Blackford, an aide-de-camp to Major General J.E.B. Stuart, recalled:

At his [Vizetelly's] request I made him some sketches of scenes in Pennsylvania during our late raid which he said he would embody in some he was making for the Illustrated News...(22)

Or did he employ a combination of these practices, or use different practices at different times depending on the circumstances? The accounts of Sorrel, von Borcke, Phillips, and Blackford, as well as those of Vizetelly himself, provide confusing and contradictory evidence of artistic practice. However, most of the extant combat drawings by Vizetelly are of a quality and finish typical of those prepared for dispatch to newspapers to be engraved (23). I know of no drawings by him where the style is characteristic of a sketch made quickly on-the-spot. As Sheila Gallagher pointed out,

Drawing on the spot, often in the midst of chaotic military engagements, required the artist to develop a kind of shorthand that captured the essence of complex topographies and bodies in motion. (24)

Vizetelly's work does not exhibit this stylistic characteristic.

On 4 December at Fredericksburg, Vizetelly was with Confederate pickets on the banks of the Rappahannock River near Fredericksburg. A hundred yards away, on the other side, were Federal pickets. "I am lying out in the pine-woods at the advance," he

wrote, "ready to wield my pencil when the struggle begins" (25). It's the very image of a 'special', on the front line, prepared to record the forthcoming battle as it happens. Is this really Vizetelly? Or should we consider the opinion of Captain Blackford: "We had a shrewd suspicion that he drew a little on his imagination for his facts..." (26). If we believe Sorrel, when he expressed misgivings about the Chickamauga drawing's veracity, Vizetelly himself admitted drawing combat scenes was an invention: "No matter, it might have happened," he told Sorrel, "and besides all battle-pictures are drawn with such freedom".

Waud at Gettysburg

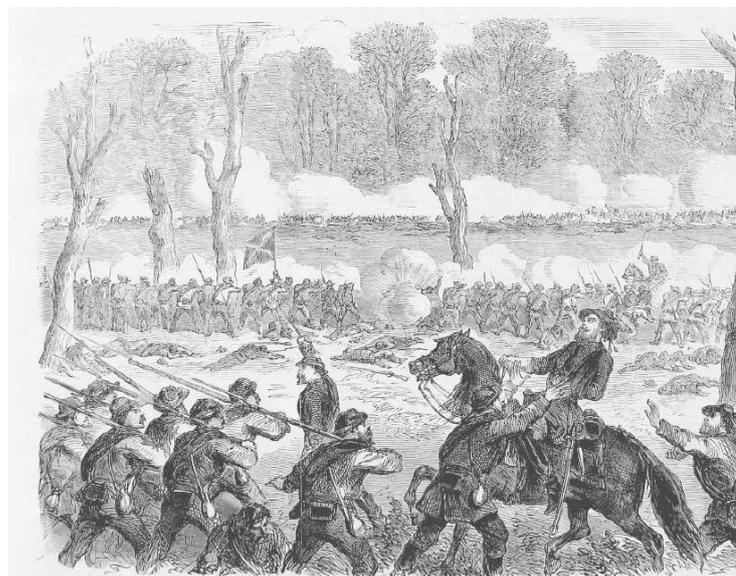
Even during the war, the veracity of drawings made by special artists was questioned. Reporting to the New York Historical Society, the author William J. Hoppin noted:

It is true that the illustrated newspapers are full of sketches, purporting to be pictures of important scenes; but the testimony of parties engaged shows these representations are, when they are not taken from photographs, not always reliable. The desire of producing striking effects sometimes overcomes all other considerations, and the truth is now and then sacrificed to the demand for dramatic action or the pleasing play of light and shadow. Many of these designs are of little value, except as studies of costume. Some of them are positively lying and fabulous. If all the terrific hand-to-hand encounters which we have seen for two or three years displayed in the pages of our popular weeklies had actually occurred, the combatants on each side would long ago have annihilated each other...(27)

Hoppin's evaluation may have some credibility. Of all the drawings supplied by 'specials', only a relative few were chosen by editors to be engraved and published; a criterion for selection was probably the drawing's potential to sell as many newspapers as possible and, in all

likelihood, the more dramatic an image, the more likely it was to sell the paper. As Hoppin claimed, this could result in "the truth...now and then sacrificed to the demand for dramatic action". Moreover, Hoppin was aware that, to a greater or lesser degree, a drawing is a subjective creation and he suggested as much when he said that unless "taken from photographs, [drawings are] not always reliable"(28).

Accurately drawing what one sees is not only a matter of skill; it is also a matter of how an artist was trained or learnt his skill. Nineteenth century art schools in Britain and the United States advocated



'Battle of Chickamauga - the Confederate General Hood, Wounded' (engraving) Illustrated London News Vol.43, No. 1238, 26 December, 1863, p.661

an approach in which aesthetic qualities were paramount. Hoppin alluded to this when declaring, "truth is...sacrificed to the demand for...the pleasing play of light and shadow". In other words, the artist's aesthetic predilection, to a degree instilled through training, can take precedence over an accurate rendition of the truth.

Even when the artist had dispatched his work, truth might be adjusted; engravers (and editors) often made aesthetic and technical decisions that changed the original image. Vizetelly's Chickamauga drawing and the engraving made from it differ in small details: the poses of the soldiers either side of Hood are different; one of them, the officer with the raised sword seems to have been relocated in front of the line of troops in the engraving; the distance between Hood and the line of battle behind him has increased; a mounted soldier has appeared in front of this line; trees have come and gone;

Hood's placement within the rectangle of the engraving is closer to the middle than it is in the drawing; the soldiers' legs and those of Hood's horse are visible in the engraving, but not in the drawing.

In themselves, such changes seem negligible, but they can modify the viewer's interpretation. For instance, are we to think the officer with the raised sword in the engraving is bravely leading his men? In the drawing he's not in front of them, and so not leading. Can we interpret Hood's proximity to the front line in the drawing as implying courage, whereas his greater distance from that line in the engraving is less emphatic of his involvement in the battle? Some of the adjustments made from drawing to engraving were editorial; moving the officer with the raised sword maintains the idea of leadership, especially in light of Hood's incapacitation; positioning Hood further away and not crowding him with attendant figures, as he is in the drawing, makes him the focal point of the image, as does moving him closer to the centre of the picture. But moving him, and including the legs of the soldiers and horse, as well as increasing distance between Hood and the Confederate front line, may also have been aesthetic; the changes have resulted in a more balanced, spacious, and legible picture.

Similarly, adding the mounted officer in front of the Confederates' advanced line, serves to break a strong horizontal that threatens to cut the picture in half, as does the raised battle flag, made more prominent in the engraving than the drawing.

If Vizetelly's drawing of a mounted officer being shot was something of an invention, albeit one informed by the artist's knowledge and, in all probability, evidence from those who saw the incident, can the same be said for Alfred Waud's drawing of a similar episode?

The *Death of Reynolds – Gettysburg* is dated 1 July, 1863 by the Library of Congress, the day the Major General was killed, although there is no date on the drawing. Some sources accept Waud was present (29), but it would have been highly unlikely if a 'special' had been in Herbst's Woods at about 10.15am. on 1 July. At that time, no one knew this was the front line of a developing battle, least of all a *Harper's Weekly's* special artist travelling with the Army of the Potomac. Besides, the two brigades that hurried to Gettysburg, from



Alfred R. Waud *Death of Reynolds – Gettysburg* 1863 (pencil on cream paper) 13.4 x 22.7 cm. Library of Congress

Brigadier General James Wadsworth's 1st Division of Reynolds's I Corps, had no idea themselves where they were going or what they might find when they got there. And it

was no light jog... [they] would have to double-quick for a mile and a quarter in the thick humidity...'(30)

It's possible Waud did move out with Wadsworth's brigades, perhaps alerted to the possibility of a battle; maybe he kept pace with the soldiers, followed them into Herbst's Woods, saw Reynolds arrive with his two aides and an orderly, watched the Major General fall from his horse as the bullet struck, saw the horse bolt, dragging Reynolds several yards. And perhaps Waud had his sketchbook in hand through all this and made a rapid drawing. Perhaps.

Alfred Waud made at least forty drawings at Gettysburg. Timothy O'Sullivan photographed him sitting on a boulder in Devil's Den on 6 July, but no one knows how long Waud had been on the battlefield before the camera was pointed at him. The best guess is that he got there at the earliest on the night of 1-2 July. The sketches he made at locations where there had been action on the first day, including the *Death of Reynolds*, were all drawn after the fight was over. For example, Seminary nr. Gettysburg used as a hospital, scene of Reynolds fight with Longstreet the first day is a peaceful panoramic view, a soldier seated in the foreground and two others walking behind a wagon in the middle ground. Although the Library of Congress dates the drawing 1 July, 1863, what it depicts cannot have been on that day; from about the time Reynolds

was killed until about 4.30pm, the area around the Seminary was the scene of considerable fighting and later it fell into Confederate hands. Another location of the first day's fighting, Old R.R. cutting where Archers Brigade [i.e. Joseph Davis' Brigade] of A.P. Hill's Division was captured by the 14th Brooklyn, 6th Wisconsin, and 95th N.Y., has a margin inscription written by Waud: "Made this from an officers [sic] description I think it doubtful that the capture was made here." All Waud's sketches of combat at Gettysburg are of events on 2 and 3 July, suggesting he was on the battlefield from the second day onwards; one drawing, Part of Ward's line, Kershaw attacking, has 'July 2nd 1863' written in the lower left corner below the artist's initials.

Despite its sketchy quality, suggesting an on-the-spot drawing, it's virtually certain Waud wasn't on hand to draw the *Death of Reynolds* as it happened. On the back of the drawing he wrote almost 300 words describing the military situation on the afternoon of 1 July and the death of the I Corps' commander, adding a map of topographical features and troop positions (31). He couldn't have known anything in such detail until after the battle, suggesting he later spoke to witnesses, including officers who were engaged in the fighting near McPherson's Ridge and Herbst's Woods. Indeed, the written description might well have been the primary source for the drawing.

Reynolds's death shocked the country and he became something of a national hero. His story was made more poignant since he and his fiancé, Katherine May Hewitt, had agreed that if he was killed,



Alfred R. Waud *The Fall of Reynolds* – (engraving) 13.7 x 22.5 cm. Library of Congress

she would join a convent, which she did. Like many others, Waud seems to have been fascinated with the incident; at some later date, he had an engraving made, presumably to sell copies, and drew a further two versions of Reynolds about to tumble from his horse. One of these is drawn on the inside cover of *The Salon*, an undated New York magazine. However, on the front cover of the journal is a line reproduction of Pierre-Auguste Cot's *The Storm*, which had been commissioned in 1880 by Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, an American philanthropist and art collector, and exhibited at the Paris Salon in the same year. Therefore, Waud's drawing had to have been made between 1880 and his death in 1891, demonstrating his continuing fascination with Reynolds's death.

The examples *Battle of Chickamauga* – the Confederate General Hood receiving his wound and *Death of Reynolds* – Gettysburg are representative of one way 'specials' worked. However, they are more usually credited with sketching on-the-spot, quickly capturing salient aspects of the scene, and this is almost certainly the case. The artist Theodore Davis called these rapid 'memorandum sketches', noting,

the character of these drawings varied...according to the circumstances under which they were made...the sketches, or mere notes, as at times they were, might sometimes be absolutely unintelligible except to myself...

[M]ost of these [memorandum] sketches...show simply the locality of some exciting incident, and not a general view, such as that of the

field at Champion's Hill (or Baker's Creek, as the Confederate soldiers called the battle). The memorandum sketch of that action shows a general view of the field, indicated with reasonable distinctness...After leaving the spot, I saw General Grant and some of his staff at that point, and so introduced them in the sketch to add interest to the scene. (32)

It was common practice for 'memorandum sketches' to be worked into more finished, detailed drawings suitable for engravers to copy, although this process might further compromise the veracity of the picture; in re-drawing, the artist might allow his artistic proclivities, or his editor's lingering words about capturing dramatic moments, to influence him. Is this what persuaded Davis to add the Federal high command to "a general view of the field"?

Waud at Cold Harbour

During the so-called 'Overland Campaign' in Virginia in 1864, Alfred Waud made a sketch of Federal troops attacking Confederate fortifications at Cold Harbor, east of Richmond. As well as writing the title at the lower left of the drawing and adding the date 'June 3' above it, he signed the drawing lower right and wrote the words 'Rebel dead' on the lower right side between two foreground figures. On the back of this relatively small piece of paper he noted: "McMahons regiment is in Gibbons division wears a Zouave uniform dark green the colonels last words were 'Now boys we've got em' 7 bullets reached him and he fell over the rifle pit dead."

Colonel James Power McMahon commanded the 164th New York Volunteers, one of five regiments in the 4th Brigade of John Gibbon's 2nd Division of the Army of the Potomac's IV Corps. McMahon had succeeded his brother John as colonel of the regiment; John had died in Buffalo, New York, on 3 March, 1863, being treated for wounds. A third brother, Martin, was Assistant Adjutant General to Major General Horatio



Alfred R. Waud *The Death of Reynolds Gettysburg* c. 1880 (pencil on grey paper, the inside cover of *The Salon*) Library of Congress 24.9 x 18.6 cm. Library of Congress



Alfred R. Waud *The Death of Reynolds Gettysburg* 1863? (pencil on cream paper) 16.5 x 17.2 cm. Library of Congress

Wright, commander of the army's VI Corps. Martin survived the war and wrote about his brother James's death:

One officer alone, the Colonel of the 164th New York, seizing the colors of his regiment from the dying color-bearer as he fell, succeeded in reaching the parapet of the enemy's main works, where he planted his colors and fell dead near the ditch, bleeding from many wounds. (33)

Writing about the same incident, II Corps commander Major General Winfield S. Hancock noted:

On the left, and separated from his brigade by the swamp, the heroic Colonel McMahon, with a portion of his regiment, One-hundred and sixty-fourth New York, gained the breastwork, and, while alongside of his colors cheering on his men, fell covered with wounds, and expired in the enemy's hands, they capturing his colors and the men with it. (34)

in 1864 at the Battle of Cold Harbor in Hanover County, Virginia, felled by a hail of Confederate gunfire as he attempted to plant the colors of the 164th atop a rebel fortification. According to one account, one bullet split the sword he had raised over his head, and two bullets shattered his left and right arms. He urged would-be rescuers to save themselves, and even declined whiskey.' (36)

Some of the accounts of McMahon's death tally with Waud's sketch; the Colonel is on the Confederate breastworks holding the colours in one hand, sword in the other, falling back as he is shot. But bearing in mind Vizetelly's *General Hood receiving his wound* and Waud's own *Death of Reynolds*, where we can be certain the artists did not see the incidents, can we believe the Harper's Weekly 'special' saw McMahon fall and, whilst there, sketched the scene?

on quickly capturing the action? If he did make the sketch on-the-spot, it's more likely he re-worked it when he returned to camp. The white paint creates the effect of musket and cannon smoke, serving to distinguish the position of the Confederate breastworks and McMahon himself. If Waud did refine the drawing in this way, he may also have modified some of the figures by adding stronger lines and darker shading. Against the lighter lines and more generalised tones of the background, the darker foreground figures appear closer, but they also accentuate a triangular arrangement. At the apex of this notional pyramid is McMahon. The right side line follows his falling body, thigh, and the angle of his sword arm, then picks up the elbow and leg of a soldier at bottom right. The left side line angles down to the man with a raised sword, then touches the top of a falling soldier's head and the head of a prone figure, and echoes the angle of his outstretched arm.



Alfred Waud *The 164th N.Y.V charging Col. killed 3 June, 1864?* (pencil, Chinese white, & grey ink wash on grey paper) 15.5 x 23.3 cm. Library of Congress

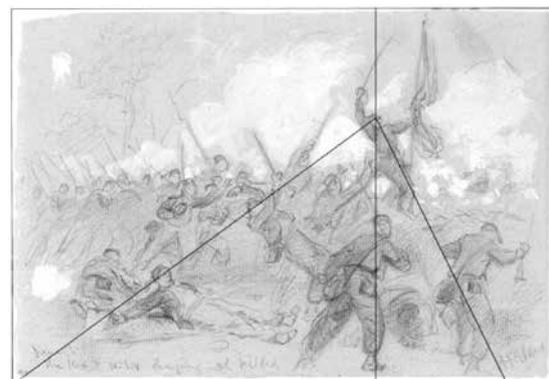
Lieutenant John Russell Winterbotham, adjutant of the 155th New York Volunteers, a regiment next but one to McMahon's 164th when they charged, wrote to his family a week later:

When all his men had been shot down around him, and he had so few about him that the rebels said they thought they were coming in to give themselves up instead of to assault the works, [they] called upon him to surrender, but he would not do it and they shot him down. (35)

Other variations of McMahon's death appeared over time. For example,

He [James McMahon] died heroically

The 164th N.Y.V charging... is even sketchier in execution than the *Death of Reynolds* and indicates the picture was drawn rapidly. As well as pencil, there are patches of what's catalogued as Chinese white, an opaque watercolour sometimes called body colour. There's also a grey ink wash, a diluted layer of ink applied with a brush. Assuming Waud made the sketch as the 164th were attacking, and given his apparent proximity to the fighting, it seems improbable he used paint and a wash even if he had them to hand; why would he when not only was he in danger of being shot, but also when his focus was



Pyramidal organization and golden section of The 164th N.Y.V charging Col. killed

A pyramidal arrangement in figure compositions was a standard format for artists. For example, Théodore Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* and Eugène Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* are organized in this way. These are paintings Waud would have known about, having trained in London at the Government School of Design, the original manifestation of the Royal College of Art. Here, they would have been promoted as good examples of history painting, that is, complex figure compositions of heroic, dramatic, biblical or mythological subjects. Moreover, a pyramidal composition had been pioneered in late 15th and early 16th century Italy by Leonardo and Raphael, both shining examples to Victorian art educators.

McMahon's head, the apex of the notional pyramid, is also on a vertical line about two-thirds across the rectangle of the

paper. As with a pyramidal composition, a trained nineteenth century artist would have been aware of the golden section when organising a composition. This had been used for positioning and aligning elements in a picture since the Renaissance, although artists rarely constructed it with mathematical accuracy, but used an approximate positioning of about $\frac{2}{3}:\frac{1}{3}$.(37) It would be instinctive for a trained artist like Waud to place a significant element of the drawing on such a vertical or horizontal division of the picture's rectangle.

We can never know whether Waud's sketch was made on the spot; the rapid drawing indicates it might have been; the paint, wash, and darker lines could have been added later, and the pyramidal and vertical alignments may have been second nature to an experienced artist rather than something contrived after the event.

Compare *The 164th N.Y.V charging...* with another drawing made on the same day, *Barlow and Gibbons charge between the Mechanicsville road and swamp*. This is an even sketchier drawing, a few lines and simplified blocks of tone to indicate men, horses, the cannon, and the landscape.



Alfred Waud *Barlow and Gibbons charge between the Mechanicsville road and swamp, June 3rd, 1864* (pencil & lead white on green paper) 8.6 x 14.7 cm. Library of Congress

Perhaps this is because it's smaller than *The 164th N.Y.V charging...*, or perhaps because it was drawn on-the-spot. There are none of the compositional devices – triangles, golden sections – manifest in the study, and if Waud did make adjustments to Barlow and Gibbons charge, it was to add body colour, possibly darken the mounted figures in the centre foreground, and delineate the houses in the background. What's more, although this is a combat subject, the

artist is at a distance from the action and, one might suppose, was safer and had more time than he might have done sketching *The 164th N.Y.V charging...* Unsurprisingly, neither drawing was engraved in *Harper's Weekly*; they weren't finished enough to copy. The only Waud drawing made at Cold Harbor on 3 June appearing in *Harper's* was *7th N.Y. Heavy Arty. in Barlows charge nr. Cold Harbor Friday June 3rd 1864*.

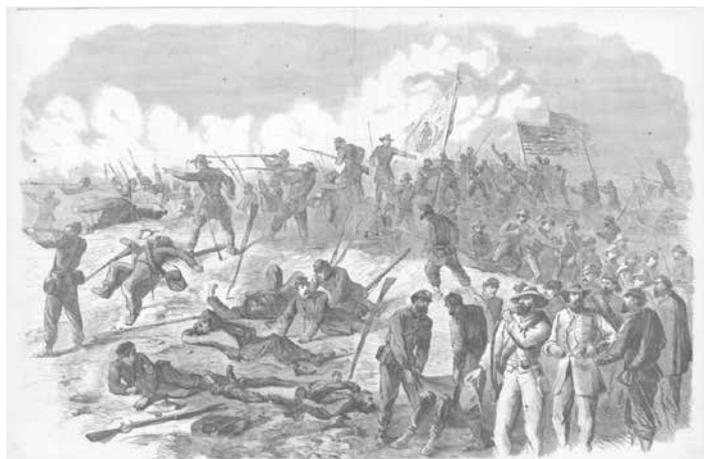
This is a complex figure composition, possibly composed from a number of studies, perhaps from memory, perhaps from witness accounts, or maybe a combination of all three. The drawing demonstrates how Waud developed the subject into a dramatic image suitable for publication. In the middle ground, two Federal officers point and the New York soldiers level their muskets towards an unseen enemy to the left, creating a strong horizontal line that directs the viewer's gaze. To the right of the picture, the horizontal emphasis turns into a curve of captured Confederate soldiers led away from the battle by Federal guards. The firing soldiers and the captives are linked by a sprawl of wounded

in the lower left of the composition. Moreover, the New York regiment's flag is at the apex of a shallow triangle, which itself is placed on a vertical axis about two thirds across the drawing. The carefully balanced organization of this drawing is worthy of history painting and must have caught the attention of Harper's editor, since it was published as a double-page spread.

Alfred Waud was something of a fixture with the Army of the Potomac, where he was known to have spent time on



Alfred Waud *7th N.Y. Heavy Arty. in Barlows charge nr. Cold Harbor Friday June 3rd 1864* (pencil & Chinese white on green paper) 34.7 x 51.4 cm. Library of Congress



General Grant's Great Campaign – General Barlow Charging the Enemy at Cold Harbor, June 1, 1864 (38) (engraving) *Harper's Weekly* Vol. 8, No. 391, 26 June, 1864, pp. 408-9.

the picket line, as well as being present at numerous skirmishes and battles, demonstrating his bravery as well as his commitment to making dramatic and truthful records. Consequently, we should not assume his drawings are fictitious. But considering the circumstances of the 164th's charge, we might reasonably question whether Waud was with them. It's feasible he was close to the Confederate works McMahon scaled on 3 June; his drawing suggests he was just yards away. But it was a dangerous location and he risked injury, or worse. The Federal line moved forward at 4.30am., an hour and a quarter before daybreak, so visibility can't have been good. Moreover,

'[r]ain, which had been falling throughout the night, stopped as the assault began, but the damp ground gave rise to a thick mist that hugged the ground and made it difficult to discern distant objects'.

If Waud was with the troops, the darkness and fog must have limited his view of events. What's more, the advance was a 'march across an open field in which it would be under fire every step of its advance.' (39). The 164th was on the extreme left of the Federal line, overlapping Confederate Brigadier General Alfred Colquitt's Georgia Brigade and actually attacking the 17th

North Carolina regiment of Brigadier General James G. Martin's Brigade, which was

armed with older muskets that fired buck-and-ball and caused heavy casualties at close range. McMahon's soldiers overran an advanced position held by the North Carolinians... and continued toward the main line. Despite heavy enemy fire, they reached the line and began fighting hand-to-hand before being driven back. (40)

Can we imagine Waud was with the 164th in front of the Confederate breastworks, in the murk and mist of early morning, that he positioned himself to draw the hand-to-hand fighting, saw McMahon grasp the flag, watched him fall from a fusillade, and managed to capture this with his pencil? It seems unlikely given the apparent ferocity of the combat; one hundred and fifty-five men of the 164th were killed, wounded, captured or went missing in the assault, over one-third of the regiment (41). Of course, he may have gone forward with the New Yorkers, observed the fight, and recorded it from memory at some later point. Equally, he may have drawn the scene from accounts circulating in the ranks after the battle, "although none was penned by anyone there to see it" (42). Division commander Major General John Gibbon summed up the event in his report:

On the left, and separated from his brigade by the swamp, the heroic Colonel McMahon, with a portion of his regiment, One hundred and sixty-fourth New York, gained the breastwork, and, while alongside of his colors cheering on his men, fell covered with wounds, and expired in the enemy's hands, they capturing also his colors and the men with it. (43)

And an obituary in the *Army and Navy Journal* elaborated:

In the fierce contest of the 3d instant before Richmond, Colonel JAMES P. MCMAHON, of the 164th regiment of New York Volunteers, fell mortally wounded. The heroic manner of his death has in all probability attracted more than ordinary attention. Leading his men to assault the enemy's works he daringly dashed ahead, and foremost, fighting with the National colors in one hand, was in the act of planting them on the earthwork which entrenched the foe, when his body was pierced by six bullets from the Rebel sharpshooters. An enfolding fore of

the most deadly character thinning the ranks at every volley, his men were compelled to fall back, leaving the body of their heroic chieftain where it had fallen, from whence it was afterwards recovered by the determined bravery and exasperated devotion of the regiment. (44)

Was McMahon's death so heroic and dramatic that Waud thought it a possible subject for a potential engraving? If so, he didn't pursue the idea.

The ambiguity of veracity

When readers of the *Illustrated London News* opened their paper on Boxing Day, 1863, and saw the picture at the bottom of page 661, they almost certainly assumed it was engraved from an on-the-spot sketch, since on the next page, the newspaper announced:

Some more sketches by our Special Artist and Correspondent in the South have, after considerable delay, reached us through one of the many gaps in the blockade.

This was followed by an account of the battle of Chickamauga, the draft of which was written by Vizetelly on the reverse of the drawing he had sent to London. "From the nature of the ground, which was thickly wooded," he wrote,

I found it impossible to make anything like a drawing of the battle, not being able to see more than a hundred yards either way; but I have selected an incident for illustration, which occurred in almost the only open portion of the field...General Hood was cheering forward the second column when an Enfield ball passed through his right thigh, smashing the bone to pieces, and as he was removed from the field he heard the shouts of his shoulders proclaiming their success and his revenge. (45)

If readers had not been persuaded the engraving was a true representation of what had happened, they were now. After all, Vizetelly had all but told them he was there, although it had been "impossible to make anything like a drawing of the battle, not being able to see more than a hundred yards either way". But we know he wasn't there; the fighting near Chickamauga Creek had finished the day before he arrived, so should we suppose he was being deceitful?

Whilst his words give the impression he saw the combat, the drawing's veracity

is more ambiguous. Although he didn't witness Hood fall from his horse with a leg wound, he seems to have gone to considerable lengths to make the image as authentic as possible. If the drawing was based on written or spoken evidence, as it seems it must have been, and even though it was set in "a little field...somewhat picturesque... [but] not within a mile" (46) of Hood's injury, should we judge it as a sincere representation of the truth told by others although not seen by the artist?

Waud's *Death of Reynolds* – Gettysburg is comparable. The notes written on the reverse of the sketch demonstrate knowledge of the various brigades fighting near McPherson's Ridge on 1 July, the accompanying map indicates their dispositions, and an arrow drawn from 'Archer's Rebel Brigade' to a point in Herbst's Woods is labelled 'Line of missil [sic] which killed Reynolds'. All this suggests Waud's concern for accuracy; he may even have been conscious of the subject's historical significance and the necessity of documenting it. Since that fatal shot, Reynolds's death has been focus of much speculation, generating a plethora of information and opinion (47) but, as with Hood's wounding, a drawing made within days of the incident and from contemporary accounts, is perhaps as close as we'll get to visually recreating the episode.

As for *The 164th N.Y.V charging Col. killed*, its sketchy quality convinces some historians it's an on-the-spot depiction but, as I have attempted to show, this seems unlikely. Nonetheless, it stands alongside the Hood and Reynolds drawings as both a dramatic and, as far as we can tell, truthful representation; the rapidity of the drawing even suggests it might have been made as someone was telling Waud about the incident not long after it happened.

Ultimately, a drawing is a drawing and subject to the limitations of the discipline. Where a camera might capture an image in seconds, a drawing takes at least minutes. Nineteenth century Civil War photographers such as Mathew Brady and Alexander Gardner selected a scene, pointed the apparatus at it, and exposed the photographic plate; drawings made by special artists, either quick 'memorandum sketches' or more detailed and composed images suitable for engravers to copy, were a complex interaction of eye, brain, and physical dexterity and, as such, predisposed



Theodore R. Davis *Our Special Artist Working at Night* Reproduced in *St. Nicholas: an Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks* July, 1889, p.667.

to the artist's subjective interpretation. Besides, 'specials' were employees; if drawings sent to New York or London for publication were rejected, the 'specials' livelihood may have been at risk. We can never know how far some artists adjusted the pictures they submitted in order to fulfil an editor's expectations and preserve their employment. Art training, experience, and aesthetic inclination also played their parts; positioning a figure here to create balance, omitting another there to enrich the narrative, changing

the tonal values for a more dramatic effect, were just some of the tools in the artist's bag of tricks.

But all this is to play devil's advocate. There are enough drawings made during the war to recognize the commitment of 'specials' to portray truthfully and, when depicting combat, with enough authenticity to offer a compelling visual record. What we must remember is that each drawing was subject to the circumstances of its creation, and we should not automatically accept drawings as indisputable truth.

It matters little whether Vizetelly saw Hood being wounded or Waud was in Hersbt's Woods when Reynolds was shot. What's important is the veracity of what's illustrated, whether it came from the artist's presence or from a second-hand account of someone who was there. We can only hope to know this by researching events and their contexts and, from what we discover, making a considered judgement about the historical, documentary value of a drawing.

Notes

1 Thompson, William Fletcher, Jr. 'Pictorial Propaganda and the Civil War', *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 46, No. 1, Autumn, 1962, p.22.

2 Although lithography, which had been invented in the late eighteenth century, was a cheaper and quicker method, it was incompatible with the presses used by newspapers for printing text from lead type.

3 Davis, Theodore R. 'How a Battle is Sketched', *St. Nicholas: an Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks*, Vol. 16, No.9, July, 1889, p.662.

4 Electrotpe, invented in the 1830s, required the woodblock to be pressed into hard wax to make a mould. The mould was dusted with graphite to give an electrically conductive surface, put in a bath of copper sulphate with a piece of copper, and

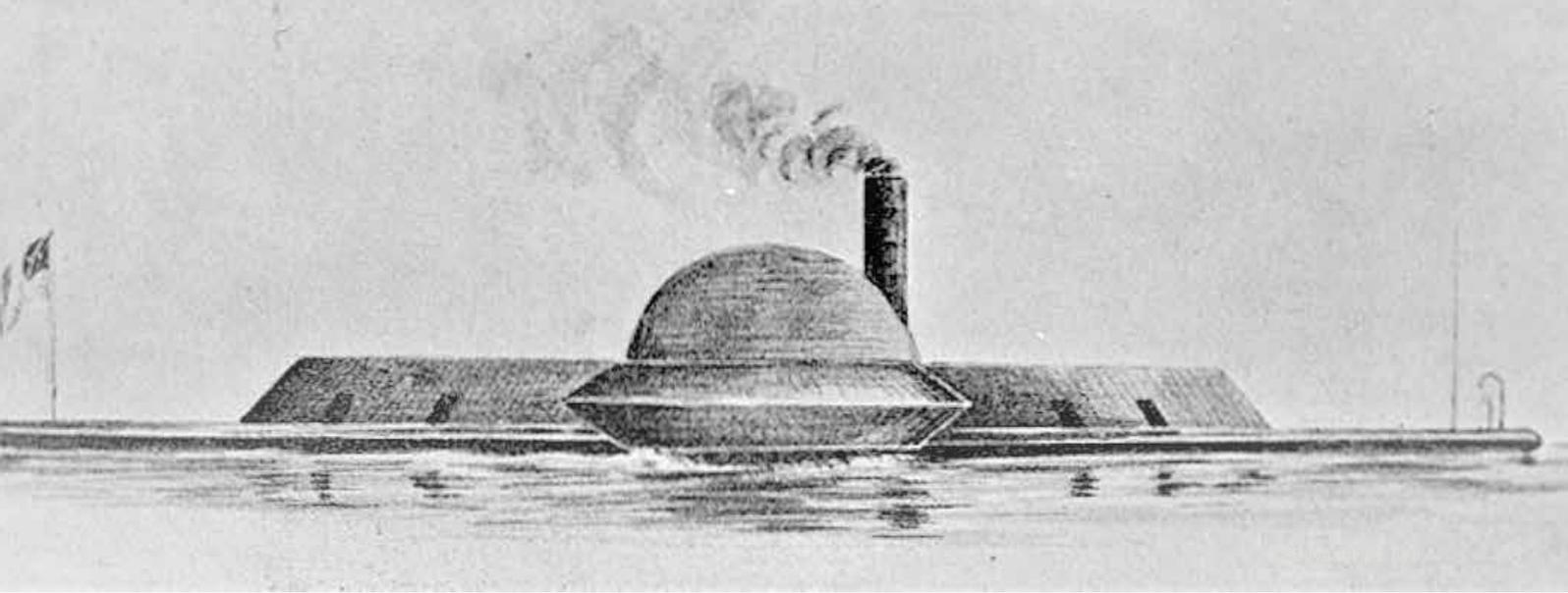
an electrical charge applied. The negatively charged graphite attracted the positively charged copper ions, eventually building up a copper skin on the wax. The skin was removed from the wax mould, filled with type metal to give it strength, mounted on a block of wood, and printed alongside lead type. Many copies could be made from the metal block, whereas printing directly from the woodblock caused damage, especially when sometimes as many as 200,000 printings were required for an edition of an illustrated newspaper.

5 Anon., 'Our "Specials" in the South-West', *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News*, Vol.14 No.343 17 May, 1862, p.66.

6 Forbes, Edwin, 'Letter from Mr Forbes, our artist at the Second Battle of Bull Run', *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News*, Vol.14 No.363, 13 September, 1862, p.387.

7 Davis, p.661.

- 8 Kimball, Maj. Edgar, Letter, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News*, Vol. 13 No.329, 15 March, 1862, p.258.
- 9 Davis, p.662.
- 10 'Report of Brig. Gen. Jerome B. Robertson, C.S. Army. 4 October 1863' in U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901 (hereafter referenced as OR), Vol. 30, Chap. 42, Part 2, p.512.
- 11 Hood, J.B. *Advance and Retreat. Personal Experiences in the United States and Confederate States Armies*. New Orleans: Hood Orphan Memorial Fund, 1880, p.64.
- 12 White, William Lee *Bushwhacking on a Grand Scale: The Battle of Chickamauga, September 18-20, 1863*. El Dorado Hills, CA.: Savas Beatie, 2013, p.115.
- 13 Vizetelly, Frank, 'The Battle of Chickamauga – The Confederate General Hood receiving his wounds', *Illustrated London News*, Vol.43, No. 1238, 26 December 1863, pp.661-2.
- 14 Edward Turton Fitzgerald Ross was born to British parents in Boulogne-sur-Mer, had been a Captain of Cavalry in the Austrian army, and was now visiting the Southern States in order to observe the war. Charles H. Byrne was a British soldier awaiting a commission, but had left the UK to throw in his lot with the Confederacy and join Major General Patrick Cleburne's staff.
- 15 Sorrel, Gen. G. *Moxley Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer*. New York & Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1905, pp.204-5.
- 16 If White (note 12 above) is correct, Hood's left arm was not in a sling at the Battle of Chickamauga, but held the reins of his horse whilst carrying a regimental flag in his right hand.
- 17 *Illustrated London News*, Vol.39 No. 1103, 17 August, 1861, p.168. The engraving is labelled: 'Attack on the Confederate batteries at Bull Run by the 27th and 14th New York regiments.'
- 18 Foreman, Amanda *A World on Fire. An Epic History of Two Nations Divided*. London: Penguin Books, 2011, p.125.
- 19 Vizetelly, Frank, 'Incident in the Battle of Fredericksburg – the attack on Marye's Hill', *Illustrated London News*, Vol.42 No.1186, 31 January, 1863, p.126.
- 20 Borke, Heros von, 'Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* Vol.99, No.606, April, 1866, 448-68, p.452.
- 21 Glenn, William *Wilkins Between North and South. A Maryland Journalist Views the Civil War. The Narrative of William Wilkins Glenn 1861-1869*. Edited by Bayly, Ellen Marks & Mark Norton Schatz. Cranbury, NJ: Associated Universities Presses, Inc., 1976, p.71. Captain Lewis Guy Phillips served with the Grenadier Guards in Canada and had travelled south to witness the American war.
- 22 Blackford, Lieut. Col. W.W. *War Years with Stuart*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946, p.183.
- 23 To the best of my knowledge, the most complete collection of Vizetelly drawings is in the Houghton Library at Harvard University.
- 24 Gallagher, Sheila, 'Drawing as Information' in Bookbinder, Judith & Sheila Gallagher (eds.) *First Hand Civil War Era Drawings from the Becker Collection*. Chestnut Hill, Mass.: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2009, p.29.
- 25 Vizetelly, 'Position of the Federal and Confederate Pickets at Fredericksburg on 4 Dec.' *Illustrated London News*, Vol.42 No.1183, 10 January 1863, p.44.
- 26 Blackford, p.182.
- 27 Anon., 'Art and War', *Army and Navy Journal. Gazette of the Regular and Volunteer Forces* Vol. 1, No.22, 23 January, 1864, p.350.
- 28 Interestingly, Hoppin privileges "the testimony of parties engaged..."; that is, word of mouth or the written word, over the drawn image. Of course, the spoken and written word can be just as subjective as a drawing.
- 29 Typical of such claims is the caption to Waud's sketch in Knauer, Kelly *Gettysburg: Turning Point of the Civil War*. Des Moines: Time Books, 2013, p. 43: 'The following sketch was drawn from life by professional illustrator Alfred Waud, who witnessed the death of Union General John F. Reynolds on the morning of July 1.'
- 30 Guelzo, Allen C. *Gettysburg. The Last Invasion*. New York: Random House, 2013, p.145.
- 31 See Library of Congress, *Death of Reynolds – Gettysburg*: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004660757/>
- 32 Davis, pp.662-3 & p.667.
- 33 Martin T. McMahon, *Brevet Major-General USV, 'Cold Harbor' in Johnson, Robert Underwood and Clarence Clough Buel (eds.) Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1956, p.217.
- 34 'Report of Winfield S. Hancock, Major-General of Volunteers. 21 September, 1865' in OR, p.345.
- 35 Quoted from O'Beirne, Kevin, 'Our Boys Stood Up Like Heroes', *Irish Volunteer* 5 2002, in Rhea, Gordon C. *Cold Harbor. Grant and Lee. May 26-June 3, 1864*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007, p.336. See footnote 46, pp. 461-2, for misgivings about Winterbotham's testimony.
- 36 Fordham Preparatory School, 'The McMahon Brothers: John, James & Martin Classes of 1848, 1853 & 1855', <https://www.fordhamprep.org/page.cfm?p=4836>
- 37 The golden section is a harmonious proportion of 1 : 1.618, known to the ancient Greeks and related to the Fibonacci series. See Osborne, Harold (ed.) *The Oxford Companion to Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970, pp.488-9.
- 38 The date printed in *Harper's Weekly* is incorrect. The charge represented took place on 3 June, 1864.
- 39 Young, Patrick, 'Two Irish Brigades Swept Away by a Hurricane from Hell at Cold Harbor' *Long Island Wins* 31 July, 2014, <https://longislandwins.com/columns/immigrants-civil-war/two-irish-brigades-swept-away-by-a-hurricane-from-hell-at-cold-harbor>
- 40 Welsh, William E. 'Robert E. Lee's Last Great Victory: Clash at Cold Harbor' *Warfare History Network* 8 December 2018, <http://warfarehistorynetwork.com/daily/civil-war/lees-last-great-victory-clash-at-cold-harbor>
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- 42 Rhea, p.336.
- 43 OR Vol. 36, Chap.48, Part 1, p.433.
- 44 Anon. 'Obituary, Colonel James P. McMahon', *Army and Navy Journal. Gazette of the Regular and Volunteer Forces* Vol. 1, No 44, 25 June 1864, p.733.
- 45 Vizetelly, Frank, 'The Battle of Chickamauga – The Confederate General Hood receiving his wounds', *Illustrated London News*, Vol.43, No.1238, 26 December 1863, p.662.
- 46 Sorrel, pp.204-5.
- 47 For example, see Anon., 'He Shot Gen. Reynolds', *Los Angeles Herald*, Volume 30, No. 285, 19 July, 1903, p.6; Hartwig, D. Scott, 'Romances of Gettysburg – Who Shot J. R.? Parts 1, 2, & 3' *From the Fields of Gettysburg. The Blog of Gettysburg National Military Park*. <https://npsgnmp.wordpress.com/2011/12/21/romances-of-gettysburg-who-shot-j-r/>; <https://npsgnmp.wordpress.com/2012/01/05/romances-of-gettysburg-who-shot-j-r-part-two/>; <https://npsgnmp.wordpress.com/2012/01/20/who-shot-j-r-part-three/>



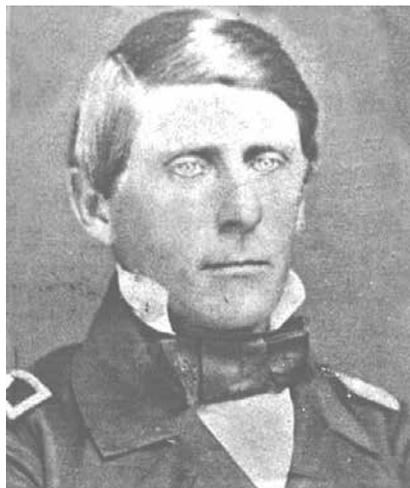
Letter From Civil War Alabama: CSS Nashville, Selma & The Mobile Bay Squadron

By Erick Bush

The CSS Nashville ironclad was originally designed to be a powerful component of the defenses of Mobile Bay. The entrance to Mobile Bay was guarded by Fort Morgan, Fort Gaines and Fort Powell, as well as formidable series of obstructions and subsurface mines. Along with the ironclad CSS Tennessee, the CSS Nashville was to be a centerpiece of Admiral Franklin Buchanan's Mobile Bay Squadron. The Confederate Navy began construction of the CSS Nashville at Montgomery in the autumn of 1862. The unusual looking casemated ironclad was 271 feet long, designed with an unorthodox side paddle wheel propulsion system, and built to be armed with seven Brooke rifled artillery pieces.

Most Confederate ironclads had

repurposed engines from other vessels, but the CSS Nashville had two



Charles C Sims

purpose built but very underpowered steam engines manufactured at Columbus, Georgia. The first stage of the ship's construction was completed and the ship was launched into the Alabama River on May 20, 1863. The CSS Nashville was further equipped downriver at Selma, and then towed to Mobile Bay for the final stages of iron plate installation and armament. Due to supply shortages, it never received all the iron-plating and artillery the original design called for. Specifically regarding artillery, it was armed with only three seven-inch Brookes from Selma and one twenty-four inch howitzer. A small amount of original iron plate on the CSS Nashville came from Selma, but the majority of the iron plate had been repurposed from the



Seven Inch Brooke Fort Morgan

earlier Mobile Bay ironclad the CSS Baltic.

The CSS Nashville shared casemate design characteristics with the CSS Virginia and the CSS Tennessee, the two most significant ironclads produced by the Confederacy. A link among the three ironclads was Lieutenant Charles C. Sims. He was on the crew of the CSS Virginia during the Battle of Hampton Roads, and later accompanied Commander Catesby Jones to Selma for the establishment of the Selma Navy Yard and Ordnance Works. Sims played a role in the development of Brooke artillery, as well as the construction of the CSS Tennessee. He later commanded the CSS Nashville, which had Selma made Brookes and iron plate.

Throughout his time in Mobile, Admiral Franklin Buchanan was greatly concerned about the growing strength of the Union Navy as it conducted the blockade of Mobile Bay. To relieve pressure on Mobile, he needed ironclads like the CSS



Selma Monument

Nashville or CSS Tennessee. He once considered striking at Union-occupied New Orleans, but lack of completed ironclads made this plan unfeasible. Later in 1864, he attempted to seize

the initiative and strike at the enemy off Mobile Bay with the CSS Tennessee before Union ironclads arrived. The CSS Tennessee ran aground and the operation was called off. If the CSS Nashville had been operational, it could have helped to make this operation tenable, but was not ready due to shortages of iron-plate and artillery. The lack of progress continued and the CSS Nashville was not ready for the Battle of Mobile Bay on August 5, 1864.

The CSS Nashville finally reached an operational capability under the command of Lieutenant Charles Sims as a key ship in the Mobile Bay Squadron. At the Battle of Blakeley it was a part of a rare instance during the Civil War, where an ironclad provided artillery support to Confederate troops in the trenches. After the Confederate evacuation of Mobile, the CSS Nashville and the remnants of the Mobile Bay Squadron were surrendered on the Tombigbee River.



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Two Scouts of the Border

Part 1

By Steve French

Since May 29, 1864, the mortal remains of Confederate scouts Redmond Burke and Andrew Leopold have laid side-by-side in Shepherdstown, West Virginia's Elmwood Cemetery. Although a visitor's pamphlet available there gives a thumbnail sketch of the two men's wartime exploits, today even most local residents knowledgeable of their town's history are not aware of the pair's notable and sometimes notorious deeds during the great conflict. For scores of years after the war, however, those who knew them were quick to reminisce about the brief time in the fall of 1862 and then again in the late winter and spring of 1863 when Burke's "guerrilla band" held sway in the village and surrounding area. Their defenders were quick to point out that for some months the valiant soldiers were their only protection from Yankee depredations. Former Unionists, however, considered them not heroes but murderous thieves.

According to Shepherdstown folklore, it was sometime in early-November 1862 when the illustrious Capt. Redmond Burke led a squad of tough Rebel scouts into the town. Numbering somewhere between eight and fifteen, eyewitness accounts differ, Burke's riders included the captain's second-in-command Sharpsburg, Maryland native Lt. Andrew Leopold and his close friend Pvt. Thomas Hipsley, both from the 12th Virginia Cavalry. From Co. F, 1st Virginia Cavalry, were Sgt. George Andrews and Pvt. George Burke along with the captain's three sons John Redmond, Matthew Polk, and Francis "Frank" William, all privates. Rounding out the documented members of the group was Pvt. John O'Brien of the 10th Virginia Cavalry.

On October 20 at "The Bower," Adam

Stephen Dandridge's splendid manor house along the Opequon Creek near Leetown, Virginia, Army of Northern Virginia cavalry commander Maj. Gen. Jeb Stuart met with Burke and placed him on detached service. With the army soon to be moving east across the Blue Ridge Mountains, he would be leaving his accomplished middle-aged warrior behind and giving him the tasks of running Southern mail between Shepherdstown and Berryville, Virginia, impressing horses, scouting behind Union lines in Maryland, and rounding up conscripting unwilling locals. Even though the captain was still recovering from a nasty wound suffered two months earlier, Stuart was confident that Burke and his handpicked band of riders could carry out the mission. One day in early-November, according to oral history, an unnamed young nurse first spotted the Rebel band riding into Shepherdstown. One of the many women who had volunteered to take care of the numerous Confederate wounded from the recent nearby battles of South Mountain, Antietam, and Boteler's Ford, she was walking to a makeshift hospital carrying a container of soup. When Capt. Burke stopped to talk, he asked the nurse where he could find some beeswax, a handy item to waterproof the percussion caps of their weapons. The girl told them, and they rode off. She later related that both Burke and Leopold appeared very pale and that although most of the men wore gray Confederate uniforms, Hipsley and O'Brien were wearing civilian clothes.

A year and a half into the war, their leader's numerous thrilling adventures had made him one of the most celebrated men in Stuart's cavalry. A personal favorite of the general, the Irish immigrant

and Harpers Ferry resident was a former miner and Chesapeake & Ohio Canal stonecutter. Today it seems that no picture of him exists and about the only accurate physical description of Burke that survives is a Metropolitan Police bulletin that appeared in the pages of the Washington D. C. Public Ledger one day after his November 6, 1861 break out from the Old Capital Prison. According to the notice, the escaped prisoner was "about fifty-two years old, 5 ft. 8 or 9 inches high, high cheekbones, florid, sun-burnt complexion, blue or light gray eyes, iron gray hair, cut short, whiskers and mustache of the same color."

According to a Richmond Daily Dispatch scribe, at the beginning of the conflict Burke served then Col. Stuart "as a special escort and guide... through the mountainous country of northwestern Virginia." On June 14, 1861, The Washington Evening Star reported on Burke's ongoing attempt to destroy the Chesapeake & Ohio's Dam Number 4, a masonry structure that spanned the Potomac at Hard Scrabble, Virginia:

June 13: Reliable information received here this evening by express, says that the Virginians are engaged every night, with dark lanterns, drilling holes in the solid rock on which dam No. 4 rests, on the Virginia side, in order to blow up the same....This work is superintended by Redmond Brown, an Irish-man who superintended its construction. He has two sons among the Confederate troops.

Regimental records indicate that on July 2, 1861 Burke formally enlisted in the 1st Virginia Cavalry. Over the next few months, he fought in a number of skirmishes and the Battle of First Bull Run, where the Irishman captured a horse. What brought

him to the attention of Stuart, however, was not his prowess in battle but his expertise in outpost duty and his ability to slip easily behind Federal lines and return to camp with valuable information.

During research for his biography of the renowned Rebel scout Frank Stringfellow, author R. Sheppard Brown interviewed Esther Green, Stringfellow's grandniece. In her recollections, Mrs. Green spoke of hearing him tell of how Burke took a special interest in the younger man and taught him skills needed to stay alive when spying on the enemy. "You've got to learn how far a normal voice carries in the quietness of the woods. When you are out on a scout and have something to say, say it as quickly as possible, and keep your voice down. A loudmouth doesn't live long in this business." She also related an exciting early morning incident that occurred behind the lines in September 1861 when a Union picket leveled his musket on the unsuspecting private. Stringfellow, mesmerized by the smell of freshly brewed coffee coming from a nearby enemy campfire, came to his senses suddenly when he heard a strange, whirling sound and then a thump. He turned around to see an unlucky bluecoat toppling to the ground with a knife buried between his shoulder blades and a grinning Burke motioning for him in the distance.

On September 11 at Lewinsville, a village a few miles northwest of Falls Church, Virginia, Stuart leading a small band of cavalry, infantry and some artillery confronted an 1800-man force led by Col. Isaac Stevens. During the fight, Stuart ordered Burke to check out some soldiers he could see congregating in a distant woods. Certain that the men were Southerners, Burke nonchalantly rode over to the group of fifteen Federals who promptly surrounded and captured him.

Interrogated first by Col. Stevens, some bluecoats soon hoisted Burke atop a caisson and hustled him back to Brigadier General William F. "Baldy" Smith headquarters. There, another officer asked him why he was fighting, Burke replied, "To repel invaders from my state... I am an Irishman by birth, but a Virginian by adoption." As his guards prepared to take him away, one suddenly slapped a pair of handcuffs on his wrists. Incensed by this unnecessary action, Burke shouted, "I thought we took all of those from you at Bull Run. We never put them on the meanest of your privates, and I protest in having them put on me."

For the next twelve days, Burke languished in a cell. On the morning of the 23rd, his jailers took him to see Maj. Gen. George McClellan. The commander, who was busy with some paper work, was surprised by the appearance of the man who, though claiming to be Stuart's aide, wore no uniform. Finally McClellan turned to the scout and asked "I desire to know, what you want-what you are fighting for, and what you intend to do?" Burke replied: "I can only answer for myself.... I am fighting for liberty and against despotism. We have our slaves and hold them as property. You say slavery is a curse-we think differently. We find the Negro better off with the white man for a master, and the history of the world has proved it."

From that point on, the two argued constitutional points vigorously until "Little Mac" finally tired of the pointless debate and ordered the guards to take the headstrong fighter away. In a little while, they delivered Burke to Washington's Old Capitol Prison, which for the next six weeks would be his home.

As noted before, Burke, along with cellmate J. Owens Berry, escaped on the night of November 6. However, not all went well. In the drop from his cell window, the scout hurt his foot. Although the Metropolitan Police were reportedly "in hot chase upon their trail," the pair evaded them and eventually split up. Once out of the city, the lame Rebel stayed on the eastern bank of the Potomac slowly making his way northwest toward Shepherdstown. Two days later however, beset by pain and an empty stomach, he found refuge with a Maryland secessionist who allowed him to hide out at his house until he was able to travel. Departing his sanctuary on November 23, he reached Shepherdstown on the evening of the 27th.

When Burke arrived in town, his clothes were still soaked from crossing the Potomac on a makeshift raft, just downstream from the mouth of Antietam Creek. The old hero's sudden, unexpected appearance in their midst, surprised his many friends who insisted on throwing him a party. Not long afterward, a large contingent of folks barged into a nearby hotel and promptly began a large alcohol-fueled, rowdy celebration. While they were there, though, a mysterious woman, later only identified as Mrs. S, left Shepherdstown and, in the dark, traveled the back roads upriver to Shepherd's Ford. Once there, she crossed over to the Camp of Co. A, 12th Indiana Infantry

and reported some interesting news. Not only was Redmond Burke back in town tying one on, but R. Shepherd Davis and his small band of local militia were there too. Quickly, the officer in charge dispatched a rider with a note back to the Sharpsburg regimental headquarters of Col. William Link. After reading the message, the colonel ordered Co. F to go to Shepherdstown and capture the graybacks.

Crossing upriver from the village to avoid detection, a few of the Hoosiers remained with their boats while the rest headed for the Smithfield Turnpike, on the western edge of town. Once on the pike, they began marching about a mile south to "Fountain Rock," the home of Confederate congressman Alexander R. Boteler. They suspected that Davis, Boteler's son-in-law was there, and, considering him to be a bigger prize, wanted to catch him first. The bluecoats arrived about midnight, entered the dwelling and found the man hiding in the attic. Then, with their prisoner in tow, they marched back to Shepherdstown and divided into two squads. The first surrounded a house and flushed out some militiamen, while the other soldiers proceeded to Stone Row, the home of Constable George McGlincey, where they anticipated finding Burke.

After the soldiers encircled the long, two-story building, a few walked to the front door and called out for McGlincey. When he appeared, an officer asked the old-timer a few questions and then arrested him. Alarmed by the noise, Burke, despite still feeling the effects of his bacchanal, jumped out of bed in his nightshirt and searched for a way to escape. Fortunately, Virginia McGlincey, George's twenty-one-year old daughter, had an idea. The pair ran upstairs and, according to different accounts, she either boosted him up in the rafters to hide or helped him get outside onto the roof.

Shortly, the Yankees burst into the house and ran to the stairs, where a defiant "Gin" stood awaiting them. Stoutly armed with an axe handle, for a brief time the ferocious Amazon violently defended her position astride the narrow passageway, knocking a few down the steps. Burke later related the end of the fracas saying that, "one of them struck her in the face with his fist, knocking her down and injuring her severely." The bluecoats then searched the dwelling but failed to find their wily prey. Thwarted in their quest to capture Burke, they soon were on their way back to Sharpsburg with their prisoners.

The next morning, despite the pleas of his friends to stay on, Burke rode out of town and headed for Martinsburg. In early December, he arrived back at Stuart's Fairfax Court House headquarters. Once there, according to a reporter, "He was received here with much pleasure, and he now has a seat at the General's table, and is once more engaged in the daring exploits incident to the life of a scout."

Throughout the following months, old Burke had a number of exciting adventures that added to his growing fame. They included riding in Stuart's escort at the December 20 Battle of Dranesville, carrying out a risky February 1862 reconnaissance of occupied Harpers Ferry for General Joseph E. Johnston, and during the May 4 Battle of Williamsburg guiding Brig. Gen. Jubal Early's four regiments into position on the left of the Confederate line. In his report of the action, Stuart cited Burke, who was now on the general's staff, writing that, "Lieut. Redmond Burke was ever under great personal danger, and led more than once the re-enforcements sent to Col. Jenkins to their positions." In late-May, as McClellan's forces were closing in on the Confederate capital, Stuart sent Burke and Stringfellow to Fredericksburg to determine when Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell and his 31,000 troops would be moving south to join "Little Mac" and tighten the noose around Richmond. They later determined, however, that McDowell was marching west toward the Shenandoah Valley.

But it was during the June 12-15 "Chickahominy Raid," also called Stuart's "First Ride Around McClellan," that the gray-haired warrior made his mark in Civil War history. By this time, Robert E. Lee had replaced Johnston in command of the newly-dubbed Army of Northern Virginia due to the latter suffering a disabling wound on May 30 at the Battle of Seven Pines. On June 11, a messenger arrived at Stuart's headquarters with orders from Lee to go ahead with the cavalry chief's bold plan for a reconnaissance of McClellan's right flank and, if possible, Stuart was to damage the Richmond and York River Railroad, McClellan's vital connection to his supply base at White House Landing. A few days before, Stuart had sent Pvt' John S. Mosby and three other scouts to reconnoiter the right of the Union picket line along Totopotomoy Creek. Mosby came back with the news that he had determined that the Federals had only a small screen of troopers posted there.

On June 12, Stuart's 1200 well-mounted raiders rode out from Mordecai Farm, north of Richmond, with Burke in the vanguard. The next day, the Confederates brushed aside the Federal pickets along the creek, fought another small engagement at Old Church, and moved on. According to the general's report, that afternoon, "A few picked men including my aides Burke, Farley and Mosby were pushed forward rapidly to Tunstall's Station to cut the wires and secure the depot." In the ensuing action, the scouts rounded-up more than a score of Yankees hanging around the depot but failed to stop a train highballing east, past the station. Not long afterward, Stuart ordered Burke to take some men and burn a nearby wooden railroad bridge over Black Creek. Burke's crew soon set it afire and rode on. Although Stuart, from a distance, saw the flames and later wrote that the troopers had destroyed the trestle, he was mistaken. After burning some damp timbers, the flames died out.

But it was on June 14, that Burke made his greatest contribution to the success of the mission. Riding south through the night, as dawn broke the tired Southerners finally reached an obscure Chickahominy River ford where Stuart had earlier determined to cross. To their dismay, they found the water too deep and the current too swift for a safe crossing. Fortunately, someone remembered that just a mile downstream there was a bridge at Old Forge. Moving quickly they arrived there to find out that the month before, other Confederates had destroyed it. Disappointed, the general was still confident that he could find a way out of his predicament before any pursuing Federal cavalry would arrive and trap them with their backs against the stream. He promptly ordered Burke to tear down a nearby rundown warehouse and use its boards to repair the bridge.

The accomplished Virginia writer Lt. John Esten Cooke was on hand to witness the amazing feat. Assisted by Cpl. Henry Hagen and a team of volunteers, Burke made a quick plan and got to work. Cooke remembered:

The bridge had been destroyed, but the stone abutments remained... some thirty or forty feet only apart Between these stone sentinels was... an "aching void" which it was necessary to fill.... A skiff was procured; this was affixed by a rope to a tree, in the mid-current just above the abutments, and thus a moveable pier was secured in the middle of the stream. An old barn was then hastily torn to pieces

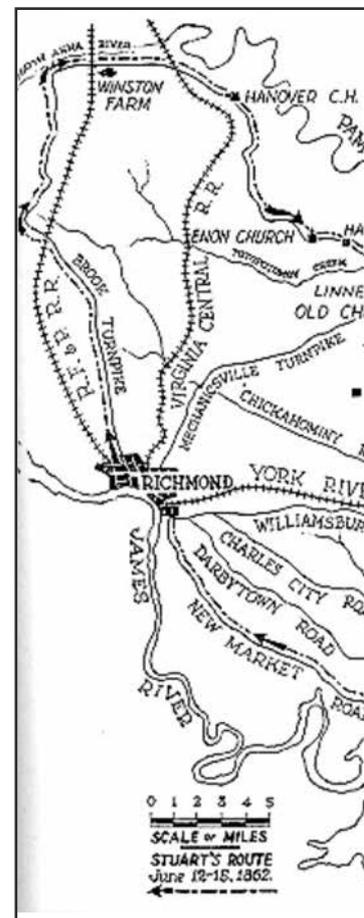
and robbed of its timbers, these were stretched down to the boat, and up to the opposite abutment, and a foot-bridge was thus ready. Large numbers of men unsaddled their horses, took their equipments over, and then returning drove or rode their horse into the stream, and swam them over... but the process was much too slow. A regular bridge must now be built without a moments delay.

Cooke watched as Burke's workers went back to the building, found some timbers that were just long enough to complete the job, "and immediately thick planks were hurried forward and laid crosswise, forming a secure footway for the cavalry and artillery horses." Soon all of the Rebels and even their two cannons were across. Ever the classical scholar, John Mosby recalled, "It might not have been so good a bridge that Caesar threw over the Rhine, but it served our purpose."

When the command finally arrived safely back in Richmond, Burke was one of the heroes of the day. Writing to Lee on June 17, Stuart mentioned his courageous and resourceful friend noting "in every sphere he has rendered most valuable service and deserves the highest consideration at the hands of the government." The general also recommended Burke's promotion to captain.

At the end of June, 1862 Burke rode at his commander's side during the terrific battles around Richmond as Lee's tenacious fighters pushed the Army of the Potomac away from the eastern outskirts of the capital. In mid-July, Stuart sent the captain and Stringfellow on a mission to scout Federal forces posted along the Rappahannock River in Northern Virginia. A few weeks later, Burke narrowly missed serious injury when a bullet fired by a Yankee picket posted along the river grazed his wrist.

But in an August 20 cavalry skirmish around Brandy Station, Burke was





not so lucky. As the combat intensified, Capt. Heroes Von Borcke, the gigantic Prussian aristocrat attached to Stuart's staff, led about eighty men in a fierce, headlong charge against some bluecoats descending on the Southern right flank. When the graybacks were about forty yards from them, the Yankees fired a wild volley and then galloped away. Although Von Borcke wrote

that their shots "had very little effect," he noted that after driving the Federals off, "I occupied myself chiefly in nursing Captain Burke ... who, while charging gallantly by my side, had received a bullet in the leg." General Stuart later commenting on the action added, "Capt. Redmond Burke ... received a severe wound in the leg, disabling him for some time from active duty." As a result, over the next few months as the intrepid captain recovered slowly from his injury, he missed both the Second Manassas and Maryland Campaigns, plus Stuart's October 10-12 Chambersburg, Pennsylvania Raid. Finally, however, by mid-October he was back in action. In an October 22 letter written to his wife Flora two days after he had sent Burke off on detached service, Stuart commented, "Burke and Farley are still with me and doing splendid service."

The men and boys that Burke took with him on the mission, even fifteen-year old Frank Burke, were proven veteran fighters, crack riders, and top scouts. The most intriguing, however, was Andrew Leopold. Hailing from Sharpsburg, he was born in 1841 and was the only child of Matthew and Polly Leopold. His father died when Andy was young, and his mother later married John Zittle. As a young man, Leopold worked on the canal and various farms while developing close friendships with other boys in nearby Shepherdstown. When the war began, he crossed the Potomac and enlisted in the local militia company that later became Co. F, 1st Virginia Cavalry. About this

time, Mary Louise Entler, who during the early years of the conflict made her mark as an underground Southern mail carrier, described Leopold. He was "a brave young man the very build of a typical soldier-tall, well-built, straight as an arrow, not handsome of face, but with an honest, grave face that one knew to trust."

Although not as renowned as Burke, by the fall of 1862, Leopold had also made quite a name for himself. Posted along the Potomac early in the war, he quickly came under suspicion for being one of the bushwhackers who hid in the brush and boulders along the steep river bluffs and occasionally shot at Union soldiers guarding the canal at Bridgeport, just across the river from Shepherdstown. During his time with the 1st Virginia Cavalry, he served as ensign in Stuart's brigade and fought during the Peninsula Campaign. When the army reorganized, in May 1862 Leopold and Hipsley both transferred to Co. D, 12th Virginia Cavalry. Now a sergeant, not long afterward he led a small band of soldiers that overran a Federal camp near Luray, Virginia. Leopold's losses were light, one man killed and three wounded, while Federal casualties amounted to five killed, twelve wounded and eighteen captured. In a letter to his mother, Andy recounted seizing "ten thousand dollars worth of medicines, clothing, and supplies."

The highlight of Leopold's service with the 12th came on August 30 during a cavalry combat toward the end of the Battle of Second Manassas. Brig. Gen. Beverly Robertson reported, "Sergeant Leopold... was in the thickest of the fight, and acted most gallantly.... He was wounded in three places." The next month, while recuperating, Leopold received the news that he was now third lieutenant of Co. D. Not long after arriving in Shepherdstown, Burke and his followers started concentrating their efforts around Hard Scrabble, a small village about five miles north of Shepherdstown and just beside Dam Number 4. Most of the men who lived there and in the surrounding area were Unionists or fellows who were not too keen on the Southerners conscripting them into the army. To escape capture, some had slipped across the river into Maryland, while a few took to hiding in caves along the Potomac when the graybacks were about.

At first stymied in their efforts to conscript reluctant Virginians, Burke's squad had some success rounding up horses. S. H. Henry, who lived near the dam,

later related that about this time he saw Leopold and another soldier making off with two of his neighbor's horses. Their actions soon led to the locals branding them as guerrillas. Union Loyalist Charles Ridenour commented, "... they were undoubtedly guerrillas, I mean horse stealing and committing all kinds of depredations on citizens."

Those men hiding out in Maryland congregated at a tavern in Mercersville, a riverside village of not far from Sharpsburg. Joseph Chapline, who owned a farm in Virginia, ran the place and used some of the refugees in a spy network that kept watch on Confederate forces across the Potomac in Berkeley and Jefferson counties. While in Maryland, Chapline and his friends had plenty of protection. At this time, Brig. Gen. George H. Gordon's five infantry regiments guarded the canal from the mouth of Antietam Creek upriver to the mouth of the Opequon Creek. Part of the XII Corps, Gordon's brigade consisted of three veteran outfits, the 2nd Massachusetts, 3rd Wisconsin, and the 27th Indiana, plus two, the 13th New Jersey, and the 107th New York, that had been organized that summer. All had fought in the Battle of Antietam. Now Gordon's mission was to stop any Rebel raids into Maryland and prevent cross-river smuggling.

Staff officer John Chipman Gray described his commander's first meeting with the refugees:

The general went into a queer old tavern where there was a fiddler playing to a number of white men and Negroes; we went into an upper room and had an interview with some spies. The queer old place lighted by one miserable candle and the men who were going to risk their necks to obtain information of the enemy for us made the scene really worthy of a novel.

Miss Entler, however, considered them traitors:

Union men who love the flag and their country so fondly that they will not fight for them but take their chances refugeing [sic] when the Confederates come to town.... Not that the Rebels ever molested them, but they tell so many wild tales about the southern citizens to the Union soldiers that they instinctively feel that some punishment ought to be meted out to them, and they expect the Rebels to do it.

To Be continued in Crossfire 122

Barnacles

by Maurice Rigby

Richard Hambley was born on August 4, 1845, in John Street, Kenwyn, Truro, Cornwall, the son of an Iron Moulder, James and Susannah Hambley, nee Lean.

Much of Richard's early career, and life, had been documented by him to his granddaughter Dorothy Suydam, nee Scharff, just before he died in the late 1930's. She had the good fortune to write down all his memories of the events as best as he could remember them. They can be fragmented in places at times, especially in later life, and difficult to know chronologically in what order I should place them in. But I suppose this is expected. As time passes slowly, memory tends to fade a little, something that will probably effect us all at some point in time. Eventually, his descendants chose to place the eleven pages of information on the family tree genealogy web site Ancestry.co.uk, which by chance I happened to stumble on while trying to follow up on a similar name that was found in one of my old note books from 2014.

Not long after Richard was born, he was struck down with scarlet fever, and by all accounts his chances of survival were slim. After some careful nursing he managed to pull through, and by the age of six his family moved to London, settling at number 2, Noble Street, Amwell, in the borough of Clerkenwell. A year later his father enrolled him at Amwell Street National School, not far from where he lived, at the sum of two pence a week. He described the class room of consisting of "four long rows of desks and benches, with the schoolmaster's desk on a raised platform facing the pupils" with "the recitation desk" just in front of it.

Playing marbles in the street on the way to school, would often make him late, and generally the punishment for this was a rap on the knuckles with the teacher's ruler. One day he laughed at the teacher after his punishment, only to find himself being stretched over the back of another pupil, who then held on to his arms, for further punishment. The cries of pain from the pupil as the teacher ditched out his punishment, were not from Richard, but that of the other boy, as Richard chose to chew his ear throughout the ordeal. The teacher seeing the blood running down the other boys neck, grabbed Richard to place him over one of the desks, but he broke free from his grasp and out of anger

picked up one of the writing slates on the desk and threw it at the teacher, striking him in the face, before running out of the class room, and away from school.

Around the age of ten, his mother sent him to a colonial school at the princely sum of six pence a week. He recalls learning to swim at this age, and one particular day remembers rescuing a lad from the Thames when nobody else would jump in. The offer of a medal for saving the lad's life was later refused by him. During class one day at the colonial school, he was once blamed by another pupil for doing something he swore he never did, and before being struck with the teacher's ruler, he punched her in the face, sending her crashing to the corner of the class room. It's not known whether he went back to school after this.

When he did finally leave school, he worked two years at the real Japan blacking company of Day and Martin, at 97, High Holborn, London, before gently persuading his mother to let him go away to sea. So one morning they both walked the five miles to the Naval School to enroll him, only to find that the school could only take on so many boys each week, and that he had to wait his turn. After about four weeks he was accepted into the school, and where on his first day they washed him, cut his hair, and dressed him in a naval rig, before attaching him to the school ship for around four months, as he says, and to be instructed into the operations, and running, of a naval vessel.

In 1862 at the age of 17, he recalls being assigned to the 'Evaline' for the East Indies, though I believe this could be either the 'Eveline', or the 'Evangeline' of London he refers to, as this latter one appears in one of the crew agreements I came across at the National Archives. By September 1863 he was at Simons Bay, where he had met up with an old shipmate from the 'Evangeline', and on his friends suggestion to join him on his ship, both men then walked the twenty miles or so to Cape Town, meeting six distressed seamen on the quay with a similar idea. Once at sea Richard, along with the six other seamen, shipped aboard the 'Alabama' on September 25, though he didn't stay on board very long, for with the Alabama's arrival at Singapore, and while out on liberty, he deserted the 'Alabama' on December 23.

In Singapore during the last week of January 1864, he, along with two other

deserters from the 'Alabama', had found themselves in trouble with the law, when they fought with some of the Petty officers and sailor's from HMS 'Rifleman' and 'Saracen'. Brought before the local magistrate on the morning of the 23rd, the former three confederates having been found guilty of the charges, were given the choice of each paying a fine of fifty rupees, or the alternative of spending a two-month prison sentence, with hard labour, in the House of Correction in default of payment. It's not known what they chose.

It wasn't the first time that Richard had fallen foul of the law, unless the incident after the 'Alabama' is somehow connected. He remembers being locked up for a night in a village jail with another sailor, somewhere in the East Indies. Their cell had also been used as a store room to ripen bananas, and above their heads hung the tasty delights. By the morning, when the guards came to release them, the two men quickly made their way to the shore, found a ship, and were gone before the guards discovered the fruit missing.

Around 1864-65 Richard found himself working for the pilot service in Melbourne, aboard one of the 'Rip' pilot schooner's. A schooner of the same name in July 1873, went out one morning during heavy seas, and was struck by a huge wave which knocked the schooner on its side. Four of the crew were washed overboard and were lost, leaving the other four survivors clinging to the boat badly injured, before another wave eventually righted the boat. In September 1874, this incident created the founding of the Victorian Humane Society, which raised funds for the bereaved families, and recognition for acts of bravery. By 1882, the Society changed its name to The Royal Humane Society of Australasia.

It's not known when he left the pilot service, though Richard tells us that he moved inland and settled in the gold mining town of Eaglehawk, Victoria, working in one of the many brickworks around the town, making bricks, and finding gold dust scattered around the yard. This prompted him to stake a claim at Ballarat, Victoria, where he was able to dig enough gold to keep him comfortable for the foreseeable future.



Royal Humane Society leaflet



When boredom set in, he began to miss home and the call of the sea.

It was during one of my weekly visits to the National Archives at Kew, looking through boxes and boxes of crew agreements, that I first came across Richard serving aboard the Glasgow registered 'Defient', of 1310 tons, as an able-bodied seaman. He had joined the ship at Liverpool on July 26, 1866, and it went on to show him being discharged from her at Pernambuco, Brazil, on September 8, of that year. His previous

vessel was difficult to read, and its almost impossible to try and pinpoint his further movements in this way, so I had no choice but turned back to the boxes again. Discovering his next ship, I found that he had previously served aboard the barque 'Evangeline' of, and for, London on the Boston run in 1867, under the command of Captain Peters. On September 21, during her voyage back she was hailed by Captain Snow of the 'Pioneer' who was passing nearby, and learned from the crew that its Captain had not only become sick, but deranged in his manner, and consequently when he was relieved of duty it was found that none of the crew on board had any knowledge in navigating the ship. So Captain Snow sent over a navigator to the 'Evangeline' whom he could spare, and once aboard quickly set a course for London, where the 'Evangeline' safely arrived on October 19 at Gravesend.

From the 'Evangeline' he then served on the London registered mail barque 'White Adder', on November 15, 1867 as an able-bodied seaman, on a voyage to Shanghai, and ports around India, Australia, and New Zealand, before finally returning back to London. Nearing Woosung Harbour on March 11, 1868, some fourteen miles from Shanghai, Captain Francis Moore told Hambley to check the soundings in this particular stretch of water, something most captains do as part of a routine. He managed to call out three fathoms when the ship suddenly ran aground on the West Bank. After several failed attempts to move the ship from its predicament, Captain Moore had no other option but to remove around seven hundred bales of goods from the ships hold, so the vessel could be floated off the bank. A thorough inspection later on, discovered she hadn't sustained any damage to her hull. Hambley was discharged from the 'White Adder' at London on November 2, 1868.

It was in London, after one of his many voyages, that he would go on to meet his future wife, Elizabeth Cox. The daughter of a Carpenter, James and Harriet Cox, nee King, she was born in Battersea on May 17, 1855, and baptised at the parish church of St George on March 7, 1858. It was while she assisted, and occasionally sang, at the Christian Mission for Seamen when Richard attended one day that they met, and on May 7, 1877, they were married at St Mary's parish church, Battersea. Not too long after their marriage, Richard took over the running of his late father's grocery shop from his brother Thomas, before deciding that he'd much sooner branch out on his own, and so told his granddaughter that he then opened a coffee shop on Blackwell Street, in the borough of Shadwell. It isn't known whether this venture turned out to be a small success, or simply a bad business deal, as I was unable to find a Blackwell Street in the London Post Office Directories around this period.

What is known, according to family tradition, was that he booked a one-way passage for himself, his wife and two children, to New York, aboard the French steamer, SS 'Pereire' of Havre. The steamer, with supporting sails, averaged weekly crossings to New York between six to eight days, and was one of a number of vessels owned by the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique. The 'Pereire' (CGT) of Havre had probably been named after the brother's Émile and Isaac Péreire, founding banker's of the Société Générale du Crédit Immobilier, and creator's of the Compagnie Général Maritime, and later major financiers of CGT. Less than a few weeks before Richard had booked his tickets to New York, the aging Monsieur Isaac Péreire followed his brother to the grave, leaving an estate valued at 52,000,000 francs (over £2,000,000).

The Hambley's left Le Havre, France, for Brest, early in August 1880 to pick up more passengers, and the US mail, and after an uneventful crossing arrived in New York on August 11. It's uncertain where they settled after arriving, due to them missing out on the 1880 US census, and that of the 1890 US census of which only fragments survived. However, the local paper The Suffolk County News, Sayville, New York, reported in their social page for Saturday, May 31, 1890, that Richard Hambley of Bayport had a continuing illness, which is affecting him from returning to his duties. Confirmation of the June 1900 census shows them living in Oakwood Avenue, in the township of Islip, Suffolk County, New York, with five children, one having died some time before, and Richard's occupation that of a Bayman, or oyster

catcher.

In late June 1901, a sad tragedy occurred off the Great South Bay, Long Island, when Richard Hambley, in accompany with Captain Charles LeCluse, Captain LeRoy Still, William Still and William Stryker, aboard the sloop 'Arthur B', went on a menhaden, or 'bunkers', fishing trip. Menhaden is a type of fish of the herring family, found in the Atlantic that has to be eaten fresh, otherwise the fish deteriorates very quickly and it's oil turns rotten. They had been fishing off Smith's Point, and where in the process of returning home with about 3 to 4,000 fish, when one of the skiff's in tow, a sort of light rowing boat, had capsized. After managing to right the boat, Captain LeCluse then turned the sloop around to try and pick up some of the items that had fallen into the water. William Stryker grabbed the boat hook to pull them closer, but fell overboard, either by tripping over the nets on deck, or by accidentally catching the boat hook on the sail during its manoeuvre turning around. Unable to swim, he just managed to call out to his colleagues, only to be hampered by his heavy clothing and boots which pulled him down again. Despite the crews attempts to do what they could to rescue him using nets, and hooks, he never surfaced. They spent around an hour or more searching, before giving up due to the increasing winds getting up. A marker buoy was placed nearby, and the next morning a group of volunteers from the Court Bayside Foresters of America, of which Stryker had been a member of, returned to the spot where he was last seen. The volunteers, Oliver LeCluse, Charles Brown, Richard Hambley, Mitchell Klein, and LeRoy Still, returned in the 'Arthur B', and recovered the body of their colleague in their purse nets. The twenty seven year man, who had been married for just four years, was brought back to Patchogue, where an inquest would be held that afternoon. His young widow would go on to receive over \$900 from his insurance company.

Richard Hambley remained in the village of Bayport, Islip, Suffolk Co, as a worker for Messrs E Brown & Bros in their oyster house, working such sloop's as the 'Half Moon' the 'Minnie V', and the 'Kangaroo', to name just a few over the years, up until his retirement, by now in his 70's. He passed away on February 25, 1939, at the age of 93 in Brookhaven, Suffolk County, with his widow Elizabeth following him on October 23, 1940, aged 84, having died at the South Shore Convalescent Home at Patchogue. Funeral services were both held at the Raynor's Memorial Chapel, Sayville, by the Reverend Joseph Bond of St Ann's Episcopal Church, before interment in the family plot in St Ann's Cemetery.

From the White House to Gettysburg, and to Arlington

By John Murray

Reading an article in a recent issue of a family history magazine, I was reminded of a scene in the film 'Gettysburg'. The article concerned Letitia Christian, a woman of Manx descent, who grew up in Virginia in the late 18th and early 19th century. In March 1813, Letitia married John Tyler, an ambitious lawyer and aspiring politician, who went on to become the tenth President of the United States. The article included a list of the descendants of John and Letitia Tyler and they included a grandson, Robert Tyler Jones. The scene in 'Gettysburg' occurs just before Pickett's Charge – the discussion between Lewis Armistead and Arthur Freemantle of the many ironies brought into focus by the impending assault. Armistead drew Freemantle's attention to three particular individuals present nearby: Dearing, the artilleryist, first in his class at West Point; the great grandson of Patrick Henry; and a member of the Colour Guard who was the grandson of a U.S. President, Robert Tyler Jones.

Robert Tyler Jones, son of Mary Tyler and Henry Lightfoot Jones, was born in the White House on 24 January 1843. His grandmother, the 'First Lady', had died in that famous residence on 10 September 1842. Robert's mother died in 1847 when he was only 4 years old. Robert was reared by his aunt Letitia, one of the President's daughters, who was married to James Allen Semple, then a purser in the U.S. Navy.

In June 1861, at the start of the Civil War, Robert joined the Confederate forces and enlisted as a Private in what became Company K of the 53rd

Virginia Infantry. He was then aged 18 and described as a farmer. It is evident from several letters in his Compiled Military Service Records ('CMSRs') that Robert was very highly regarded by the officers in his regiment. In letters supporting recommendations for his promotion, there are references to Robert's 'fidelity, courage and efficiency', his 'unflinching bravery and cool demeanour in several engagements' and 'his conspicuous gallantry at Gettysburg'.

Robert, however, was unhappy with his situation with the 53rd Virginia Infantry. On 3 December 1862, from Fredericksburg, he wrote to his uncle James Semple requesting his assistance in getting a transfer to the Confederate Navy or in finding some other position to which he was better suited. Although James Semple promptly wrote to a senior politician in the Confederate capital in Richmond, no suitable position was found for Robert who, nevertheless, continued to serve with distinction in the 53rd Virginia.

It is interesting to note that, earlier in



Private Jones as depicted in Gettysburg

the Civil War, James Semple, who in pre-war years was a purser in the U.S. Navy, served as paymaster on the famous Confederate ironclad warship the Merrimac.

It is also interesting to note that Robert had another uncle who might have been in a position to advance his career: John Tyler Jr, a son of President Tyler and Letitia Christian. John Jr was an Assistant Secretary of War in the Confederate government and apparently held the rank of a Colonel in the Confederate Army. John Jr had served as a captain in the U.S. Army in the war with Mexico (1846–48). He also served as the private secretary to his father while he was in the White House. After the Civil War, John Jr practised, unsuccessfully, as

a lawyer and died in 1896 virtually in penury with only a meagre military pension to sustain him. John Jr is buried in Arlington National Cemetery, his gravestone referring to his military service in Mexico. It is possible that Robert Tyler Jones sought John Jr's assistance but there is no evidence that he did so. Given that Robert was keen to join the Confederate Navy it is not surprising he sought assistance from his other uncle James Semple.

Robert, as a member of the 53rd Virginia, took part in many famous



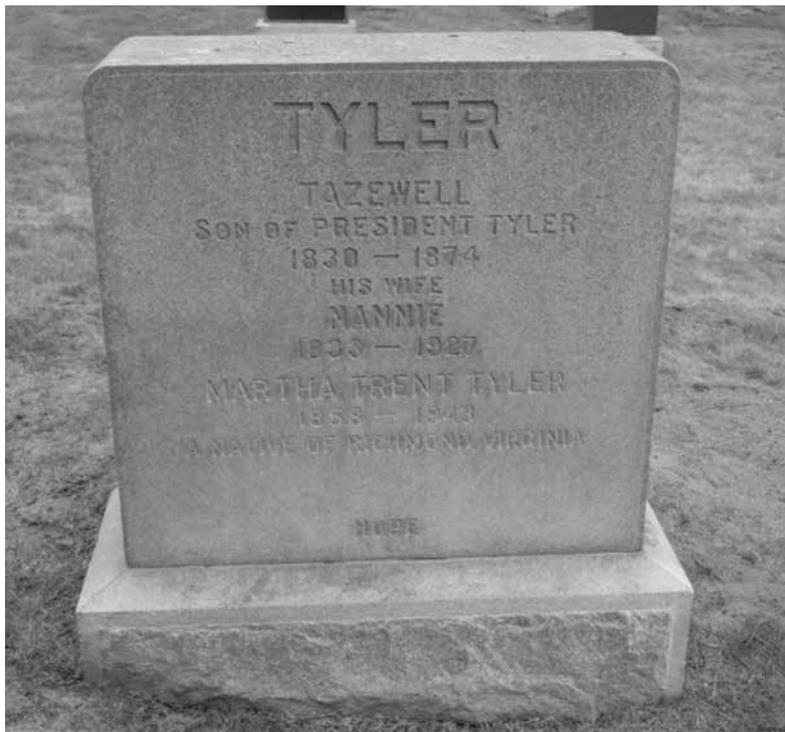
battles of the Civil War, most notably Gettysburg in July 1863. In a letter, written on 29 March 1864, requesting Robert's promotion to Ensign, the Colonel of the regiment, William P. Aylett, wrote:

He is at present Color Bearer of the Regiment which position I bestowed upon him on account of his conspicuous gallantry at the battle of Gettysburg. He was one of the Color Guard in the charge of my Regiment and was wounded twice [in the arm and the head] while carrying the Colors, after the fall of the Color Bearer.

The Colonel's letter was endorsed 'approved' by Robert's brigade and divisional commanders as it made its way up the chain of command and Robert was duly promoted to Ensign. Robert, by then a First Lieutenant, surrendered with what remained of his regiment (6 officers and 74 men) at the close of the war on 9 April 1865 at Appomattox Court House, Virginia.

Another of Robert's uncles, also a son of John Tyler and Letitia Christian, Tazewell Tyler, served with the Confederate forces as a surgeon. In the earlier stages of the war, Tazewell served with several Confederate regiments in the field then latterly in Confederate military hospitals in Richmond. Tazewell was appointed as an Assistant Surgeon to the 2nd Virginia Artillery with effect from 1 March 1862. This followed a letter, dated 22 February 1862, from the Colonel of the 2nd Virginia Artillery to the Secretary of War: 'I respectfully recommend Dr. Tazewell Tyler as Assistant Surgeon of my Regiment. I beg to say that the Measles are spreading in my ranks and I hope it will please the Hon. Secy. to appoint the Surgeon at as early a date as practicable'.

In January 1863, Tazewell



Tyler passed the examination for the position of Surgeon and was ordered on 26 January 1863 to join A.P.Hill's Division. On 29 March 1863, Tazewell was assigned to duty with the 13th South Carolina Infantry and he is marked 'present' in the March and April 1863 Field and Staff Muster Roll. It appears from other records in his CMSRs that Tazewell had been absent ill from 7 April to 20 April 1863. Was Tazewell Tyler present with the 13th South Carolina at Gettysburg? Regrettably, there is nothing in his CMSRs to confirm that he was present at the battle where his nephew performed with 'conspicuous gallantry'. There is no Field and Staff Muster Roll for May and June 1863 nor, indeed, any other such muster roll for Tazewell's service with the 13th South Carolina.

By spring 1864, Tazewell was in



Camp Winder

Richmond, in charge of Division 3 of General Hospital Camp Winder in that city. Evidently, while stationed at Orange Court House, Tazewell applied on 3 April 1864 for a transfer 'to light duty' and, on 5 May, he was ordered to take charge at a division of the hospital in the Confederate capital. However, shortly after his transfer, he was ordered on 15 May to Drewry's Bluff 'for temporary duty with the Reserve Surgical Corps'. By the end of May, Tazewell was back at Camp Winder hospital where, save for short furloughs

in October 1864 and January 1865, he served throughout the rest of 1864 and early 1865. Tazewell is reported as one of those captured in the hospitals of Richmond on 3 April 1865. He was paroled on 16 April 1865.

Internet sources state that Tazewell seems to have suffered from what is now termed 'post traumatic stress disorder' as a result of the carnage he had to deal with as a war-time surgeon. In the post-war years, he became an alcoholic, divorced his wife and moved to California where he died in 1874. He is buried in Olivet Memorial Park, Colma, San Mateo County, California.

After the war, Robert Tyler Jones eventually found a position as a clerk in the U.S. Treasury Office in Washington DC. It is clear that his service in the Civil War had a profound effect upon Robert.

He made an address at the 25th anniversary reunion of the 'Blue and the Gray' at Gettysburg in 1888. He married late in life in 1891, aged 48, to 23 year-old Sally Breeden Gresham. Their son, Lewis Armistead Jones, was born on 22 June 1893. Robert died less than two years after the birth of his son, on 18 May 1895. He is buried in Chestnut Grove Cemetery, Herndon, Virginia.



*Hanover junction,
Then and Now*



*Lincoln and
Lamon are
standing to
the right of the
locomotive, and
underneath the
left window of the
train station.*