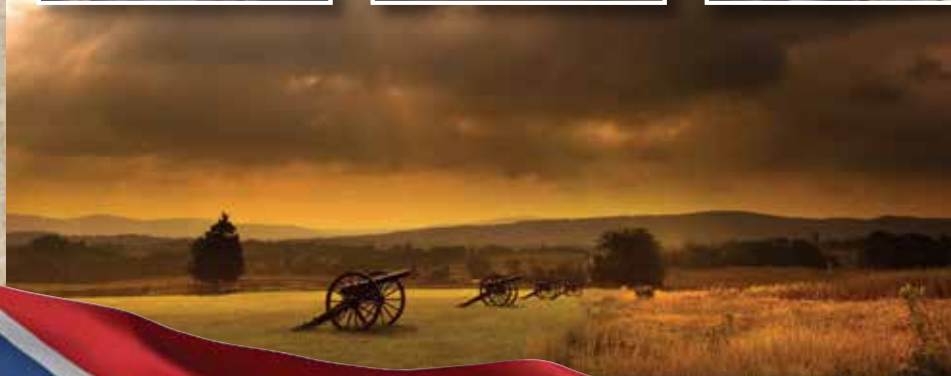
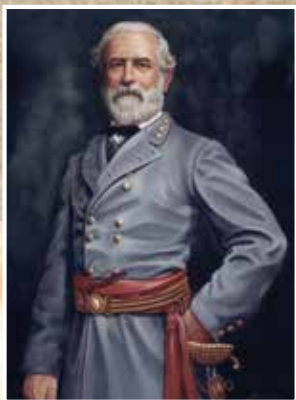


CONFEDERATE GENERALS

Lee's Ulster-Scots commanders



INTRODUCTION

The American Civil War was and remains a source of great interest not only to Americans but people all over the world. In 1862 John Stuart Mill, the British liberal philosopher and the author of *On Liberty*, contended: 'The triumph of the Confederacy would be the victory of the powers of evil which would give courage to the enemies of progress and damp the spirit of friends all over the civilized world'.

Woodrow Wilson, the 28th President of the United States, an Ulster-Scot and a native of Virginia who had lived in Georgia during the conflict, observed in 1880: 'Because I love the South, I rejoice in the failure of the Confederacy ... Conceive of this Union divided into two separate and independent sovereignties! ... Slavery was enervating our Southern society ... [Nevertheless] I recognise and pay loving tribute to the virtues of the leaders of secession ... the righteousness of the cause they thought they were promoting – and the immortal courage of the soldiers of the Confederacy'.

Quite apart from the great issues at stake, the scale of the conflict goes a long way in explaining why the subject gripped and continues to grip the imagination of people around the world. The Civil War produced about 1,050,000 casualties (3% of the then American population). About 620,000 soldiers died in the conflict, two-thirds of them from disease. On the basis of the 1860 census figures, 8 % of all white males aged between 15 and 45 died in the war, including 6% in

the North and a staggering 18% in the South. It is a sobering thought that the conflict was responsible for more deaths than all other U.S. wars combined.

The Battle of Antietam (or Sharpsburg as it was called by the South), fought on 17 September 1862, remains the bloodiest single day in American military history. There is no agreement on the exact figures but it is generally reckoned that the Union sustained approximately 12,400 casualties and the Confederacy's casualties exceeded 10,300. Thus, the total casualties were four times greater than those sustained by the US Army on Omaha Beach on 6 June 1944 and greater than the assault on Iwo Jima on 19 February 1945.

As James Webb and many others have noted, generals of Scotch-Irish ancestry dominated the battlefields of the Civil War. The First Battle of Bull Run (or Manassas as it is known in the South), fought on 21 July 1861, was the first major land battle of the conflict. In that engagement Irvin McDowell, the commander of the Union Army of Northeastern Virginia, was an Ulster-Scot, as was his successor, George B. McClellan. 'Stonewall' Jackson, who earned his soubriquet in the battle, was an Ulster-Scot. So too was Joseph E. Johnston who is widely regarded as the best strategist the Confederacy ever possessed, not least by U. S. Grant, the Ulster-Scot who was the military savior of the Union.

In his bid to preserve the American Union, Abraham Lincoln, the 16th President of the United States, turned to a succession of generals to end southern secession before bringing U. S Grant from the western theatre back east to confront Robert E. Lee: Irvin McDowell, George B. McClellan, Ambrose Burnside, Joseph Hooker and George Meade. McDowell, McClellan, Burnside and, of course, Grant were of Ulster-Scots ancestry. Their roles will be examined in another publication.

This publication deals with three Confederate generals: Robert E. Lee, 'Stonewall' Jackson and J. E. B. Stuart. All three were Virginians. Together they made a formidable triumvirate. 'Stonewall' Jackson and J. E. B. Stuart's Ulster-Scots credentials are not susceptible to challenge. Born into one of 'the First Families of Virginia', albeit an impoverished one, Robert E. Lee may not have been an Ulster-Scot but when asked which race made the best soldiers, he offered a fascinating answer: 'The Scotch who came to this country by way of Ireland', a neat definition of who the Scotch-Irish are. Pressed to explain his answer, 'Marse Robert' replied: 'Because they have all the dash of the Irish in taking a position and all the stubbornness of the Scotch in holding it.'

A brief note on the names of battles

Bull Run is a small stream in north-east Virginia near Manassas and approximately twenty five miles south-west of Washington, D.C. The stream and its environs were the scene of two immensely important battles in the American Civil War: the first in July 1861, the second in August 1862. Both were Confederate victories.

These engagements are known as either First and Second Bull Run or First and Second Manassas depending on one's allegiance. The Union Army usually named battles after rivers and creeks which played a role in the fighting. The Confederates, on the other hand, tended to use the names of nearby towns instead. For example, the

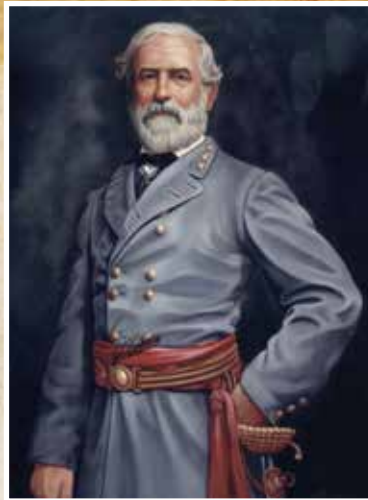
Union Army described the bloody engagement fought in Maryland, on 17 September 1862, as Antietam after the creek; whereas their Confederate opponents referred to the encounter as Sharpsburg, after the nearby town. The historian Shelby Foote's explanation for this was that Northerners were usually from cities, so rivers and streams were noteworthy; whereas Southerners were usually rural and found towns noteworthy.



Stonewall Jackson at Manassas Battlefield

ROBERT E. LEE

Robert E. Lee was the South's greatest general and the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, the Confederacy's most successful army during the American Civil War. Despite the lack of manpower and materiel, Lee's military genius was the principal factor in keeping the Confederacy alive. He was a legend in his own lifetime.



In May 1862 'Stonewall' Jackson wrote: 'Lee is the only man I know whom I would follow blindfold.' His soldiers, to whom he was 'Uncle Robert', 'Master Robert' or 'Bobby Lee' but never to his face, idolized Lee. He won the admiration of the North too. A Union girl, watching him ride through Gettysburg, observed: 'Oh! I wish he were ours!' Lee was – and perhaps remains – the model of a perfect southern gentleman.

* * *

Lee was born on 19 January 1807 at Stratford, Westmoreland County, Virginia. As the fourth child of Colonel Henry Lee ('Light-Horse Harry') and Ann Hill Carter, he was a member of one of 'the First Families of Virginia', albeit an impoverished one. 'Light-Horse Harry', had been a cavalry leader during the Revolution, a post-Revolution governor of Virginia, and a friend of George Washington's. In 1831 Robert E. Lee married Mary Anne Randolph Custis, the great-granddaughter of George Washington's wife and heiress of several plantation properties.

Lee went to West Point because there was a military tradition in his family and because an army career was attractive to him. He graduated second in his class in 1829 and was commissioned into the elite engineering corps.

On 18 October 1859, while on leave at Arlington to straighten out

his late father-in-law's affairs, Lieutenant Colonel Lee, wearing civilian clothes, assisted by Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart (although some accounts credit Stuart with the rank of Major), suppressed the slave insurrection attempted by John Brown at Harpers Ferry.

America's foremost soldier at the outbreak of the Civil War was Winfield Scott. His march from Vera Cruz to Mexico City in 1847 so impressed the Duke of Wellington that he described Scott's campaign as 'unsurpassed in military annals' and Scott as 'the greatest living soldier'. However, by 1861 Scott was too old and infirm to command the Union forces against secession and instead he recommended that President Lincoln offer the position to his fellow Virginian, Lee.

Lee had served as a captain on Scott's staff during the Mexican War and attained the rank of colonel. Scott described Lee as 'the very best soldier I ever saw in the field'. However, unlike Scott who remained loyal to the Union, Lee, who opposed both secession and slavery ('a moral and political evil in any country'), declined command of the Union army because his first loyalty was to his state rather than the Union. Thus, Lee resigned from the army in which he had served for 36 years to offer his services to the 'defense of [his] native state'.

Lee, for whatever reasons, did not perform well in the early stages of the conflict and earned himself the unflattering nickname of 'Granny Lee' because of his failure to hold the western counties of Virginia for the Confederacy. The Ulster-Scots settlers of the western counties of Virginia, who were implacable in their hostility to slavery, constituted, along with the Ulster-Scots settlements of east Tennessee, one of the most solid blocs of pro-Union sentiment in the South.

However, by 1862, when Major General George B. McClellan was threatening Richmond, the Confederate capital, Lee had found his form. After General Joseph E. Johnston was seriously wounded at the Battle of Fair Oaks (Seven Pines) in May, Lee was at last given field

command. Johnston generously observed:

The shot that struck me down was the best ever fired for the Confederacy, for I possessed in no degree the confidence of the government, and now a man who does enjoy it will succeed me and be able to accomplish what I never could.

McClellan seriously misjudged his opponent when he said:

I prefer Lee to Johnston – [Lee] is too cautious and weak under grave responsibility – personally brave and energetic to a fault, he is wanting in moral firmness when pressed by heavy responsibility and is likely to be timid and irresolute in action.

Critical self-awareness was not one of McClellan's most obvious attributes because he was actually describing his own shortcoming rather than Lee's.

Lee proceeded to manoeuvre McClellan out of the district in the Seven Days' battles. Lee's critics were forced to eat their words and the *Richmond Whig* exulted that the quiet Virginian had 'amazed and confounded his detractors by the brilliancy of his genius ... his energy and daring. He has established his reputation forever and has entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of his country.'

Between 28 and 30 August 1862 Lee and 'Stonewall' Jackson inflicted a devastating defeat on John Pope in the Second Battle of Manassas at Bull Run. Cut off from communication with Washington, unaware of the enemy's location, and expecting help from George B. McClellan which never materialized, the unfortunate Pope was obliged to endure the 'disaster and shame' he had always feared at Lee's hands. Lee's victory at Second Manassas encouraged him to embark on a new strategy. Instead of defending Virginia, he would take the war to the North by invading its territory.



On 4 September 1862 Lee crossed the Potomac and invaded Maryland. On 17 September Lee engaged McClellan at Antietam. Lee subsequently attributed the failure of the invasion to the 'Lost Order'. Lee had sent copies of his masterplan for the invasion of the North (Special Orders No. 191) to his generals. 'Stonewall' Jackson

copied the orders he had received and forwarded to Harvey Hill, his brother-in-law. In the meantime Hill had received his own copy, so the additional copy was treated casually. On 13 September, when Union troops took over the compound vacated by Hill, a Union soldier found a copy of Lee's Orders wrapped round some cigars. McClellan boasted: 'Here is a paper with which, if I cannot whip Bobby Lee, I will be willing to go home.' Even with the paper, McClellan failed to 'whip' Lee.

Antietam proved a very costly battle and this owed much to the fact that it was fought over a very small and compact battlefield. Tactically, Antietam was a Confederate victory because Lee had fought an army almost twice the size of his own to a standstill. Strategically, it was a Union victory because McClellan halted Lee's invasion of Maryland. Lee recognized that there was nothing to gain – and much to lose – by remaining in Maryland. McClellan failed to win the decisive victory President Lincoln had expected through his failure to pursue Lee's retreating army of Northern Virginia.

Lee's next major engagement was Fredericksburg, Virginia. Major-General Ambrose Burnside, who replaced McClellan as commander of Union forces, planned to cross the Rappahannock River with an army of more than 120,000 troops and advance on the Southern capital at Richmond. Lee took up a strong defensive position on high ground behind Fredericksburg with a force of about 78,000. Burnside's

attack on 13 December 1862 proved an unmitigated disaster. The Confederates enjoyed every advantage – a commanding position and protection from return fire – and were thus able to inflict horrendous casualties on the advancing Union troops at minimal risk to themselves. Union troops encountered ‘a sheet of fire.’ A Confederate officer had correctly anticipated: ‘A chicken could not live on that field when we open up on it’.

Union casualties of 12,653 at Fredericksburg were extremely heavy, especially considering that the brunt of the fighting was borne by only five divisions. A newspaper reporter noted: ‘It can hardly be in human nature for men to show more valor or generals to manifest less judgment.’ By contrast, Confederate casualties were light: 5,377 out of an army of 78,000 men.

When informed of what had happened at Fredericksburg, President Lincoln told a friend: ‘If there is a worse place than Hell, I am in it’. For the South, Fredericksburg was a tremendous fillip to morale after Lee’s retreat and unsuccessful invasion of Maryland. Furthermore, Richmond was no longer in imminent danger.

In May 1863 Lee gained a stunning victory at Chancellorsville. This engagement is widely regarded as Lee’s ‘perfect battle’ because his seriously high risk strategy of dividing his numerically inferior force (60,892) in the presence of a much larger Union force (133,868) resulted in a striking Confederate victory. Lee’s victory was the product of his audacity and General ‘Fighting Joe’ Hooker’s timidity.

The fiercest fighting of the battle – and the second bloodiest day of the Civil War – occurred on 3 May as Lee launched multiple attacks against the Union position at Chancellorsville, resulting in heavy



losses on both sides. With only 60,000 men engaged, Lee suffered 13,303 casualties (1,665 killed, 9,081 wounded, 2,018 missing), losing some 22% of his force in the campaign – men that the Confederacy, with its limited manpower, could not replace.

Of the 133,000-strong Union army, 17,197 were casualties (1,606 killed, 9,672 wounded, 5,919 missing), a percentage significantly lower than Lee’s. When comparing only the killed and wounded, the differences between the Confederate and Union losses at Chancellorsville were almost negligible. Nevertheless, the Union was traumatised by the scale of the defeat. A despairing President Lincoln’s response was: ‘My God! My God! What will the country say?’

Confederate pleasure at Lee’s tactical victory was tempered by the loss of Stonewall Jackson. It is alleged that Lee’s stunning victory persuaded him that his army was virtually invincible and that it could be relied upon to achieve anything he asked them to do. If so, it was a most unfortunate conclusion for Lee to reach,

Lee then advanced into Pennsylvania where his army and George Meade’s army collided at Gettysburg, for what was to become the largest military confrontation ever to take place on American soil. In retrospect, it was to be the turning point in the Civil War but this was not obvious at the time.

Although neither commander was present on the first day of battle, 1 July 1863 witnessed heavy fighting and heavy casualties on each side. The following day was characterized by many desperate attacks and counterattacks to gain control of locations such as Little Round Top, Cemetery Hill, Devil’s Den, the Wheatfield, and the Peach Orchard. There were further heavy losses on both sides. On 3 July Lee was determined to deliver a knock-out blow. Some 15,000 Confederate troops attacked Cemetery Ridge (often inaccurately referred to ‘Pickett’s charge’), held by 10,000 Union infantrymen. The Southern

spearhead reached the ridge but could achieve no more. Historians refer to this episode as 'the high water mark of the Confederacy'.

Critically weakened by artillery during their advance, lacking reinforcement, and under vigorous attack from three sides, the Southerners retreated, leaving 19 battle flags and hundreds of prisoners. More than 7,000 of the cream of the Army of Northern Virginia did not return to the Confederate lines. Those who did were greeted without reproach by Lee, who told them that he alone was to blame for their bloody repulse.

On July 4 Lee waited to meet an attack that never came. That night, taking advantage of a heavy rain, he began the retreat back to Virginia.

Lee was physically unwell but his defeat stemmed largely from overconfidence in his troops. However, as we will see, Ewell's inability to fill the vacuum created by the death of 'Stonewall' Jackson at Chancellorsville and faulty reconnaissance, through the absence of J. E. B. Stuart, were not insignificant factors in Lee's defeat.

Casualties were heavy on both sides: Lee lost more than 28,000 of his army of 77,000 and Meade 25,000 of his army of 88,000.

Lincoln was exasperated when Meade, like McClellan after Antietam, allowed Lee's battered forces to withdraw from Gettysburg unmolested. In Lincoln's estimation: 'Our army held the war in the hollow of their hand & they would not close it'. Nevertheless, Meade had halted the Confederate invasion and won a critical three-day battle. After Gettysburg, the strategic initiative passed permanently to the North and the defeat of the South was inevitable, subject only to the proviso that the Union's will to fight held firm. However, because of Lee, the Confederacy would survive for another 18 months. Lee retired to Virginia and fought a series of defensive battles on southern

soil opposing forces always superior in size and better supplied than his own,

Lincoln had long toyed with idea of bringing U. S. Grant east to take on Lee. Grant's capture of Vicksburg and his relief of Chattanooga within one year made Lincoln's decision for him and assisted him to overcome his instinctive distrust of those with a reputation of being fond of the bottle.

In December 1863 Congress revived the rank of lieutenant general (previously held only by George Washington) and in the spring of 1864 Grant came to Washington to receive his commission and to assume supreme command over all US armies.

Grant wasted no time in embarking on a campaign of attrition against Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Grant was stunned by the ferocity of Lee's resistance but unlike his predecessors, Grant refused to back off. The campaign lasted exactly a year and was punctuated by several extremely bloody battles, notably at Spotsylvania (8 -19 May 1864) and Cold Harbor (1-3 June 1864). Sheer weight of numbers ground down the Confederates.

The war culminated with the siege of Petersburg between June 1864 and April 1865. On Sunday 2 April Lee's defensive lines were stretched so thin that the far right broke under massive Union assaults. Lee was forced to evacuate Petersburg, exposing Richmond to attack. When the survivors of his army withdrew from their trenches, they embarked on a week-long retreat. Incapable of going any further men fell out through hunger and exhaustion and animals collapsed. Units simply disintegrated.

At Appomattox Court House on Palm Sunday (9 April) 1865, Lee found himself almost surrounded and massively outnumbered. Lee told one of his aides: 'There is nothing left for me to do but to go and see General

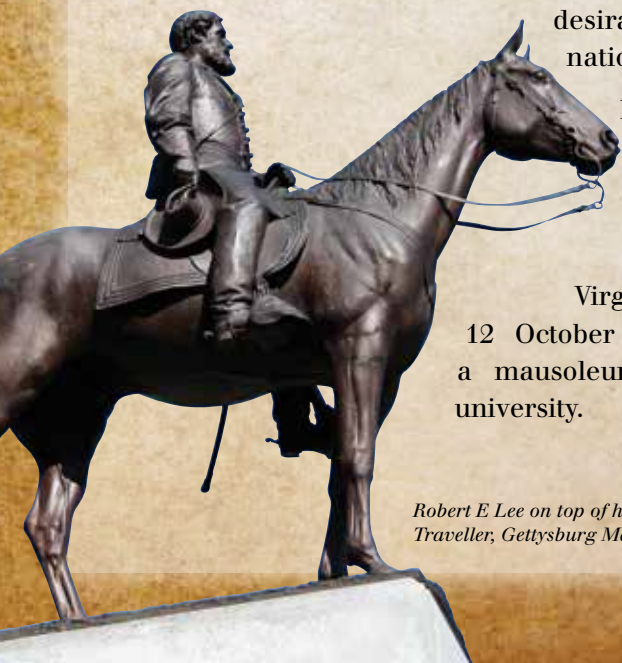
Grant and I would rather die a thousand deaths'. Grant's considerate behaviour made the ordeal of surrender less painful for him:

What General Lee's feelings were I do not know, as he was a man of much dignity, with an impassable face, it was impossible to say whether he felt inwardly glad that the end had finally come, or felt sad over the result, and was too manly to show it. Whatever his feelings, they were entirely concealed from my observation; but my own feelings ... were sad and depressed. I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and so valiantly, and had suffered so much for a cause, though that cause was, I believe, one of the worse for which people ever fought.

Remarkably, throughout the conflict Lee never referred to his Union opponents as 'the enemy' but as 'those people'. This extraordinary absence of bitterness and the man's own innate dignity enabled Lee to accept defeat and to seek to 'bind up the wounds' caused by the war. He did so by seeking to persuade the people of the South of the desirability of both peace and national unity.

He became President of Washington College (subsequently renamed Washington and Lee University) at Lexington, Virginia. Lee died on 12 October 1870. His body rests in a mausoleum in the chapel of the university.

Robert E Lee on top of his beloved horse, Traveller, Gettysburg Memorial.



THOMAS JONATHAN ('STONEWALL') JACKSON



Tall, with a brown beard and striking blue eyes (which allegedly burned with fire in battle), Thomas Jonathan Jackson was an austere Presbyterian, a skilful tactician and the ablest of Robert E. Lee's generals. He went to war with two books: Napoleon's *Maxims of War* and the Bible. A British visitor to the Confederacy in 1862 surely captured the essence of the man when he likened Jackson's 'silent, brooding self-reliance', 'iron will' and 'tenacity of purpose' to that of Oliver Cromwell or of a Scottish Covenanter. 'Stonewall' Jackson acquired

his nickname at First Manassas (called the first battle of Bull Run by the North) on 21 July 1861. At that battle, the first of the Civil War, Jackson's troops held firm when others wavered. Brigadier General Bee endeavoured to rally his faltering brigade by drawing his men's attention to the conduct of Jackson and his men: 'There is Jackson, standing like a stone wall. Let us determine to die here, and we will conquer.' Bee had scarcely uttered the words when he dropped dead but the line held and the sobriquet stuck.

* * *

'Stonewall' Jackson was the descendant of John Jackson, 'a respectable and prosperous tradesman' who emigrated from Ulster to America in 1715. There are conflicting claims as to where exactly 'Stonewall' Jackson's great-grandfather was born. In 1967 the US Consul General in Belfast unveiled a plaque at Ballinary, identifying the Birches in Co. Armagh, close to the shores of Lough Neagh, as the birthplace of 'Stonewall' Jackson's great-grandfather. Londonderry and Coleraine also lay claim to 'Stonewall' Jackson's great-grandfather. Tradition has it that John Jackson was one of the defenders of Londonderry

during the great siege of 1689.

What is beyond dispute is that ‘Stonewall’ Jackson was born on 21 January 1824 at Clarksburg, Virginia [since June 1863 in West Virginia]. Both his parents died when he was very young. His father, Jonathan Jackson, a lawyer, died in 1826, leaving the family in straitened circumstances.

His mother, Julia Beckwith Neale, died in 1851. As a result, relatives raised Thomas and his siblings.

After attending a small country school in Virginia, Jackson was anxious to embark on a military career, there being a military tradition in the family. Both his grandfather and great-grandfather had served in the American War of Independence.

Between June 1842 and June 1846 he attended the United States Military Academy at West Point. Jackson was not the first choice for his congressional district’s appointment but the top applicant withdrew from the academy after only one day. After a slow start, Jackson graduated in June 1846, standing 17th out of 59 graduates. He was commissioned as a second lieutenant and assigned to the artillery.

He joined his regiment in Mexico, with which the United States was then at war. During the course of the conflict he first met Robert E. Lee and exhibited the resourcefulness and the ability to keep his head in the face of enemy fire, qualities for which he was later to become famous. Within seven months he rose from second lieutenant to major. It was also in Mexico he came to faith.

However, he found service in the peacetime army tedious. In 1851 he resigned his commission to become professor of artillery tactics and



natural philosophy at the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington.

Despite his best efforts, he never became a popular or successful teacher. His cadets called him ‘Tom Fool’ behind his back. He was simultaneously a stern and a shy man. He was undeniably eccentric and not just on account of his dress sense and his tendency to talk to himself. He sucked lemons (to ease his dyspepsia), refused pepper (because he claimed it made his left leg ache), seldom laughed, and when he did he merely opened his mouth without emitting a sound. In brief, he was a hypochondriac, had some of the hallmarks of a religious fanatic and was a stern disciplinarian.

On 2 December 1859 Jackson accompanied a contingent of VMI cadets to Harpers Ferry, where they stood guard at the execution of abolitionist John Brown.

The advent of the Civil War created a dilemma for Jackson: he wished to preserve the Union but he also believed the South had a just cause. His decision in favour of the South won him a commission as a colonel in the state forces of Virginia but sundered his close relationship with his sister, Laura Jackson Arnold, who remained an ardent Unionist.

Jackson was sent to Harpers Ferry to lick into shape the volunteers from the Shenandoah Valley region of Virginia who would soon comprise the famous ‘Stonewall’ Brigade. Jackson trained them to march so quickly over long distances into battle that they became known as ‘Jackson’s foot cavalry’.

Just before First Manassas Jackson became a brigadier general. There is a greater degree of ambiguity surrounding the circumstances in which Jackson acquired his celebrated nickname on 21 July 1861 than many admirers of ‘Stonewall’ Jackson would be willing to admit.

Irvin McDowell, the intelligent and energetic but ultimately unfortunate commander of the Union Army of Northeastern Virginia, opened the

battle with a determined assault on Pierre Beauregard's Confederate army. Trying to rally his broken brigade, General Barnard Bee of South Carolina allegedly exhorted his troops to re-form by shouting: 'There is Jackson standing like a stone wall. Let us determine to die here, and we will conquer. Rally behind the Virginians.'

However, Major Burnett Rhett, chief of staff to General Joseph E. Johnston, placed a radically different construction on this incident. According to Major Rhett, Bee was furious at Jackson's failure to relieve his hard-pressed troops and that he gestured angrily at Jackson's troops standing immobile behind the crest of the hill, bitterly observing: 'Look at Jackson standing there like a damned stone wall!'

As Bee was mortally wounded almost immediately, we do not have the benefit of his testimony on the matter. Whatever Bee said, and irrespective of whatever point he wished to convey, Jackson's brigade halted the Union assault and suffered more casualties that day than any southern brigade. Jackson earned himself the soubriquet 'Stonewall' and his men became known as the 'Stonewall' brigade.

The battle swayed back and forth until Confederate reinforcements under General Joseph E. Johnston arrived. This turned the tide of battle and Union troops fled the scene in disorder. The first man to realize that the Confederacy had secured a victory was Jackson who was having a minor wound dressed at a field hospital at the time: 'We have them whipped. They ran like sheep. Give me five thousand fresh men and I will be in Washington City tomorrow!' However, Beauregard and Johnston failed to press home their advantage.

Union casualties amounted to 460 killed, 1,124 wounded, and 1,312 missing or captured. Confederate casualties were 387 killed, 1,582 wounded, and 13 missing.

The battle's greatest impact was psychological. Throughout the South



the battle was hailed as a great victory. The fact that Confederate Army, despite its inferior numbers, had defeated a superior Union force encouraged the belief in the South that victory over 'the spineless Yankees' was ultimately possible. In the North the humiliation of defeat stiffened resolve and forced the Yankees to take the war seriously.

In the aftermath of First Manassas Jackson sent an envelope to his minister. Expecting an account of the battle, the clergyman instead received a contribution for his church's 'colored Sunday school' which Jackson had forgotten to send on the day of the battle.

In October 1861 Jackson was promoted to major general and given and placed in command of the Valley of Virginia (of which the Shenandoah Valley formed part). During the spring and early summer of 1862 he waged his brilliant campaign up and down the Shenandoah Valley.

Jackson proved to be a master of rapid movement and surprise tactics. His rule of strategy was 'always mystify, mislead and surprise the enemy' and 'when you strike and overcome him, never let up in the pursuit ... Never fight against heavy odds if ... you can hurl your own force on only a part ... of enemy and crush it ... a small army may thus destroy a large one ... and repeated victory will make it *invincible*'.

With less than 18,000 men Jackson stymied three Union generals – Frémont, Banks and McDowell – and 70,000 Union troops. He secured a string of victories at Front Royal, Winchester, Cross Keys and Port Republic. Above all, Jackson prevented reinforcements being sent to George B. McClellan's Union army which was waging the peninsular campaign against the Confederate capital of Richmond.

Jackson was then ordered to join Robert E. Lee in the peninsula theatre in eastern Virginia. Jackson arrived a day late and his performance was lacklustre compared to the brilliance of his campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. Jackson's dismal performance during the Seven Days' battles campaign continues to be the subject of heated debate among military historians. The simplest (and most likely) explanation is that Jackson was suffering from exhaustion or stress fatigue after the physical strain of the Shenandoah Valley campaign. Lee, probably partially influenced by his own disagreeable experience in west Virginia at the beginning of the war, never lost faith in Jackson.

In the campaign which culminated in the Second Battle of Manassas, 29-30 August 1862, Jackson marched his 'foot cavalry' a punishing 54 miles in two days to raid Major General Pope's supply depot at Manassas and then took up a defensive position, just west of the 1861 battlefield, behind Pope's army, provoking the Second Battle of Manassas, in which Pope was soundly beaten. In the thirteen months between First and Second Manassas the two opposing armies had grown enormously in size. There were 5,000 casualties in the first battle, 25,000 in the second. As in the first battle, the Confederate army was in no shape to pursue their Union opponents.

During the Maryland campaign Lee detached Jackson to capture Harpers Ferry in order to protect Richmond. Jackson laid siege to the place on 14 September and – astonishingly – the 12,000 strong Union garrison surrendered the next day. On campaign Jackson almost invariably wore an old army coat he had worn in the Mexican War and a VMI cadet cap with a broken peak, prompting one Union prisoner at Harper's Ferry to remark of Jackson: 'Boys, he's not much for looks, but if we had him we wouldn't have been caught in this trap!'

Having captured Harpers Ferry, Jackson rejoined Lee for the bloody Battle of Antietam or Sharpsburg on 17 September 1862. Jackson's

verdict, surveying the dead strewn all over the battlefield was: 'God has been very kind to us this day.' This ought not to be construed as evidence of callousness. Antietam could have been a disaster for the Confederacy. Tactically, it was a Confederate victory. Strategically, because it ended Lee's invasion of Maryland, it was a Union victory. Like Waterloo, it was 'a close run thing'.

In October 1862 Lee reorganized his army into two corps. Jackson was promoted to lieutenant general and given command of the new Second Corps, giving him command of half of the Army of Northern Virginia.

At the Battle of Fredericksburg on 13 December 1862 Jackson was in command of the Confederate right. He unnerved some of his men by appearing in a smart new uniform instead of his familiar garb. They were concerned that Jackson would not get down to his work for fear of ruining his new clothes but their fears were wholly misplaced. As Jackson observed to an aide: 'My men have sometimes failed to *take* a position, but to *defend* one never.' The Union attack was easily repulsed.

In May 1863 at Chancellorsville Jackson demonstrated his mastery of the daring flank march and the surprise attack. He half-circled the Union Army and surprised it from behind. At 5:00 pm on 2 May, just as Union troops were preparing their evening meal, Jackson ordered his men to attack. One Union soldier recalled that Jackson's assault came 'like a clap of thunderstorm from a cloudless sky'. The Hon. Francis Lawley, an English journalist and Southern sympathizer, in his account soared to the level of poetry: 'Swift and sudden as the falcon sweeping on her prey, Jackson had burst on his enemy's rear and crushed him before resistance could be attempted'. An entire wing of the Union army collapsed.

Jackson's attack contributed largely to the Confederate victory but in

the moment of victory, tragedy struck: at dusk on 2 May, as Jackson and his escort returned from reconnaissance, for Jackson envisaged an even more comprehensive victory, men of the 18th North Carolina Infantry Regiment mistook them for a detachment of Union cavalry and fired. Jackson fell, seriously wounded.

The expectation was that Jackson would lose his left arm but would recover. In note to Jackson, written on 4 May, Lee observed: 'You are better off than I am, for while you have lost your *left*, I have lost my *right* arm.' However, Jackson was in poor health and contracted pneumonia on 7 May and – despite expert medical care and the nursing of his wife – he died on 10 May 1863. Shortly after 3:00 pm, in delirium, he said: 'Order A. P. Hill (at this time commanding a division, later a corps) to prepare for Action! Pass the infantry to the front! Tell Major Hawks...' Then the General paused, smiled, and spoke his last words: 'Let us cross over the river, and rest under the shade of the trees.' He was only 39 years old. A distraught Robert E. Lee wrote: 'I do not know how to replace him.'

* * *

The Lee-Jackson partnership was one of the most successful in military history and has been compared to that of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene (Prinz Eugen in German) of Savoy in the early eighteenth century. Lee, the strategist, could always see what should be done in battle; Jackson, the tactician could always do it. Lee said of him: 'Such an executive officer the sun never shone on. Straight as the needle to the pole, he advances to the execution of my purpose'. Almost two years after his surrender at Appomattox, Lee supposedly said: 'If I had Stonewall Jackson at Gettysburg I would have won that fight; and a complete victory would have given us Washington and Baltimore, if not Philadelphia, and would have established the independence of the Confederacy'.

On the first day of the Battle of Gettysburg Lee gave Ewell discretionary orders to seize 'if practicable' the crest of the ridge which curled around Gettysburg which ran east to East Cemetery hill and Culp's Hill. Ewell chose to think it impracticable. What would Jackson have done had he been there? While it is impossible to say with absolute confidence, Jackson probably would have found it practicable. Possession of the ridge would have made all the difference over the next two days. A North Carolina veteran of Gettysburg made the point quite succinctly: 'We missed the genius of Jackson. The simplest soldier in the ranks felt it.'

After the war a senior Confederate officer went further: 'The death of the Southern Confederacy dates from Chancellorsville.'



Stonewall Jackson statue outside West Virginia State Capitol.

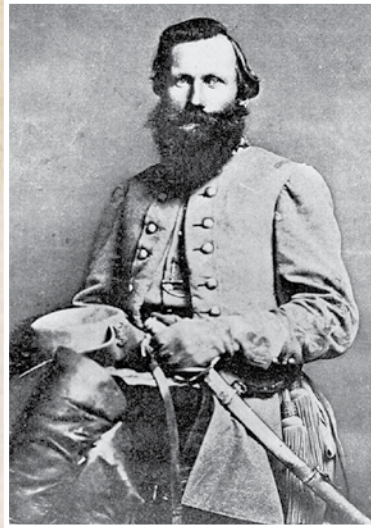
JAMES EWELL BROWN ('JEB') STUART

James Ewell Brown Stuart was the Confederacy's most brilliant cavalry officer. His hard-riding troopers formed a screen between Robert E. Lee's Army of North Virginia and Union armies. Behind that screen Lee was able to move his army at will. Stuart's reports of enemy troop movements were of such value to the Southern command during the Civil War, that Lee described him as his 'eyes and ears'. A flamboyant character, he had a long brown beard and often wore a red-lined cloak, a yellow sash at his waist, and a plumed hat. A teetotaler, he loved dancing and parties. If 'Stonewall' Jackson invites comparison with Cromwell or a seventeenth-century Scottish covenanter, Stuart was a cavalier. Comparison with Charles I's dashing nephew, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, springs to mind. His nickname, Jeb, was derived from the initials of his Christian names.

* * *

The Confederacy's outstanding cavalry commander was the great-great-grandson of Archibald Stuart of Londonderry, an Ulster-Scot who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1726 and put down deep roots in the Shenandoah Valley. Jeb was born on 6 February 1833, on Laurel Hill plantation, Patrick County, Virginia. He was the seventh child and youngest son of Archibald Stuart and Elizabeth Letcher Pannill. His father had served as an officer in the war of 1812. His mother was the granddaughter of William Letcher, a local hero of the American War of Independence.

An encounter with hornets when he was 10 years old gave a foretaste



of the courage he later showed as a general. While an older brother fled, young Jeb narrowed his eyes against the angry insects and with a stick dashed the hornets' nest to the ground.

From his mother Jeb grew to love the church, and was initially a devout Methodist. However, he later became an Episcopalian because the Army lacked Methodist chaplains and because his wife was an Episcopalian.

He entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point when he was 17 and graduated in 1854. A popular cadet, he was noted for his eagerness to fight all comers. As a lieutenant he served against the Indians in the West. Lieutenant Stuart was Colonel Robert E. Lee's aide at the capture of John Brown at Harpers Ferry in October 1859. Stuart and Brown had encountered each other before in 'Bleeding Kansas' where Stuart was trying to keep order during the Border Wars.

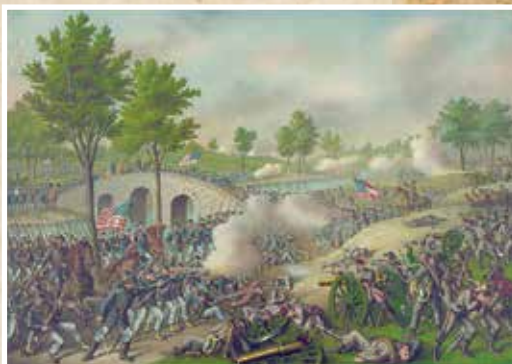
When Virginia seceded from the Union in April 1861, Stuart resigned his commission to share in the defence of his state. His father-in-law, Philip St George Cooke, a Virginian who stayed loyal to the Union and became a general, a decision Stuart said he would 'regret ... but once and that will be continuously.' As commander of McClellan's cavalry, it was Cooke's task to catch his son-in-law.

At First Manassas in July 1861, Stuart distinguished himself by his personal bravery. His cavalry protected the Southern left and he broke one Union infantry attack with a headlong charge.

On 24 September 1861 he was promoted to brigadier general and placed in command of the newly formed Virginia cavalry brigade.

Just before the Seven Days' Battle – fought in June 1862 to defend the Confederate capital of Richmond – Stuart was sent out by Lee to locate the right flank of the Union army under General George B. McClellan. Stuart not only accomplished his mission but he also

rode completely around McClellan's army, capturing 170 Union soldiers and nearly twice as many horses and mules and destroying wagon loads of Union supplies, to deliver his report to Lee. 'We must substitute esprit for numbers,' Stuart observed: 'Therefore, I strive to inculcate in my men the spirit of the chase.'



In the next campaign Stuart raided the headquarters of General John Pope, the new Union commander, and made off with \$35,000 in cash, Pope's dress coat and a notebook – a document which was invaluable to Lee – detailing the strength and disposition of Union forces.

Stuart, promoted to major general and commander of the cavalry corps, was present at Second Manassas in August 1862 and again circled McClellan's army, returning with 1,200 enemy horses.

During the Maryland campaign that followed, he brilliantly defended Crampton's Gap, one of the passes of the South Mountain, thus enabling Lee to concentrate his army in time to meet McClellan's attack at Sharpsburg/Antietam.

In October 1862, shortly after the Battle of Antietam, Garnet Wolseley, the future British field marshal, took leave from his military duties in Canada to observe the American Civil War at first hand. He met Robert E. Lee and 'Stonewall' Jackson and was mightily impressed by Stuart's cavalry and their superiority to the Union's cavalry 'who can scarcely sit on their horses, even when trotting'. Wolseley's assessment cannot easily be discounted because his reputation for efficiency gave rise to the late nineteenth-century English saying that 'everything is all Sir Garnet', meaning 'all is in order'. He was immortalised by Gilbert and Sullivan in *The Pirates of Penzance* as 'the very model

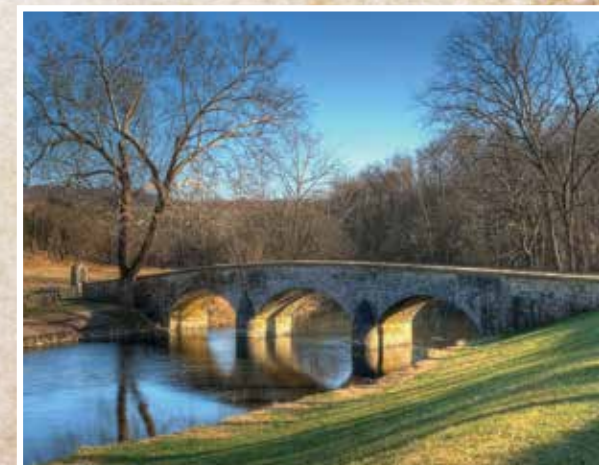
of a modern Major-General'. Wolseley was also a descendant of the Colonel William Wolseley who led the led the Enniskillen men in their stunning victory over the Jacobites at the Battle of Newtownbutler in July 1689.

By the winter of 1862 Stuart's extraordinary skill as an intelligence officer was fully recognized, and Lee called him the 'eyes of the army.'

At the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862 Stuart's horse artillery rendered valuable service by checking the Union attack on 'Stonewall' Jackson's corps. Stuart took grim satisfaction from the slaughter at Fredericksburg. He wrote to George Washington Curtis Lee, Robert E. Lee's eldest son:

The Englishmen here, who surveyed Solferino [the battle in June 1859 which prompted Henri Dunant to found the Red Cross] and all the battlefields of Italy, say that the pile of dead on the plains of Fredericksburg exceeds anything of the sort ever seen by them.

In May 1863 at the Battle of Chancellorsville, Stuart was appointed by Lee to take command of the 2nd Army Corps after Jackson had been fatally wounded. Stuart energized Jackson's corps – although the men had eaten and rested little in over 30 hours – and renewed the attack on the Union army, driving it back and joining up with Lee. In doing so he contributed significantly to what was a notable victory.



Burnside's Bridge in Sharpsburg

Stuart's conduct prior to the Battle of Gettysburg is the subject of longstanding controversy.

As Lee advanced north towards the Potomac River, the Army of North Virginia was screened by Stuart's cavalry corps, which held the various approaches on the right flank of the army. In the early morning of 9 June Union cavalry surprised Stuart at Brandy Station. For twelve hours 21,000 cavalymen – the greatest cavalry battle in American history – clashed along the banks of the Rappahannock river. Although Stuart repulsed the Union cavalry and Union casualties were almost twice those of the Confederates, the battle ruined Stuart's aura of invincibility and, in the opinion of one of Stuart's subordinates, was the making of the Union cavalry. Stuart was acutely embarrassed and stung by press criticism for being caught off his guard. On 25 June to redeem his embarrassment Stuart took three of his best brigades for another raid around the rear of the Union infantry.

By bringing the war within six miles of Washington, Stuart caused panic in the city and tremors in Pennsylvania Avenue, the street in Washington, D.C. that joins the White House and the United States Capitol. However, far more importantly, he lost touch with the Army of North Virginia for a full week, depriving Lee of vital intelligence as to the whereabouts and movements of Union forces. Lee's great strengths were his audacity, his capacity to surprise his opponents, and his ability to read his opponent's minds but to exploit these strengths he required up-to-date and accurate intelligence.

When Stuart did rejoin Lee's army at Gettysburg on 2 July, the battle had already begun, and Lee was angry: 'I have not heard from you for days, and you are the eyes and ears of my army.'

'I have brought you 125 wagons and their teams, General,' Stuart replied. 'Yes,' said Lee, 'and they are an impediment to me now.' Then, seeing Stuart's anguish, Lee said: 'Let me ask you for your help ... we

will not discuss this further. Help me fight these people.' However, Stuart's forces were too exhausted to be of any great assistance.

On 3 July, the third and final day of the Battle of Gettysburg, Stuart and his cavalry were supposed to get behind the Union army and attack it from the rear but they were prevented from doing so by a youthful 23-year old general called George Armstrong Custer.

Some contend that the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg was primarily Stuart's fault. If Stuart had been present earlier, Lee would have fought a different battle. However, other factors must be taken into account, not least the fact that Lee was unwell and that his judgment was not at its best. Lee had invaded Pennsylvania in search of a decisive victory and was reluctant to leave without one.

During the winter of 1863-64 Stuart supplied the Confederate command with accurate information about Union troop movements but by the spring of 1864 Stuart's cavalry corps was past its best, being short of both men and horses.

On 9 May, during the twelve-day engagement generally known as Spotsylvania Courthouse, Ulysses S. Grant, the Union commander, gave General Philip Sheridan, who had boasted that he could 'whip' Stuart 'out of his boots', permission to break loose from the Union army and take his cavalry corps on a ride around the Confederate army towards Richmond. This obliged Stuart to give chase. On 11 May Stuart, with 4,500 troopers, clashed with Sheridan's 10,000-strong cavalry force at Yellow Tavern, only six miles from the Confederate capital. As Stuart was outnumbered more than two to one and the Union cavalry was equipped with rapid-fire carbines whereas the



Confederate cavalry was armed with single-shot muzzle-loaders, Sheridan, whose ancestors hailed from County Cavan, ought to have been able to destroy Stuart's cavalry but he failed to do so. Stuart's men resolutely held their ground and it was the Union cavalry which withdrew. During their withdrawal, a dismounted Union cavalryman took a carefully-aimed shot at a large bearded Confederate officer in a plumed hat, sitting on his horse, thirty feet away. Without realising who his victim was, John A. Huff of the 5th Michigan Cavalry had managed to wound Stuart in the abdomen. The great cavalry commander was carried from the field mortally wounded. He died in Richmond the following day, aged only 31 and leaving a widow and three children.

Stuart was a deeply religious man. About noon on the day of his death, President Davis visited his bedside, and in reply to his question as to how he felt, the dying Stuart answered: 'Easy, but willing to die if God and my country think I have fulfilled my destiny and done my duty.' His last words were: 'I am going fast now. I am resigned; God's work will be done.'

Stuart's death, exactly a year and a day after the death of 'Stonewall' Jackson, was a severe blow to the Confederate cause. Lee confessed: 'I can scarcely think of him without weeping'. Lee also said of him: 'He was my ideal of a soldier'.

Edward G. Longacre, the American military historian and biographer, contends that Stuart's 'greatest contribution to military science' lay in 'his unerring ability to send his commanders accurate, specific, up-to-date reports of enemy movements and intentions – real-time strategic intelligence, as it is called today'.



Antietam Battlefield monument

When asked which race made the best soldiers, Robert E. Lee answered: *'The Scotch who came to this country by way of Ireland.'* Pressed to explain his answer, Lee replied: *'Because they have all the dash of the Irish in taking a position and all the stubbornness of the Scotch in holding it.'* 'Stonewall' Jackson and 'Jeb' Stuart demonstrated these qualities in equal measure.



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