

VMI Men Who Wore Yankee Blue, 1861-1865

by Edward A. Miller, Jr. '50A

The contributions of Virginia Military Institute alumni in Confederate service during the Civil War are well known. Over 92 percent of the almost two thousand who wore the cadet uniform also wore Confederate gray. What is not commonly remembered is that thirteen alumni served in the Union army and navy—and two others, loyal to the Union, died in Confederate hands. Why these men did not follow the overwhelming majority of their cadet comrades and classmates who chose to support the Commonwealth and the South is not difficult to explain. Several of them lived in the remote counties west of the Alleghenies where citizens had long felt estranged from the rest of the state. Citizens of the west sought to dismember Virginia and establish their own mountain state. This was a legacy of the 1829-1830 constitutional convention which those from western Virginia thought left them under-represented in Richmond. Although reapportionments following the censuses of 1840 and 1850 improved eastern-western relations, problems remained. Virginia's ratification of the ordinance of secession in mid-April 1861 caused a large part of western Virginia's citizens to organize Unionist meetings and to consider severing the highland counties from the state. Only a month after the state left the Union a convention in Wheeling called for a referendum on secession, and in a short while western Virginia was organized as the legitimate government of the commonwealth (and later a separate state), electing a governor, and sending senators and congressmen to Washington. Concurrent with these political events, Unionist companies were drilling in Wheeling, Clarksburg, Grafton, and other places, and the First Virginia Volunteer Infantry, raised in the western part of the state, was the initial regiment to respond to President Lincoln's call for troops. Some of these loyalists were VMI men who contributed their military training to some of the new units, but others (such as Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, the West Point graduate and VMI professor from Clarksburg) did not.

Still other Virginians had felt the lure of new opportunity in the West and had left their native state before the war. Many had settled in Missouri which became a battleground of lawless bands seeking to end or encourage slavery in the state and, with secession, to keep it in the Union or make it a Confederate state. Here too, a resident loyal to his state could be drawn either way. Finally, some VMI men were not Virginians at all or had tenuous connections to the Commonwealth. While only natives of the state were accepted as cadets at first, by the late 1850s citizens of many Northern and Southern states were found in the corps of cadets.

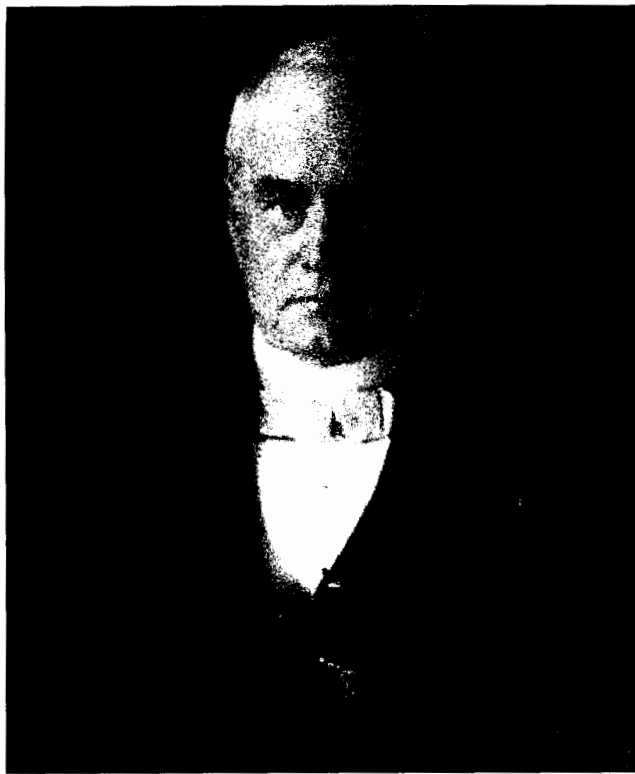
Benjamin Sharp '42 was the nineteenth of the twenty-nine original cadets who reported to the state arsenal in Lexington on 11 November 1839, the date celebrated as VMI's founders' day. A native of Jonesville, Lee County, on the state's southwestern tip, he was twenty years old. At the time VMI had a three-year program. Sharp seems to have been an average stu-

dent. His class standing after a year-and-a-half at the Institute was a respectable eighteenth of twenty-five. Sharp, however, resigned from the corps in June 1841, but the Institute's records do not show the reason. He married in early November 1842, and he and his wife, Sarah Elizabeth (Rebeck), left Jonesville for Missouri in the following year. They settled at Danville, Montgomery County, where Sharp read for the law and set up his practice. He was possibly postmaster in Danville, where he was considered an important citizen. An active mason, he was the Danville delegate to the grand lodge in St. Louis. In 1859-1860 he represented his area of the state in the Missouri Senate. Sharp's political, fraternal, and professional prominence as well as his VMI military training gave him the status needed to raise a Union regiment in which he expected to be appointed colonel by the governor. It is here that Sharp's story becomes obscure. It appears that Sharp had the governor's informal permission to enlist and organize an infantry unit to be called the Ninth Missouri Volunteers. While traveling near home in early July 1861, accompanied by an officer identified as Lieutenant Yeager of St. Louis, he and his companion were "shot while seated in his buggy going to Montgomery Missouri." Death was attributed to bushwackers, although they were never identified. They may have been highwaymen or possibly rebel sympathizers, both of which were common in the state in those lawless days. Sharp did not die immediately, his daughter wrote in later years, and his body was "not found for eleven days although search parties were sent out in all directions." Then a hand protruding from a shallow grave gave away the hiding place of Sharp's and Yeager's bodies. He was buried in Gregory Cemetery in Danville. Sharp's widow, Sarah, applied in 1881 for a federal pension, but she was not approved on the grounds that her husband had never been sworn into the service of the United States. The Missouri adjutant general likewise did not list Sharp on any rosters of state militia, volunteers, or any other state military unit, and so Sarah was never pensioned. (Sharp had a brother, John, in Missouri and apparently several cousins. One of the latter, Benjamin Sharp, was a captain and later major in the Ninth Cavalry, Missouri State Militia.)

Edward Codrington Carrington '44 was born in Halifax County in southern Virginia in 1825 but was appointed to VMI from Botetourt just south of Lexington's county, Rockbridge. He matriculated on the first of July 1841, age sixteen. Carrington's family was particularly distinguished in Virginia and in the nation. His father was awarded a sword by the state for his gallantry in the War of 1812, and he was related to General Francis Preston of Abington and to Patrick Henry. Carrington stayed at the Institute for two years, resigning in early July 1843. His records do not give the reason for leaving, but it was not academic deficiency. His grades were quite good; he was eleventh in general merit.

What Carrington did for the next three years is unknown, but when he was twenty-one he was elected captain of Company A, the "Texas Rangers," First Virginia Regiment, for service in the Mexican War. The regiment was organized in Richmond and joined General Zachary Taylor's army in the field. Carrington's service was such as to inspire the Virginia legislature to vote him a sword as it had his father in the earlier war. Returning to Botetourt County, Carrington edited the *Valley Whig* in Fincastle, was elected to the legislature but in 1853 moved to the District of Columbia to practice law. He became a well-known attorney and helped to revise the district code. Long active in the capital city's militia, he was an officer in the Washington Light Infantry and was promoted to brigadier general, one of four generals in the local militia and national guard.

Lincoln's election raised fears in the capital that Southern sympathizers would not allow him to be inaugurated on 4 March 1861. Carrington published a call on 5 January asking citizens of the district to join with him in forming a military organization to defend the city and the constitution. He explained that the militia was not organized and that he did not intend to "interfere with my brother officers of the militia—the organization proposed is to be purely voluntary, ...in which I am willing to serve in any capacity." He made the call, he said, not as a general in the militia, "but as a citizen of Washington, who is prepared to defend his home and his honor, at the peril of his life." Furthermore, before Virginia seceded, he went to the state and spoke in favor of preserving the Union. After 11 April 1861 Carrington was immediately called on to assist in the defense of Washington from an expected invasion by his native state. He did not serve in his high militia rank, but raised one of sixteen militia companies of District of Columbia volunteers, the first federally enrolled troops in the war. His unit—in which he was the captain—called "Carrington's Company Militia Infantry," was mustered in for three months' service on 13 April and was deployed to protect public buildings. Captain Carrington and his company, renamed Company A, Second Battalion, District of Columbia Militia, were in federal service until early July (and Carrington remained commanding officer of the unit until 1890). Carrington might have looked for assignment as a trained and experienced senior officer in the growing Union army, but he had chosen another path. After Lincoln's election he sought a political appointment as district attorney for Washington, a post to which he was named on 17 April while he was just beginning his active military service. Carrington's appointment was not uniformly welcomed. One Washington citizen wrote to



Charles Denby '50 as a member of the Philippine Commission in 1899, the year in which he worked in Manila looking into conditions on the newly acquired islands. (Library of Congress photo.)

Attorney General Edward Bates in the month Carrington was named:

"I have been annoyed by hearing numerous severe censures ag't what is condemned as a 'contemplated app't not fit to be made' by you. I refer to that of Mr. Carrington as Dist atto. You probably are not aware of the prominent objections which are urged every where among political circles friendly to the Adm's, agst such app't on the score of Mr. C's blood connection with the late Sec Floyd [John B. Floyd, President Buchanan's secretary of war]—as well as—sociation [*sic*] with him in late business transactions which are denounced as attempts to filch from the Treasury large sums of money unjustly."

The writer closed with the remark that Carrington "is *known* to be a very ordinary lawyer."

Carrington had two brothers. One, James McDowell Carrington '64, a VMI cadet for six weeks at the start of the war, was a major in the Confederate artillery, and a second, William Campbell Preston Carrington, was killed in action in Mississippi, a captain in a Missouri rebel regiment. Carrington's mother was a refugee from the war, appearing at Harper's Ferry, causing the attorney to ask President Lincoln for a pass so he could bring her to Washington.

Carrington remained in his office for ten years, well into the Grant administration, compensated in the 1860s at two hundred dollars annually plus fees. He died in Washington in 1892. His last VMI association appears to have been in connection with the Institute's fiftieth jubilee in 1889. In a letter to a friend, the father of VMI historian Col. William Couper '04, he said: "I remember with pleasure the happy days I spent at VMI, my beloved *alma mater*. I was a cadet in the infancy of that now famous institution, ...and I have watched with pride the honorable career of her sons, both in war and peace."

Charles Denby '50 is one of the Institute's most illustrious graduates, successful in business and the law, military service, and public responsibilities. He was born in 1830 at Mount Joy, Botetourt County, and educated at Tom Fox Academy, Taylorsville, Hanover County. He entered Georgetown College in the District of Columbia (for college preparatory work?) in September 1841 at age eleven. At the commencement exercises at the end of that academic year, Denby "received three medals for excellence in his respective classes." His father, Nathaniel, was a Richmond merchant, apparently living in that city apart from his wife and family at Mount Joy. In about 1845 the elder Denby was

appointed U.S. Navy agent at Marseilles, France, responsible for handling funds for ships on the Mediterranean station. Charles Denby accompanied his father to France and was enrolled in the Collège Royal. Young Denby returned to the United States by 1847 and was accepted at VMI in August. Curiously, Denby's home appears in the Institute's records as Philadelphia, and, since non-Virginians were not accepted in those days, the Pennsylvania address cannot be explained.

Denby had an excellent record as a cadet, doubtlessly because of his extensive prior education. At the beginning of his third (and senior) year, Denby was having financial problems that might have led to the end of his cadetship. His father, still in France, had designated a Richmond merchant to handle his funds in America, but the man became a bankrupt. The superintendent, Col. Francis H. Smith, arranged somehow for Denby to complete his education at the Institute. Denby's first class year was particularly distinguished. He was appointed an acting assistant professor of French, and went with Superintendent Smith to Richmond as cadet spokesman to argue before the House of Delegates for an appropriation to enlarge barracks. Academically he did well: he was fifth in general merit in his first year and fourth (of seventeen) in his second and first class years. He was also first captain of the corps of cadets.

Colonel Smith obtained a job for Denby at the Central Masonic Institute in Selma, Alabama. In early 1851 Denby reported his progress as a teacher to the superintendent. He said, "I am carrying out exactly the ideas upon which the Military Institute was founded and by which it is governed." He convinced the school's governing body to make the Selma school a military academy, secured uniforms, taught tactics, and so on.

In 1853 Denby left Selma for Evansville, Indiana, where he was employed by the editor of the Democratic newspaper, the *Daily Enquirer*, learning the printer's trade and sometimes writing editorials. At the same time he read for the law with Judge Conrad Baker (later governor of the state) and was admitted to the bar in 1855. In the same year he was elected to the state legislature, representing Vanderburg County. Denby married the daughter of U.S. Senator Graham N. Fitch of Indiana in 1858. The day after the surrender of Fort Sumter, Denby left his law practice and worked to recruit a regiment of volunteers to protect the state's southern border.

The governor commissioned Denby lieutenant colonel of the Forty-second Indiana Infantry in September 1861. His regiment was sent to southern Kentucky, was one of the first Union units to enter Nashville, was at the capture of Huntsville, Alabama, and fought in the battle of Perryville, Kentucky, 8 October 1862. Denby's horse was killed in the last engagement, and he was slightly wounded. In later years he claimed a pension for the wound that he explained was when "he was hit in the mouth on the upper lip by a ball which broke the skin and loosened two front teeth." Denby said that what seems a minor wound was major in his case because the resultant speech impediment was a serious handicap for a lawyer.

A few days after Perryville, Denby was appointed colonel commanding the newly organized Eightieth Indiana Infantry. He saw little further war service, resigning on a surgeon's certificate in January 1863. His incapacity was based on another minor wound, a bruise on the leg, that his regiment's assistant surgeon found "renders him unfit for the duties of an Army Officer." A newspaper

(and a VMI historian) attributed Denby's resignation to his objection to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation but provides no evidence beyond the observation that Denby never denied the allegation.

Returning to his law practice, Denby also was active in Democratic Party politics and was an at-large delegate to the 1876 and 1884 presidential nominating conventions. His legal work was representing businesses and railroad companies in his state. In 1875 he was a defense attorney for distillers in Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin who were accused of bribing government revenue officials. The trial of these "Whiskey Ring" defendants—the cause of a major Grant administration scandal—was presided over by Judge Walter Q. Gresham (later a Grover Cleveland secretary of state). Denby lost the case and a subsequent one but did not damage his reputation. Indeed, the Evansville press found merit in the bribery.

Democrat Cleveland's 1884 presidential victory encouraged Denby to seek a high-level appointed government position. His first target was minister to Russia, and he presented an impressive array of supporters: Vice President Thomas A. Hendricks (of Indiana), Indiana Governor Isaac P. Gray, Indiana Senator D. W. Voorhees, Judge Gresham, father-in-law and former Senator Finch, and, surprisingly, Indiana's Republican Senator Benjamin Harrison. Denby wrote to the vice president-elect in December 1864, "The public press here [Evansville and in Indiana] and the people without exceptions of party are urging in very enthusiastic language my appointment to some office.... I have concluded that if I can get anything that would approximate my present income I would accept it." He said he preferred an ambassadorship, but, as a lawyer, thought he could do just about anything, including some assistant secretary job in Washington. By May Denby's standing for appointment to Russia appears to have waned, and he was being considered for China, Italy, or Spain; that month he was named to China. His selection appears to have been encouraged by American business and railroad interests who wanted a pro-business advocate representing the United States in this promising commercial territory.

Denby sailed from San Francisco aboard the *Rio de Janeiro* on 20 August 1885, beginning thirteen years of diplomatic service. He did not disappoint those who sought support for commercial advantages in China, but American efforts were largely unsuccessful over the period he was in Peking. He advocated use of force to defend missionaries—whom he thought were overzealous and whose work he considered to have little value—and other Americans and their interests. Denby had good relations with Li Hung-chang, a warlord and nominally the foreign minister of China, who favored modernization of his country. Li called on Denby to negotiate on behalf of China with the Japanese government during the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, but Japan rejected his efforts. In 1895, with peace between the two nations, Denby's task became more difficult. This occurred because Li had made a secret military alliance with Russia as a way to compensate for his country's weakness. The pact led Russia and other nations to extract spheres of influence from the Chinese government contrary to U.S. policy of equal conditions of residence, commerce, and travel in China for citizens of all nations. This was a development of the formalized Open Door Policy that the McKinley administration unilaterally declared in 1899. Denby's diplomatic accomplishments were such that he was kept on during Benjamin

Harrison's Republican presidency, 1889-1893, and Cleveland's second administration. He continued in office until replaced by McKinley in July 1898.

Denby did not end his government service after his return from China. McKinley appointed him in late 1898 to the Commission to Investigate the Conduct of the War Department in the War with Spain, the report of which was a whitewash of government actions. He was named a member of the Philippine Commission in mid-1899 and worked in Manila for the rest of the year looking into conditions on the newly acquired islands. His last public activity was in February 1900 when Denby broke the news embargo on the Philippine report by giving a summary of it to the press before the president had presented it to Congress. Denby apologized to McKinley, and he appears to have thereafter sought another appointment. His last letter to the president was in September of that same year when Denby told him that Indiana Democrats would support him in the 1900 election. Denby also praised McKinley's acceptance speech for the Republican nomination.

Denby remained all his life a devoted alumnus of VMI. Invited to the school's semi-centennial in 1889, he wrote from Peking that "Nothing would be more agreeable to me than to visit Virginia." He said could not go, but noted that he had a classmate in China—Alexander Caldwell Jones '50, consul at Chinkiang—eight hundred miles away. Declining another invitation in 1903, he wrote, "Wherever I go in this country the old cadets show me the kindest attention. I do not imagine for a moment that any of them entertain toward me the slightest feeling of animosity because of the troubles of 1861." Denby also sent a nephew to VMI (Stephen Field Denby '99).

Charles Denby died suddenly at Jamestown, New York, on 13 January 1904. He was in the city to deliver a speech, after which he suffered a heart attack that killed him the following morning. His book, *China and Her People*, was published after his death.

James Brown Hamilton '51 was born at Summersville, Nicholas County, now West Virginia, in 1830. He was living at Hawks Nest near Gauley Bridge, Fayette County, before he entered VMI on 2 August 1847, age seventeen. Order No. 29, Headquarters VMI, 1 May 1849, explains what became of Cadet Hamilton: he "ceased to be a cadet in the Virginia Military Institute from this day." Hamilton left barracks without permission the evening of 13 April but was seen and reported by a tactical officer, Lt. Robert Emmet Rodes '48. A week later Hamilton appeared before the acting commandant of cadets to explain the charge, and he swore he was not "out of limits" as Rodes reported. Brought before the superintendent, Col. Francis H. Smith, he blamed another cadet (Edward Trent Bridges '49) and told Smith that Rodes "had made a mistake." Smith ordered a court-martial to be presided over by Maj. John T. L. Preston, and Hamilton was sentenced "to be publicly dismissed," a procedure that looks like today's honor court process in days before VMI had such a court.

Returning home to Hawks Nest, Hamilton married in 1853 and had three children. He was employed as deputy county surveyor—using his VMI training—and also taught at a school in his home, depending on the season. Hamilton was seized by Confederate forces operating in the strategically important Kanawha Valley early in the war. Because of his Union sympathies and possibly

because his knowledge of the area learned on surveys might be useful to the rebels and should be denied to federal forces, he was taken to Lewisburg and imprisoned. He later was confined at Dublin Depot, Castle Thunder in Richmond, and, finally, at Salisbury, North Carolina, where he died of poor treatment, 23 September 1864. Although clearly kept as a prisoner of war, Hamilton held no federal post and was never a member of any military organization. He was a war casualty as much as were soldiers at the Salisbury death camp, but his widow was not pensioned.

John Addy Thompson '52 Born in Belmont County, Ohio, across the Ohio River from Moundsville, Marshall County, now West Virginia, Thompson matriculated at VMI as a third classman in July 1849; he was in his seventeenth year. An average student, he stood twenty-first in the third class and nineteenth in the second. In late January 1852, first classman Thompson had a dispute with a cadet officer. He was reported for "not keeping his eyes to the front at Dinner Roll Call" by his classmate, Cadet Capt. William Milburn Gordon. Thompson considered the report unjust and wrote a letter to Gordon calling him "a low, mean, cowardly, contemptible scoundrel." This was considered insubordination to a cadet officer on duty, and Thompson was brought before a court-martial presided over by the commandant of cadets, Maj. William Gilham (Maj. Thomas J. Jackson was a member). He was found guilty of the charge and was dismissed from VMI. His accuser was tried a few days later for carrying a concealed weapon which he said was to defend himself from Thompson. He was also found guilty but was not dismissed. It is said that the verdict against Thompson was seen as unjust by his classmates, and they were threatened with dismissal for "forming a combination" prohibited by regulations.

Thompson apparently returned to his family then in Moundsville, but he had not given up military life. He applied for a commission in the army and in late June 1855 was appointed a second lieutenant in the First Dragoons (designated the First Cavalry Regiment in early 1861) on the western frontier. Thompson married at St. Louis in 1860. His duties prior to the Civil War were protection of the mails and settlements in the West from Indian attacks. He was a captain by May 1861 and a few months later joined the Fourth Cavalry. His regiment was sent from Kansas to Missouri, Mississippi, Alabama, and to the Department of Tennessee for the Chickamauga campaign. Thompson distinguished himself and was awarded the brevet rank of major for "gallantry and meritorious service" at Hoover's Gap in June 1863. His regiment fought at the campaign's final battle in late September where it helped Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas prevent a defeat from turning into a rout. It is said that Thompson's initiative in this battle, particularly "his disobedience of orders (or, rather, his substitution of his own military discretion), that saved the retreat of the Army and its almost total destruction."

Following the war, Thompson's regiment was sent to Fort Mason (a hundred miles northwest of San Antonio), Texas, and he was promoted to major in August 1867. Had he served in volunteer units in the war, his rise in rank would have been more rapid, but regulars were seldom transferred, and regular units retained their integrity. With the promotion, Thompson was assigned to the Seventh Cavalry in Kansas, but he remained in Texas until his

replacement could arrive. On 14 November he was driving a carriage with his wife, Mary, and their two children when he came upon a dispute between soldiers and four citizens at a store near the fort. Major Thompson ordered a sergeant on the scene to arrest the civilians, but they shot him through the head and seriously wounded the sergeant. The army's official report found Thompson's death to be in the line of duty while he was "endeavoring to quell a disturbance between the soldiers and desperadoes." The murderers, who earlier had killed a number of former slaves at Laramie, had been released by a Texas court. These men were also accused of robbing soldiers of their pay, but they seem to have escaped. The regiment's acting assistant surgeon, present just after the shooting, wrote to the major's father explaining that Mrs. Thompson and the children would be going to her home in St. Louis when an escort could be arranged. Major Thompson's body was returned to his parents, arriving at Moundsville on the Ohio River aboard the steamer *Major Anderson* in December 1868.

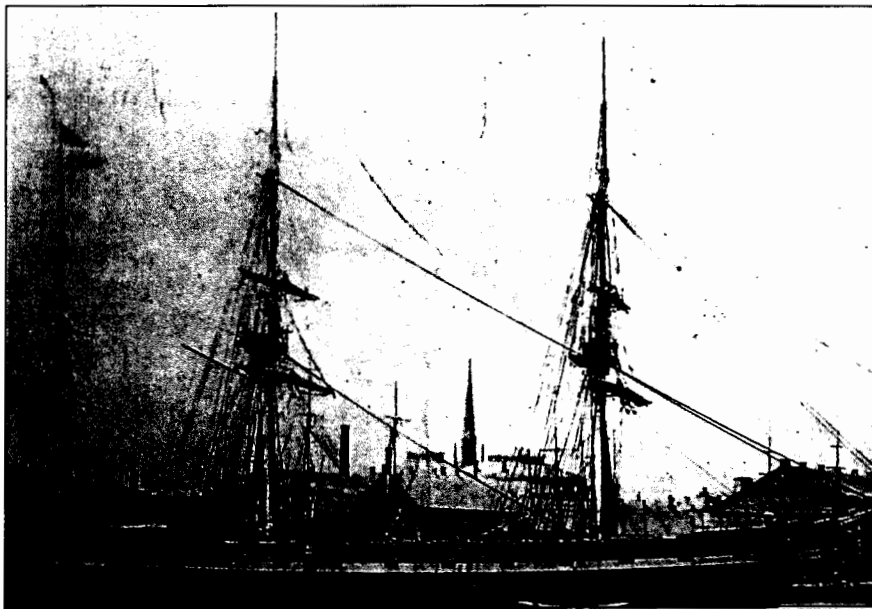
Stephen Dandridge Kennedy '53 was born at "The Bower," Jefferson County, Virginia, in May 1834. He entered VMI from Martinsburg as a third classman in July 1850, age sixteen. Kennedy spent just one year at the Institute, leaving in 1851 as deficient in mathematics. He went on to the University of Virginia and the University of Maryland, receiving an M.D. degree from the latter in 1855. He married and practiced medicine in Baltimore until the Civil War. In May 1861 he was appointed an assistant surgeon in the navy and was posted to the *USS Colorado*. He was assigned to several other vessels and was aboard Admiral Farragut's flagship, the *USS Hartford*, at Port Hudson, Grand Gulf, and Warrenton on the Mississippi in the spring of 1863. Kennedy was assigned to the Washington navy yard for a year and was promoted to surgeon. He resigned in October 1864, he explained, "on account of domestic affairs of a private nature,"

specifically the death of his wife and the need to care for his children. A year-and-a-half later, however, Kennedy reapplied to the navy and was again commissioned a surgeon and assigned to the *USS Lackawanna*. He remarried in 1869. Kennedy served ashore and on several ships but in January 1879 was dismissed from the service by sentence of a general court-martial. The charge was drunk on duty. Almost two years after, he had his dismissal reviewed, and he was readmitted to the navy. A year later Kennedy was promoted to medical inspector and was soon once more assigned to the *USS Hartford*, at that time on the Pacific station. In 1883, however, Kennedy was facing charges brought by his commanding officer, Capt. C. C. Carpenter. The first charge and specification was that Kennedy was drunk when he returned to the ship from shore leave on 17 June at Honolulu, Hawaii. The second specification accused Kennedy of the same offense at Callao, Peru, where the *Hartford* had gone next. The second charge was that the surgeon was absent without leave at Callao and that when he returned he was "still so drunk that he could not present himself at the Cabin of his Commanding Officer, when the said Commanding Officer sent for him." Captain Carpenter relieved Kennedy from duty after the Callao incident, and the ship proceeded to Panama Bay, United States of Columbia. There on 31 October a general court-martial was convened by Rear Adm. A. K. Hughes, the senior American naval officer in the Pacific.

Kennedy pleaded guilty to all the offenses except that part of the second specification that said he could not report to the captain because he was drunk. He asked for leniency before the trial began, saying he had been punished sufficiently already by Carpenter's suspensions which had been extended by Hughes. The most serious offense was the Callao incident, and the case was strong. The captain testified that three bottles of "Iron Bitters" were found in Kennedy's cabin, and Passed Assistant Surgeon Dixon gave his medical opinion that Kennedy was drunk when he reported aboard ship the morning after he was supposed to return. Finally, the executive officer, whom the captain sent to

Kennedy's cabin to see why he did not report, said the doctor told him, "No use, I can't do it."

Kennedy's defense was based on extenuating circumstances. He testified that he was in poor physical condition, suffering from gastric trouble, debility, rheumatism, recurrent malaria, and other maladies aggravated by the fact that the *Hartford* was 243 days at sea since early August. As he explained the Callao incident, he had gone to Lima with two navy doctors, but returning alone to Callao by rail fell ill. He took "Brown's Iron Bitters," a patent medicine, as a remedy for dyspepsia. Kennedy said he was exhausted from treating yellow fever cases the past January and that he was "compelled to resort to stimulating medicine for support." The bitters—which he claimed was "a temperance tonic," advertised in *The Presbyterian*—he found in Hawaii. The medicine "has been used in my family for years, with good results." Kennedy main-



Stephen Dandridge Kennedy '53, M.D., was assigned to the *USS Hartford*, Admiral Farragut's flagship (shown above), when charges of drunkenness were leveled against him in 1883 by his commanding officer. He was found guilty following a general court-martial and was dismissed from the navy. (Library of Congress photo.)

that his condition got worse during the fifty-five-day passage from Honolulu, and at Callao he had "to resort to injection of starch and opium to relieve the great pain I suffered." The illness he took on the train "obliged [him] to lay down till the effect [of the medicine] should pass away. I soon fell asleep, and in the morning found that I was not in a condition to return to the ship and concluded not to make the effort."

Kennedy asked the court to decide the present case "without regard to previous records, which should be considered as forever buried." "For nearly five years," he continued, "I have made an unceasing and, up to the time charged, a successful fight against intemperance." Kennedy concluded: "I entreat you to let the pain, the humiliation and sorrow of a wife, and the shadow cast on the lives of children, by a father[']s errors and misfortunes plead for your merciful judgment. I beseech [*sic*] you to assist me to continue the fight against this sin, and give me one more chance to assert my manhood and honor." The court, however, found him guilty of all charges—largely because he had pleaded guilty to most of them. On 2 November he was sentenced "to be dismissed from the Navy of the United States." Secretary of the Navy William B. Chandler confirmed the sentence three weeks later, and Kennedy was out of the navy.

Kennedy joined his family in Maryland, and he practiced medicine at Annapolis until 1898 when he moved to Warrenton, Fauquier County, Virginia. Kennedy was pensioned (beginning at ten dollars a month) until he died of senility (with chronic diarrhea a contributing cause) at his estate "Cassilis" in September 1914.

James Robert Hall '59 and John Taylor Hall '63

were brothers. Their father, John, was born in 1805 in County Tyrone, Ireland, and was brought to America when a small child, his family settling at first in Rockingham County. Raised in Mason County, Hall was the richest man in the county when he died in 1882. He was politically active before the Civil War, serving terms in the House of Delegates and the state Senate. An avid Unionist, he was elected president of the first constitutional convention of West Virginia (November 1861–February 1862). He resigned from this position, however, when he was arrested and jailed for killing Lewis Wetzel, editor of the *Point Pleasant Register*, over a controversy about suppression of the journal for its pro-Union sentiments. Convicted of manslaughter, he was sentenced to pay a five thousand dollar fine.

The younger son, John Taylor, was born in 1842 and matriculated at VMI from his home at Point Pleasant in 1859. VMI records say little more about his cadet service. Hall accompanied the corps of cadets to Richmond immediately following the secession of Virginia in April 1861. At the fairgrounds, named Camp Lee, the cadets were drillmasters for assembling volunteer Confederate troops. As many as twenty thousand of the new soldiers may have been trained by Hall and his fellow cadets. These were the rebels who defeated Union forces at the war's first major battle, the First Manassas or Bull Run, in July. Meanwhile, some of the cadets detailed as drillmasters reported back to Lexington, joining the cadets who had remained on arsenal guard. Classes began again in late May, but it is not known if Hall was present for duty. The class of 1861 was graduated without ceremony in July, and the

corps was excused from duty for the summer. The new term was to begin in the fall, but it was cancelled. All cadets enrolled in the corps, including Hall, thereby gained six months cadet service although none were actually at the Institute for the last half of 1861. The class of 1862 was declared graduated on 12 December, seven months early because of the war. The Institute opened again on the first of January, and cadets in other classes were expected to report back to continue their studies. However, Hall remained at home in western Virginia.

A historian of VMI wrote that when the Civil War began, the Hall brothers' VMI friends expected them to go with the South. "But their father—a rabid Unionist—forbad their entering the Southern Army, threatening them with the direst punishment if they did not obey his command. It was a most pathetic case. They were literally *driven* to the course adopted for them, against their solemn protest, by their unnatural and cruel father." The truth of the young men's sentiments is not known, but that they shared their father's views is not unlikely.

John, then nineteen, is said (by the same historian) to have gone to Charleston to join the Confederate army, but instead accepted a commission as major of the Fourth Virginia (later West Virginia) Infantry, in late August 1861. The regiment, stationed at Camp Piatt near Charleston, did not see immediate action, and in late July 1862 Major Hall resigned "Owing to the conditions of my father's health and for other reasons relative to Family Affairs which render my presence at home desirable (and I may say necessary)." Possibly because it seemed that active service was pending, Hall requested withdrawal of his resignation. Brig. Gen. Francis Perry Pierpont, the first West Virginia adjutant general, approved Hall's restoration to his post on the grounds that he "was not aware of the Effect of the resignation when he sent it in." So Major Hall remained on duty, and his regiment was in action in a skirmish at Beech Creek near Wyoming (County) Court House against a Confederate force which was working its way toward the Ohio River. A Union staff officer wrote on 6 August: "Major Hall, of Fourth Virginia, of our side, badly wounded." Hall died of the wounds that day.

James Robert did not join the army with his younger brother and was still at home at Point Pleasant when John was killed. James Hall entered VMI in 1855, but left after a year and two months, probably for academic deficiency. After John's death—and possibly to avenge it—in October 1862 James volunteered and was commissioned major of the newly organized Thirteenth (West) Virginia Infantry Regiment. In late December 1863 he was sent with a detachment to Hurricane Bridge, West Virginia, with orders to report on a force of two hundred Confederate troops. He found them to number three to five hundred men of the Sixteenth Virginia Cavalry, too many for his little force to engage. He reported, "I would have remained out longer, but for the want of rations and the sudden change in the clemency of the weather, which rendered it impossible for the men to continue." Hall was promoted to lieutenant colonel to fill a vacancy on 18 January 1864.

Hall's regiment went on more active service in the Shenandoah Valley, and it accompanied Maj. Gen. David Hunter's force when it burned VMI in June 1864. Nothing is known about how Hall viewed the destruction of his alma mater, nor is it recorded what part he and his regiment played in the event. The Thirteenth West Virginia went on to Lynchburg with Hunter and retreated with

him from there to the Ohio river and finally to Maryland, opening the valley to Gen. Jubal Early's advance on Washington. In July 1864 Hall was wounded fighting Early's forces at Kernstown, scene of one of Stonewall Jackson's engagements in 1862. He was hospitalized at Hagerstown with a gunshot wound in the right arm and shoulder bruises. (The VMI historian quoted above wrote that James told a friend that "he would rather see his right arm paralyzed than raised against the South," but the historian's claim that the wound was the cause of Hall's death is not true.)

Hall's wound was serious, but he returned to duty, not fully recovered, by mid-October. He was in command of his regiment—the colonel being detailed to corps headquarters—when it was in action, again against Early, at Cedar Creek on 19 October 1864. Col. Rutherford B. Hayes, commanding the Second Infantry Division, reported the action to Maj. William McKinley, Acting Assistant Adjutant General, Sixth Army Corps:

"Among the killed was Lieut. Col. James R. Hall, Thirteenth West Virginia Volunteers, who had not yet recovered from wounds received in a previous battle, and might have been excused from returning to duty for many weeks, but with a noble heroism and devotion to duty characteristic of the man he could not be absent when a battle was in prospect. He was hit by two balls, either of which would have killed him, early in the action, in the extreme front, where the danger was the greatest. No braver or truer man fell that day."

Colonel Hall's body was sent to his home in Mason County, escorted by Sgt. Robert O. Boggs, Company B. The Hall brothers are buried together at James Hogg Cemetery, Pleasant Flats, West Virginia. Their father was buried by them.

John Fulkerson Tyler '59 was born in Jonesville, Lee County, in September 1838. He was orphaned at age twelve and went to his uncle's at Rose Hill in the same county. He entered VMI from that place in August 1855 and was graduated from the Institute in July 1859, ninth in general merit in the first class. Tyler went to Missouri a few months later and studied law at Lexington. When the Civil War began he is said to have enlisted as a private soldier in the Fourteenth Missouri Infantry, but was soon elected major of the regiment. Before he was mustered into service, he was assigned to manage ordnance stores at Lexington for the post commander, Col. James A. Mulligan of the Irish Brigade (the Twenty-third Illinois Infantry Regiment). The city was placed under siege by Confederate Maj. Gen. Sterling Price, who was driven off by Mulligan's force of about eighteen hundred men, but Price returned with fifteen thousand. The fighting went on from 13 to 21 September 1861, and Mulligan, without ammunition, reinforcements, and water, was forced to consider surrender. The Missouri Home Guards—that a newspaper said "had done the least share of the work and fighting"—soon "left the outer work and retreated within the line of inner intrenchments ...and refused to fight longer." Mulligan polled his officers about capitulation, and they agreed further resistance was useless. Mulligan surrendered to the rebels, and, under terms, the officers were kept as prisoners of war and the men paroled. Records say all officers—except Mulligan (accompanied by his wife)—were paroled at once, but some may have been retained until Lexington was again in Union hands in October. Mulligan later wrote about Tyler's performance that he "conducted his Department with

Conspicuous Energy."

By early December 1861 Tyler was finally commissioned a major and made aide-de-camp to Brig. Gen. John McAllister Schofield, a West Point graduate who commanded the Missouri State Militia and was state adjutant general. Through the following April Tyler appears to have had general duties in the headquarters at St. Louis, and from time to time he escorted officer prisoners to the camp at Chicago. Gov. H. R. Gamble selected him to be lieutenant colonel of the First Regiment Infantry, Missouri State Militia, with date of rank in mid-June 1862. Tyler was then twenty-five.

For most of the next year Tyler was on detached service away from the regiment. One assignment in August 1862 was to take command of the gunboat *John Warner* on the Missouri River. His orders were to "seize or destroy all ferry boats, skiffs, rafts or other means of crossing the river, which are in a position to be used by the rebels." In October he was assigned as commanding officer of the post at Pilot Knob on the Southwest Branch, Pacific Railroad, in charge of about eighty-five officers and fifteen hundred men, and he had other assignments. On

18 March 1863, he was mustered out as lieutenant colonel and promoted to colonel of his regiment, replacing Col. John B. Gray, newly appointed as state adjutant general. Tyler was criticized for his leadership almost at once, and he rebutted charges that the First was "deteriorating in my hands." He was particularly annoyed that the criticism had gone first to Governor Gamble and only then to himself. He said his soldiers were doing an efficient job guarding railroads—particularly bridges on the lines—from St. Louis to Rolla against rebel raiders and irregulars. Tyler did not deny he was not issuing ammunition to his soldiers, and he may have been seeking to cut down on unnecessary casualties among his untrained men and other citizens. He said he wished that "my country may have the services of competent officers in

LONG SICKNESS FATAL TO TYLER

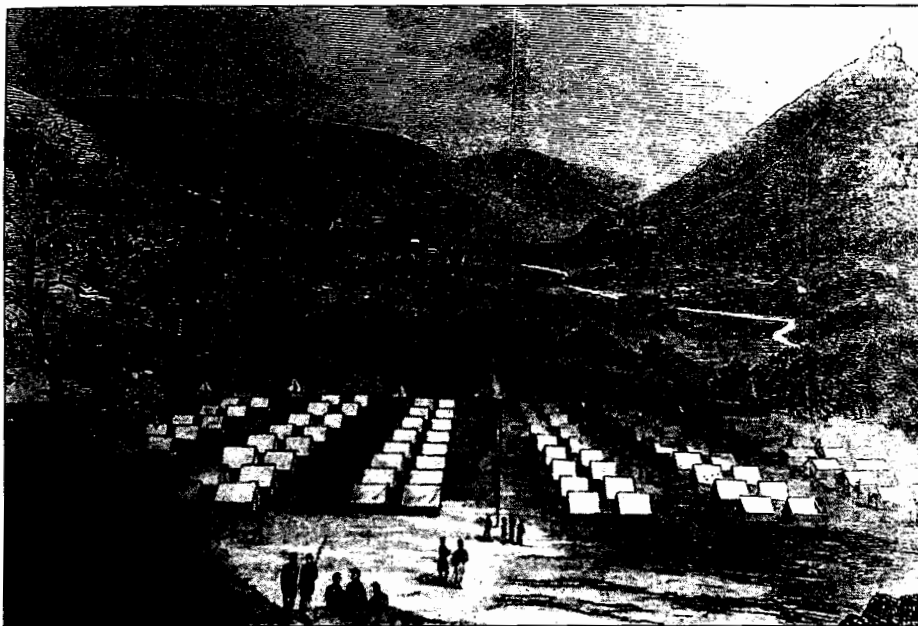
Veteran Soldier, Real Estate Man
and Lawyer Succumbs
at a Sanitarium.

DEATH HAS HOVERED OVER HIM MONTHS

Was Native of Virginia and Serv-
ed With Distinction In the
Union Army.



As this obituary headline from the *St. Joseph Gazette* indicates, John Fulkerson Tyler '59 went to his grave having successfully kept his 1865 court-martial and subsequent dishonorable discharge a secret.



The federal camp at Pilot Knob, Missouri, commanded by Tyler from 1863-64. (Harper's Weekly.)

her desperate and glorious struggle for the suppression of treason," by which he undoubtedly meant himself.

The criticism of his regiment and by inference his performance of duty did not seem to have limited his usefulness to state authorities, but more serious accusations were pending. Tyler was notified in July 1863 that unspecified charges had been filed against him, which meant that he could expect to be tried before a court-martial. The pending action did not prevent his assignment to command again the post at Pilot Knob, a key position protecting the Iron Mountain Railroad south of St. Louis. Relieved in June 1864, Tyler suggested to his headquarters in St. Louis that he be given command of a thousand men and two guns that he intended to take to Jacksonport, Arkansas, where he heard Confederate Brig. Gen. Joseph O. Shelby might be found and captured, a result he promised to accomplish in fifteen days. Nothing came of this, and the following month Colonel Tyler was assigned to Hannibal, Missouri, as assistant provost marshal for the northern part of the state. He reported there on 22 August and immediately began a campaign to be provost marshal of the entire district. Tyler said he did not think he would be very busy at Hannibal. "There is comparatively speaking nothing to do," he said, adding, "This country is full of very bad men." He saw his primary task as curtailing the activities of official and unofficial rebel army recruiting officers. By September he requested two squads of "ten good men each," plus detectives to ferret out the "great many guerrillas in the country, in Ralls and in Monroe Counties; some few in the northwestern portion of this county [Marion]."

Things did not go well at Hannibal, and Tyler asked for a leave to take care of personal business. "I am a Virginian," he said, orphaned at an early age. His guardian, an uncle then in the Confederate army, controlled much of Tyler's Virginia property as well as some in Missouri. In the latter state some of Tyler's neighbors were claiming his lands. He asked again in another appeal for the statewide provost marshal posting or any other assignment in St. Louis because the First Regiment was scheduled for mustering out of federal service at the end of the year.

Nothing came of these requests, however, because Tyler was court-martialed as threatened almost a year-and-a-half earlier. The 13 January 1865 order confirming the court's decision read: "By direction of the President, Dishonorably dismissed from the service for fraudulent conduct in connection with transportation passes, trading in substitutes and sanctioning the same in employees under his command." The offense was considered so serious that the Department of War directed the dismissal order be published by all generals of armies and military departments nation-wide.

Perhaps to escape his reputation, Tyler did not return to Lexington, Missouri, after discharge. He and his wife—a native of that city whom he married in 1862—settled in St.

Joseph, where Tyler practiced law and traded in real estate. His dismissal does not seem to have been much noted probably because the regiment began mustering out in December and was completely disbanded in May 1865.

Tyler returned to VMI for the fiftieth jubilee in early summer of 1893, the first and only former Union Civil War soldier among the four to five hundred alumni who attended. The story goes that Tyler was so taken with the friendly reception he received that he returned to Missouri to bring his wife to Lexington, Virginia, where they spent that summer. He also is said to have remained a loyal VMI man and to have influenced several Missouri youths to attend the Institute. After an illness of some months, Tyler died in St. Joseph in his seventy-third year on 2 March 1911, his dishonorable discharge concealed to the end.

William Henry Gillespie '62, was a native of Fredericksburg, Louisa County, born in 1840. He was raised at his parents home near Luray, Page County, and was sent to Harrisonburg for a year of college. Gillespie entered VMI in the second (junior) class in August 1860 from his home which the school's records show as the village of Alma. Following Virginia's secession, most of the corps of cadets was ordered to Richmond to drill green Southern troops, but a cadre of forty-seven cadets remained in Lexington to guard the arsenal. Gillespie was one of two second classmen in the group, which took on the duty of training the newly recruited Rockbridge Grays and later eighty-five volunteers from the University of Virginia and other places in the state. In May Gillespie was temporarily appointed first captain of the Lexington detail. On 2 July the cadets who had not by then drifted off into the army from Richmond, Lexington, or other places where they were drillmasters, were sent home on leave with orders to report on the first of September. The reporting date for recommencement of school was later moved up to 1 January 1862. Consequently, Gillespie and thirty-five of his classmates were declared graduates, effective 12 December 1861, seven months prior to the normal date. Presumably, Gillespie was at his

home in Page County from July until early 1862 when he said he received "a highly complimentary letter from 'Stonewall Jackson,' directing me to meet him at Winchester Va, and promising me a commission as Lieut. of Engineers on his staff." He said he had obeyed the order from his old professor—now commanding Confederate troops in the Shenandoah Valley—and reported to him at Taylor's Hotel in the town. Gillespie said Jackson told him to stay with the staff until the appointment could come from Richmond. Jackson, now a major general, had been at Winchester in charge of the Valley District since November but before long was on the move—the beginning of his famous valley campaign. Gillespie wrote, "I slept by his side in the 'fence corners' at night" during Jackson's 11 March 1862 retreat south from Winchester before Union Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Banks's superior force. A few days later Jackson, continuing south, passed through New Market, a village at a gap in Massanutten Mountain leading east toward Luray Valley where Gillespie's parents made their home. Gillespie again asked Jackson what had become of the promised commission, but the general "replied rather curtly, that he did not know, unless it was because my father was accused of disloyalty."

Gillespie had earlier heard that his father "had been arrested, at Luray, for being a Union Man, had been confined in jail at Luray," was released by a judge's order, was rearrested, "and was confined at Orange Court House—from which he escaped at night, and after a desperate endeavor to reach Union lines he finally succeeded." Gillespie wrote, "After my rebuff from Gen'l Jackson at New Market, being only a mere boy, and knowing part of the facts described, I went home, and being an only son, told my mother, that I had no other recourse, but to hide at home, until the Union troops occupied the valley, and then follow the fortunes of my noble Father."

Gillespie returned home and went with his father or joined him behind federal lines at Fredericksburg. His mother remained in Luray Valley and eventually received through the Confederate mails that from time to time reached the valley, "the long delayed letter from Richmond, sending my appointment as lieut of Engineers signed by J. [Judah] P. Benjamin, Sect'y of War."

Gillespie later claimed he was soon thereafter appointed a first lieutenant commanding Company A, Eighth (West) Virginia Infantry and that he fought at the battle of Cedar Mountain. There, six miles from Culpepper, Union forces turned back Stonewall Jackson on 9 August 1862, but Gillespie's service cannot be verified in military records. Of course, administration of the Restored Government of Virginia may have simply been inefficient in those chaotic days. It can be verified that Gillespie was mustered in at Wheeling in the Fourteenth (West) Virginia Infantry on 23 August 1862 and was appointed a first lieutenant and regimental adjutant by order of Gov. Francis Harrison Pierpoint (later Pierpont). His father, who was a medical doctor, had meanwhile entered the First (West) Virginia Infantry as an assistant surgeon, was discharged from that organization a few months later, and accepted a similar position in his son's regiment. He was mustered in at Wheeling on 24 November 1862.

The younger Gillespie accompanied his regiment in the field and was apparently several times hospitalized. At Clarksburg he was ill with jaundice over the months of September and October 1862 and a year after at Monterey, suffered from pneumonia. The Fourteenth was assigned to support Maj. Gen. David Hunter's

advance in the Shenandoah Valley where his predecessor was defeated at New Market on 15 May 1864 by a Confederate force that included the VMI Corps of Cadets. Hunter's army reached Lexington in June and occupied the town and VMI. At Hunter's order the school was destroyed. Gillespie wrote the VMI superintendent in 1867: "I was with Gen'l Hunter when he burnt the Institute, but had not sufficient influence to prevent his burning it." Hunter continued south, reaching Lynchburg where a short engagement was fought on 17 June. Col. David D. Johnson, commanding the Fourteenth, wrote in his battle report that his unit advanced in good order, "each officer performing his duty with great credit, with the single exception of First Lieut. William H. Gillespie, adjutant of the regiment." Jones continued:

"As we were advancing, when the first line opened fire on the enemy, Lieutenant Gillespie exhibited great cowardice, dodging behind trees, stumps, &c. The regiment had advanced only a few hundred yards when Lieutenant Gillespie fell entirely behind and did not rejoin the regiment until after dark, when the firing had ceased. On the 18th when the rebel batteries opened up upon our brigade he again abandoned his regiment, went to the rear, and did not rejoin his command until the next morning, several miles from the battle-field. Summary dismissal, I think, would be an adequate punishment for this offense."

Hunter and his troops retreated from Lynchburg on a round-about path through West Virginia, finally reaching Harper's Ferry in late June. Gillespie's status remained uncertain, and his commanding officer said he had left the regiment on 11 July and remained away without authority until 25 August. That day the regimental colonel ordered him dismissed from the army "for repeated Acts of Cowardice and Absent without leave" for the six-week period. Gillespie was placed under arrest pending disposition of his case in Washington, D.C. He was notified on 31 August that a military commission would hear the matter on 12 September. Gillespie wrote about this: "My Colonel (Dan. Johnson) tried to dismiss me to make room for his favorite. I was tried at Washington before Genl. Caldwell[']s [Brig. Gen. John Curtis Caldwell] Military Commission and honorably acquitted and sent back to the regiment for duty." Indeed, the commission recommended that Gillespie "Be exempt from being dismissed from the service of the United States," finding that his colonel "is strongly prejudiced against the accused and for a long time has endeavored to obtain the adjutant[']s dismissal with motives foreign to the good of the service, and by means not strictly honorable." Despite this finding, Gillespie resigned his commission, 13 December 1864, "because I am satisfied from the relations, that exist between the Field Officers of the regiment, and myself, that it is best for the public service." A week later he was released from the army, the order saying "as it is believed the service will be benefitted thereby."

Gillespie's father was released from the army at Cumberland, Maryland, in June of the same year, and perhaps both of them returned to Luray Valley. In the winter of 1865-1866, Gillespie decided to follow his father's career, and he enrolled at the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, "but had to leave on account of ill health before the session closed." These few months at Jefferson appear to have been Gillespie's only formal medical training, but years later he set up as a physician in Sistersville, Tyler County, West Virginia. In 1868 both Gillespies went to Des Moines, Iowa, staying for five years. Probably, the father taught

the son his medical skills during that time. After 1873 Gillespie lived at Sistersville, a doctor for a short while and also a land surveyor and real estate trader (what happened to the father is unknown). He married Sarah C. in May 1880.

Gillespie's health deteriorated such that he asked for a pension in 1887. He claimed several ailments, but his primary complaint was, in the words of a former Fourteenth Regiment soldier's deposition supporting the application, "Some affliction or disease of the privates," specifically, varicocele, that Gillespie said was caused by hard riding during the war. The matter was still pending in 1893 because, a pension officer examiner wrote, "This is a difficult case to get at the real facts for the reason that there is so much prejudice existing against the pensioner." Gillespie's file contains a letter signed, "A soldier," saying the ex-officer's pension claim was fraudulent and another deposition stating that he drank in excess, both disqualifying if verified. The accusations were not proven, however, and Gillespie was finally pensioned in early 1894.

Gillespie died of pneumonia in St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City, 10 October 1897, but why he was there is not recorded. His widow was later pensioned by the government.

VMI's records treat Gillespie harshly. The official *Register of Former Cadets*, concludes that he "Deserted to the enemy while awaiting Comm. as Lt. of Engrs. on Jackson's staff." An Institute historian said of Gillespie: "It were well had he never been born, or, at least, had never become a cadet at the Virginia Military Institute; for then, he would have escaped the dishonor that attaches to his memory now." These judgments seem too harsh, but they were written when passions of the war period were closer and more personal than they are now.

Charles Henry McLane '63 was born in 1843 at Morgantown, Monogalea County. He entered the corps in 1859, but Institute records say little about his subsequent cadetship. In October of the same year, Superintendent Smith wrote that McLane's "conduct has become most worthless." He had accrued more than two hundred demerits for such offenses as "indecent conduct in the Mess Hall" and other less serious failings. Smith said that he "considered it my duty to send him home." "This has been made more necessary," he continued, "because he was actually doing harm to others & adding to the disorder of the Institution." Cadet McLane was dismissed for excess demerits and possibly academic deficiency soon after; he spent only three months at VMI. McLane enlisted in the Third (West) Virginia Cavalry 3 September 1862, one day after his nineteenth birthday. He was immediately appointed a sergeant, likely because of his VMI experience. Two months later he became hospital orderly of his regiment and remained in that position for the remainder of his military service. The Third Virginia Cavalry served in the Shenandoah Valley and was stationed near Winchester just before the battle of Gettysburg. McLane had left the regiment and gone home to Morgantown on furlough. Returning to his unit, he found confusion caused by Confederate forces. The Third was falling back from Winchester, and McLane had difficulty reaching his organization. Near Green Castle, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, he encountered a rebel cavalry force led by Brig. Gen. Albert Gallatin Jenkins and made up of men from western Virginia. Jenkins's force had been raiding western Virginia and Ohio and was on its way north leading General Lee's forces into Pennsylva-

nia when it captured McLane. McLane said he was injured by "a stroke over the head, over the left ear, by a Confederate soldier," using a Navy Colt revolver. McLane accompanied his captors for twenty-six days, likely as far as Harrisburg, to Gettysburg for the early July 1863 battle, and back toward the upper Potomac before he escaped or was released at Falling Waters just south of the river near Martinsburg. It was here that Lee crossed the Potomac in his retreat back into Virginia following the battle.

McLane made his way to Winchester where he was attached temporarily to the First New York (Lincoln) Cavalry. He was soon reunited with his regiment. The Third (West) Virginia Cavalry accompanied General Hunter's advance into the Shenandoah from May to July 1864 and was present in June at Lexington when VMI was burned. Following Hunter's retreat and relief, the Third served under Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan for the rest of the war and was on the Appomattox campaign that ended with Lee's surrender. McLane was at all these events and served in the regiment until it was mustered out in June 1865.

Using his military experience, the former hospital steward set up as a physician and surgeon in his home town. McLane married at Taylortown, Pennsylvania, in 1868 and lived at Morgantown until the 1880s when he moved to Steubenville, Ohio. He applied for an invalid pension in 1884, citing the damage done to him by the blow of the revolver, and he was eventually entered on the pension rolls. In 1909, dissatisfied with the amount of his pension, he had his congressman introduce a private bill granting him twenty-four dollars monthly. McLane died in April 1922 of "senile degradation" at Wheeling, West Virginia. He was also blind. McLane's wife, Mary E., received a widow's pension but, dissatisfied with it, in 1929 obtained a special act of Congress that awarded her fifty dollars a month, rather than the forty dollars she had been receiving.

Theodore Wilber Boydston '64 was born at Fairmont, Marion County, in November 1844. A distant cousin of Stonewall Jackson, it may have been this relationship that pointed him toward VMI. He entered the Institute on 19 April 1861, just two days before most of the corps of cadets left Lexington for their drillmaster duties at Richmond. He remained at the Institute, one of the forty-seven cadets making up the arsenal guard. Boydston, not yet seventeen, was probably dissatisfied with the military rather than the academic instruction he found at VMI, and he left for home after twenty-six days.

Boydston enlisted as a private in the Fourteenth (West) Virginia Volunteer Infantry when the regiment was first organized in late August 1862. He was with Hunter when the general ordered the burning of VMI, and he remained with the regiment throughout its grueling retreat from Lynchburg and subsequent service in the Shenandoah Valley under Sheridan—except for a time sick in hospital at Martinsburg during July 1864. Boydston was promoted to regimental sergeant major by mid-1864 or earlier, which meant that he likely was closely associated with Lieutenant Gillespie, the regimental adjutant, before the officer's departure from the Fourteenth in July.

Boydston was discharged as sergeant major in mid-January 1865 and was commissioned second lieutenant of Company H in his regiment. He served in that grade until the Fourteenth West Virginia was mustered out of the army at Wheeling, 27 June 1865.

Returning to Fairmont, he probably was a farmer there until he left for Pennsylvania in 1877. He married Hannah Donly at Mt. Morris in that year; they eventually had four children. Boydston returned to Fairmont in 1892 and possibly worked in an office and as a printer. He was pensioned in the same year for rheumatism which he claimed was caused by wet conditions during the war. He left for Denver in 1914, but returned to Fairmont. He died in late 1923 at Morgantown in the home of a daughter. The death certificate shows his occupation as "Retired Insurance."

William Clarendon Cuyler '64 His father was an army surgeon from New York, who was stationed at Fortress Monroe, Old Point Comfort, when his son entered VMI in 1860. Cuyler was born at Savannah, Georgia, in 1842. His cadet service was just six months; he was dismissed for excess demerits in early 1861, prior to the start of the Institute's wartime disruption. Probably because his father was an officer in the regular army, Cuyler also chose that path when the war began. In May 1862 he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Third U.S. Artillery which he joined in the District of Columbia, and he was promoted to first lieutenant a year later. The regiment's first action was at Winchester in August 1862. For "gallantry and distinguished service" at that battle and at Cedar Creek (in October), Cuyler received a brevet promotion to captain. The unit was at most major battles in the East, finally joining General Sheridan's command in the Shenandoah in July 1864. The regiment returned to Washington in April 1865. Cuyler, promoted to major, was assigned to an army unit in the West, but he did not arrive there. He died in March 1869 of yellow fever while on leave at his parents' home in Savannah. He was twenty-six-years old. He apparently never married.

James Seabrook '64 was born in October 1843 at Princeton, New Jersey, and he entered VMI from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. His record at the Institute was not good, and his father withdrew him from the corps of cadets in January 1861. He could not have remained anyway, because—as was his classmate Cuyler—he would have been dismissed for excess demerits.

Seabrook returned to New Jersey and in September 1863 enlisted in the Thirty-fifth New Jersey Infantry being organized at Flemington. A private, he was in Company E. Not much is known of his brief service, except that he lost his rifle and equipment in November and had to pay for them. Perhaps his loss was because of confusion during the regiment's move to Vicksburg and its assignment to the Army of Tennessee for the campaign against Meridian, Mississippi. After crossing the Big Black River ten miles east of Vicksburg on 5 February 1864, Seabrook was somehow separated from his unit and, his company record says, was "supposed to be a prisoner in the hands of the enemy." Seabrook—who may have been wounded—died ten days later in a manner and a place unknown. According to VMI records, however, Seabrook was executed by Confederate soldiers or bushwackers near Chattanooga, several hundred miles from where he was captured.

Augustus Berry Williams '64 was a native of Charleston, Kanawha County, born 30 September 1843. He en-

tered VMI in 1860 and was in the corps during the turbulent period following Virginia's secession. Williams was one of the 176 cadets ordered to Richmond on 21 April 1861 to be drillmasters for the assembling Confederate forces. Led by Major Jackson, the cadets left Lexington by stagecoaches to Staunton and by special train on the Virginia Central Railroad to the state capital. That the cadets did much for the efficiency of the rebel forces in the camp of instruction at Richmond and soon at other places is apparent. General Lee wrote in April, "Colonel Jackson [then commanding at Harper's Ferry] desires me to send to him all the cadets that can be spared from Rich'd to aid in instructing his men.... They are wanted everywhere."

The cadets at Camp Lee were scattered by late June when the major part of the Confederate army left for the Manassas campaign; some of them accompanied regiments they had trained, and others enlisted or were commissioned in the Confederate service. Officially, the remaining cadets were furloughed on the first of July, and presumably Williams went home to Charleston. He enlisted in Slack's Company, later Company C, Eighth Virginia Infantry, in early September. In short order, however, he was commissioned first lieutenant of the company. The regiment wintered at Buffalo on the Ohio River, and in the spring was assigned duty guarding the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad through western Virginia. It moved to Parkersburg and then further east to the vicinity of Franklin. Here the regiment began its participation in the campaigns against Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah. Williams wrote later that he fought in the battles of Strasburg, Cross Keys, and Harrisonburg, but he did not mention his former professor. Lieutenant Williams was soon left behind, he says, ill in a tent. His health was so bad that—sick at Mt. Jackson in June 1862—he resigned from active service.

Williams likely spent the next year in Charleston, but in May 1864 he enlisted as a private in Company D, 141st Ohio Infantry (and may have been in the Seventh Ohio for a short while), serving until the regiment mustered out at Gallipolis, Ohio, in September. He saw no action with Ohio units.

Williams went into the lumber business in Charleston after his discharge. He married his wife, Sarah E., at West Columbia, Mason County, West Virginia, in 1870 and had five children. He was pensioned by the government for rheumatism and resultant heart trouble. Williams died at Charleston of prostate cancer on 30 May 1927.

VMI records indicate that three other former cadets may have been Northern soldiers during the war: **John Sterling Swann '42**, **Samuel S. Malcolm '54**, and **Ulysses D. Floyd '64**. Evidence is scant, however, that any of them was in federal service. Swann, born in 1822, possibly in Powhatan County, came to VMI in the school's first year, the twenty-fourth cadet to enter. He was twenty-first (of twenty-five?) in a first class examination in June 1840. Swann resigned for an unknown reason—possibly academic deficiency—in late January 1841, taught school in Logan County to 1850, and began a Charleston law practice. In a 1912 letter to VMI, a friend of his claimed Swann (who died about 1893) raised a company, presumably of home guards, in Logan County in 1862, was wounded in action near Rodney the same year, and was wounded a second time near Richmond late in 1864. (The unit is elsewhere identified as the Independence or Independent Com-

pany, Kanawha County.) There was no Logan County home guard company, the captain of the Kanawha company was another man, and army and state records do not list Swann.

Malcolm entered VMI from Charleston, Kanawha County, in August 1850. He was found deficient in mathematics at the end of the 1851-1852 year. Malcolm is said to have gone to Missouri about 1857 or 1858 and in the Civil War was captain of a Missouri militia unit. The Missouri adjutant general's and federal government's records do not show Malcolm in any military capacity. After the war Malcolm may have lived in Missouri until

at least 1884. He later went to Texas from where nothing more was heard of him.

Born in Fairmont, Marion County, in March 1835, Floyd entered VMI in 1860. He was a cadet for only two months. Returning to Fairmont, he is said to have raised a home guard company, but the Marion County company was commanded by another man; he is not listed by the West Virginia adjutant general among the state's officers, and he has no federal record of military service in any state's armed forces. Sometime after the war he went to Missouri with his wife and child and disappeared.

About the Author: Edward A. Miller, Jr. '50A

Miller, who lives in Alexandria, Virginia, was appointed to the VMI Board of Visitors in 1993. He is a researcher and writer who concentrates primarily on contributions made by African-Americans to the nation. His book, *Gullah Statesman: Robert Smalls and His Times, 1839-1915*, was published by the University of South Carolina Press in 1995, and he is working on a history of the 29th United States Colored Infantry in the Civil War and a life of Maj. Gen. David Hunter.

Miller matriculated with the class of 1950A and left VMI for a semester after his fourth class year because his desired major, history, was not offered to his class. He returned to VMI and graduated with the class of 1950B with a degree in history and English. A distinguished military graduate, he was awarded the Garnett Andrews Prize for a paper on a military subject.

He was commissioned in the regular Air Force in 1950, earned his wings as a navigator and was assigned to France with a light bomber unit as the commanding general's aide. Following combat orientation in Korea he returned to the United States, where he was an advisor to reserve flying units and was selected to teach navigation at the then-new Air Force Academy, where he was later an assistant professor of history.

Following graduation from the Air Command and Staff College in 1964, he was posted to Rome, Italy, as assistant air attaché. Later assignments in the Pentagon were plans and programming officer, watch officer in the National Military Command Center and security review specialist.

He was awarded the Legion of Merit and the Joint Services

Commendation Medal, and held aeronautical ratings of master navigator in the U.S. Air Force, observer in the Italian Air Force and navigator in the French Air Force. He is a Knight in the Italian Order of Merit.

Miller earned a master of arts degree in history in 1960 and a doctorate, with honors, in diplomatic history and international relations in 1969, both from the University of Denver. He attended the U.S. Air Force Navigation School, the U.S. Air Force Counterinsurgency Course, the Air Command and Staff College, the Defense Intelligence School, the Defense Language School, the Air War College and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces.

Following his retirement as a lieutenant colonel in 1972, Miller was associate director of a defense policy research institute and a legislative assistant to Congressman Les Aspin and Senator Gary Hart, who were both then members of military authorization committees. Miller was president of an export-import company in Los Angeles when he was appointed special assistant in the Air Force Secretariat. His duties were personnel and manpower activities for the active and reserve forces and environmental policy. For his efforts he was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal.

Miller was the director of Washington operations for the Sciences Division, Henningson, Durham and Richardson (HDR), and vice president and national program director for HDR Systems. These HDR operations specialized in preparation of environmental impact studies and provision of technical computer services and hardware to government and private clients. When Amperif Corporation purchased HDR Systems, Miller was appointed vice president and general manager of Amperif's new division. He retired in 1990.

