


Determined to Stand and Fight

THE BATTLE OF MONOCACY, JULY 9, 1864

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EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES



Footnotes and Errata

(full bibliography follows the notes)

Prologue

“I could not raise my head but a bullet would strike the rails in front...”¹

“I fired upwards of 100 rounds...”²

“Wright straightened up to take a view of the surroundings and was killed”³

“After a moment...”⁴

¹ Daniel B. Freeman Letter to R.A. Alger, October 2, 1897, in Daniel B. Freeman Medal of Honor Application File, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

Chapter One: The Shenandoah Valley

Overview of operations in the Shenandoah Valley in 1862 and 1863.⁵

“Lee’s army will be your objective point,”⁶

“Those not skinning can hold a leg.”⁷

Sigel defeated at New Market.⁸

Battle of Piedmont.⁹

David Hunter’s background as a Radical Republican.¹⁰

“Sunday morning about 10 o’clock the Yankees set fire to the Institute...”¹¹

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ For campaigns in the Shenandoah Valley in 1862 see Peter Cozzens’s *Shenandoah 1862: Stonewall Jackson’s Valley Campaign* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). For 1863 campaigning, see Eric J. Wittenberg and Scott L. Mingus, *The Second Battle of Winchester: The Confederate Victory that Opened the Door to Gettysburg* (El Dorado Hills: Savas Beatie, 2016).

⁶ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 volumes in 3 series (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1889) Vol. 33, 828. The Official Records hereafter cited as OR, followed by Vol, pt. (when applicable), and page number.

⁷ John Hay, *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay*, ed. Tyler Dennett (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1988), 179.

⁸ For a recent monograph on the battle of New Market, see Charles R. Knight, *Valley Thunder: The Battle of New Market and the Opening of the Shenandoah Valley Campaign, May 1864* (New York: Savas Beatie, 2010).

⁹ For the opening of David Hunter’s Shenandoah Valley Campaign and the battle of Piedmont, see Scott C. Patchan, *The Forgotten Fury: The Battle of Piedmont, Virginia* (Fredericksburg: Sergeant Kirkland’s Press, 1996).

¹⁰ For an examination of David Hunter’s political identity, see Edward A. Miller Jr., *Lincoln’s Abolitionist General: The Biography of David Hunter* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997).

¹¹ “Hunter’s Raid on VMI, June 1864: Fannie Wilson Account,” Virginia Military Institute, accessed March 1, 2016,

Hunter “invested the Valley...”¹²

“Strike Hunter’s force in the rear, and, if possible, destroy it...”¹³

Battle of Lynchburg.¹⁴

Hunter’s retreat “was well conducted and successful.”¹⁵

“Hunter tucked his tail and ran like a wolf.”¹⁶

“Worn out with fatigue, without supplies in a country producing little at best...”¹⁷

“There was a limit to the endurance even of Confederate soldiers.”¹⁸

“My first object is to destroy Hunter...”¹⁹

“Will move in accordance with original instructions...”²⁰

http://www.vmi.edu/media/contentassets/documents/archives/HuntersRaid_FannieWilsonLetter.pdf

¹² Clifford Dowdey and Louis H. Manarin, editors, *The Wartime Papers of R.E. Lee* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1961), 740.

¹³ Jubal Anderson Early, *Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1912), 371.

¹⁴ The battle of Lynchburg to date does not have an exhaustive monograph written about it. For the Confederate perspective, see Charles M. Blackford, *Campaign and Battle of Lynchburg, Va.* (n.p., 1901). For the Federal perspective, see Henry A. DuPont, *The Campaign of 1864 and in the Valley of Virginia and the Expedition to Lynchburg* (New York: National Americana Society, 1925).

¹⁵ David Hunter Strother, *A Virginia Yankee in the Civil War: The Diaries of David Hunter Strother* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 267.

¹⁶ William Colbert, 9th Louisiana Infantry, July 16, 1864, quoted in *One Family’s Family*, ed. Nancy P. Leasure (n.p., 1987), 20.

¹⁷ Strother, 269.

¹⁸ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 378.

¹⁹ OR, 37, pt. 1, 763.

²⁰ OR, 37, pt. 1, 160.

“I therefore decided. . .to turn down the Valley...”²¹

Chapter Two: The March North

Biographical overview of Jubal Early’s military service.²²

Early being “Very rough in language...”²³

Early’s nicknames as Lee’s “bad old man” and “Old Jube.”²⁴

Army of Northern Virginia’s Second Corps strengths.²⁵

Estimates of how many troops Early brought north.²⁶

“Whereas John C. Breckinridge, a member of this body from the State of Kentucky...”²⁷

²¹ Jubal Early to Robert E. Lee, June 28, 1864. Huntington Library, San Marino California.

²² George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y.*: Volume 1 (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868), 120.

²³ Confederate soldier quoted in Joseph T. Glatthaar, *General Lee’s Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 344.

²⁴ Edward A. Pollard, *Lee and His Lieutenants; Comprising the Early Life, Public Services, and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee and His Companions in Arms* (New York: E.B. Treat & Co., 1867), 477-78.

²⁵ Alfred C. Young III, *Lee’s Army During the Overland Campaign: A Numerical Study* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013) 229; Early *Autobiographical Sketch*, 371-372.

²⁶ For the lower-tier strength estimate, see “Army of the Valley District Composition and Numbers,” Gail M. Stephens, 2004, unpublished article in archives of Monocacy National Battlefield. For higher-ended estimates, see Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *Jubal Early’s Raid on Washington* (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1989), 22.

²⁷ *Journal of the Senate* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1861), 2nd Session, 33rd Congress, 23.

John B. Gordon biography.²⁸

Robert Ransom was “in bad health ever since leaving Lynchburg”²⁹

“I was glad to see Hunter take the route to Lewisburg,”³⁰

“I find from various quarters statements of large forces in the Valley,”³¹

“There are conflicting reports about the rebel forces in the Shenandoah Valley.”³²

Early’s “corps has returned here...”³³

“There are strong indications of a movement of the enemy in force down the Valley.”³⁴

“There are no troops that can be threatening Hunter’s department.”³⁵

²⁸ Ezra Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 111.

²⁹ George E. Pond, *The Shenandoah Valley in 1864* (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1989 reprint), 97.

³⁰ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 378-79.

³¹ OR, 37, pt. 1, 695.

³² OR, 37, pt. 2, 4. Maj. Gen. George E. Pickett, famous for Gettysburg, was not involved with Jubal Early’s Shenandoah Valley Campaign.

³³ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁴ OR, 37, pt. 1, 174.

³⁵ OR, 37, pt. 2, 15.

Chapter Three: Lew Wallace

Etymology of the Monocacy River.³⁶

Cost of damages to the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1862.³⁷

Day of John Garrett's visit to Lew Wallace.³⁸

Garrett's "calls as significant of important business, bracing myself accordingly."³⁹

Biographical overview of Lew Wallace's life up to 1862.⁴⁰

³⁶ By far, the former translation is the most-common. The "river with many bends" hypothesis is cited in Thornberry-Ehrlich, T., "Monocacy National Battlefield Geologic Resource Evaluation Report," (Denver: National Park Service, 2008), 2, as a translation of the Shawnee language. Monocacy being an Anglicization of the Delaware word *Menachkhasu* meaning a fence or garden is cited in Hamill Kenny, *The Origin and Meaning of Indian Place Names of Maryland* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1961), 94. It is entirely plausible that either translation is correct, depending on which tribal language one is going by.

³⁷ *Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio R.R. Co. For the Year Ending September 30, 1863* (Baltimore: J.B. Rose & Co., 1863), 57.

³⁸ It is difficult to pinpoint exactly when Garrett met with Wallace and told the general of the rebel invasion. Gail Stephens, the most-modern biographer of Wallace, says July 3. Gail Stephens, *Shadow of Shiloh: Major General Lew Wallace in the Civil War* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2010), 185. July 3 is also the guess of Brett Spaulding, a National Park historian. Brett W. Spaulding, *Last Chance for Victory: Jubal Early's 1864 Maryland Invasion* (Gettysburg: Thomas Books, 2010), 50. Benjamin F. Cooling, one of the leading historians of the campaign, says Garrett visited Wallace on July 2. B. Franklin Cooling, *Monocacy: The Battle that Saved Washington* (Shippensburg: White Mane Publishing Co., Inc, 2000), 31, and he is joined by Glenn Worthington, the first historian of the campaign. Glenn H. Worthington, *Fighting for Time: The Battle of Monocacy* (Shippensburg: White Mane Publishing Co., Inc, 1985 reprint), 48. Lew Wallace is no clearer in his autobiography, writing, "About July 2..." Lew Wallace, *An Autobiography Vol. II* (Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1906), 698.

³⁹ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 698.

⁴⁰ See Stephens's *Shadow of Shiloh* for the best overview of Wallace's life.

Ulysses S. Grant had others write against Lew Wallace.⁴¹

“Bad conduct of officers who were utterly unfit for their places.”⁴²

“I waited for those orders and waited; but they never came.”⁴³

“I do not think that Genl. Wallace is worth the trouble & expense of . . . a court”⁴⁴

“It seems but little better than murder to give important commands to such men”⁴⁵

“You know . . . there are no troops at Washington—at least not much more”⁴⁶

Washington, D.C. and Baltimore forts being stripped of garrisons and troops sent south.⁴⁷

“2200 strong, as fine a body of men as I ever saw...”⁴⁸

Wallace describes his available forces as “inefficients.”⁴⁹

“I hear there is nothing at Washington but the same kind of men...”⁵⁰

⁴¹ Charles G. Beemer, *“My Greatest Quarrel with Fortune”*: Major General Lew Wallace in the West, 1861-1862 (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2015), 194.

⁴² OR, Vol. 10, pt. 1, 99.

⁴³ *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War*, Part III (Washington: U.S. Government Press, 1863), 345.

⁴⁴ Stephens, 152. Also see Charles G. Beemer, *“My Greatest Quarrel with Fortune”*: Major General Lew Wallace in the West, 1861-1862 (Kent State University Press, 2015) for a new monograph on the relationships between Lew Wallace and Ulysses S. Grant and Henry Halleck.

⁴⁵ OR, 34, pt. 3, 333.

⁴⁶ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 699.

⁴⁷ OR, 36, pt. 2, 695-696.

⁴⁸ Samuel H. Hunt, “Ohio Hundred Days Men in the Rebellion,” *Wyandot County Republican*, October. 29, 1891.

⁴⁹ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 701.

⁵⁰ Jubal Early to Robert E. Lee, June 28, 1864. Huntington Library, San Marino California.

“It is very clear,’ I said, ‘that your iron bridge over the river at the Monocacy...’⁵¹

Erastus Tyler troubles with the Army of the Potomac.⁵²

“If necessary push . . . any other available troops forward to Monocacy Junction...’⁵³

The “good time had so near home, where we could go three or four times a week...’⁵⁴

“[W]e received orders to be ready to take the [trains] in 30 minutes with 3 days...’⁵⁵

“If General Hunter is in striking distance there ought to be veteran force...’⁵⁶

“Telegraphic communication cut west of Frederick...’⁵⁷

“[T]he front which I had thought myself too far behind...’⁵⁸

“Lew buckled on his sword saying he would go down to Point of Rocks...’⁵⁹

⁵¹ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 699-700.

⁵² Erastus B. Tyler Court-Martial, NARA. For a contemporary account of the bitterness between Tyler and Andrew Humphreys see William H. Armstrong, *Red Tape and Pigeon-Hole Generals*, originally published anonymously in 1864 but republished with commentary by Frederick B. Arner (Charlottesville: Rockbridge Publishing, 1999).

⁵³ OR, 37, pt. 2, 30.

⁵⁴ Frederick W. Wild, *Memoirs and History of Cpt. F.W. Alexander’s Baltimore Battery of Light Artillery U.S.V.* (Baltimore: n.p., 1912), 118-19.

⁵⁵ William A. Butler to the Editor, *Wyandot Pioneer*, August 5, 1864.

⁵⁶ OR 37, pt. 2, 33, 63.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁵⁸ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 709.

⁵⁹ Susan Wallace to Helen Lossing, July 20, 1864. Huntington Library, San Marino California.

Chapter Four: Sigel Delays at Harpers Ferry

“John Brown’s body lies a-mouldering in the grave,”⁶⁰

Reports of “severe fighting” near Martinsburg.⁶¹

“Not more than one-half of the Government stores was removed.”⁶²

“I shall march to Harper’s Ferry at 2 a.m. to-morrow.”⁶³

“I need infantry very much.”⁶⁴

“I have but 400 men...”⁶⁵

“At no time during the war was there as deep a gloom on Harper’s Ferry...”⁶⁶

“No regular line of battle was engaged in the attack,”⁶⁷

“And continued the celebration by a considerable display of fireworks—or firearms...”⁶⁸

⁶⁰ In his book, Christian McWhirtier refers to “John Brown’s Body” as “one of the North’s most popular patriotic songs.” Christian McWhirtier, *Battle Hymns: Music and the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 18.

⁶¹ H.M. Burleigh to William Prescott Smith, July 3, 1864. “Letters and Telegrams, 1861-1864.” University of Louisville, Ekstrom Library.

⁶² D. Darby to William Prescott Smith, July 3, 1864. “Letters and Telegrams, 1861-1864.” University of Louisville, Ekstrom Library.

⁶³ OR, 37, pt. 2, 20.

⁶⁴ OR, 37, pt. 2, 19.

⁶⁵ OR, 37, pt. 1, 185.

⁶⁶ Joseph Barry, *The Strange Story of Harper’s Ferry: With Legends of the Surrounding Country* (Martinsburg: Thompson Brothers, 1903), 152.

⁶⁷ Thomas F. Wood Journal, 4th North Carolina Infantry. Thomas Fanning Wood Papers, University of North Carolina Wilmington. Accessed February 10, 2016.

<http://library.uncw.edu/web/collections/manuscript/TFWdiary.html>

⁶⁸ Martin Brett, “Memoir,” 12th Georgia Infantry. Bound Volume 26, page 26, Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park Archives.

“The yankees didnt know that we was every whers...”⁶⁹

“Doing little damage.”⁷⁰

“It is absolutely necessary that the most rigid discipline be enforced...”⁷¹

Sigel’s number of artillery.⁷²

“Jackson had taught the Yankees that Maryland Heights was the key to Harper’s Ferry,”⁷³

“My desire had been to manoeuvre the enemy out of Maryland Heights,”⁷⁴

Early moving to Shepherdstown and across the Potomac.⁷⁵

“Memories of scores of army comrades and childhood's friends...”⁷⁶

“Throughout the whole of this day. . . there was heavy skirmishing along the line...”⁷⁷

⁶⁹ W.H. Aycock to W.R. Redding, July 23, 1864, W.R. Redding Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁷⁰ Jedediah Hotchkiss, *Make Me a Map of the Valley: The Civil War Journal of Stonewall Jackson’s Topographer*, ed. Archie P. McDonald (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1973), 213.

⁷¹ OR, 37, pt. 2, 592.

⁷² Pond, 48-49.

⁷³ Thomas F. Wood Journal, 4th North Carolina Infantry. Thomas Fanning Wood Papers, University of North Carolina Wilmington. Accessed February 10, 2016.

<http://library.uncw.edu/web/collections/manuscript/TFWdiary.html>

⁷⁴ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 385.

⁷⁵ John B. Gordon Report, July 22, 1864. John Page Nicholson Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.; Hotchkiss, 214.

⁷⁶ Robert E. Park, “Diary of Captain R.E. Park, of the 12th Ala. Regiment,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Volume I, ed. J. William Jones (Richmond: Southern Historical Society, 1876), 378.

⁷⁷ Edmund N. Atkinson, “Report of the Operation of Evans’ Brigade,” July 22, 1864. James Eldridge Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

“I then move on Washington.”⁷⁸

“You can . . . judge what probability there is of a good defense...”⁷⁹

“I think now there is no doubt [Early’s] corps is away from here...”⁸⁰

“Send in one good division of your troops,”⁸¹

“No artillery will accompany the division that is to embark...”⁸²

“So completely covered with dust that we were mistaken for a division of colored troops.”⁸³

“We could not see 20 feet from our selves, this added to the heat was dreadful.”⁸⁴

“Thankful for rest, pure air, and to be beyond the reach of shot and shell,”⁸⁵

Photo Caption: Units listed aboard the *Daniel Webster*.⁸⁶

⁷⁸ Jubal Early to Robert E. Lee, July 7, 1864. Civil War Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁹ OR, 37, pt. 2, 15.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁸¹ OR, 37, pt. 2, 60; OR, 40, pt. 3, 44.

⁸² OR, 40, pt. 3, 44.

⁸³ E.M. Haynes, *A History of the Tenth Regiment, VT. Vols.* (Rutland: The Tuttle Company, Printers, 1894), 184.

⁸⁴ Abiel T. LaForge Diary, July 6, 1864, Excerpts held in 106th New York Vertical Files, Monocacy National Battlefield archives.

⁸⁵ George E. Davis, “Washington’s Peril,” *National Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1884.

⁸⁶ William W. Henry Letter, July 9, 1864. William Wirt Henry to Mary Jane Henry, Vermont Historical Society Library, Barre, Vermont, <http://cdi.uvm.edu/collections/item/cwvhsHenryWilliam117> (accessed November 20, 2015).

Chapter Five: First Contact

Wallace describes his troops as “unexceptional.”⁸⁷

8th Illinois Cavalry arrives to help Wallace.⁸⁸

Baltimore Light Artillery section commanded by Lt. Peter Leary.⁸⁹

Sun being “very oppressive,”⁹⁰

Pro-Confederate Marylanders fight pro-Union Virginians.⁹¹

“A tornado over our heads,”⁹²

“The Loudoun Rangers are worthless as cavalry...”; “had run back into [Frederick] at the first sight of a grayback.”⁹³

Richard Gilmor wounded.⁹⁴

“Since the beginning of the war. . . I have seen death in many of its horrid forms...”⁹⁵

Colonel Charles Gilpin takes command of fighting.⁹⁶

⁸⁷ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 721.

⁸⁸ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 719; Abner Hard, *History of the Eighth Cavalry Regiment Illinois Volunteers During the Great Rebellion* (Aurora: n.p., 1868), 295-96.

⁸⁹ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 219, 223.

⁹⁰ Hard, 296.

⁹¹ Briscoe Goodhart, *History of the Independent Loudoun Virginia Rangers* (Washington: McGill & Wallace, 1896), 134; Harry Gilmor, *Four Years in the Saddle* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1866), 188.

⁹² Goodhart, 134.

⁹³ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 221; Hard, 296.

⁹⁴ Gilmor, 188.

⁹⁵ J. Kelly Bennette quoted in Joseph V. Collins, *Battle of West Frederick, July 7, 1864: Prelude to Battle of Monocacy* (Joseph Collins: Xlibris Corporation, 2011), 171.

⁹⁶ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 220.

“The gallant troopers of the Eighth never did better fighting than this...”⁹⁷

“They then commenced throwing shells & balls.”⁹⁸

“With a seemingly mutual understanding that it would be renewed in the morning,”⁹⁹

Photo Caption: Bradley Johnson called a “desperate coward.”¹⁰⁰

“The day was delightful... All under the cloudless sky lay in a shimmer of sunshine.”¹⁰¹

“Think I have had the best little battle of the war,”¹⁰²

“Our loss during the day was two men killed, one officer 17 men wounded,”¹⁰³

“We lay all day the eighth in a drizzling rain on the mountain,”¹⁰⁴

“Advanced boldly to the very base of the mountain.”¹⁰⁵

“The skirmishers went languidly on...”¹⁰⁶

⁹⁷ Hard, 296.

⁹⁸ Jacob Engelbrecht, *The Diary of Jacob Engelbrecht, 1818-1878* (Frederick: Historical Society of Frederick County, 1976), July 8, 1864.

⁹⁹ “The Fight at Frederick on the 7th,” *New York Times*, July 10, 1864.

¹⁰⁰ Frederick Schley Broadside, June 24, 1857. Held in David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/broadsides_bdsmd30936/ Accessed January 16, 2016.

¹⁰¹ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 722.

¹⁰² OR, Vol. 37, pt. 2, 110.

¹⁰³ Edward Y. Goldsborough, *Early's Great Raid* (n.p., 1898), 11.

¹⁰⁴ Bradley T. Johnson, “Ride Around Baltimore in 1864,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Volume 30, ed. R.A. Brock (Richmond: Southern Historical Society, 1902), 216.

¹⁰⁵ Gilmor, 189.

¹⁰⁶ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 742.

“The men passed a sleepless night on the crowded cars” ; “pretty tired of [the] U.S. transporting us around.”¹⁰⁷

“To look after Genl Ewell.”¹⁰⁸

“Generously shared . . . some of their own commissary supplies...”¹⁰⁹

“Some bread, meat, and coffee.”¹¹⁰

“The people received us with joy giving water and provisions freely.”¹¹¹

“Deception Hill.”¹¹²

“Proceeded slowly, and after many delays, reached Monocacy Junction...”¹¹³

“Determination to stand and fight.”¹¹⁴

“Breckinridge, with strong column moving down Washington Pike toward Urbana...”¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁷ George R. Prowell, *History of the Eighty-Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers* (York: Press of the York Daily, 1903), 175; William Clark Letter, July 8, 1864, copies held in 14th New Jersey Regiment Vertical Files in the Monocacy National Battlefield archives.

¹⁰⁸ William W. Henry to Wife, July 9, 1864. William W. Henry Letter, July 9, 1864. William Wirt Henry to Mary Jane Henry, Vermont Historical Society Library, Barre, Vermont, <http://cdi.uvm.edu/collections/item/cwvhsHenryWilliam117> (accessed November 20, 2015).

¹⁰⁹ George E. Davis, “Washington’s Peril,” *National Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1884.

¹¹⁰ Prowell, 175.

¹¹¹ LaForge Diary, July 8, 1864.

¹¹² “Col. Spofford Visits Knoll West of City Known as ‘Deception Hill.’” 10th Vermont Vertical File, Monocacy National Battlefield.

¹¹³ James M. Read Diary, July 8, 1864, in James B. Ricketts Papers, Manassas National Battlefield Park Library.

¹¹⁴ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 726.

¹¹⁵ OR, 37, pt. 2, 127.

Chapter Six: The Battle's First Shots

“The sun was bright and hot, a nice breeze was blowing...”¹¹⁶

“...which we had been so unaccustomed to hear during our late journey,”¹¹⁷

Wallace's troop positions.¹¹⁸

“To hold the iron bridge. . . at all hazards.”¹¹⁹

Command of the skirmish line falls to Charles Brown.¹²⁰

“Kate, if I had a hundred acres of land near Frederick City, and paid for...”¹²¹

“It is all together a most magnificent and lovely country.”¹²²

“Thinking they were Union troops because [they were] dressed in blue clothing which they had recently captured at Martinsburg.”¹²³

¹¹⁶ John H. Worsham, *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry: His Experience And What He Saw During the War 1861-1865* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1912), 235.

¹¹⁷ W.T. McDougle, “An Indiana Soldier at the Battle of Monocacy,” *National Tribune*, February 21, 1884.

¹¹⁸ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 196.

¹¹⁹ George E. Davis Letter to T.S. Peck, September 30, 1891, included in George E. Davis Medal of Honor File, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). (Hereafter cited as Davis MOH File.)

¹²⁰ The officer originally placed in command of the Federal skirmish line was Lt. Col. Charles Chandler. He re-crossed the Monocacy without telling anyone and spent the rest of the battle shirking near Gambrill's Mill. Three months after Monocacy, Chandler's actions at the Battle of Cedar Creek led to his court-martial and dismissal from the army. His story is told in: David R. Mayhew, “The General Court-Martial of Charles G. Chandler,” in *Vermont History* Vol. 80, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2012).

¹²¹ Daniel Long to Kate Long, July 9, 1864. Copies held in 151st New York Infantry Vertical Files at the Monocacy National Battlefield archives.

¹²² Thomas Feamster Diary, July 7, 1864. Feamster Family Papers, Library of Congress.

¹²³ Haynes, 197.

“We opened fire, and made them seek hiding places for protection, though they did not withdraw entirely.”¹²⁴

Confederate artillery opens fire.¹²⁵

“It seems, Early sniffed our sow belly from a far, and wolf like, made a rush for it...”¹²⁶

“July 9th: Year 1864. The Battle of Monocacy is on.”¹²⁷

Photo Caption: “He was honest and true from boyhood to the end...”¹²⁸

“For every shot fired we received two in return.”¹²⁹

“Wiegel’s first shell burst above the gunners on the pike.”¹³⁰

“Oh if we had brought our Potomac battery with us then it would all have been right.”¹³¹

Union infantry crosses the Monocacy River and joins the skirmish line.¹³²

¹²⁴ Daniel B. Freeman, “A Day’s Skirmish,” *National Tribune*, March 18, 1897.

¹²⁵ “Confederate Artillery at Monocacy,” Confederate Artillery Vertical Files, MNB.

¹²⁶ “Francis Cordrey, 126th Ohio Infantry,” Book 2, 71. Accessed December 2, 2015, http://www.genealogycenter.info/military/civilwar/viewpage_franciscordrey2.php?realpage=1330&display=2_071.

¹²⁷ Helena A. Howell, editor, *Chronicles of the One hundred fifty-first Regiment New York State Volunteer Infantry, 1862-1865* (Albion: A.M. Eddy, 1911), 79.

¹²⁸ Charles M. Blackford, “Thomas Jellis Kirkpatrick,” in *The Virginia Law Register*, Volume 8 (1903): 623.

¹²⁹ Wild, 124.

¹³⁰ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 759.

¹³¹ Josiah Lewis Hill, *A Civil War Diary kept by Josiah Lewis Hill from August 22, 1862 to July 1, 1865*, ed. Robert Gustin Hill (n.p., 1986), July 9, 1864 entry, 76.

¹³² Alfred S. Roe, *The Ninth New York Heavy Artillery* (Worcester: n.p., 1899), 128; Abiel T. LaForge Diary, July 10, 1864.

Chapter Seven: McCausland's First Attack

“The enemy’s position was too strong, and the difficulties of crossing...”¹³³

Lee’s idea for the raid on Point Lookout.¹³⁴

Early claims he found the ford, but a biographer says “Only by 2:00 p.m. would [Early] personally view the ground,”¹³⁵

A Federal officer guesses McCausland finds a ford around 10:30 a.m.¹³⁶

Company B, 8th Illinois Cavalry opposes McCausland’s cavalry.¹³⁷

“Genl. McCausland told us that he wanted us to cross as soon as possible,”¹³⁸

“The Monocacy is a deep, sluggish stream with high slippery banks...”¹³⁹

“Were hidden from the view of the enemy by the thick foliage of the trees and bushes...”¹⁴⁰

“A line of skirmishers is advancing from the south beyond the cornfield at your left,”¹⁴¹

¹³³ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 387.

¹³⁴ Robert E. Lee’s idea behind the Point Lookout raid is found in *The Wartime Papers of Robert E. Lee*, edited by Dowdey and Manarin, 806-807.

¹³⁵ Early, *Autobiographical Sketch*, 387; Benjamin Franklin Cooling III, *Jubal Early: Robert E. Lee’s “Bad Old Man”* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 72.

¹³⁶ Goldborough, 19.

¹³⁷ Hard, 298-99.

¹³⁸ James Z. McChesney Letter, July 17, 1864, copy in 14th Virginia Cavalry Vertical File, Monocacy National Battlefield archives.

¹³⁹ Alexander St. Clair to S.C. Graham, October 5, 1916, Tazewell County Historical Society Newsletter 1989, Virginia Historical Society.

¹⁴⁰ Worthington, 118.

¹⁴¹ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 766.

Cornfield “about waist high,”¹⁴²

“When we reached the ‘brick house’...”¹⁴³

“The only man on horseback. . . . His staff officers having dismounted,”¹⁴⁴

“With banners and guidons waving and a general feeling of an easy victory prevailing.”¹⁴⁵

Union soldier believed the Confederates “expected to meet raw troops,”¹⁴⁶

“Within 125 yards. . . . “Then, at a word of command, the whole Federal line...”¹⁴⁷

“Watched from a distance the whole rebel line disappeared as if swallowed up...”¹⁴⁸

“We were met by a withering fire from thousands of muskets...”¹⁴⁹

“Called out for a volunteer to climb on his shoulders and from that elevation look...”¹⁵⁰

“They swore at them and threatened them with sword and pistol...”¹⁵¹

“By a hot enfilading fire from the line of battle in the railroad cut,”¹⁵²

¹⁴² Worthington, 119.

¹⁴³ St. Clair to S.C. Graham, October 5, 1916.

¹⁴⁴ Worthington, 119.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Prowell, 182.

¹⁴⁷ Worthington, 119.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ St. Clair to S.C. Graham, October 5, 1916.

¹⁵⁰ Nathaniel E. Harris, *Autobiography: The Story of an Old Man’s Life with Reminiscences of Seventy-Five Years* (Macon: The J.W. Burke Company, 1925), 86-87.

¹⁵¹ Worthington, 120.

¹⁵² *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-’65: Volume II*, ed. Walter Clark (Goldsboro: Nash Brothers, 1901), 246.

“Passed under [a] culvert and opened fire in the R.R. cut from the left flank,”¹⁵³

“One of our officers noticed small puffs of smoke from under the shingles of a barn...”¹⁵⁴

George Davis “repelled the attack,”¹⁵⁵

“Neither saw nor heard anything of the mythical ‘Barbara Freitchie’ ...”¹⁵⁶

Photo caption: “I do not believe one word of it. I live directly opposite...”¹⁵⁷

Robert Rodes’s orders.¹⁵⁸

Concept of sharpshooter battalions in the Army of Northern Virginia.¹⁵⁹

“Then came the tug of war,”¹⁶⁰

Allison Brown guessed Confederates attacked his line around ““11.30 a.m.,”¹⁶¹

“Holes pierced in the chinking between the logs. . . So accurate was their fire...”¹⁶²

“During this charge my loss was quite severe...”¹⁶³

¹⁵³ H.C. Wall, 23rd North Carolina, 31-32, C.S.A. Archives, Army Units, Duke University Library.

¹⁵⁴ Wild, 125.

¹⁵⁵ Haynes, 198.

¹⁵⁶ Park, *SHSP*, Vol. 1, 378.

¹⁵⁷ Engelbrecht, entry for April 3, 1869.

¹⁵⁸ Spaulding, 120.

¹⁵⁹ For a detailed look at the Army of Northern Virginia’s sharpshooter battalions, see Fred L. Ray, *Shock Troops of the Confederacy: The Sharpshooter Battalions of the Army of Northern Virginia* (Asheville: CFS Press, 2006).

¹⁶⁰ George Perkins, *A Summer in Maryland and Virginia: Or Campaigning with the 149th Ohio Volunteer Infantry* (Chillicothe: The Sholl Printing Company, 1911), 20.

¹⁶¹ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 217.

¹⁶² Goldsborough, 18.

¹⁶³ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 217.

“Never flinched but went at it like old veterans,”¹⁶⁴

“After the enemy had been driven back from the railroad...”¹⁶⁵

Photo Caption: “Colonel Ally.”¹⁶⁶

Chapter Eight: McCausland’s Second Attack

Problems with the 24-pounder howitzer and trying to fix it.¹⁶⁷

“My objective was to release the guard taking care of it...”¹⁶⁸

“Procured sheaves of wheat from a near-by field...”¹⁶⁹

“The dry shingled roof and long seasoned pine weather-boarding burned like tinder...”¹⁷⁰

“I supposed you was all over this side the river before the bridge was burned.”¹⁷¹

“Had received orders to suffer no trains to pass beyond that point.”¹⁷²

“Disobedience of Orders. . . “Neglect of duty to the prejudice of good order...”¹⁷³

¹⁶⁴ W.A. Butler, “From the 144th Reg’t., O.N.G. Battles of Monocacy Junction and Stonebride,” *Wyandot Pioneer*, August 5, 1864.

¹⁶⁵ Prowell, 182.

¹⁶⁷ Wallace, *Autobiography: Vol II*, 776-777.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 777.

¹⁶⁹ Alfred S. Roe, *The Ninth New York Heavy Artillery*, 128

¹⁷⁰ Worthington, 112.

¹⁷¹ George E. Davis Letter to T.S. Peck, September 30, 189, Davis MOH File

¹⁷² John F. Staunton Court Martial Records, NARA, Copy held at Monocacy National Battlefield.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

“We are ordered to be ready at once to retire by the road to the Baltimore Pike.”¹⁷⁴

“It may appear almost incredible to one uninformed that soldiers...”¹⁷⁵

Federals advanced “in gallant style,”¹⁷⁶

“The rebels around the corner behind the trees and everywhere else.”¹⁷⁷

“With very heavy loss at the brick house especially on our left...”¹⁷⁸

McCausland’s casualties.¹⁷⁹

“It seemed that the entire brigade would be killed or captured...”¹⁸⁰

“We marched leisurely along that morning in the direction of Frederick City,”¹⁸¹

“We made ourselves comfortable and lay down under the shelter provided,”¹⁸²

“About 2.30 p.m. . . . I was ordered by Major-General Breckinridge to cross...”¹⁸³

¹⁷⁴ James Ricketts to William S. Truex, Dispatch in “Battle of Monocacy Timeline (May 13—August 1864)”, compiled by Gail Stephens. Copy at Monocacy National Battlefield in vertical files, 32.

¹⁷⁵ Worthington, 123.

¹⁷⁶ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 205.

¹⁷⁷ Peter Vredenburg to His Mother, July 12, 1864, quoted in *Upon the Tented Field: An Historical Account of the Civil War as Told by The Men Fought and Gave Their Lives*, ed. Bernard A. Olsen (Red Bank: Historic Projects Inc., 1993), 253

¹⁷⁸ James Read to His Father, July 19, 1864, Copy in 10th Vermont Vertical Files, Monocacy National Battlefield (hereafter MNB).

¹⁷⁹ McCausland’s brigade probably suffered about 150-200 casualties. This number is reached by subtracting the known casualties that the Confederates lost at Monocacy. See page 93 of *Determined to Stand and Fight* for an analysis of Confederate casualties, and its accompanying Footnote 245.

¹⁸⁰ St. Clair to S.C. Graham, October 5, 1916.

¹⁸¹ I.G. Bradwell Excerpt, 31st Georgia Vertical Files, MNB, 4.

¹⁸² Worsham, *One of Jackson’s Foot Cavalry*, 236.

¹⁸³ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 350.

“Rode to the front in order to reconnoiter the enemy’s position...”¹⁸⁴

John B. Gordon’s division strength at Monocacy.¹⁸⁵

“On reaching the Monocacy it was found difficult to approach...”¹⁸⁶

Gordon’s formation.¹⁸⁷

Chapter Nine: Gordon’s Attack

“We are now on the flank of the enemy.”¹⁸⁸

“Come on, Georgians, follow me—we will show these cavalymen how to fight.”¹⁸⁹

“I shall recollect him to my dying day.”¹⁹⁰

“Wait, boys, don’t fire until you see the C. S. A on their waist belts...”¹⁹¹

“The command ‘fire!’ rang out along our line,”¹⁹²

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Gordon’s Strength Approximation included in “Army of the Valley District Composition and Numbers,” Gail Stephens, in Vertical Files, MNB. The Stonewall Brigade’s strength cited in David Humphreys, *Heroes and Spies of the Civil War* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1903), 191.

¹⁸⁶ J. Floyd King, “Report of Operation of Artillery Battalion at the battle of Monocacy fought on July 9th, 1864,” Huntington Library, San Marino.

¹⁸⁷ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 350-351.

¹⁸⁸ I.G. Bradwell, “Early’s Demonstration Against Washington in 1864,” in *Confederate Veteran Magazine*, Volume 22 (Nashville: S.A. Cunningham, 1914), 439.

¹⁸⁹ Harris, 90.

¹⁹⁰ Worsham, *One of Jackson’s Men*, 238.

¹⁹¹ Haynes, 194.

¹⁹² Peter Robertson, “Monocacy and the Gallant Stand of the 106th New York Against Early,” *National Tribune*, Jan. 24, 1884.

Photo Caption: There is a typo here. The monument's inscription is "This monument was erected by the state of Vermont to designate the position of the 10th Vermont during the battle fought here on the ninth day of July 1864 to save Washington, 'and we saved it.'" The caption incorrectly says 1862.

"As we reached the first line of strong and high fencing,"¹⁹³

"A Minié ball struck him in his left side, passing through a pocket of his coat,"¹⁹⁴

"Here I saw one of Company A of our regiment, Thomas Nichols..."¹⁹⁵

"Had but six months before married the charming Mrs. [Carter],"¹⁹⁶

"My veterans marched under fire with the precision of automata."¹⁹⁷

"Murderous fire,"¹⁹⁸

"[I]t is an interesting sight to see shocks of wheat used as a defense by our soldiers,"¹⁹⁹

William Seward Jr's wounding.²⁰⁰

"In that vortex of fire,"²⁰¹

Photo Caption: "Hero of the Wilderness."²⁰²

¹⁹³ Gordon, *Reminiscences*, 311.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 312.

¹⁹⁵ G.W. Nichols, *A Soldier's History of His Regiment* (Jesup: n.p., 1898), 172.

¹⁹⁶ Park, *SHSP*, Vol. 1, 378-379.

¹⁹⁷ Zebulon York Report July 22, 1864, Huntington Library, San Marino; York Report July 18, 1864, Vertical Files, MNB.

¹⁹⁸ **OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 208. My text attributed this quote to an officer of the 122nd Ohio; it was actually an officer in the 110th Ohio Infantry.**

¹⁹⁹ Roe, *History of Ninth New York Heavy Artillery*, 126.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 132.

²⁰¹ Gordon, 313.

²⁰² Nichols, 171.

“Stop running and walk,”²⁰³

Federals covering in a road trace and history of out of business tavern.²⁰⁴

“Struck the side of the house at the dining room, crashed through the brick wall,”²⁰⁵

“Caught me by the coat-tail and pulled me to the ground,”²⁰⁶

Photo Caption: “Give it to them, boys, we have them on the flank.”²⁰⁷

“Borrowing of their dead and wounded comrades,”²⁰⁸

“In this ravine the fighting was desperate and at close quarters,”²⁰⁹

“I recall no charge of the war, except that of [Spotsylvania’s Bloody Angle]...”²¹⁰

“Our brave boys like men battled with the tyrants with seemingly the energy of lions.”²¹¹

“I dispatched two staff officers in succession to ask for a brigade...”²¹²

“This was the most exciting time I witnessed during the war,”²¹³

²⁰³ James A. Hutcheson, “Saved the Day at Monocacy,” in *Confederate Veteran*, Volume 23 (Nashville: S.A. Cunningham, 1915), 77.

²⁰⁴ Reed, *Cultural Resources Study: Monocacy National Battlefield* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2004), 217; “Middle Ford Ferry Loop Trail,” Stop D, Monocacy National Battlefield.

²⁰⁵ Worthington, 136.

²⁰⁶ Haynes, 203.

²⁰⁷ Haynes, 202.

²⁰⁸ Haynes, 194.

²⁰⁹ Gordon, *Reminiscences*, 312.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ Francis Cordrey Diary, July 9, 1864 Entry, Copy in 126th Ohio Vertical Files, MNB.

²¹² OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 351.

²¹³ Worsham, 239.

“Concealed by the bank on their right these Confederate veterans...”²¹⁴

“Mistook us for the enemy and fired at my flag, the balls striking very close,”²¹⁵

“Seeing the enemy coming down upon us in overwhelming numbers...”²¹⁶

“Was not in a very humorous mood,”²¹⁷

“I was suffering (sick) so that I could barely walk,”²¹⁸

“A discretionary order to fall back while I could do so with safety,”²¹⁹

“Our third division line broken, scattered and fleeing.”²²⁰

Chapter Ten: The Federal Retreat

“No side rails for protection of pedestrians, and one in walking across...”²²¹

“It was against the rules the [B&O] for any pedestrian to cross...”²²²

“[T]he enemy were probably not 20 feet behind us, calling out to surrender,”²²³

²¹⁴ Worthington, 137.

²¹⁵ George C. Pile, “Memoir,” Confederate Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives. Copy held in 37th Virginia Vertical Files, MNB.

²¹⁶ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 209.

²¹⁷ **Walter Clark, editor, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-'65: Volume II*, 246. This quote is mis-transcribed from the source material. The actual quote is “General Johnston was not in a good humor...”**

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 215.

²²⁰ Davis MOH File.

²²¹ Worthington, 60.

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ Davis MOH File.

“One of my comrades under the Pike Bridge fighting a dozen Johnnies...”²²⁴

“Fell through the bridge to the river . . . and was taken to Andersonville.”²²⁵

“Took the flag and lead the Regt across the R.R. Bridge in pursuit...”²²⁶

“Of the 75 men . . . 15 were killed or wounded, and ten captured.”²²⁷

“For God’s sake, Colonel, get your regiment out of here as soon as possible...”²²⁸

“Carried both stands of colors through the trying ordeal of retreat...”²²⁹

“I got separated from the rest...”²³⁰

“Turned and fired a shot, as he said, for his mother.”²³¹

“Look here, Yank!”²³²

Photo Caption: “Reaching the Federal lines, barely had strength to greet their friends,”²³³

“Along my entire front, and at the same time my left flank was turned.”²³⁴

²²⁴ Daniel B. Freeman, “A Day’s Skirmish,” *National Tribune*, March 18, 1897.

²²⁵ Haynes, 199

²²⁶ Thomas Toon Letter To Cpt. Halsey, Thomas Toon Papers, North Carolina State Archives, Aug. 1, 1864.

²²⁷ Davis MOH File.

²²⁸ Davis, “Washington’s Peril”.

²²⁹ Haynes, 195.

²³⁰ Daniel Long Letters, 151st New York, July 10, 1864, Copy in 151st New York Vertical Files, MNB.

²³¹ Hard, 301.

²³² Alfred S. Roe, “Recollections of Monocacy”, in *Personal Narratives of Events in the War of the Rebellion, Third Series, No. 10* (Providence, Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society, 1885), 24-25.

²³³ Roe, *The Ninth New York Heavy Artillery*, 331.

²³⁴ OR., Vol. 37, pt. 1, 218.

“Our men are getting cut all to pieces. Every man must save himself,”²³⁵

“Continued firing as they ran until the Rebels got so close to them...”²³⁶

“I will not pretend to give you a faint idea of the terrible sight...”²³⁷

“Fired several rounds at the enemy...”²³⁸

“Came upon a squad of rebel cavalry,”²³⁹

Photo Caption: “Learned that the main body of our army had moved away...”²⁴⁰

“The light breaking over my shoulders has a trick of turning the starred symbol...”²⁴¹

“I did not want prisoners,”²⁴²

600 Federals captured at Monocacy.²⁴³

Overall battle casualties and comparison of losses between Ricketts and Tyler.²⁴⁴

Confederate losses, including estimates of McCausland’s brigade and Gordon’s losses.²⁴⁵

²³⁵ Samuel McClain Papers, July 9, 1864, Copy in 144th Ohio National Guard Vertical Files, MNB.

²³⁶ Henry S. Chapin, “Letter from the 144th O.N.G.,” *Weekly Perrysburg Journal*, July 27, 1864.

²³⁷ Daniel A. Masters, *No Greater Glory: The 144th Ohio Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War* (n.p., 2010), 91.

²³⁸ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 218.

²³⁹ Goldsborough, 27.

²⁴⁰ Goldsborough, 26.

²⁴¹ Lew Wallace, “The Story of a Flag,” *The Story of American Heroism* (J.W. Jones: Springfield, 1897), 523.

²⁴² Early, *Memoirs*, 388

²⁴³ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 202.

²⁴⁴ Worthington, 139; OR. Vol. 37, pt. 1, 201-202.

Casualties amongst Ramseur and Rodes.²⁴⁶

“Ate a good supper out of my Yankee haversack and soon went to bed for the night.”²⁴⁷

“A small ravine near the center of the hardest fighting...”²⁴⁸

“Send in the balance of the Sixth Corps to be forwarded to Washington.”²⁴⁹

“The Sixth Corps has been ordered and will proceed at once to City Point.”²⁵⁰

“The remainder of the [VI] Corps left for Washington, at 11 this night.”²⁵¹

Photo Caption: “Oh Lord why am I spared & so many & so good men taken...”²⁵²

Chapter Eleven: Fort Stevens

“We also burnt and destroyed the Government Horses Depot...”²⁵³

²⁴⁵ John B. Gordon Report, July 22, 1864, Huntington Library, San Marino. McCausland’s losses are concluded by taking the Confederate total—900, and subtracting Gordon’s nearly 700 losses. With Rodes and Ramseur suffering potentially 50-75 losses combined, the remainder is made up by McCausland and Armistead Long’s artillery battalions, which suffered minimal casualties.

²⁴⁶ Ray, 155; “Army of Valley District Composition and Numbers,” for casualties in the 20th North Carolina Infantry.

²⁴⁷ Worsham, 240.

²⁴⁸ Nathan Harris, 87.

²⁴⁹ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 2, 135.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ Theodore Lyman, *Meade’s Army: The Private Notebooks of Lt. Col. Theodore Lyman*, ed. by David W. Lowe (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2007), 231.

²⁵² John B. Gordon Letter, July 11, 1864, in Bound Volume 178, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park Collections.

²⁵³ John Young Diary July 9, 1864, Collection #1076 North Carolina State Archives.

“Much damaged by cannon shot.”²⁵⁴

“This is the first victory we have gained north of the Potomac,”²⁵⁵

Temperatures on July 10.²⁵⁶

“The day was very warm and dusty,”²⁵⁷

“I broke completely down yesterday. I have heretofore bragged of my endurance in marching...”²⁵⁸

“The alarm in that city was intense,”²⁵⁹

“Are helpless imbeciles.”²⁶⁰

“It is evident there have not been sufficient preparations, but they are beginning to move.”²⁶¹

²⁵⁴ *Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the President and Directors Stockholders of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co., for the Year Ending September 30, 1864* (Baltimore: The Printing Office, 1864), 4.

²⁵⁵ Richard Waldrop Papers, July 9, 1864, Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina.

²⁵⁶ Robert K. Krick, *Civil War Weather in Virginia* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 134.

²⁵⁷ Hotchkiss, 215

²⁵⁸ Thomas Greene July 11, 1864 Letter in Greene Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

²⁵⁹ Edgar S. Dudley, “A Reminiscence of Washington and Early’s Attack in 1864,” in *Sketches of War History 1861-1865: Papers Read Before the Ohio Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States*, Vol. I, (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1888), 120.

²⁶⁰ Edward Bates, *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866*, ed. Howard K. Beale (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 384.

²⁶¹ Gideon Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles, Volume II* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), 70.

“Although most of our forces are not of a character suitable for the field...”²⁶²

“The total infantry garrisons required for their defense . . . is about 25,000.”²⁶³

Photo Caption: “Only those portions of the battlefield owned by the NPS retain integrity.”²⁶⁴

“Over a year since, but the arms then issued having been recalled,”²⁶⁵

“We have five times as many generals here as we want, but are greatly in need of privates.”²⁶⁶

“Are full of surmises as to our next course of action, and all are eager to enter the city.”²⁶⁷

“The sights of its domes and fortifications fired anew my men,”²⁶⁸

“The cursed Yankees are throwing flour barrels at us,”²⁶⁹

“We have never seen artillery used with such poor effect.”²⁷⁰

²⁶² OR, Vol. 37, pt. 2, 59.

²⁶³ John Gross Barnard, *A Report on the Washington Defenses* (Washington: Government Printing Press, 1871), 19; OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 697.

²⁶⁴ American Battlefield Protection Program, *Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: District of Columbia* (Washington: Department of the Interior, 2009), 17.

²⁶⁵ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 254-255.

²⁶⁶ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 2, 196.

²⁶⁷ Robert E. Park, “Diary of Captain R.E. Park, of the 12th Ala. Regiment,” in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Volume I, ed. by J. William Jones (Richmond: Southern Historical Society, 1876), 379.

²⁶⁸ Zebulon York Report, July 22, 1864, John Page Nicholson Collection, Huntington Library.

²⁶⁹ Perkins, 53.

²⁷⁰ Thomas F. Wood Journal, 4th North Carolina Infantry. Thomas Fanning Wood Papers, University of North Carolina Wilmington. Accessed February 10, 2016.

<http://library.uncw.edu/web/collections/manuscript/TFWdiary.html>

“The people in Washington seemed to be very happy to see us and were much frightened,”²⁷¹

“We had never before realized the hold which our corps had upon the affection of the people,”²⁷²

“Under the circumstances, to have rushed my men blindly against the fortifications,”²⁷³

“Held a consultation”²⁷⁴

Many Confederate units missing men because of the heat.²⁷⁵

“You have ruined our whole campaign...”²⁷⁶

“Caused me to delay the attack until I could examine the works again,”²⁷⁷

“Found the parapets lined with troops.”²⁷⁸

“We looked every minute for the battle to begin...”²⁷⁹

²⁷¹ Elisha Hunt Rhodes, *All for the Union: The Civil War Diary and Letters of Elisha Hunt Rhodes*, ed. Robert Hunt Rhodes (New York: Random House, 1992), 162.

²⁷² George T. Stevens, *Three Years in the Sixth Corps* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1870), 373.

²⁷³ Early, *Memoirs*, 391.

²⁷⁴ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 275-276; Early, *Memoirs*, 392.

²⁷⁵ Evidence to this can be found from a hospital steward in the 25th Virginia, who wrote, “Very hot & dusty today—A good many of our men much worn down.” Henry Beveridge Diary, 25th Virginia Vertical Files, MNB.

²⁷⁶ Elizabeth Blair Lee, *Wartime Washington: The Civil War Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee*, ed. Virginia Jeans Laas (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 413.

²⁷⁷ Early, *Memoirs*, 392.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ George Peyton, *Stonewall Jackson’s Foot Cavalry: Company A, 13th Virginia Infantry*, ed. Walbrook D. Swank (Shippensburg: Burd Street Press, 2001), 81.

“Seemed in a pleasant and confident humor today.”²⁸⁰

“Get down you fool!”²⁸¹

“For the lack of the dash of a [Stonewall] Jackson, Washington was saved from destruction...”²⁸²

“Retaliation was justified by previous acts of the enemy,”²⁸³

“Major, we haven’t taken Washington, but we’ve scared Abe Lincoln like hell!”²⁸⁴

Chapter Twelve: Conclusion

“The annual expedition of Confederate forces into Maryland and Pennsylvania...”²⁸⁵

Wallace removed from command.²⁸⁶

“Our fight at Monocacy, although it resulted in our being compelled to fall back...”²⁸⁷

²⁸⁰ John Hay, *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay*, ed. Tyler Dennett (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1988), 222.

²⁸¹ Oliver Wendell Holmes yelling at Lincoln to “Get down, you fool!” remains the best-known story regarding the battle of Fort Stevens, though its accuracy is questionable. See Frederick C. Hicks, “Lincoln, Wright, and Holmes at Fort Stevens,” in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 39, No. 3, (Sept. 1946) for a good historiographical examination of the events. See Frank E. Vandiver, *Jubal’s Raid: General Early’s Famous Attack on Washington in 1864* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988 reprint), 168, for a retelling of the Holmes story.

²⁸² Elias F. Hicks, “Enlisted Man’s Memoirs,” copy held in 20th North Carolina Vertical Files, MNB.

²⁸³ Early, *Memoirs*, 395.

²⁸⁴ Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), 296.

²⁸⁵ *Army and Navy Journal*, “The Campaign in Maryland”, July 16, 1864.

²⁸⁶ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 2, 214-215.

²⁸⁷ Read Letter, July 19, 1864, in 10th Vermont Vertical Files, MNB.

“The officers in command about Washington are poltroons. . . .”²⁸⁸

“But how can Stanton have any confidence in Halleck...”²⁸⁹

Grant suggests reassigning Halleck.²⁹⁰

“I am now really getting more credit than I deserve...”²⁹¹

Photo Caption: Wirz reminded Wallace of a cat “when the animal is excited by the scent of prey.”²⁹²

“Which I propose to write: ‘These men died to save the National Capital...’”²⁹³

“The battle of Monocacy was one of great spirit and importance...”²⁹⁴

Washington’s “capture and possession for a day would have been disastrous...”²⁹⁵

“There is no telling how much this result was contributed by General Lew Wallace...”²⁹⁶

“It was hoped that by threatening Washington and Baltimore Genl. Grant...”²⁹⁷

“Threaten Washington and if I find the opportunity—to take it.”²⁹⁸

²⁸⁸ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 2, 260-261.

²⁸⁹ Adam Gurowski, *Diary: 1863- '64- '65* (Washington, D.C.: W.H. & O.H. Morrison, 1866), 280

²⁹⁰ OR, Vol. 50, pt. 2, 945.

²⁹¹ Stephens, 205.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 225.

²⁹³ OR, Vol. 37, pt. 1, 200.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

²⁹⁵ L.E. Chittenden, *Recollections of President Lincoln and His Administration* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1891), , 423.

²⁹⁶ Ulysses S. Grant, *Memoirs and Selected Letters* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990 reprint), 522.

²⁹⁷ Dowdey and Manarin, editors, *The Wartime Papers of R.E. Lee* 822.

²⁹⁸ Jubal Early to Lee, June 28, 1864. See Footnote 21.

“I then move on Washington.”²⁹⁹

“Called at the Thomas house and got water where 49 years before we would not...”³⁰⁰

Appendix A: The Civilians’ Experience at the Battle of Monocacy

History of the Best family and the ownership of Charles Trail.³⁰¹

“The crop of wheat which had ripened under the summer skies,”³⁰²

Photo Caption: Best property evaluated at \$6,000 in 1870.³⁰³

“A few.” “Had heavy two-inch boards put across the cellar windows.”³⁰⁴

“A very distinguished person in his day and generation,”³⁰⁵

“Desired [it] for his own purposes.” “Then there was a yelp, akin to the rebel yell...”³⁰⁶

“In the cellar frightened to death.”³⁰⁷

“Hung on me and wanted me to stay,”³⁰⁸

²⁹⁹ Early to Lee, July 7, 1864. See Footnote 78.

³⁰⁰ Ervin Dunbar to George Douse, Aug. 24, 1913. Copy held in 10th Vermont Vertical Files, MNB.

³⁰¹ Paula Stoner Reed, *Cultural Resources Study*, 103-105.

³⁰² Worthington, 102.

³⁰³ Reed, *Cultural Resources Study*, 105.

³⁰⁴ Worthington, 103.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 166-167.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 163-164.

³⁰⁷ Peter Vredenburg to His Mother, July 12, 1864, quoted in *Upon the Tented Field: An Historical Account of the Civil War as Told by The Men Fought and Gave Their Lives*, ed. Bernard A. Olsen (Red Bank: Historic Projects Inc., 1993), 253.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

“Received our most devoted attention, our handkerchiefs were used in...”³⁰⁹

“You can imagine how strange the sounds outside of those walls,”³¹⁰

“Young men, if you should be captured fighting in civilian clothes...”³¹¹

“Their most fearful apprehension was that the huge overshot waterwheel....”³¹²

Appendix B: The Ransom of Frederick

“We require of the Mayor and town authorities \$200,000...”³¹³

Wells Hawks’s demands for provisions.³¹⁴

“If the demand is granted, very good, if not, Frederick will be reduced to ashes.”³¹⁵

“The assessment imposed by your order will take from the citizens of this place...”³¹⁶

“Other places in Maryland,”³¹⁷

Hagerstown and Middletown ransomed.³¹⁸

³⁰⁹ “Reminiscences of Battle,” *The Daily News*, Frederick, Maryland, July 9, 1913.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*,

³¹¹ Worthington, 170-171.

³¹² *Ibid.*, 173.

³¹³ Thomas Williams and Folger McKinsey, *History of Frederick County, Maryland*, Volume I (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, Inc., 2003 reprint), 386.

³¹⁴ William Allan “Journal” 29-30, William Allan Papers, Southern Historical Collection University of North Carolina; Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *Jubal Early’s Raid*, 51.

³¹⁵ Steven Bernstein, *The Confederacy’s Last Northern Offensive: Jubal Early, the Army of the Valley, and the Raid on Washington* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2011), 35.

³¹⁶ William Cole to Jubal Early, July 9, 1864. Frederick County Historical Society.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ Spaulding, 40-41, 47-48.

“Until the issue of the battle with Wallace should be ascertained.”³¹⁹

“Was appointed Provost Marshal of the town,”³²⁰

Confederate officers “called at noon.”³²¹

“Stole all the Good horses & cattle, money, bacon, corn, oats &c that they could...”³²²

“In all, Early’s ransom reduced Frederick coffers by one-quarter of their capital.”³²³

Table 1: Paying the Ransom of Frederick.³²⁴

“I recall especially the ice cream seemed delicious to us who had had no such delicacies for a long time,”³²⁵

Frederick paid \$600,000 over time.³²⁶

“To appropriate three hundred thousand dollars for the relief of Frederick City.”³²⁷

“Frederick Reimbursement Bill,”³²⁸

³¹⁹ Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *The Day Lincoln Was Almost Shot* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2013), 84.

³²⁰ Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall*, 281.

³²¹ Catherine Susannah Thomas Markell, *Frederick Maryland in Peace and War 1856-1864: Diary of Catherine Susannah Thomas Markell*, ed. David H. Wallace (Frederick: Historical Society of Frederick County, 2006), 136.

³²² Jacob Engelbrecht Diary July 16, 1864.

³²³ B. Franklin Cooling, *Monocacy: The Battle that Saved Washington* (Shippensburg: White Mane Publishing Co., Inc, 2000), 98.

³²⁴ Spaulding, 81; Worthington, 105.

³²⁵ William Allan quoted in W.G. Bean, *Stonewall’s Man: Sandie Pendleton*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 206.

³²⁶ Cooling, *Jubal Early’s Raid*, 51.

³²⁷ House Resolution 3894, 42nd Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873).

³²⁸ Alison Muscatine, “Frederick Seeks Refund Of Civil War Ransom,” *The Washington Post*, July 9, 1984.

Mathias's last efforts for reimbursement.³²⁹

Appendix C: Medical Care and the Battle of Monocacy—By Jake Wynn

Frederick's history in caring for the wounded following the Antietam Campaign.³³⁰

“At the Barracks yesterday I saw at least 500 Rebel wounded...”³³¹

“There were 15 Rebel & 5 Union (dead) buried yesterday afternoon...”³³²

Jonathan Letterman's Biography.³³³

“It had on hand a full equipment of instruments, medical...”³³⁴

Photo Caption: “The people here are very kind to the sick and wounded in bringing good things to eat.”³³⁵

³²⁹ Frederick N. Rasmussen, “Frederick Redeemed, But Not Repaid,” *The Baltimore Sun*, February 7, 2010.

³³⁰ For more about Frederick's experiences with the wounded in 1862, see Terry Reimer, *One Vast Hospital: The Civil War Hospital Sites in Frederick, Maryland After Antietam* (Frederick: The National Museum of Civil War Medicine, 2001).

³³¹ Engelbrecht, Diary entry, July 11, 1864.

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ For more on the life of Jonathan Letterman see Scott McGaugh, *Surgeon in Blue: Jonathan Letterman, the Civil War Doctor Who Pioneered Battlefield Care* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2015).

³³⁴ *House Report No. 614*, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), 11.

³³⁵ Daniel Long Letter, July 18, 1864. Copy in 151st New York Vertical Files, MNB.

**Appendix D: “Utterly Impossible For Man or Horse to Accomplish”:
The Johnson-Gilmor Raid—By Phillip S. Greenwalt**

“Utterly impossible,”³³⁶

“Four days . . . to campaign nearly three hundred miles, not counting time lost...”³³⁷

Harry Gilmor biography.³³⁸

Gilmor’s “own command,”³³⁹

Gilmor raiding near Cockeysville and Towsontown.³⁴⁰

Gilmor visits his birthplace.³⁴¹

“Clapped his hand to both sides of his head. . . jumped up and down...”³⁴²

Only casualties of the raid.³⁴³

William B. Franklin captured.³⁴⁴

Bradley Johnson ordered to return to Jubal Early.³⁴⁵

³³⁶ Cooling, *Jubal Early’s Raid*, 158.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ For a biography of Harry Gilmor, see Timothy Ackinclose, *Sabres and Pistols, The Civil War Career of Colonel Harry Gilmor, C.S.A.* (Stan Clark Military Books, Gettysburg, 1997).

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, page 112

³⁴⁰ Cooling, *Jubal Early’s Raid*, 163.

³⁴¹ Ackinclose, 115.

³⁴² Edward Rich, *Comrades Four* (n.p., 1898), 164.

³⁴³ Robert J. Driver, *First and Second Maryland Cavalry, C.S.A.* (Rockbridge Publishing, Charlottesville, 1999), 171.

³⁴⁴ For details concerning Maj. Gen. William B. Franklin’s capture and subsequent escape, see Mark A. Snell, *From First to Last: The Life of Major General William B. Franklin* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002), 326-330.

³⁴⁵ Cooling, *Jubal Early’s Raid*, 172.

Johnson and Gilmor return to Early.³⁴⁶

“I fear he has undertaken more than he can do with his small force...”³⁴⁷

Appendix E: McCausland’s Raid and the Burning of Chambersburg—
By Avery C. Lentz

“Nearly fell out of the saddle when he read the orders,”³⁴⁸

“They would burst in the door with iron bars or [a] heavy plank, smash up...”³⁴⁹

“The shrieks of women and children,”³⁵⁰

“Would present pistols at the heads of inmates, men and women, and demand money or their lives.”³⁵¹

“Every crime in the catalog of infamy has been committed,”³⁵²

Damage to Chambersburg.³⁵³

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 173.

³⁴⁷ Charles M. Blackford, *Letters from Lee’s Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998 reprint), 266.

³⁴⁸ Fritz Haselberger. *Confederate Retaliation: McCausland’s 1864 Raid* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 2000), 75.

³⁴⁹ Jacob Hoke, *Reminiscences of the War* (Chambersburg: M.A. Foltz, Printers and Publisher, 1894), 117.

³⁵⁰ Scott C. Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer: The 1864 Valley Campaign* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 282.

³⁵¹ B.S. Schneck, *The Burning of Chambersburg* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1864), 22.

³⁵² U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901) Series 1, Volume 43, Part 1, 7.

³⁵³ Patchan, *Shenandoah Summer*, 283.

Appendix F: The Literary Legacy of Lew Wallace

“I suppose you don’t want to be a poor artist—poor in the sense of inability as well as poverty.”³⁵⁴

“...now sixteen, [Wallace] turned to the novel.”³⁵⁵

“With respect to quality. . . was sophomoric; for the sentimentalism which ruled me in those days was of the fervid kind. . . the kind to keep a boyish imagination in lurid glow.”³⁵⁶

“Was somehow mislaid,”³⁵⁷

“Let me dictate the subject,”³⁵⁸

“Is there a God?”³⁵⁹

“I don’t know: do you?”³⁶⁰

“We do not know.”³⁶¹

“He was,” Wallace later wrote, “in prime mood; and beginning, his ideas turned to speech, flowing like a heated river.”³⁶²

³⁵⁴ Lew Wallace, *An Autobiography: Volume I* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1906), 50.

³⁵⁵ Irving McKee, “The Early Life of Lew Wallace,” in *Indiana Magazine of History*, Volume 37, No. 3, September, 1941, 211.

³⁵⁶ Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. I, 72.

³⁵⁷ “Notes About Authors,” *The Literary World*, Volume 48, Oct. 6, 1893.

³⁵⁸ Lew Wallace, “The First Christmas,” (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1904), vi.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid*, vii.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, vii.

³⁶¹ Robert G. Ingersoll, “Why Am I Agnostic,” in the *North American Review*, ed. Lloyd Bryce (New York: North American Review, 1889), 749.

³⁶² Wallace, “The First Christmas,” vii.

“I was in a confusion of mind not unlike dazement,”³⁶³

“A conviction amounting to absolute belief in God and the divinity of Christ.”³⁶⁴

Wallace’s royalties for *Ben-Hur*.³⁶⁵

“Dear General,” Garfield scribbled “I have this morning finished reading *Ben-Hur* and I must thank you for the pleasure it has given me.”³⁶⁶

Jefferson Davis read “until daybreak,”³⁶⁷

Susan Wallace discovers Lew Wallace last wrote about Monocacy in his unfinished autobiography.³⁶⁸

Touring the Battlefield

... “farm instruments of torture, stocks, whips, etc.”³⁶⁹

“I am alone to wait on fifty or sixty patients...”³⁷⁰

“Limbs that were taken off when they were first wounded are getting along nicely.”³⁷¹

³⁶³ *Ibid*, viii.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid*, ix.

³⁶⁵ Stephens, 229; Irving McKee, “*Ben-Hur*” Wallace: *The Life of General Lew Wallace* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), 173.

³⁶⁶ James Garfield to Lew Wallace, April 19, 1881. Indiana Historical Society.

³⁶⁷ Varina Anne Davis quoted in Felicity Allen, *Jefferson Davis, Unconquerable Heart* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1999), 547.

³⁶⁸ Wallace wrote “The shadows of the sun were stretching out, telling of evening and night, of the day almost gone. A sense of relief came to me; if the day was lot to me, General Early might not profit by it. Measured by his designs and the importance of time to his cause, my loss was scarce worth a pinch of cool Scotch snuff; and so thinking, I betook myself to action.” A line break follows, and then a note from Susan Wallace: “And here the Autobiography ends.” Wallace, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, 796.

³⁶⁹ Reed, *Cultural Resource Study*, 100.

³⁷⁰ Daniel Long Letter, July 18, 1864, 151st New York Vertical Files, MNB.

³⁷¹ Daniel Long Letter, August 14, 1864, 151st New York Vertical Files, MNB.

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Foreword by Ted Alexander

Determined to Stand and Fight

The Battle of Monocacy,
July 9, 1864



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