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Ulster, Georgia, and The Civil War: Stories of Variation

A LOOK INTO CASE STUDIES OF ULSTERMEN AND THEIR
EXPERIENCES

WILL LOVELESS

Dedication

Dedicated to the Memory of Dr. John R. Neff

Abstract:

Ulster, Georgia, and The Civil War: Stories of Variation explores the lives of 13 men from Northern Ireland who immigrated to the American South and fought for the Confederacy. The author pursues the stories of each man's life in order to have a more thorough understanding of what life looked like for Irish/Ulster immigrants in the South during the 19th century. By looking at the lives of the men in Ulster, their first experiences in the United States, their experiences in the Civil War, and their lives following the war, the author identifies more variation than consistent trends.

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Introduction

Ireland has been an island torn in two for hundreds of years. The divide between those who support a free, independent Ireland and those who wish to see the crown of the United Kingdom reign over the green isle. In some ways, the separation and tension of Ireland is similar to that of the sectional tension that existed between the American North and American South in the years leading up to the Civil War. Geographically the rolling hills of Northern Ireland are reminiscent of the hills of Northern Georgia and Eastern Tennessee.

This work is the culmination of research that centers around thirteen men who by birth originated from Ulster. These thirteen men would cross the Atlantic Ocean in the mid nineteenth century, finding themselves in the midst of yet another country that was working towards division. These men left their country for a variety of reasons. Often they break the stereotype of the poor, famished, Irishman escaping the Potato Famine and were property owners and renters. Some traveled with family and others boarded ships by themselves.

Upon arrival to the States, most of these men trekked from a Northern port city such as Philadelphia or New York that ended when they reached the state of Georgia. In Georgia, these men worked as a variety of professions that spanned from attorney to simple laborers. They did all, however, drop their profession to pick up a rifle for the newly formed Confederate States of America. Their experiences in the war, just like their differing circumstances back home, all varied with some featuring desertions, fighting for the United States, and others serving out for the entirety of the war. After the war, the Ulstermen found themselves living just as equally varied lives.

The point of this piece is to use thirteen men's stories as a case study to explore any trends regarding Ulster/Irish experience in the American Civil War, admire the variety of their experiences, and simply to tell their stories. The common trend that this piece identifies is a trend of variety. The men's backgrounds in Ulster are different. Their experiences once arriving to the United States are varied and Georgia are varied. Their war experiences are varied with some serving the majority of the war, others perishing, and with another fighting for the US Army before the end of the war. The experiences saw them scatter, occasionally outside of Georgia, and in one case, back to Ulster.

Research for this thesis relies on a mix of primary sources and secondary sources. The research for the case studies traces back to a project Dr. Sam Thomas has worked on for years. Dr. Sam Thomas is the head curator at the T.R.R Cobb House in Athens, Georgia. Beyond that, he is leading American scholar in Ulster-American history: the field which explores the experiences of immigrants from Northern Ireland (also known as Ulster) and their experiences here in the United States. I had the opportunity to work with him beginning about five years ago on a historic preservation board. A few years later, while in search of a research topic centering around Irish immigrants that fought for the Confederacy, he informed me that he had been working on that exact project for years but had never had the opportunity to dedicate enough time to it. He was courteous enough to share his research with me and help me tremendously throughout the entire process.

I took his research and sought to confirm and take it farther. In the summer of 2017, I worked to confirm as much data as I could and see what more I could find out under Dr. Thomas' direction. I waded through the American Censuses beginning in 1840 up until the Census of 1910. I also searched for graves and other information such as living places. I found

considerable success and was able to prove in the process that Dr. Thomas' work had been accurate. Each time his excel sheet is cited, the information I was able to prove either a concrete affirmation or was able to find what seemed like a likely scenario that I felt confidence in working within. This was done through the use of Census Records, War Records, and other primary sources. Unfortunately, due to the lack of foresight by a freshman mind working on a project that would not be materializing fully until senior year, I did not do a stellar job of recordkeeping in regards to keeping track of the specifics of those primary sources. But by the end of that summer, I had amassed enough data where I felt comfortable with proceeding further.

I did hit a point where I felt that I had accomplished all I could stateside. Thus, in the summer of 2019, I spent six weeks in Belfast, Northern Ireland. While there my research was mostly done at the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI). Their access to various resources proved invaluable to not just my individual case studies but also providing a fuller understanding of the society these individuals left. One of the resources I became most familiar with was Griffith's Valuation. Best described as a tax document which sought to assess property value and asset wealth, Griffith's Valuation was a set of well labeled maps made between 1848 and 1868. I was able to use this to assess the situation the individuals in question left Ulster under. Beyond that, my time in Ulster was valuable for not just the resources at PRONI. I ventured out of the city numerous times seeking more detailed information. I dug through three-hundred-year-old church records, combed through cemeteries, and found out about local history which helped me add even more context to these men's lives.

Secondary sources became important in considering and the formation of argumentation. Regarding immigration, I found the work of Damian Shiels and Bill Gillespie valuable. Shiels, an Irish author, explores Irish Immigration broadly but paints a very solid picture of the

circumstances surrounding their departure and what lead to their involvement in the Civil War. Gillespie, a history professor at Armstrong State University with teaching experience at West Point as well as being a Board Member for the Irish Studies Program at Georgia Southern University, wrote *The Irish in the American Civil War: Why They Fought & What They Got in Return* which proved to be valuable in exploring circumstances not just in Ireland but also upon arrival in the United States.¹

For looking at the war itself, I began with David Gleason's *The Green and The Gray: The Irish in the Confederate States of America*.² This explores the Irish experience in the South during the war. By far the most useful source regarding the war was Coffman and Graham's *To Honor These Men* which details the experiences of Phillip's Legion throughout the war.³ For more general history I turned to David Eicher's *The Longest Night* which is a more modern military history for the war.⁴ I also used the now scholastically controversial trilogy *The Civil War* by Shelby Foote.⁵ Despite various misgivings numerous members of the academic community have with it, I found it to be a solid source for numbers and firsthand accounts told in an engrossing way.

My work with the both the secondary sources and primary sources led me to one overarching conclusion: the experiences and backgrounds of the Ulstermen who participated in the Civil War are more varied than is commonly thought by the average person. It seems most commonly thought that the Irish who emigrated were all came across and rags without much

¹ Gillespie, Bill. *The Irish in the American Civil War: Why They Fought & What They Got in Return*, (Self-Published)

² Gleason, David T. *The Green and The Gray: The Irish in the Confederate States of America*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina), 2013

³ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

⁴ Eichner, David, *The Longest Night* (New York, Simon & Schuster), 2001

⁵ Foote, Shelby, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, (New York, Modern Library), 1958-1974

money to their name due to the horrific Irish Potato Famine. While in some cases this might prove true, the findings I have suggest that the aforementioned scenario is not the case. Rather, my findings suggest that many of the men who came over had land to their name or were still renting property after their departure. Further investigation into that trend suggests that those Ulstermen who left their Ulster homeplaces intended, in some cases, to return to their original home.

Once arriving to the states, their lives and experience follow that same trend of variation and differ from their countrymen in the American North. While the Irish in the north found themselves facing much discrimination, the Ulstermen in the south were much more accepted and found assimilation much easier. They were shopkeepers, famers, and attorneys. They lived in the mountains of North Georgia to the flatlands of South Georgia. Some were married, some were not. Their experiences in the Civil War through their service records show variation as well. Arguably most interestingly, and giving a glimpse into a larger trend, one would become a “Galvanized Yankee”: someone who initially fought for the Confederacy before being captured and agreeing to fight the Natives out west. After the war their experiences show further assimilation into the new Southern society. So much so, in fact, that their experiences can be similarly compared to not just Americans of their day but also to our modern day lives. In some cases, rather than being rooted in just one place, it is observed that they moved to other states and counties similar to how the modern American often does today.

This piece is divided into four main chapters. The first discusses the Ulstermen’s immigration. The chapter dives into the circumstances surrounding the men who crossed the Atlantic. The second chapter explores the reasons the Ulstermen fought as well as their experiences in the first half of the war. The third chapter explores the second half of the war and

how the Ulstermen finished up their service. The fourth chapter looks at the experiences of the men after the war. At the end, the piece concludes with final thoughts on the trends identified through the research.

The significance for this project is simple: it's a set of stories that have not been told fully before. These men deserve to have their stories told. They are immigrant stories of strife, although not in the sense normally associated with them, that I feel should be told to help provide perspective and a fuller understanding of the not just the American experience in a defining American moment, but also the Irish, or more specifically, Ulster experience in this moment. My findings break some general stereotypes about Irish immigrants coming to the country which is always interesting to consider when talking about the big picture. But it's the stories that are the most significant.

Chapter I: Where and Why?

It is often thought that the only reason for Irish Immigration to the United States was the Irish Potato Famine. While certainly a force for many, the immigrants from Ulster which come into our lens, this does not seem to be the case. In fact, a significant proportion were still holding land when they left Ulster, whether through direct ownership or lease. The research accumulated shows that numerous financial situations existed amongst the group studied.

Irish Immigration into the United States in the 19th century is a topic that has been covered countless times and deservedly so. It is estimated that there are 40.2 million people of Irish descent living in the United States today.⁶ There is, however, been a bit of lack of study into Irish, both Catholic and Protestant (who are commonly referred to as Scotch-Irish), that flowed into the American South in the mid-20th century. Further, there has been less specific study about those who originate from geographic Northern Ireland (which in this text refers to Ulster plus one more county: Counties Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Down, Donegal, Fermanagh, Leitrim, Londonderry, Monaghan, and Tyrone) into the American South.

Overall, counting all of Ireland, roughly 84,763 Irish people were living in the American south in 1860.⁷ They were more attracted to the urban centers within the South such as New Orleans and Charleston.⁸ At one point, nearly 20% of all whites in Savannah, Georgia were in

⁶ Gillespie, Bill. *The Irish in the American Civil War: Why They Fought & What They Got in Return*, (Self-Published).

⁷ Gleason, David T. *The Green and The Gray: The Irish in the Confederate States of America*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina), 2013.

⁸ Ibid.

fact Irish.⁹ These numbers, however, paled in comparison to the numbers of Irish who would be living in Union territory. Around 95% of Irish immigrants were living in the north.¹⁰

The reason for the influx of Irish immigrants into America is often solely described as the Irish Potato Famine. More than a million Irish would die between 1845 and 1850.¹¹ In the ten years between 1845 and 1855, nearly two million Irish would depart Ireland for America and Australia and another 750,000 would depart for England.¹² Thousands more would die in transit across the Atlantic. 17,465 deaths were documented in transit in the year of 1847 alone.¹³

But to solely attribute Irish immigrants in America, particularly the American South, seems shortsighted when the author compares it to his research. The reasons for emigration out of Northern Ireland are varied. The south in particular had a reputation for having Irish, or at least Irish descendants, be influential in its politics and be influential within communities. Take John Calhoun for example. The firebrand known for his defense of the “peculiar institution” was born to a father who had been born in County Donegal.¹⁴ Calhoun remarked that he “had always taken pride in his Irish descent”.¹⁵

This was the case for Robert McMillan. Robert McMillan was born in Ballymatoskertery Townland, Duneane Parish, County Antrim on January 7, 1805.¹⁶ He was the son of James & Jane Montgomery and had three siblings, Susanna, Esther, and Sarah Jane.¹⁷ They lived at a

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Irish Famine Curriculum Committee, *The Great Irish Famine*, (New Jersey, New Jersey Education Board), 1996.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Gleason, David T. *The Green and The Gray: The Irish in the Confederate States of America*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina), 2013.

¹⁵ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

home called “Cotton-Bank” that James, Robert’s father, was attempting to sell due to poor health.¹⁸ Jane remained at Cotton Bank until at least 1837.¹⁹ It is likely that Robert McMillan arrived in the United States in 1833. Just a year later he became a Major in the Georgia Militia during the Cherokee Removal.²⁰ Census records indicate that he lived in Elbert County, Georgia in 1850 before moving to Habersham County, Georgia, places where he worked as an attorney.²¹

McMillan also gives insight into another common trait amongst the immigrants studied as well as Irish immigration as a whole. Often times the immigrants were connected. There would be family ties that extended from just immediate family. This was the case for the Haddocks. James Boyd Haddock was born on March 23, 1840 in Taylorstown Townland, Ballyscullion Grange, County Antrim.²² He was the son of William and Esther McMillan Haddock.²³ He had six siblings.²⁴ James’ father, William, went to Habersham County, Georgia in order to manage his father in law’s, Robert McMillan’s, plantation.²⁵ James and the rest of the family arrived in 1855.²⁶ James’ brother, John Henry, was born on February 9, 1838/1839 in in Taylorstown Townland, Ballyscullion Grange, County Antrim.²⁷ When John’s father came over to work at Robert McMillan’s plantation in Habersham County around 1855, it appears John arrived around that same time, most likely through Charleston.²⁸

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

Word often traveled about the New World from across the Atlantic from America to Ireland and vice versa. Stephen McDowell was born in either County Down or County Antrim. The first reference I can find to him comes from a letter penned by an Eliza Ann Thompson of County Down to a Davison McDowell in Georgetown, South Carolina.²⁹ Thompson tells Davison McDowell that “Stephen and James are grown up and industrious fellows, but Fatherless and of course friendless”.³⁰ She finishes her letter by noting that “ James and Stephen talk constantly of America”.³¹ Presumably, the Stephen McDowell referred to in the letter is the same one that would find himself working as a miller and laborer in 1860.³²

There are also numerous indications that many of the immigrants were not poor when they left Ulster either. Francis Dever was born in either 1837 or 1838 in Tullinteane Townland, Killaghtee Parish in County Donegal.³³ Tullinteane townland is located closely to modern day Glenties, County Donegal of the Republic of Ireland. According to the St. Connell’s Museum in Glenties, the town as well as surrounding townlands such as Tullinteane, were closely tied to the railroad as well as mining.³⁴ The only record of Francis Dever that can be found has him leaving aboard the ship Torchlight on June 2, 1856 leaving Liverpool and arriving in New York. The record shows Dever to be 21 at this point.³⁵ We find a record in Griffith’s Valuation, a listing of property for tax record purposes, that lists Francis Dever maintaining property until at least 1867.³⁶ This indication of maintaining property suggests that he was in no financial peril. It also

²⁹ Thompson, Eliza Ann. *County Down to ...*, 4 August 1825, Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, T2305/29.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ St. Connell’s Museum. Glenties, Republic of Ireland.

³⁵ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

³⁶ Griffith, Richard. *General Valuation of Rateable Property in Ireland, Union of Donegal, County Donegal*, Sheet 82 & 92, 1857, available at <http://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation/index.xml?action=doNameSearch&Submit.x=30&Submit.y=9&familyname=Dever&firstname=Francis&countyname=DONEGAL>.

could indicate a thought that Dever's intention was to return to Ulster with the money he accrued in the States.

In some cases, it seems plausible that there was enough money back home to possibly be making trips back and forth between America and Belfast. William John Esler was born on May 2, 1836 in Deerfin Townland, Ballyclug Parish, County Antrim in Northern Ireland.³⁷ He was the son of Sarah and (possibly) Samuel Esler who had two other children, Mary B. and Alexander.³⁸ It is possible William was twins with Alexander as records indicate Alexander was also born in 1836.³⁹ In 1856 he was renting a "House and sm..garden" in Deerfin from Barney Laverty worth five shillings.⁴⁰ The property William was renting sits next to a property Samuel Esler was renting for 10 shillings from the same Barney Laverty, leading me to believe that Samuel was William's father.⁴¹ There is a church record indicating William married in County Antrim in 1857 but I am unable to find who he was married to.⁴² Despite still renting that property in 1856 and marriage in 1857, there is a William Esler aboard the Majestic which left Belfast for New York in June of 1852.⁴³ I tend to believe one of two things: either the William Esler which left in 1852 is not the same William Esler born in 1836 or William Esler was making trips back and forth from the States to Ireland commonly.

Another example of our immigrants being in a somewhat stable financial position would be that of Patrick McGuire. Patrick McGuire was born around 1825 in Drumshanbo Townland, Kiltoghert Parish, County Leitrim.⁴⁴ He had one sister named Ann who was born in County

³⁷ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Roscommon in 1818.⁴⁵ He is listed as renting property in 1856 in Kiltoghert from Patrick Mullanniff.⁴⁶ The most likely ship that took Patrick was the Pontiac which Liverpool for New York in 1846.⁴⁷

There are cases in which the classic tale of an entire family emigrating do occur but with the added twist that they may not have all been on the same ship. That is the case with the McClure brothers. James McClure was born on December 15, 1837 in Artresnahan Townland, Drummaul Parish, County Antrim.⁴⁸ His parents were Samuel and Susannah McMillan McClure and he was one of eight children.⁴⁹ He left Northern Ireland most likely in late May 1849 aboard the ship Brothers.⁵⁰ Thomas Henry McClure was born on New Year's Day, 1840 in Artresnahan Townland, Drummaul Parish, County Antrim.⁵¹ Thomas also most likely arrived to America aboard the ship Brothers in late May 1849.⁵² Samuel McClure was born in 1842 at Artresnahan Townland, Drummaul Parish, County Antrim.⁵³ It is likely that he, unlike his two brothers, arrived to America either in 1852 through Charleston or aboard a ship in 1850 known as the Standard.⁵⁴

Of course, throughout research, there will be cases where less info is available that gives less insight into trends. John Hughes was born in Belfast, County Antrim in either 1831 or 1833.⁵⁵ In September of 1848, he boarded the James Connor in Liverpool bound for Baltimore.⁵⁶

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

James E. Harvey was born around 1844 in either County Antrim or County Derry to John and Elisa Harvey. He left Ireland at the age of ten aboard the *Garland* which left Londonderry for Philadelphia in 1854.⁵⁷ He would travel with George, age 30, John, age 20, Mary Ann, age 13, George, age 12, and Patrick, age 8.⁵⁸ John William Duggan was born in 1840 on Torry (Toraigh) Island, County Donegal.⁵⁹ Torry Island is of interest as it sits roughly nine miles off the coast of County Donegal and maintains an exceptionally meager population.⁶⁰ Duggan left Torry Island at the age of 20 aboard the ship *Elizabeth* which left Londonderry and arrived in Philadelphia in 1860.⁶¹

Upon arrival to Georgia, the subjects at hand belonged to a variety of professions. Everything from clerks to attorneys to laborers to farmers, the subjects at hand were working as it. The American Census of 1860 provides great information regarding occupation, place of residence, and who they lived with. Francis Deaver, whose name had changed spellings since 1857, was working in Albany, Georgia as a “clerk” in 1860.⁶² John William Duggan lived in Macon, Georgia with his wife Mary G. in 1860.⁶³ The American census of 1860 says that William Esler was working as a bootmaker in Cobb County, Georgia and living with his sixty-two-year-old mother. John Hughes lived in Columbus, Georgia in 1860 working as a “laborer”.⁶⁴

Stephen McDowell lived in Macon, Georgia at the time of the 1860 census where he was listed as a “miller” and “laborer”.⁶⁵ The 1850 and 1860 censuses list Patrick McGuire living in

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ British Broadcasting Company, *Torry Island*, 27 May 2009, accessed at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/irish/articles/view/359/english/>

⁶¹ Thomas, Sam. *Irishmen List Excel Sheet*, 2017.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Savannah, Georgia working as a “laborer”.⁶⁶ They also reference him having an Irish wife named Mary who was born in 1830 along with child, Jane, who was born in 1855.⁶⁷ In 1860, Robert McMillan was working as an “attorney” in Habersham County, Georgia.⁶⁸ The census of 1860 indicates that the three McClure brothers, James, Samuel, and Thomas, were working as laborers in White County, Georgia.⁶⁹ The 1860 census insight fails to give insight on the Haddock brothers and James Harvey.

Immigration from Northern Ireland to the American South is a story of variation. There are some trends that can be noticed, however. Looking at these examples, it is more common that these men arrived to Northern ports than Southern ports. They also often left from England rather than Ireland directly. There seems to be a few reasons as to why they left including but not limited to familial ties and new opportunity. There is also evidence that suggests that contrary to popular teaching, that many immigrants left with assets to their name. These Ulster immigrants came for a variety reasons and faced a variety of challenges once they arrived at their homes in Georgia.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Chapter II: The Spurs Towards Conflict and The Beginnings of Conflict

There are no provable, concrete reasons as to why each of these men decided to enlist and fight in the war. There are some trends amongst the broader Irish population that could give insight as to why they might have fought. Almost all Irish, regardless of whether they lived in the North or South, were adamant supporters of the Democratic Party and the Southern viewpoint in general.⁷⁰ Fort Sumter changed that, however, for Irish living in Federal territory who supported their local communities.⁷¹ It is thought by at least one scholar, Bill Gillespie from the Irish Studies department at Georgia Southern University, that there were four main reasons, generally speaking, that Irish fought in the Civil War.

The first seems to be a desire to support democracy and local communities.⁷² The thought is that those who arrived sought further assimilation, and in the South's case, had found success in their local communities and sought to support the communities that supported them. The second reason it is thought the Irish fought is to gain military prowess such that they could return to Ireland and fight for their respective side in the ongoing struggle there.⁷³ Thirdly, throughout not just American society, but also within Irish society, being a soldier was considered more highly than simply being a laborer.⁷⁴ Fourth and finally, the pay was also appealing to the men.⁷⁵

It seems most likely that a combination of these four reasons provided the "cause" for the Irishmen who enlisted. Other scholars have suggested that "most Irish did not understand the

⁷⁰ Gillespie, Bill. *The Irish in the American Civil War: Why They Fought & What They Got in Return*, (Self-Published)

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

sectional issues and could not tell you where Washington and Richmond were”.⁷⁶ It seems as though there was difference in thought between those were literate and those who were illiterate regarding their political interest in the war.⁷⁷

The beginnings of the conflict were just as varied for the Ulstermen as they were before the war. Some would serve throughout the entirety of the war while others would serve just over a year. They enlisted across the state of Georgia, and in one case, in South Carolina. All of the subjects studied enlisted in one of two units: The 24th Georgia Infantry or Phillip’s Legion.

The Civil War began in mid-April when Confederate forces under the command of P.G.T. Beauregard fired upon Fort Sumter.⁷⁸ With that came southern states scrambling to assemble forces. In the days following the attack on Fort Sumter, Governor Joe Brown of Georgia ordered Militia General William Phillips to organize a brigade and begin training of sergeants.⁷⁹ William Phillips had been a staunch secessionist for months and had been preparing for war.⁸⁰ Phillips wrote Brown telling him “that he was studying military tactics harder than he ever studied law” and had been raising volunteer companies since late 1860.⁸¹ Just three days after cannons fired across Charleston Harbor, Phillips had a pool of just over 10,000 troops to work with.⁸² Phillips Legion was thus born. Troops acclimated well to their training at the Georgia Military Institute under the young cadets that taught these untrained men.⁸³

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Foote, Shelby, *The Civil War: A Narrative, Book 1, Fort Sumter to Perryville* (New York, Modern Library), 1958

⁷⁹ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

Tensions among the men arose, however, when public disagreements broke out between Governor Brown and Phillips about what the troops were to be used for.⁸⁴ These were men who were used to a very rural and spread out lifestyle now huddled together in tight quarters creating dissension amongst the men.⁸⁵ One of the better stories revolves around Company F, the Lochrane Guards, a regiment entirely made of Irishmen.⁸⁶ The men had managed to get ahold of a solid supply of alcohol and fighting started, escalated, and ended nearly in full-fledged armed battle.⁸⁷ Peace was narrowly restored.

The 24th Georgia Infantry was put together in late June of 1861.⁸⁸ The men who made up the 24th were almost all from Northeast Georgia counties including Hall, Elbert, Rabun, Towns, Banks, White, and Gwinnett.⁸⁹ Rough numbers from 1862 suggest that around 660 men found themselves enlisted within the ranks of the 24th.⁹⁰ In the beginning of 1862, the unit were placed under T.R.R Cobb's command.⁹¹

Thomas Reade Rootes Cobb was born in 1823 on a plantation in Jefferson County, Georgia.⁹² He moved with his family to Athens, Georgia as a child before attending the University of Georgia.⁹³ He would graduate at the top of his class and, in 1842, would be admitted into the Georgia bar.⁹⁴ He married Marion Lumpkin, the daughter of prominent Athens

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ National Park Service, *Battle Unit Details, Confederate Georgia Troops 24th Regiment, Georgia Infantry*, accessed at <https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-battle-units-detail.htm?battleUnitCode=CGA0024RI>

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: 24th Georgia Regiment*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/24th-georgia-infantry/>

⁹² Nash, Steven and Bailey, Matthew. *Thomas R. R. Cobb (1823-1862)*, 2005

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Judge Joseph Henry Lumpkin, in 1844.⁹⁵ The couple would have four children but only two of them would survive through infancy.⁹⁶

Cobb became a prominent figure in Georgia politics and well known for his avid defense of the southern practice of slavery throughout the 1850s.⁹⁷ Despite rumblings around the rest of the nation regarding secession, Cobb was a Unionist.⁹⁸ That would change for him and much of the south in 1860 due to the election of Abraham Lincoln. Cobb said this before the Georgia Assembly saying,

*“Is the election of Lincoln a sufficient ground for the dissolution of the Union? Can it be supposed that our fathers intended to allow our national elections to be controlled by men who were not citizens under the National Constitution? Never, never! Yet to elect Abraham Lincoln, the right of suffrage was extended to free negroes in Vermont, Massachusetts, Ohio, New York and other Northern States, although the Supreme Court has declared them not to be citizens of this nation. Yes! Our slaves are first stolen from our midst on underground Railroads, and then voted at Northern ballot-boxes to select rulers for you and me.”*⁹⁹

When Georgia seceded in January of 1861, Cobb would found himself in the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy and would help draft the Confederate Constitution.¹⁰⁰ Cobb became frustrated with the politics in Montgomery and asked to serve in the Confederate Army.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Cobb, T.R.R., *Cobb Speech Supporting Succession*, 12 November 1860, accessed through <https://georgiainfo.galileo.usg.edu/thisday/cwhistory/11/12/t.r.r.-cobb-speech-supporting-secession>

¹⁰⁰Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: 24th Georgia Regiment*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/24th-georgia-infantry/>

Governor Joseph Brown of Georgia commissioned Cobb as a colonel and, by 1862, and placed him in charge of the 24th Georgia Infantry.¹⁰¹

In August of 1861, Jefferson Davis ordered Phillip's Legion to Lynchburg Virginia.¹⁰² At the time of departure, due to various political disagreements between Governor Joe Brown and President Jefferson Davis, Phillip's Legion was reduced to a six company-infantry battalion and four company calvary battalion.¹⁰³ Company F, the Lochrane Guards, was the only rifle company to not have rifles initially.¹⁰⁴ It is difficult to discern whether this was due to lack of supply or a bias against the Irish.¹⁰⁵ An article in the August 21, 1861 edition of the Macon Daily Telegraph had this to say about the Lochrane Guards' departure giving readers an idea of the esteem in which they held the Irishmen and Ulstermen fighting for their community:

“This noble band of patriots, all natives of the ‘Emerald Isle’, under their worthy captain, Jackson Barnes, full 80 strong, departed on yesterday morning by the Macon and Western Railroad for Virginia. A large concourse of citizens assembled at the depot to bid them farewell and wish them a safe return when the war is ended and peace declared; and as the train moved off, cheer after cheer went up for the gallant and the brave. ‘There were sad hearts in many a home/ When the brave left their bower;/ But the strength of prayer and sacrifice/ Was there with them in that hour.’ Col. Lochrane accompanied them. They expect to receive recruits in Atlanta, Calhoun, Dalton and other cities sufficient to increase their numbers to one hundred men, exclusive of officers. We are confident the warm hearted and generous sons of ‘Green Erin’ will acquit themselves

¹⁰¹ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

like men. They are adopted citizens it is true, but yield to none in devotion and love to the south-the sunny home of their choice. Irishmen naturally spurn wrong and oppression, and he who is found fighting against the South does grave injustice to the Celtic race. The members of the Lochrane Guards are: ‘No hirelings trained to the fight/ But men, firm as the mountains who will/ Pour out their life blood like *rain*, / *And come back in triumph and honor, or come not again.*’¹⁰⁶

On that train that departed for West Virginia were Ulstermen Francis Dever, John William Duggan, James Harvey, John Hughes, Stephen McDowell, and Patrick McGuire.¹⁰⁷ For some of the men, the roll provides a short description. Francis Dever was described as 5’6”, with brown hair, blue eyes, and a ruddy complexion.¹⁰⁸ John Hughes was described as 5’3” with brown hair, blue eyes, with a “fresh” complexion.¹⁰⁹

By October and November 1861, Phillip’s Legion was sent to defend a place called Cotton Hill in what is now West Virginia under the command of General Floyd.¹¹⁰ They were forced to fall back from that position for a multitude of reasons. One of which being the disease that ravaged Phillips’ Legion.¹¹¹ William Phillips’ himself would contract typhoid fever and be sent away.¹¹² After the retreat, one cavalryman of the Legion wrote the following in his diary about an unknown rifleman:

“Floyd was on top he walked up to a Georgian and asked him if he knew how to salute an officer. ‘Well I used to did at Lunchburg [sic] but I most forgot how since I’ve been up

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

here. ‘Do you know who you are talking to ‘ said Floyd. ‘Well yes I believe I do. You look just like the old fellow I saw the other day running from Cotton Hill on a mule.’ We all made the mountains sing with laughter at this”¹¹³

For two Ulstermen, the month of October proved to be rough. Stephen McDowell was sent listed as “absent at home sick” in that month.¹¹⁴ John William Duggan was also listed as being sick.¹¹⁵

Nine days before Christmas 1861, Phillips’ Legion was sent to South Carolina to recover from the campaign in Western Virginia after being hit so hard by disease.¹¹⁶ William Phillips was sent home after his bout with typhoid and command would be transferred to Brigadier General Thomas Drayton.¹¹⁷ The first half of 1862 was fairly quiet for Phillips’ Legion. They would add three more companies worth of infantry but otherwise remained in South Carolina.¹¹⁸ The cavalry was reassigned in August and would remain entirely separate from the infantry for the rest of the war.¹¹⁹ Stephen McDowell would throw the towel in on the war in April 1862.¹²⁰ He is listed as having deserted and I can find no trace of him after this, whether in the war or after.¹²¹ In May, John William Duggan was promoted to Brevetted 2nd Lieutenant.¹²² James Harvey would follow McDowell in desertion but would return to the unit at a later date.¹²³ William Esler, another Ulstermen, enlisted in May in South Carolina joining the Legion.¹²⁴

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: Phillips Legion*, updated 2020, accessed at

<https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/phillips-legion-georgia-infantry/>

¹¹⁷ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

The war for the Ulstermen of the 24th began, for most, on August 24th, 1861. In Mid-August 1861, Robert McMillan would enlist in the 24th in Clarkesville, Georgia.¹²⁵ He served as Captain of Company K, which were known as “McMillan’s Guards”.¹²⁶ Enlisting with him on the 24th were James Boyd Haddock and the three McClure brothers, James, Samuel, and Thomas Henry.¹²⁷¹²⁸¹²⁹¹³⁰ James McClure Oddly, despite enlisting on the same day, only Thomas Henry is given any physical description. Thomas is described as being 5’ 9”, dark haired, with blue eyes and a fair complexion.¹³¹

Around the same time of Cobb’s placement at the beginning of 1862, John Haddock enlisted despite being sick for the first two months of his deployment in January and February of 1862.¹³² The 24th would see its first large share of fighting at Yorktown in April and May of 1862.¹³³ Robert E. Lee sought to hold the peninsula of Virginia, particularly Norfolk and Yorktown, for as long as possible.¹³⁴ Due to this, the 24th found themselves digging into the old English earthworks that had been dug just under one hundred years prior.¹³⁵ Union columns were being shipped down the Potomac River and the siege began.¹³⁶ Joe Johnston rode down to Yorktown and was himself pitying the men there. He wrote “some of these poor lads...sobbing

¹²⁵ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: 24th Georgia Regiment*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/24th-georgia-infantry/>

¹³⁴ Foote, Shelby, *The Civil War: A Narrative, Book 1, Fort Sumter to Perryville* (New York, Modern Library), 1958

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

in their broken sleep, like a crying child just before it sinks to rest. It was really pathetic. The men actually had to be supported to the ambulances to bring them away.”¹³⁷ Command would tell Lee that the siege was a battle of artillery that “we cannot win” and the peninsula, Yorktown, and Norfolk was abandoned in late April.¹³⁸

The 24th continued to find itself in the Peninsula campaign throughout the next two months. On May 23rd, the 24th and the rest of its Confederate comrades were whipped by McClellan and his Army of the Potomac.¹³⁹ This is a prime example, however, of the 24th finding itself amidst important moments. Mechanicsville saw the wounding of Joe Johnston which led to Robert E. Lee assuming command of the Army of Northern Virginia.¹⁴⁰ This would also serve as one of the first examples of Lee’s aggressiveness leading to questionable retreats and holds from McClellan. Despite losing double the amount of men, Lee applied pressure after the battle leading McClellan to fall back to Gaines’ Mill.¹⁴¹ Throughout June of 1862, the 24th continued to participate in the Peninsula Campaign finding themselves involved in Seven Pines’ and the Seven Days’ Battles.¹⁴² On July 1st, the 24th would serve as a reserve line in the Battle of Malvern Hill where once again the Confederates would be defeated but would continue to press McClellan to the point of retreat.¹⁴³ After Malvern Hill, the 24th were transferred from being under the command of Major General Magruder to being under the command of Major General Lafayette McLaws.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Lawfer, L.E. Battle of Mechanicsville. 9 February 2012. In *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Retrieved from https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Mechanicsville_Battle_of

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: 24th Georgia Regiment*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/24th-georgia-infantry/>

¹⁴³ Gabriel, M.P. Battle of Malvern Hill. 5 April 2011. In *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Retrieved from https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Malvern_Hill_Battle_of#start_entry

Phillips Legion was sent back to Virginia to reinforce Lee's Army of Northern Virginia in mid-July.¹⁴⁴ The last two weeks of August 1862 would prove to be the first taste of heavy fighting for the men of Phillips' Legion. It began on August 23rd when they arrived to Beverly's Ford.¹⁴⁵ They were sent to provide support for artillery on the north bank of the Rappahannock River.¹⁴⁶ Here they found themselves under Union artillery fire and suffered one the first deaths to the legion. A 22 year old native of Lumpkin County, Georgia named Franklin McAfee was killed by a shell.¹⁴⁷ On the morning of the 24th, the Legion marched through creeks before making camp near Jeffersonville.¹⁴⁸ On the 25th, they were positioned at Waterloo Bridge in support roles and would remain in such roles until the 29th.

The 29th marked the second day of Second Battle of Bull Run. The Legion under Drayton was used as scouts by General Longstreet on the left flank of the Union position.¹⁴⁹ The Legion moved in a skirmishing fashion after this¹⁵⁰ This did confuse Union leaders and the Union fired on the Legion in response.¹⁵¹ A multitude of men within the legion were fatally wounded by Federal artillery.¹⁵² The following day, the 30th, was a day of anxiety for the Legion. They began the morning guarding the right flank of the Confederate army unable to know what was occurring on the other side of the battle which saw heavy action.¹⁵³ They could hear heavy fighting but could not see it.¹⁵⁴ The Legion was finally ordered to attack and were once found

¹⁴⁴ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

themselves under artillery fire suffering numerous casualties.¹⁵⁵ Before reaching close enough range for rifle fire, however, the Legion had arrived too late to be of much use for the Confederacy as the Federals had abandoned their positions.¹⁵⁶ While the Confederacy would be victorious once again at Bull Run, most observers noted that it was not due to the leadership of Drayton. One lieutenant noted that “ Drayton’s conduct is severely criticized by anyone who knows anything of the officer.”¹⁵⁷

Things were quiet until September for the 24th. September 1862, however, proved to be one of the toughest of the war. It began with the Battle of Harper’s Ferry. Lee was moving towards his first invasion of the Union and the place of John Brown’s raid three years earlier stood in his way once again.¹⁵⁸ Harper’s Ferry was going to be a very important strategic position for Lee’s raid and he sought that valuable position.¹⁵⁹ Lee sent the 24th with Stonewall Jackson to attack the area which held around 14000 Federal troops.¹⁶⁰ The 24th found a short victory. They, along with Stonewall Jackson, were then called to help Lee at Sharpsburg and abandon Harper’s Ferry.¹⁶¹

On their way to Sharpsburg, the 24th suffered through one of its roughest days of the entire war at the Battle of South Mountain, specifically at Crompton’s Gap. The gap was the route in which the Confederates needed to take in order to get to the Sharpsburg area the quickest. They were being pursued by General Slocum whose men hailed from New York,

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Noyalas, J. A. Harpers Ferry during the Civil War. (2015, October 27). In Encyclopedia Virginia. Retrieved from http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Harpers_Ferry_During_the_Civil_War.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maine, and Vermont.¹⁶² The 24th were forced to cover the retreat through Crompton's Gap between 530 and 600 on September 14th. They would be struck straight on by the force of three regiments from Pennsylvania and New York. The 24th themselves were eventually be forced to pull back themselves.¹⁶³ It proved costly. Of 292 men engaged, the 24th would suffer 126 casualties.¹⁶⁴

September 17th, 1862 would prove to be one of the bloodiest days of the entire war. The 24th arrived from Harper's Ferry at daybreak and were used to reinforce at the infamous Bloody Lane.¹⁶⁵ The War Department marker at Sharpsburg reads regarding the 24th (also known as Cobb's Brigade),

“Cobb's Brigade crossed the Potomac at daybreak and halted near General Lee's Headquarters west of Sharpsburg. At about 9:20 A.M., it formed line on the south side of Bloody Lane, its left resting at this point and, with Rodes' and portions of Garland's and Colquitt's Brigades, participated in the engagement with French's Division of the Second Corps. Later in the day the Brigade changed front to the right, facing east, and supported D. H. Hill's Division and George T. Anderson's Brigade in resisting the advance of Richardson's Division.”¹⁶⁶

In that action, the 24th would have four men killed, 39 wounded, and 2 went AWOL.¹⁶⁷ Cobb arrived late and the leader of Company K, Colonel Robert McMillan would take command until he arrived.¹⁶⁸ It was his first taste of absolute leadership over the unit.

¹⁶² American Battlefield Trust, Crompton's Gap, September 14, 1862[map], accessed through <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/maps/cramptons-gap-september-14-1862>

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: 24th Georgia Regiment*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/24th-georgia-infantry/>

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

The Maryland campaign would be costly for three McClure brothers of the 24th. Samuel McClure was wounded in the arm at Sharpsburg.¹⁶⁹ He would lose that arm and then succumb to infection a few weeks later.¹⁷⁰ Samuel was just twenty years old at the time of his death. He is buried in a mass grave in Sharpsburg.¹⁷¹ James McClure, just after suffering the loss of his brother, found would find himself in three different hospitals before returning to duty in February 1863.¹⁷² The other brother, Thomas Henry, would be made the “Colonel’s Orderly” in November of 1862.¹⁷³

The 360 man Phillips Legion commanded by Lt. Col. Robert T. Cook set out on September 6th, 1862 as a part of Lee’s invasion into Maryland. While met with much fanfare, the Army was described as “bundles of rags, these cough-racked, diseased, and starving men”.¹⁷⁴ Food also proved to be a challenge.¹⁷⁵ Henry Young, who had been Drayton’s assistant prior to 2nd Bull Run, described the men as follows:

“Half Clad and without tents, they would suffer intensely from the cold. One simple fact I know will surprise you. So restricted are the men in every means of cleanliness- even officers, Generals and all, sometimes do not see clean clothes for two weeks together and so often are they cut off from their knapsacks- marching only with ‘three days rations and one blanket’- that it has ceased to be a reproach for the private to be ‘lousy’. How our men endure it is almost past belief; and when the officers abuse them for their dirt, for taking green apples and corn when the gov’t nether fees them decently nor pays them

¹⁶⁹ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt D. *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

their wages (many haven't been paid for 6-8-10 months)- I confess my sympathies are generally with them and I cannot feel but what an immense debt of gratitude the country owes them; and only wonder how they manage to keep up any self-respect- whatsoever”¹⁷⁶

Drayton would show questionable ability at South Mountain costing members of Phillips' Legion their lives. On September 14th, Drayton ordered Phillips Legion to cover Fox's Gap to reinforce an earlier battle.¹⁷⁷ The highest commander at the area, D.H. Hill, believed he was now reinforced enough to pursue a counterattack.¹⁷⁸ He ordered three brigades, which included Drayton and Phillips' Legion, to charge a Federal position through a set of woods.¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately for Phillips' Legion, the two South Carolinian brigades became lost in the woods and the Legion met a large number of Federals head on by themselves.¹⁸⁰ To make matters worse, the Federals had been preparing their own charge against the Confederate position.¹⁸¹ The Legion was forced to fall back but as they did they were nearly mistaken as Federals only narrowly avoiding disaster thanks to Lt. Col. Cook's cry of “For God's sake, don't fire, we're friends!”¹⁸² Chaplain Smith wrote that he went to Drayton following this and told him of the Federals' movement and that Drayton told him “something about charging” but, as Smith notes, “there was no one available to charge”.¹⁸³

Phillips' Legion would narrowly avoid the trap the Federals had set but not without heavy casualties. The chaplain himself was hit by a Minnie ball which rendered an arm paralyzed for

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

the rest of his life.¹⁸⁴ Thirty men were dead in the battle and thirty-seven more lay wounded.¹⁸⁵ Numerous officers lost their lives including the Ulsterman John William Duggan.¹⁸⁶ .¹⁸⁷ It seems probable that he suffered death at the hands of men from either Wisconsin or Indiana, under the command of Joseph Hooker.¹⁸⁸ He would be buried in Boonesboro, Maryland.¹⁸⁹ The recently joined William Esler was captured.¹⁹⁰ The Legion as a whole lost 40% of the men who marched into battle that day.¹⁹¹ But the fighting was not over for them that week.

On September 17th, General George McClellan launched an attack on Sharpsburg. Phillips Legion found themselves on a ridge just outside of Sharpsburg that afternoon. Depleted after Fox's Gap, the Legion and the rest of the Confederates in that part of the battlefield numbered around 800.¹⁹² 9000 Federal troops would charge those 800 men.¹⁹³ A brigade of New Yorkers suffered around a 50% casualty rate.¹⁹⁴ Those 800 men put up a staunch defense. Federals reached the Confederate position and the fighting devolved into bayonet combat causing the Legion and the rest of the defenders to fall back into town.¹⁹⁵ The Legion suffered thirty-five more casualties.¹⁹⁶ It was the bloodiest week of the war for the men of Phillips' Legion.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

¹⁸⁸ American Battlefield Trust, Fox's and Turner's Gap, September 14, 1862 [map], accessed through <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/maps/battle-south-mountain-september-14-1862>

¹⁸⁹ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt D. *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

Drayton was relieved following the Sharpsburg campaign.¹⁹⁷ Reasons for this are believed to be varied. It has been suggested that he was removed from command due to complications of heart disease.¹⁹⁸ It seems more likely, however, that it was due to gross incompetence.¹⁹⁹ The Legion was now placed under the command of Brig. Gen. T.R.R Cobb in Maj. Gen. Lafayette McLaws' division.²⁰⁰ The month after, William Esler would be the beneficiary of a prisoner exchange and would be sent to a surgeon in November.²⁰¹ Spirits were low in the Legion. One soldier wrote " I would be glad to see this war come to a close. I have had enough fighting to do me but there is more to come I suppose".²⁰² That soldier would be proved right when the Legion was forced to engage at Fredericksburg.

October and November would be quiet for the 24th. Two weeks before Christmas, however, the 24th and members of Company K would find themselves in one of the more troubling points of their war stint. On December 13th, 1862 the 24th found themselves standing in a ditch protected by a stone wall on the outskirts of Fredericksburg, Virginia.²⁰³ In front of them ran countless regiments of Federal infantry seeking to take that stone wall.²⁰⁴ Those Federal regiments would charge across largely open fields as the 24th, along with at least two other Georgia infantry regiments, fired. One man at the time described the scene as Confederate guns producing "red flashes in the white gloom of a pearly powder cloud" which was then followed by "crackle of rifles like a thousand packs of Chinese crackers, and from that ghastly gulf of

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: Phillips Legion*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/phillips-legion-georgia-infantry/>

¹⁹⁹ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

²⁰² Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

²⁰³ Eichner, David, *The Longest Night* (New York, Simon & Schuster), 2001

²⁰⁴ American Battlefield Trust, Battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862 [map], accessed at <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/maps/fredericksburg-maryes-heights-december-13-1862>

flame but few of the boys in blue reappeared.”²⁰⁵ Col. Edward Porter of the Confederacy would tell Gen. Longstreet that “ a chicken couldn’t live in that field when we fire on it”.²⁰⁶ The Confederates themselves would still suffer casualties that day including the mortal wounding of Brigadier General T.R.R Cobb.²⁰⁷

Once again, Colonel Robert McMillan, the leader of Company K, would be forced to take charge of the slaughter. This slaughter proves incredibly tragic for McMillan, a few of his men, and a brigade of the Union. Brig. Gen. Thomas Meagher’s brigade would be a facet of the Union’s charge. That brigade was entirely made up of Irishmen.²⁰⁸ McMillan, a Irishman himself, along with select members of Company K were forced to slaughter their fellow Irishmen over land they were not born on.

McMillan was wounded in the right arm during the battle.²⁰⁹ He would be recommended to become a Brigadier General by multiple generals, most notably A.P. Hill, in May of 1863 but would be passed over.²¹⁰ At the beginning of the year, command would be given to William Wofford.

December 11th, Phillips Legion found themselves digging a ditch at the foot of Marye’s Heights just outside of Fredericksburg.²¹¹ In front of the ditch was a stone wall 480 yards long that’s usually purpose was that of a retaining wall.²¹² On the morning of December 13th, Federals

²⁰⁵ Eichner, David, *The Longest Night* (New York, Simon & Schuster), 2001

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: 24th Georgia Regiment*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/24th-georgia-infantry/>

²⁰⁹ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

²¹⁰ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

would charge at the Legion and others' position.²¹³ It was a slaughter. Wave after wave of Federals were mowed down by the Confederate fire. T.R.R. Cobb would be killed either by a shell or by a rifle ball possibly shot by his own man after the first wave.²¹⁴ Colonel Robert McMillan would take command for the rest of the day. The Legion also lost its popular commander Lt. Col. Cook who had been with them at Fox's Gap and Sharpsburg.²¹⁵

One of the Federal brigades which were part of the assault was the Brig. Thomas Meagher's Irish Brigade.²¹⁶ At both 200 and 50 yard distances, the brigade was melted by fire from Phillips Legion, including the Lochrane Guards which were entirely made up of Irishmen. The Union Irishmen hurled Gaelic insults towards their Confederate killers but McMillan as well as Captain Patrick McGovern of the Lochrane Guards hurled Gaelic insults back at their attackers. There was a considerable amount of friendly fire amongst the Confederates as the troops stationed on the hill behind the wall were not firing high enough and their projectiles struck the men behind the wall.²¹⁷ Phillips' Legion suffered in total thirteen dead and fifty nine wounded (ten of which would die) at the Battle of Fredericksburg.²¹⁸ One of those wounded was the Ulsterman Patrick McGuire who was wounded in the head at Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862.²¹⁹ Three days later he would be admitted to a hospital in Richmond for a "gun shot wound to the head" and was furloughed for forty days home.²²⁰

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

²²⁰ Ibid.

In reorganization following the loss of T.R.R Cobb at Fredericksburg, Phillips' Legion would be assigned to General Lafayette McLaws under the more direct leadership of Gen. William Wofford's in his brigade.²²¹

The war had proven tough on the Ulstermen of the 24th and Phillips Legion. While they participated in the same theatre, each individual man I studied has thus far had a unique and varied war record. The experiences continue to prove the same varied throughout the rest of the war.

²²¹ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

Chapter III: The War Rages On and Trails Off

1863 would prove to be a pivotal year for the war. The year contained Vicksburg in the west while Gettysburg was waged in the east. The Ulstermen would continue their varied war records through the year and the rest of the war for that matter.

Wofford and the 24th would get their first big taste of the combat in 1863 at Chancellorsville.²²² May 1st, the 24th would be moved into position which sought to encircle the Union position.²²³ On May 2nd, the 24th would be used to put pressure on Federal troops lead by Slocum; the same troops which had slaughtered the 24th at Crompton's Gap.²²⁴ May 3rd, the 24th would be pulled back towards Fredericksburg to meet a Union advance that was seeking to reinforce Hooker's troops at Chancellorsville.²²⁵ Throughout the next three days, the 24th would hold that position and help Confederates put pressure on Union Gen. Sedgwick's troops there.²²⁶ Those troops would be forced to withdraw on May 5th.

May 3rd was a time of strife for the Haddock brothers. James met an untimely end on May 3, 1863 at Chancellorsville.²²⁷ James Haddock most likely found death at the hands of John Sedgwick's men that day due to an attack around 5PM.²²⁸ John Henry Haddock, on the other hand, was promoted to First Sargent that same day.²²⁹

²²² Battle of Chancellorsville, **2 May** 1863 (**Situation at 1800**), United States Military Academy. Department of Military Art and Engineering.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Hal Jespersen, Battle of Chancellorsville: Actions 10am-5pm, May 3, 1863 [map], accessed through http://www.cwmaps.com/freemaps/Chancellorsville_May3b.png

²²⁶ Hal Jespersen, Battle of Chancellorsville: Actions May 4-6, 1863 [map], accessed through http://www.cwmaps.com/freemaps/Chancellorsville_May4-6.png

²²⁷ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

²²⁸ Hal Jespersen, Battle of Chancellorsville: Actions May 4-6, 1863 [map], accessed through http://www.cwmaps.com/freemaps/Chancellorsville_May4-6.png

²²⁹ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

A month later, the 24th would find itself caught in the turning point of the war: Gettysburg. The 24th would see action in July 2nd when they would charge into a part of the battlefield known as Peach Orchard to clear out men from New Hampshire, Maine, and Pennsylvania.²³⁰ The modern-day marker at Gettysburg notes that on the 2nd, the 24th

“Arrived at 4 P. M. and formed line 100 yards west of this. Ordered to the front about 6 P. M. and advanced soon afterward along Wheatfield Road flanked the Union forces assailing the Loop and aided the Confederates thereby relieved in forcing them back through the Wheatfield to the foot of Little Round Top. Assailed there by a strong body of fresh troops and receiving at the same moment an order to withdraw the Brigade fell back at sunset to the grove west of the Wheatfield.”²³¹

This would be the end of the war for Thomas Henry McClure as he was captured and sent to Elmira, New York as a prisoner and would not be released until June 16, 1865.²³²²³³

The next day the 24th would be “left on outpost duty” and support the artillery on the overlooking ridge.²³⁴ On the 4th, with the rest of the Confederates, would be forced to retreat.²³⁵ The 24th would spend the rest of July 1863 in retreat to Virginia.²³⁶ In the ensuing reorganization after the massive failure of the offensive, the 24th would be sent to the Army of the Tennessee under Gen. Longstreet.²³⁷ While they would be present at Chickamauga, they would never be

²³⁰ American Battlefield Trust, Gettysburg- The Wheatfield and Peach Orchard- July 2, 1863, 6:30-7:00, accessed through <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/maps/gettysburg-wheatfield-and-peach-orchard-july-2-1863-630-700-pm>

²³¹ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: 24th Georgia Regiment*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/24th-georgia-infantry/>

²³² Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: 24th Georgia Regiment*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/24th-georgia-infantry/>

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

engaged.²³⁸ The 24th would find itself at the heart of the Battle of Knoxville, however, in late November. In a poorly designed attack, the 24th was ordered to charge a fort that was 70ft higher than their position and protected by a ditch 12 feet wide and 8 feet deep.²³⁹ It must have seemed as though someone was calling for an equaling out of karma for the slaughter at Fredericksburg as the 24th were unable to get through the ditch during their charge and were, as Confederate Col. Edward Alexander said, “ fully for twenty minutes the men stood unable to get to their adversaries but unwilling to retreat”.²⁴⁰ Casualties and captures of the 24th were abundant.

The end of 1863 brought an end to the war for the rest of the Ulsterman of the 24th Georgia. No doubt frustrated after being passed over in May 1863 for promotion and due to his rising age, Robert McMillan resigned his post in January of 1864 and would go on to help reorganize the Georgia Militia for Northeastern Georgia counties.²⁴¹ James McClure headed back to the hospital for a second stint with his condition simply being described as “debilitas”.²⁴² He would then be placed on absence with leave and there is no record of his participation after that.²⁴³

The 24th would go on to be involved at Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and Cedar Creek.²⁴⁴ They would be with Lee at Appomattox on April 9th, 1865 for his surrender.²⁴⁵ Of the 660 that enlisted, only 4 officers and 56 enlisted men remained at the

²³⁸ National Park Service, *Battle Unit Details, Confederate Georgia Troops 24th Regiment, Georgia Infantry*, accessed at <https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-battle-units-detail.htm?battleUnitCode=CGA0024RI>

²³⁹ Eichner, David, *The Longest Night* (New York, Simon & Schuster), 2001

²⁴⁰ Eichner, David, *The Longest Night* (New York, Simon & Schuster), 2001

²⁴¹ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: 24th Georgia Regiment*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/24th-georgia-infantry/>

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

end.²⁴⁶ The war was a varied experience for the Ulstermen of the 24th. An experience I seriously doubt they wanted to live through again.

For the Ulstermen of Phillips Legion, the war would continue till its final days. Patrick McGuire found himself back in the action by the spring of 1863.²⁴⁷ After few movements working against the Federal “Mud March”, Phillips’ Legion found itself in the same position at Marye’s Heights on April 29th, 1863.²⁴⁸ On May 1st, they were once again digging trenches in preparation for an expected assault upon Fredericksburg.²⁴⁹ Stonewall Jackson, however, called the men into action to reinforce positions at Chancellorsville and thus they did just that.²⁵⁰ One soldier described the action they saw that day as “nothing more than skirmishing on our front” but yet they managed to advance a mile and half into Federal territory.²⁵¹

The next day, Phillips’ Legion would be used as a distraction against the Federals. They were ordered to take a position out in the open to provide assistance for a Southern battery which had been battling Federal opposition.²⁵² The men simply laid prone out in the open praying that artillery shells did not strike them.²⁵³ They would suffer one death and two more casualties around 3PM.²⁵⁴ By 11PM, the Legion could hear the shelling so loud, that as one soldier noted, it “sounded as if the very hills were blowing up”. May 3rd brought much more fighting for the Legion. Early in the morning, they would embark on their first charge against Federal defenses and were pushed back despite getting very close to overrunning them.²⁵⁵ At around 10 AM, the

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

²⁴⁸ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

Legion would charge once again and overtake that same Federal position.²⁵⁶ A portion of the men would continue to press on and capture an entire Federal regiment.²⁵⁷ Later in the day, the Legion would push back Federals once again but would suffer a few casualties for their troubles.²⁵⁸

May 4th saw McLaws awaiting reinforcement before advancing further which angered Lee greatly.²⁵⁹ He and Phillips' Legion finally began advancing at night but to their surprise the Union forces were pulling out.²⁶⁰ Losses were moderate for the Legion with three dead, one mortally wounded, twenty nine wounded, and one desertion.²⁶¹ Phillips' Legion had proved to be invaluable in Lee's success at an otherwise costly Chancellorsville.

Just a month later, Phillips' Legion would find themselves at Gettysburg. The Legion on July 2nd was very busy. First, they would eradicate Switzer's 4th Michigan regiment around the Peach Orchard and even manage to take the opposing side's colors.²⁶² Later in the day they would find themselves engaged around the Stony Hill in intense but fairly successful attacks, One man of the Legion described his actions at Stony Hill:

“We went into them with our bayonets and clubbed them with our guns. It was here that I went after the flag, and after shooting one man, and clubbing five others, I was in the act of reaching for the flag when a fellow named Smith jumped in ahead of me and grabbed it. I cam

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid.

very near clubbing him, but he put up such a pitiful mouth about having a family of small children that the wanted to see so bad, I let him have it so he could get a furlough.”²⁶³

They would reach the bottom of Little Round Top and take cover behind a stone wall.²⁶⁴ Now disorganized but encouraged by their continuous victories of the day, some would charge up the hill before being fired upon by Federal batteries.²⁶⁵ They were forced to fall back and ended the day in line with Longstreet’s main force facing Cemetery Ridge and Little Round Top.²⁶⁶

Wofford and the men under him, including Phillips Legion, had found extreme success. They captured three enemy flags and captured so many Federals that, at one point, the movement of prisoners made Wofford fear he was being attacked from his rear.²⁶⁷

The next day, July 3rd, 1863, is arguably the day that proved to be the turning point of the war. Phillips’ Legion did not charge with Pickett that day but instead were forced to watch as Pickett’s men were mowed down. The Legion then found themselves in retreat for the rest of the month. Longstreet described the actions of the troops on July 2nd, thus Phillips’ Legion, as the “the best three hours of fighting ever done by any troops on any battlefield”.²⁶⁸ They would suffer in total six killed, forty-four wounded, and forty-two captured at Gettysburg.²⁶⁹

In September of 1863, Phillips Legion would be reassigned to be under Bragg’s Army of the Tennessee and help on the Western Front.²⁷⁰ Patrick McGuire would spend the months of September and October in the hospital before returning in November.²⁷¹ On September 19th,

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

many of the men hopped out of a train bound for Chattanooga to visit their families for a few days.²⁷² This was not planned. While the men visited their families, on the Georgia-Tennessee border, the bloody battle of Chickamauga was fought.²⁷³ The Legion would be involved in several skirmishes that followed the battle and most of the men who had went AWOL returned during this period.²⁷⁴ On September 24th, the Legion would get their first real taste of combat in the Western Theatre. The Legion found themselves chagrining into a fortified Federal position in between Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain during the Siege of Chattanooga.²⁷⁵ The Legion would lose three men and five more wounded in the unsuccessful charge.²⁷⁶

William Wofford would be placed on furlough after the death of his daughter and would not return until January 1864.²⁷⁷ Colonel Solon Z. Ruff would serve as his temporary replacement.²⁷⁸ In November 1863, the Legion would begin making moves towards Knoxville under Longstreet. On the 16th, Phillips' Legion found themselves embroiled in skirmishes all day but were making progress.²⁷⁹ The next day they fortified positions on the north and south sides surrounding Knoxville.²⁸⁰ The siege of Knoxville began.

Federal forces were continuing to fortify the newly named Fort Sanders which the Confederates needed to capture to secure Knoxville.²⁸¹ Around 6AM on November 29th, Phillips' Legion found themselves to the northwest of Fort Sanders preparing themselves to charge the

²⁷² Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

fort.²⁸² A misjudgment on the Confederate's part placed them in a precarious predicament. The Federals had dug a ditch at the base of the fort. Initial reports placed the ditch at a manageable depth of 3-4 feet.²⁸³ Instead, the ditch turned out to be 8 feet deep and 8-12 feet wide.²⁸⁴ Due to this misjudgment, Longstreet had ordered there to be no ladders taken for scaling the walls.²⁸⁵ Phillips' Legion and the rest of the attackers found themselves stuck with Federals firing upon them from above. They were forced to retreat but not without heavy losses. Phillips' Legion suffered eighteen deaths, twenty more wounded, and forty-nine more captured.²⁸⁶ Six of the men of Company F, the Lochrane Guards, including Francis Dever would be captured and find themselves enlisted in the US Army before the end of the war.²⁸⁷ John Hughes of Company F was also captured here. This would end the war for John Hughes as he was prisoner at Rock Island until June of 1865.²⁸⁸

As 1864 began, William Esler continued to serve but found himself in three different hospitals throughout the year for treatment of syphilis.²⁸⁹ James Harvey, who had returned at some point after his desertion in 1862, was diagnosed with an "ulcer of the right leg" in February 1862 but would continue to fight.²⁹⁰ Patrick McGuire, who had returned after his hospital stint in the fall of 1863, had his war ended in March 1864 when he began a hospital stint that lasted until June.²⁹¹ He was then retired to the invalid corps by the "medical examining board".²⁹²

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

What remained of the Legion began the march back to Virginia. They finally rejoined Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia in April 1864.²⁹³ By early May, the Legion found themselves battling against Grant's Overland Campaign. May 5th marked the beginning of the Battle of the Wilderness and on May 6th Phillips Legion would find themselves embroiled in it. At noon of the 6th, the Legion was used in a flanking maneuver which led to a Federal dislodging.²⁹⁴ At 10AM, they would charge and halt a Federal assault which saved the day for the Army of Northern Virginia.²⁹⁵ Later in the day they would once again push Federals back.²⁹⁶ They finished the day resting as the battlefield, fallen comrades, and wounded enemies burned within the Wilderness.

The following two weeks Phillips' Legion found themselves at the Battle of Spotsylvania Courthouse. On May 10th, Phillips' Legion were spared almost all of the action for once. That would change on May 12th. The Legion were engaged in hand to hand combat at the infamous "Bloody Angle".²⁹⁷ Soaked through with rain and mud, the Legion battled Federals all day and into the night. The surgeon for the unit Dr. Shine noted this:

"The fighting commenced by daylight this morning and continued all day with the greatest severity. All agree that the fight today has been the most desperate fight of the war. The fight continued all night without the slightest cessation, and until about the sun rise this morning. It is still raining and the roads are in a very bad condition."²⁹⁸

²⁹³ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

The Legion fended off Federal attacks on Confederate defenses for the next four days.

²⁹⁹Between Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House, the Legion had eighteen dead and fifty-nine wounded.³⁰⁰ Over half of those losses most likely occurred at Wilderness with the others occurring on the 12th at Spotsylvania Courthouse.³⁰¹

The Battle of Cold Harbor the end of that month and into June also proved to be difficult for the Legion. At the beginning, the Legion found themselves facing Federals defending the hamlet of Cold Harbor.³⁰² Those Federals attacked at around 6PM on June 1st but the Legion and others would hold strong beating back the advance.³⁰³ That would hold until an unexpected pull out from another Confederate regiment forced Wofford and Phillips Legion, who pulled out last, to retreat.³⁰⁴ Savage fighting would continue through the night.³⁰⁵ The Legion suffered four dead, eleven wounded, and twenty would be captured.³⁰⁶ The next day the Legion found themselves passing loaded rifles and ammunition to the front as the Federals bravely made a suicidal charge towards defensive positions.³⁰⁷

After Cold Harbor, Phillips' Legion were trapped at the Siege of Petersburg.³⁰⁸ One soldier of the Legion described their conditions as comparable to that "of the hog. We lay in the dirt, very seldom wash our faces, have the itch, full of soldier bugs. Can you imagine a more

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: Phillips Legion*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/phillips-legion-georgia-infantry/>

wretched condition?”³⁰⁹ The Legion would see five desertions during their time at Petersburg.³¹⁰ The Legion would pull out of Petersburg in late July and would find themselves in small skirmishes here and there over the next few months.³¹¹ They would lose four men at the Battle of Cedar Creek in October 1864 which proved to be the last of the major fighting Phillips’ Legion would see.³¹² A ragged, beaten, and war tested Phillips’ Legion surrendered 93 men at Appomattox on April 9th, 1865.³¹³

The war for each of these men, whether it be the Haddock brothers, or Francis Dever, or any of the Ulstermen was a unique experience. Each of them found a different end with it whether that be resignation, wounding, capture, or death. The varied experiences of these men over the four years the war spanned. The men found themselves flung to completely new places in a completely new experience.

³⁰⁹ Coffman, Richard M. & Graham, Kurt.D, *To Honor These Men* (Macon, Mercer University Press), 2005

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Hawks, Steve A. *Civil War in the East: Phillips Legion*, updated 2020, accessed at <https://civilwarintheeast.com/confederate-regiments/georgia/phillips-legion-georgia-infantry/>

Chapter IV: The Rest Of the Story

The lives of the Ulstermen were as varied after the war as they were during the war. That is about the only trend available to the research that was done. The variety of experiences suggest a high sense of assimilation. So much so, in fact, that it would seem that one of the tenets of why these men fought in the Civil War, supporting their local communities to further their own assimilation into society, seems to have been successful. The amount of variation amongst the lives of the Ulstermen after the war suggest assimilation had happened thoroughly.

Arguably, most interesting, was the rest of the life of Francis Dever. On November 29, 1863 he was captured in Knoxville, Tennessee and record shows him in a military prison in Louisville, Kentucky four days after Christmas, December 29, 1863.³¹⁴ He would then be transferred to Camp Chase in Ohio in that same month before arriving at Rock Island by January 6, 1864.³¹⁵³¹⁶ Further records indicate that he was at Rock Island until at least March 1864.³¹⁷

The next thing we find about Francis Dever is where he enlisted into the US Army in October 1864 by Capt. H.R. Rathbone for one year.³¹⁸ He is listed as a Private in either Company D or E of the 2nd Volunteer Infantry.³¹⁹ His time in the US Army sent him all over the Midwest and West including Missouri, Nebraska, Colorado, and Kansas.³²⁰ He would be promoted to Corporal in September 1865.³²¹ He was mustered out of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas in November 1865 with a pay of \$65.51.³²² The last US Army record his is found on is an army

³¹⁴ Thomas, Sam. Irishmen List Excel Sheet, 2017.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Ibid.

return in 1868 from Livingston, Kansas.³²³ By 1890, Francis Dever is found on the census working as a “miner” in Cochise County, Territory of Arizona.³²⁴ Cochise County is notable for being the home of Tombstone, Arizona. By 1892, Francis Dever moved on from Arizona to Leadville, Colorado where he lived at 312 Poplar Street.³²⁵

Five years later, Francis Dever left New York aboard the Ethiopia and would arrive in Londonderry, Northern Ireland at the age of 61.³²⁶ The censuses of 1901 and 1911 suggest that he lived out his days in Meentullynagarn Townland, County Donegal.³²⁷ He applied for a pension to the US Army in 1907 as a “wagon master”.³²⁸ He passed in mid to late spring of 1917 in Glenties, Iniskeel Parish, County Donegal.³²⁹ Despite my best efforts, I was unable to find his grave. In terms of surviving family, I was able to find one child, Susan, who was born in 1862. I was unable to find a wife, however.

After the war, William Esler finally gave the oath to the Union in 1867 in Marietta, Georgia.³³⁰ In 1870 he is listed in the census as living with his seventy-nine year old mother in Marietta.³³¹ William Esler passed away that same year and would be buried at Citizens Cemetery in Marietta.³³²

James Harvey survived that ulcer and is noted to have worked as a shoemaker in Macon, Georgia in 1864.³³³ James Harvey married a Mary J. in 1873.³³⁴ I can find record of James and

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Ibid.

Mary having ten children, the first being born in 1874 and the last being born in 1895.³³⁵ The last record I have of James Harvey and his family is from the American census of 1900 where he is listed as a farmer in Bryan County, Georgia which is about thirty miles outside of Savannah.³³⁶ Despite my best efforts, I was unable to find anything on the passing of James Harvey.

John Hughes gave his oath of allegiance and listed his place of residence as St. Louis, Missouri.³³⁷ But he didn't end up there. Hughes passed away on July 26, 1900 in Chicago, Illinois. He was buried two days later at Mt. Greenwood Cemetery. Patrick McGuire returned home to a new child, Joseph, who had been born that same year. The 1880 census lists McGuire's household with the two children and his wife while also listing his occupation as a "watchman".³³⁸ Patrick McGuire passed away on May 23, 1921 in Savannah, Georgia.³³⁹

Robert McMillan applied for a presidential pardon in 1865.³⁴⁰ The following years he was taxed for a piano and a watch while grieving over his wife's, Ruth Ann's, death in 1867. Robert and Ruth had eight children. Robert McMillan passed away on May 6, 1868 in the same month as his sixth child's death. He passed away in Habersham County, Georgia and is buried in Old Clarkesville Cemetery.

James Haddock's fate is a bit controversial. War records suggest that his life met an untimely end on May 3, 1863 at Chancellorsville.³⁴¹ James Haddock most likely found death at the hands of John Sedgwick's men that day due to an attack around 5PM.³⁴² However, a grave

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

and the rest of his family indicate an entirely different story. James Boys Haddock is buried at Providence Methodist Church in Toccoa, Georgia which lists his death date as May 16, 1935.³⁴³

The truth probably lies in the latter evidence.

John Henry Haddock was labeled as a “farmer” in the 1870 census.³⁴⁴ Before that census, however, he married Mary Susan “Sue” Everett, a woman from North Carolina, in late 1866.³⁴⁵ The couple would have six children, the first in 1869 and the last sometime after 1878.³⁴⁶ John and his family would bounce around various northeastern Georgian counties including White and Stephens.³⁴⁷ The 1910 census indicates that John Haddock had become a widower.³⁴⁸ John passed on December 7, 1921.³⁴⁹ He is buried at Providence United Methodist Church in Toccoa, Georgia with his brother James.³⁵⁰

After the war, James McClure headed back to Cleveland, Georgia working as a farmer according to the 1870 census.³⁵¹ He would remain in White County for the next thirty-seven years, living very close to the rest of the McClure family.³⁵² I have record of him marrying in 1882 but am unable to find the woman’s name.³⁵³ The two had eight children, the first in 1883 and the last in 1902.³⁵⁴ James McClure died on October 15, 1907 and is buried at a family cemetery close to Sautee, Georgia.³⁵⁵

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

Thomas McClure returned home and married Sarah Elizabeth Leonard on New Year's Eve, 1867.³⁵⁶ The couple had four children between 1869 and 1884.³⁵⁷ In 1883, Thomas and his close family moved by train to Mountain Home, Arkansas.³⁵⁸ Thomas McClure passed on January 4, 1900.³⁵⁹ He is buried in the City Cemetery of Mountain Home, Arkansas.³⁶⁰

Each one of the men that were studied had unique experience after the war. All the evidence suggests that assimilation had occurred extensively. These men were comfortable enough to move around the area, across the South, as well as across the country. Its similar to the patterns we see in modern day Americans in terms of migration where we feel free to move from state to state for better opportunities. This variation is the trend that is most identifiable.

³⁵⁶ Ibid..

³⁵⁷ Ibid..

³⁵⁸ Ibid..

³⁵⁹ Ibid..

³⁶⁰ Ibid..

Conclusion

The stories of these men speak for themselves. Each of them are unique stories of what immigration looked like for those Ulstermen who came southwards. Each one of them are case studies in what the experiences of Irishmen in the South looked like in the antebellum, Civil War, and postbellum eras. These stories give us a glimpse into what those experiences were like.

The act of emigration itself follows the same trend that the rest of their lives did: variation. While some trends can be observed, such as being forced to leave from the United Kingdom rather than Ireland and their arrival to the States occurring in northern urban centers like Philadelphia and New York, the circumstances surrounding their emigration are varied. Some seem to have been stable financially, even maintaining land after they left through straight ownership or lease, breaking the stereotype of the financially strapped and starving victim of the Irish Potato Famine arriving in New York. I think this evidence of the retention of property may even be enough to move towards a thought that some of these immigrants may have actually sought to return to Ulster. Some traveled with families or followed in family's footsteps across the Atlantic. Others took a chance on themselves and traveled by themselves. The big takeaway is that there isn't just one story, there's many. Each one of those stories with their own insights to give.

They each were different upon arrival. They were attorneys, farmers, laborers, and bootmakers. Some lived with family and some did not. There is no obvious trend. The trend is variation. There were a multitude of reasons that these men fought including a showing of solidarity with local communities, preparing for a fight back home in Ireland should they return,

the respect that comes with being a soldier when compared to being a laborer, and the ever alluring assurance of pay.

The experience of each one of the men in the war were varied. Some were wounded, some perished, some were captured, and one would even go on to fight for the Union out west against natives serving as an example of the “Galvanized Yankee”, unveiling the possibility of a lack of loyalty to the Confederate cause. After the war, the men seemed to have assimilated fully. They seem willing to move around the state of Georgia, the south, and throughout the country rather than staying within Irish communities. Their patterns of migration and their willingness to move mirror that of modern Americans and the freedom of movement that exists for many modern Americans. But beyond that trend, the only other trend is that common theme of variation.

It seems to me that the variation of these experiences speak to the unique nature that all people have to tell. The stories that I have worked with these past three years have fascinated me and hopefully reveal something for others. I think mainly, however, it’s most important that these stories are simply told. It’s the author’s belief that these men deserve to have their stories told as much as any character in history.

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