

THE 17TH REGIMENT VIRGINIA VOLUNTEERS, C.S.A.

by

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CHAPTER I

"A MARTIAL SPIRIT AMONG THE PEOPLE"

On October 18, 1859, John Brown's conspiracy to sow the seeds of servile insurrection ended in a flash of bayonets at a Harper's Ferry, Va., firehouse. Wounded and captured, he was quickly brought to trial, convicted of treason and in early December, executed for his crime. Despite widespread condemnation North and South of Brown's deed, fearful and angered Southerners began preparations for conflict. Brown had not incited the slaves; he had infuriated their masters.

At Alexandria, a Potomac port on Virginia's northern neck, the initial news of Brown's foray came in Gov. Henry Wise's orders to mobilize the city's military forces for transfer to Harpers Ferry. These forces, consisting of two companies of infantry and one company of artillery, quickly answered the appeal to arms and reached the embattled town in a few hours. The following morning (October 18), in concert with other militia units and Col. Robert E. Lee's battalion of marines, the Alexandria troops had participated in Brown's capture.¹

With John Brown safely in custody, the men of Alexandria headed home. However, their return was short lived. On November 17, reports of an abolitionist force headed toward Charles Town to effect Brown's liberation stirred considerable excitement. Recalled into service,

¹Edgar Warfield, A Confederate Soldier's Memoirs (Richmond, 1936), 13-15.

the men reported to their various armories and prepared to leave. Public sentiment reached such a fever-pitch that hundreds volunteered to accompany the military. The men were transported to Washington on the Alexandria and Washington Railroad and from there took the first train to Charles Town.² Remaining through Brown's trial and execution, Alexandria's sons on December 6 returned home.³

Although Harpers Ferry marked their first smell of burnt powder, Alexandria military units had existed for nearly twenty years. First among these were the "Mount Vernon Guards." Organized on June 21, 1842, and comprised of small tradesmen and mechanics, this company had elected Samuel H. Devaughn as its captain. By 1859, the unit was unusual by the large number of men over the age of twenty-five.⁴

On March 10, 1856, the "Mount Vernon Guards" were augmented by the organization of the "Alexandria Riflemen." Composed of clerks, large merchants and professional men, it represented the economic and social prominence of Alexandria society. The men originally chose the "Alexandria Sharpshooters" for their name and determined that the knapsacks and cartridge boxes should be covered by a flap stamped with the initials of the company. After their organizational meeting was

²Richmond Times Dispatch, Nov. 19, 21, 22, 1859.

³Ibid., December 6, 1859.

⁴Alexander Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank (New York, 1904), 19. Lee A. Wallace, Jr., A Guide to Virginia Military Organizations, 1861-1865 (Richmond, 1964), 127-28. U. S. National Archives, (comp.) "Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Virginia," Microfilm rolls 582-596. Hereafter cited as CSR.

adjourned, it occurred to someone that "A. S. S." would adorn their accoutrements. Projecting the jibes and taunts such a display would inspire, the members re-established a quorum and changed the name to "Alexandria Riflemen." This unit, armed with Mississippi rifles and subjected to rigorous drilling by Capt. Morton Mayre, became known as one of the state's finest.⁵

During the late 1850's, several other northern Virginia localities raised militia companies. In 1858, Robert H. Simpson, a graduate of Virginia Military Institute and schoolmaster at the Front Royal Academy, recruited a company among his students. It was known as the "Warren Rifles." In November, 1859, the "Prince William Rifles" of Prince William County completed its organization. In that same month, the "Loudoun Guard" of Loudoun County formed and elected Charles B. Tebbs, a thirty-eight-year-old attorney as its commander. This exceptional company was unusual in the diversity of skills and occupations its men represented. In December, 1859, William H. Dulany, a Fairfax County attorney recruited and captained a unit known as the "Fairfax Riflemen." Two-thirds of Dulany's recruits were farmers. The unit's youngest member, William Weber, was a lad of sixteen. He was counterbalanced by fifty-eight-year-old Joseph Beach. Late in 1859, the town of Warrenton, inspired by the efforts of John Quincy Marr, organized the "Warrenton Rifles."⁶

⁵Wallace, Guide, 127; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 19; Warfield, Memoirs, 20.

⁶Wallace, Guide, 127; CSR Rolls 583, 585, 595, 596; Laura Virginia Hale, Four Valiant Years in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1861-1865 (Strasburg, 1968), 9.

The sectional antagonisms resulting from John Brown's raid continued to press the nation toward disunity. The presidential election of 1860 saw the citizens of Alexandria favor Constitutional Union Party candidate John Bell by almost a two-to-one margin over his nearest rival. Bell, a former Whig, had based his campaign on conciliation and political compromise. Perceiving Abraham Lincoln's election as proof that the sectional hostilities could not be peacefully resolved, more citizens took up arms.⁷

On December 1, 1860, a notice in the Alexandria Gazette called on "all boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty, who wished to unite and form a rifle company, to meet at the banking house of the Corse brothers in the Exchange Building, 417 King Street." Response to the notice was enthusiastic. In five days the company enrolled sixty-eight men and believing the number sufficient, completed its organization.⁸ Enumerating their goals as "a vindication of state honor, the protection of life, liberty and property and the cultivation of a martial spirit among the people," the recruits also affirmed their "deeply impressed belief that a well organized and disciplined militia was the best defense against foreign invasion, civil commotion, and lawless violence."⁹ Choosing the name "Old Dominion Rifles," the unit specified that its uniform would be of "Virginia made cadet gray cloth, a jacket of the

⁷Richmond Dispatch, Nov. 19, 1860. Alexandria cast 911 votes for Bell, 519 for John C. Breckenridge and 133 for Stephen A. Douglas.

⁸Warfield Memoirs, 17. Lee A. Wallace cites Jan. 7, 1861 as the organization date for the "Old Dominion Rifles."

⁹Confederate Veteran XVII (1909), 165.

pattern of the Hungarian riflemen, Zouave pants, French cap, green trim, Virginia state buttons and short boots." The contract for the uniforms was given to a local merchant at \$22 each.¹⁰

Leadership of the new unit evolved upon a tall and dignified Alexandria native, Montgomery Dent Corse. Impressive in appearance, he had a thin face keenly accentuated by high cheekbones. A well-trimmed mustache and beard, high forehead from which dark wavy hair had receded, a hatchet-sharp nose and deeply set piercing eyes marked him to others as a man of ability and promise. Having seen service in Mexico as a captain of Virginia volunteers, Corse then spent several years in California before returning to Alexandria and establishing himself in the banking business.¹¹ Elected by clerks, students and unemployed gentlemen at large, the forty-five-year-old Corse found himself in command of men less than half his age. So youthful were the "Old Dominion Rifles" that not one of its number was married.¹²

The secession of South Carolina, followed soon after by the exodus of six additional Southern states, allowed Alexandrians little respite from their continuing preparations. On February 18, 1861, the commissioned officers from the city's volunteer companies met at the office of local banker Arthur Herbert. The captains all voted affirmatively for the formation of a battalion and the election of a major. Both Capt. Samuel H. Devaughn and Capt. Morton Mayre declined the

¹⁰Warfield, Memoirs, 17.

¹¹Ezra J. Warner, Generals in Gray: Lives of Confederate Commanders (Baton Rouge, 1959), 63.

¹²Warfield, Memoirs, 18-19.

position, whereupon Capt. Corse was elected by acclamation. Herbert, a lieutenant in the "Old Dominion Rifles," was elected to captain by Corse's promotion. The remaining staff appointments; consisting of an adjutant, quartermaster, quartermaster sergeant, sergeant-major, paymaster and surgeon were divided among the members of the three companies. On April 10, the "Alexandria Battalion" completed its official organization.¹³

Two days later, artillerists wearing the palmetto badge of South Carolina militia opened fire on Fort Sumter, a federally controlled installation near the mouth of Charleston harbor. Thirty-four hours later, the fort's garrison surrendered. President Lincoln, viewing Sumter's bombardment as evidence of "combinations too powerful to be suppressed," called upon the states to furnish 75,000 men to quench the rebellion. Virginia governor John Letcher bluntly refused the request and, on April 17, Virginia left the Union.¹⁴

On April 21, Letcher commissioned Phillip St. George Cocke as a brigadier general of Virginia volunteers and gave him command of the troops and defenses along the Potomac. Authorized to muster into service as many volunteer companies as might be necessary to repel invasion, Cocke mobilized the units from seventeen localities that included Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William, Fauquier and Warren counties.

¹³Alexandria Gazette, Feb. 19, Apr. 11, 1861.

¹⁴F.N. Boney, John Letcher of Virginia (University, Alabama, 1966), 112.

Upon his arrival in Alexandria, Cocke found the "Battalion" assembled and on full alert.¹⁵ The reason for the city's early mobilization was the appearance of Federal infantry and artillery near the Long Bridge, a major thoroughfare between Alexandria and Washington. Their presence, coming on the heels of Fort Sumter, Lincoln's call for troops and the reconvening of Virginia's secession convention, was cause for considerable alarm. On April 18, the "Alexandria Battalion" met at its armory and voted to begin day and night patrols of the city and its approaches. Confirmation of Virginia's secession followed several days later.¹⁶

General Cocke's visit to Alexandria was brief. However, that did not mask its strategic importance. As part of the newly created Northwestern Frontier District, Alexandria occupied the apex of a triangular defensive line stretching from Harpers Ferry southward along the length of the Potomac to the line of the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers near Fredericksburg. Loss of the city would pierce the center of this defensive perimeter. If or when the Federals were ready to launch an offensive, they could utilize the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, the easiest overland line of advance from Washington. Moreover, by reaching Manassas Junction twenty miles to the west, the

¹⁵Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 23; Alexandria Gazette, May 8, 1861; U. S. War Dept. (comp.) War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1880-1901). Ser. I, II, 804-5. Hereafter cited as Official Records; all references will be to Ser. I unless otherwise stated. Although Cocke's official mobilization order was issued on May 5, all the aforementioned units were mobilized and in the field before that date.

¹⁶George Wise, History of the 17th Virginia Infantry, CSA (Baltimore, 1870), 8-9.

Federals could control the only natural defensive position of strength (Bull Run) north of the Rappahannock River.

Viewing the penetration of the Potomac line as a first step to outflanking the defensive positions at Bull Run, Cocke garrisoned Alexandria with the six companies of the "Alexandria Battalion" (a company of infantry and a company of cavalry were added during the last week of April), plus the "Fairfax Riflemen," "Loudoun Guards" and the "Warren Rifles." Completing his arrangements, the distinguished Virginian departed on Sunday morning, April 28, for his new headquarters at Culpeper Court House.¹⁷

Cocke's withdrawal to Culpeper left responsibility for Alexandria's defense in the incapable hands of Lieutenant Colonel Algernon S. Taylor. Ordered to "only retreat under the threat of overwhelming numbers," Taylor was to employ all of his forces in slowing a Union advance and to keep Richmond authorities fully informed. Nevertheless, on May 5, without pressure from Federal troops or authorization from his superiors, Taylor evacuated the city.¹⁸

Taylor quickly found himself on the verge of a court martial. In an attempt to placate his angered superiors, he explained that his command of 500 men were untrained, some of them were unarmed and none of them possessed more than a few rounds of ammunition. Of particular concern to Taylor were the new units: Captain Thornton Tripplett's

¹⁷Official Records, II, 804-5; Alexandria Gazette, Apr. 27 and 28, 1861; Douglas S. Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command (New York, 1942), I, 688.

¹⁸Official Records, II, 26.

"Irish Volunteer Artillery" and Captain James E. Towson's "Emmett Guards." Organized on April 22 and 25 respectively, these companies had been recruited from the Irish laboring classes and were abysmally armed with altered 1818 vintage flintlock smoothbores. No cartridges or percussion were available for these weapons. Even more lamentable was Taylor's expressed belief that these troops were raw and undisciplined. The colonel concluded his report by stating: "The men are becoming almost useless from home influences; they are scattered all over the city, and to assemble them with any speed is impossible." Taylor's explanations were in vain. On May 10, he was replaced by Major George Hunter Terrett.¹⁹

Terrett's assignment to Alexandria abruptly altered the existence of its defenders. A career Marine, with distinguished service in the Seminole and Mexican wars, he quickly confirmed the problems his predecessor had identified but had not been able to solve. Discipline, where it existed, was laxly maintained. Arms and ammunition were in short supply. Convinced that his men were unprepared to meet the enemy, Terrett began the task of molding them into his image of soldiers.

Results were not long in coming. Troops, scattered by the "home influences," were ordered into barracks. A provost guard patrolled the streets to arrest those lacking the proper passes. At the same time, Terrett instituted a sixteen-hour daily schedule of drills and dress

¹⁹Wallace, Guide, 127-28; Warfield, Memoirs, 32-33. Perhaps the best example of "home influences" is found in the May 8, 1861, Alexandria Gazette, which announced the highest number of marriage licenses issued in one month for over seven years.

parades that pounded military training and discipline into his troops. At Richmond the provisional army commander, Gen. Robert E. Lee, authorized a shipment of arms and ammunition for Alexandria, and Terrett moved quickly to activate those recruits rendered ineffective for want of equipment. The Alexandria troops chafed under the demands of their new commander; but unlike his predecessor the fifty-four-year-old Fairfax native earned their respect.²⁰

Although the troops generally heeded Terrett's orders, there were instances when old habits took the measure of military discipline. On one occasion, with all military passes suspended, several members of the "Alexandria Riflemen" were invited to a dance. Captain Mayre would not relent the confinement order; and with guards stationed at the barracks, escape seemed impossible. Yet Private Thomas Douglas, in exchange for two bottles of ale and a promise to take his extra duty, developed a plan. That evening, following dress parade, Privates Alexander Hunter and John Mills met at Douglas' room and disguised themselves as Negroes. Then, employing their fiddles, they proceeded to create a terrific noise. As the noise reached a crescendo, Douglas complained to Captain Mayre that he was ill and could not stand the racket. Mayre, already irritated, became incensed when the young soldier stated: "Mills and Hunter have their fiddles and have turned up some niggers to dance for them."

"What!" he erupted, "Niggers in my barracks. Niggers dancing in my barracks! Get a guard and turn those black impudent rascals out."

²⁰Warfield, Memoirs, 34; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 23-25.

The "blacks" were marched from camp with Mayre's thundering admonition "to cut off their ears if he ever caught them again." An hour later, after a brief stop to wash their hands and faces, Hunter and Mills were at the dance.²¹

As Col. Terrett prepared his men, Federals across the Potomac were planning to assume the offensive. Lincoln had spent the previous month in subduing Maryland's rebellious sentiment. Now he focused his attention on the Confederate watch fires that dotted the Virginia shore at Arlington and Alexandria. On May 19, the U. S. sloop of war Pawnee appeared off Alexandria. Simultaneously, Maj. Gen. Samuel Peter Heintzelman was assembling nine regiments of infantry, three companies of cavalry and ten pieces of artillery for an amphibious assault. The Lincoln administration, confident that Virginia voters would pass the upcoming referendum on secession, was merely delaying the attack until de facto separation became official.²²

On May 23, Virginians flocked to the polls to give official approval to the Old Dominion's severance from the Union. Voting ten-to-one for secession, the Alexandrians also took pride in the enlistment and mustering of the city's fifth and final infantry company, the "O'Connell Guards." Led by Capt. Stephen Wilson Presstman, a prominent engineer, the "Guard" was made up entirely of Irishmen. Many of them were employed by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. In its ranks were men with such names as Leary, McGuire, Murphy, Ryan and Shennessy. In time, this

²¹Ibid., 28-31.

²²Warfield, Memoirs, 42-43. Citizens of Alexandria voted 983-106 in favor of secession.

units' fondness for fisticuffs and alcohol would make it a headache for any commander. Yet for the present, the men settled peacefully and expectantly into their barracks.²³

At 1:30 A. M. on May 24, Capt. Ball's "Fairfax Cavalry" informed Col. Terrett that Federal horsemen were crossing to the Virginia shore. The old Marine promptly ordered his garrison under arms and increased the number of sentries. At daybreak, Private William Morrill of the "Alexandria Riflemen," on guard at Cazenove's wharf opposite the point where the Pawnee was riding at anchor, exchanged shots with approaching boats filled with Union soldiers. The garrison, upon hearing the volley, hastily formed ranks to repel the anticipated Federal assault.²⁴

No attack came. A truce was established; and following a three-sided conference with Union officers and civilian authorities, Col. Terrett decided that resistance against the numerically superior enemy was useless. Terms were completed for the surrender of the city after a three-hour interval for the withdrawal of Confederate forces. Completing the arrangements, Terrett pulled in his cordon of pickets and prepared to leave.²⁵

Before the designated withdrawal period had expired, Federal troops were observed embarking from transports at the wharves. At the same

²³Alexandria Gazette, May 21, 1861; Wallace, Guide, 128; CSR, Rolls 590, 591, 593.

²⁴Ibid., 41; Wayne R. De Laney and Marie E. Bowery, The Seventeenth Virginia Volunteer Infantry Regiment CSA (Washington, 1961), 2.

²⁵Wise, 17th Virginia, 11; Richard B. Buck to father, May 25, 1861, letters of Richard Bayle Buck, University of Virginia. Hereafter cited as Buck Letters.

time, additional enemy infantry, fresh from capturing Arlington Heights, were reported advancing on Alexandria by the Washington and Alexandria Turnpike. With his men wedged between two enemy forces, and Union naval guns trained on the city's principal streets, Terrett rapidly assembled his companies at the Lyceum Hall. There they arranged themselves in marching order, and moved out Duke Street and took the Little River Turnpike to the west.²⁶

The margin of escape was extremely close. In some instances, Federals closed to within 150 yards and forced Terrett to alter his line of march. "We made for the depot," Richard Buck recalled, "but they got ahead of us. Fortunately the cars had not come in, as they run out of town every night." The Confederates had hiked about two miles when the sound of a train whistle reached their ears. They quickly halted the cars, and the "Battalion" proceeded to Manassas, "stopping as they passed over every bridge to burn it so the enemy could not follow."²⁷

Reaching Manassas, the tired and famished soldiers found themselves without quarters or rations. A few tents and plank houses were in evidence, but they were occupied by troops who had arrived earlier in the month. Uncomplaining, the men spent several nights in freight cars. By the end of the week, most of Alexandria's defenders were in suitable quarters. On May 31, in a letter to his sister Martha, Capt. Robert H.

²⁶Warfield, Memoirs, 38; Wise, 17th Virginia, 12. The "Fairfax Cavalry," acting as a rearguard for the retreating troops, was captured almost en masse. The "Old Dominion Rifles," failing to receive the order to march, narrowly escaped the same fate.

²⁷Richard Buck to father, May 25, 1861, Buck Letters.

Simpson stated: "We are tolerably well provided for here now. We have two houses with 96 bunks for the men--and an officers house...We have not yet enough men to assume offensive operations against the vandalic horde of old Scott. But if they attack us here there will be a display of heroism such as the world has never seen."²⁸

²⁸Warfield, Memoirs, 48; Robert H. Simpson to sister, May 31, 1861, Robert H. Simpson Letters, Duke University. Captain Simpson's reference to "old Scott" refers to Gen. Winfield Scott, general-in-chief of the Union Armies.

CHAPTER II

VICTORIES FOLLOW DEFEAT

On the following day, June 1, 1861, Gen. Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard assumed command of all Confederate forces concentrating near Manassas Junction. Summoned from Charleston, the "Hero of Sumter" had proceeded to Richmond for conferences with President Jefferson Davis and Gen. Robert E. Lee. Davis enmeshed in the transfer of government from Montgomery, Ala., to Richmond, believed that an experienced officer should be entrusted with thwarting the Federal threat on Virginia. This opinion was shared by Lee, who had just returned from an inspection of the Manassas defenses. Leaving with his personal staff, Beauregard proceeded to the small northern Virginia railroad junction.¹

Beauregard's first tour of the Manassas defenses left him with a sense of alarm. Even with the addition of the "Alexandria Battalion" and new units that Col. Cocke was advancing from Culpeper, Beauregard could count only 6,000 men present and equipped for duty. The Confederate supply system, still in an infant stage, was not yet able to meet the growing demands for biscuits and bullets. Beauregard then informed

¹Wise, 17th Virginia, 19; Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, I, 4-6.

President Davis that reinforcements were badly needed if he was to check an enemy advance.²

Union troops were already skirmishing with Southern units, which had been detached to guard the approaches to Manassas. One such company, the "Warrenton Rifles" under Capt. John Quincy Marr, was positioned at Fairfax Court House in support of the "Rappahannock and Prince William Cavalry." Near 3 A. M. on June 1, pickets stationed about a mile from town were driven in by a company of the 2nd U. S. Cavalry, which gave pursuit into the village. Coming from a side road to the north, the bluecoats slammed into the rebel cavalry. The Southern horsemen, poorly armed levies, fled through the town and out of the fight. Nearly half of the "Warrenton Rifles" were swept along in the press of fugitives.³

The Federal cavalrymen soon discontinued their pursuit. Reforming ranks, they re--entered the town to find the "Rifles" arranged on each side of the main street, crouched behind fences from which they delivered a most effective fire. The Union commander, dividing his force, succeeded in flanking the Confederates, and for a time they were assailed front

²Official Records, II, 846, 902. If Gen. Beauregard ever reviewed the Alexandria troops, none of them recorded the event. However, it is certain that Pvt. Richard Buck did see him. Writing to his mother, on June 12, 1861, he stated: "I had the pleasure of having a good look at Gen. Beauregard yesterday evening. What an eye he has. He looks like he could see through an inch board."

³DeLaney, 17th Virginia Volunteer Infantry, 3; Confederate Veteran, VII (1899), 464; Catherine B. Hopely, Life In The South (New York, 1974), II, 173-75; Emily G. Ramey and John H. Gott, Years of Anguish; Fauquier County, Virginia, 1861-1865 (Warrenton, 1965), 148-50.

and rear. Yet the "Rifles," many of whom were little more than seventeen years old, beat off the attack.⁴

At this point, ex-Gov. William "Extra Billy" Smith and Col. Richard Ewell appeared to direct the company's movements. Making another pass upon the village, the Federals received a volley that knocked several men from their saddles. Dispirited bluecoats then fled across the open field despite the booming oaths and curses of their commander.⁵

The Southerners, elated by their victory, began the process of counting losses and collecting spoils. In addition to four pickets captured, Col. Ewell was severely wounded and Capt. Marr was mysteriously missing. Several bluecoats had been killed or wounded. Their equipment was strewn over a wide area. Indicative of the Union panic was the case of Pvt. Benjamin Florence. Captured while on picket, he was stripped of his cap and then lost his coat as he escaped. The next morning, Florence discovered both of the items where the Federals had dropped them. About 9 A. M., Capt. Marr was found shot to death.⁶

John Quincy Marr was the first Virginia officer to die in battle. Born at Warrenton on May 27, 1825, he was only five days past his thirty-sixth birthday when he was killed. An intelligent youth, he entered VMI in July, 1843, and graduated in 1846 with the second distinguished

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.; Official Records, II, 62; Judith W. McGuire, Diary of A Southern Refugee (Richmond, 1889), 23-25.

⁶Hopely, Life In The South, II, 175, 181-83; Confederate Veteran, VII (1899), 464. The "Warrenton Rifles" company historian listed three or four prisoners taken at Fairfax. In a June 5 letter to his cousin Nell, Richard Buck claimed nine captives.

honor of his class. He had served as an assistant professor of mathematics and tactics at the Institute until called home by the death of his father.⁷

Although his work was exemplary, and his VMI colleagues promised him future advancement, Marr never returned to the Lexington campus. For the next few years, he labored at several municipal and county positions to raise his widowed mother and fatherless sisters from destitution. In 1859, he was the prime mover behind the formation of the "Warrenton Rifles." Two years later, he was a near-unanimous choice to represent Fauquier County at Virginia's secession convention. Assuming command of his company, Marr had proceeded to Fairfax--and death.⁸

On June 3, Capt. Marr's casket was borne to the family burial plot for interment beside his father and sister. Hundreds of mourners were in attendance. That Marr was the county's most loved resident made him a martyr, but the fact that he was the first to die made the sorrow all the greater. Paying their final respects, people turned away in grief. The next four years would see this scene repeated with unbearable frequency.⁹

Meanwhile, at Manassas, Gen. Beauregard drove his men relentlessly. Moving them from roomy barracks into tents, he instituted four drills a day where there had been none. Private Hunter, not pleased with the

⁷Wise, 17th Virginia, 241.

⁸Ibid., 18, 242-44. On May 5, 1861, Marr was commissioned a lieutenant colonel. Through a failure in the Confederate postal service, he never received word of the promotion.

⁹Ibid.

new living arrangements, complained: "On hot days, the glare intensified by the cotton sheeting was nearly unbearable. The flies were atrocious."¹⁰

In addition to drills, details from the different regiments in camp worked strenuously to make Camp Pickens as impregnable as possible. The work, in charge of Col. Thomas H. Williamson, Beauregard's chief engineer, progressed rapidly. Large Vauban-like earthworks and field fortifications, rifle pits and infantry works sprang up on all sides. "Gentlemen" unaccustomed to manual labor quickly became proficient with pick and shovel. Writing to his cousin Lucy, Pvt. Buck stated: "We are throwing up breastworks all around Camp Pickens. Things begin to wear quite a warlike appearance. There are twelve cannon here now and thirty-two more expected today from New Orleans."¹¹

On June 10, following the transfer of Virginia troops and ordinance to Confederate service, the 17th Virginia Regiment was organized. The "Alexandria Battalion" (minus Kemper's and Triplett's batteries), in company with volunteer units from other counties around Alexandria composed the new regiment. The companies assumed the following lettered designations:

¹⁰Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 45.

¹¹Wise, 17th Virginia, 18; Richard Buck to Lucy Buck, June 5, 1861, Buck Letters. Vauban refers to Sebastien le Preste, Marquis de Vauban, a prominent military engineer of the Seventeenth Century.

COMPANY	NAME	CAPTAIN
A	"Alexandria Riflemen"	Morton Mayre
B	"Warren Rifles"	Robert H. Simpson
C	"Loudoun Guards"	Charles B. Tebbs
D	"Fairfax Riflemen"	William H. Dulany
E	"Mount Vernon Guards"	Samuel H. DeVaughn
F	"Prince William Rifles"	George S. Hamilton
G	"Emmett Guards"	James E. Towson
H	"Old Dominion Rifles"	Arthur Herbert
I	"O'Connell Guards"	Stephen W. Presstman
K	"Warrenton Rifles"	B. Howard Shackelford

Regimental officers included Col. Montgomery Corse, Lt. Col. William Munford and Maj. George William Brent. Owing to a lack of talent among the men, the 17th Virginia never had a regimental band.¹²

Corse's promotion to colonel brought him new responsibilities. Having never commanded as many infantry as he currently possessed, the Alexandrian was further hampered by the fact that three of the five new companies had never drilled with other units. Seeking to blend the disparate companies, whose members ranged from raw recruits to near veterans, Corse drilled his troops extensively at both regimental and company levels. Gradually, as the weeks passed, the men grew accustomed to the intricate maneuvers their larger numbers required.

Proficiency came with a certain amount of difficulty. During one of the first regimental drills, when all company commanders were extremely green, Corse noticed a unit moving off at a forty-five degree

¹²Wallace, Guide, 127-28; CSR, Rolls 583, 591, Arthur Herbert, Sketches and Incidents of Movements of the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry (Washington, 1909?), 2-3. The only attempt to form a band was a dismal failure. At their only appearance, the prospective members performed so ineptly that the regiment exploded in laughter. Colonel Corse ordered the "musicians" back into ranks with the hope, strongly expressed, that they would be shot in the first fight they got into."

angle from the new formation. "Where are you going with that company, captain?" the colonel sang out.

The officer, bewildered by the new maneuver, muttered in exasperation: "To hell, I reckon."¹³

On another occasion, during a brigade drill, the order went out to "echelon by battalion, at 150 paces take intervals, forward by the right form echelon, march!" A marked stillness prevailed as Col. Corse and his adjutant, Lt. Andrew J. Humphreys, shared puzzled stares. Fortunately, Col. Samuel Garland recognized the drill from his VMI days and swung his men into line. The other regimental commanders gratefully followed suit. Recalling the drill many years later, Capt. Herbert observed: "The exertion for this grand movement landed me in a fence corner where I lay for some time ruminating on this, to me, very novel movement in tactics."¹⁴

Life at Camp Pickens posed problems more varied than mastering the evolutions of military drill. This was particularly true when untrained hands experienced their first confrontations with cookstoves. According to original regulations, messes were to consist of six to eight men who would share the cooking duties on a rotating basis. This practice, employed by troops lacking culinary talent, utensils and suitable rations, merely served to perpetuate the unsavory fare the men were getting. A disgusted Pvt. Warfield remarked: "Rations were horrible. Biscuits were like solid shot. Flapjacks could be used to half sole shoes."

¹³Ibid., 4.

¹⁴Ibid., CSR, Roll 588. Colonel Garland commanded the 11th Virginia Infantry Regiment.

The mess system was soon abolished, and the men devised arrangements to suit themselves. Soldiers celebrated the change by nailing several of the offensive flapjacks to tree trunks. Some of them claimed that the pancakes were still there a year later, "in spite of all the storms and tempests."¹⁵

The men also discovered that they had much to learn about clothing. Warm wool uniforms that had blocked the early spring chill now became oppressive in the humid Virginia summer. The "Loudoun Guard," not yet familiar with sewing equipment, reported their uniforms worn out from the constant wear. Private Buck commented on the texture of his company's wearing apparel by writing: "These thick pants are so hot. A great many boys had to pull theirs off, they were so warm. I think it is a very bad selection."

Soldiers whose letters home had been filled with requests for food, now reflected a desire for lighter clothing and cotton underwear. Replacing the overcoat was a single blanket encased in a rubber cloth and slung over the shoulder.¹⁶

Dietary deficiencies, unaccustomed exposure to the elements, poor medical care and a lack of knowledge about sanitation made Camp Pickens a fertile breeding ground for disease. Chicken pox, mumps and other similar illnesses struck down scores of soldiers, a majority of whom were from rural areas and had not previously been exposed to such ailments. Diarrhea and dysentery became common. On July 5,

¹⁵Warfield, Memoirs, 52-53.

¹⁶Ibid., CSR, Roll 582; Richard Buck to mother, June 12, 1861, Buck Letters.

Capt. Simpson learned that seventeen members of his "Warren Rifles" were incapacitated with the measles. They were sent to Front Royal until they recovered. Of those who remained, Pvt. Buck wrote: "There are a good many in our company that are ill, but none dangerously so."¹⁷

On July 6, the 17th, 1st and 11th Virginia regiments marched on the field at Camp Pickens for their first brigade drill. Joined by the 5th North Carolina, they drilled under the gaze of their new commander, Brig. Gen. James Longstreet. A native Georgian, Longstreet had seen service in Florida, Mexico and on the Plains. He had long established a reputation for thoroughness. This former army paymaster drilled his troops relentlessly under the broiling July sun.¹⁸

As July reached its midpoint, it became clear that the enemy was in the field. Extra details were employed to strengthen the works around Manassas. Orderlies, on lathered horses, carried instructions in all directions. Finally, on July 17, the regiment was formed and began a march to a unknown destination. Glad to be leaving camp at last, the men moved cheerfully to the banks of Bull Run. There, at a crossing known as Blackburn's Ford the men were deployed in defensive positions and went into camp for the night.¹⁹

¹⁷Medical Dept. 17th Va. Vols. to Capt. Robert H. Simpson, July 5, 1861, Robert H. Simpson Letters, Richard Buck to mother, July 14, 1861, Buck Letters. Far more deadly than the measles was an outbreak of typhoid fever described in Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 47.

¹⁸DeLaney, 17th Virginia Volunteer Infantry, 5; Freeman Lee's Lieutenants, I, 45; Official Records, II, 469.

¹⁹Wise, 17th Virginia, 20; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 48, 50.

On the following morning, Longstreet completed the disposition of his troops. He ordered Col. Corse to deploy Simpson's and Herbert's companies as skirmishers along the right bank of Bull Run above Blackburn's Ford, while Mayre's and Towson's companies were posted at the ford proper. DeVaughn and Shackelford's companies were detached and posted farther down the run on the right of the 1st Virginia. Six companies of the 11th Virginia covered the left flank of the 17th, while the remaining companies were held in reserve. Rumor spread quickly that Beauregard expected the ford to be a scene of heavy fighting.²⁰

The morning hours passed without incident. Soldiers who had cast aside decks of playing cards, promised to cease profanity and had produced pocket testaments in large numbers now eased at their leisure. Private Hunter, who had repeated the Lords Prayer seventy-five times in hopes that each repetition pulled him farther from the Devil, soon gathered up his scattered deck and engaged in a game of draw poker. Then, near 1 P. M. the distant boom of a cannon was heard and a shell arched over and exploded in the Regiment's rear, among the guns of the New Orleans Washington Artillery. The men quickly sprang to their positions. The fight had begun.²¹

The crash of musketry soon added to the tumult of cannon. Federals north of the creek held the better position as the north bank of Bull Run, at Blackburn's Ford, rose sharply to a high bluff cut only by the

²⁰Ibid., 52; Confederate Veteran, II (1894), 291; Official Records, LI, Pt. 1, 33-34.

²¹Delaney, 17th Virginia Volunteer Infantry, 5; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 52-53. Some sources claim that the first shot was fired at noon.

road from the stream crossing. The south bank was low, and the open terrain gave Union artillerymen a clear field of fire. This advantageous position enabled the Federals to silence the Confederate batteries. Some of the shells gouged into the tree tops on the south bank, driving shrapnel and splinters into several members of the 17th Virginia as they returned the Union fire.²²

While Confederate artillery limbered up and withdrew from the field, Federal soldiers under Gen. Israel Richardson emerged from the trees and underbrush on the north bank and opened fire on the 1st and 17th Virginia regiments. Their first volleys were too high; but correcting their aim, they soon caused the Confederate line to waver. Longstreet quickly sensed the danger. He ordered the reserve units to the front and summoned DeVaughn and Shackelford's companies from the right. These troops, advancing at the double quick, reached the line at the critical moment and repelled the advancing enemy.²³

When a second Union assault recoiled from the Confederate front, Longstreet ordered Capt. Mayre to take his company across the stream "and clear those scoundrels out." As the men splashed across the creek, the bearded Georgian rose in the stirrups and called for "three cheers for the Alexandria Riflemen," which Mayre acknowledged by touching his hat. Companies C and F of the 17th Virginia were subsequently ordered to cross and sustain the movement. The Virginians' counterattack was

²²Ibid., 55-56; Official Records, II, 442; William H. Morgan, Personal Reminiscences of the War of 1861-5 (Lynchburg, 1911), 52-55.

²³Warfield, Memoirs, 59; CSR, Roll 582; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 55-56.

successful. Federals withdrew through the woods until they reached the safety of their main body. Several members of the grayclad 1st Massachusetts, which took the brunt of the assault, were captured when they mistook Confederates for their own comrades. Finding the road too narrow to advance in force, the Virginians retired to the south bank of the stream. The 17th Virginia was thereupon relieved and went to the rear.²⁴

Considering the amount of ammunition expended, the casualty list from this little-known battle of Blackburn's Ford was relatively light. Longstreet's brigade suffered sixty-nine casualties; the Union forces lost eighty-three men. Among the soldiers of the 17th Virginia, three men were dead and eighteen more were wounded. Three of those injured were company commanders. Sergeant Morgan of the 11th Virginia attributed the light casualties to poor Yankee marksmanship. Finding the trees behind the Confederate position riddled with musket balls, he surmised that Northern infantrymen had overshot their targets.²⁵

The men of the 17th Virginia were justifiably proud of their victory. Not only had they repulsed two assaults of a numerically

²⁴Ibid., 59; Wise, 17th Virginia, 25-26; Official Records, II, 440, 442-44, 461-62; LI, Pt. 1, 33-34. Company C, the "Loudoun Guards," went into battle under new captain George Head. Charles B. Tebbs, the former commander, had become lieutenant colonel of the 8th Virginia Infantry.

²⁵Ibid., II, 312-14, 461-62; Morgan, Reminiscences, 56; CSR, Rolls 582-96. Of the wounded company commanders, Capts. Presstman and Shackelford never returned to their commands. Shackelford resigned his commission on Feb. 24, 1862. Presstman later gained distinction as Chief Engineer of the Army of the Tennessee. In January, 1864, he was killed in a railroad accident at Danville, Va. See Wise, 17th Virginia, 251-52.

superior enemy; their counterattack had driven the foe from a superb defensive position. Relieved that they had passed the danger unscathed, many of the Virginians allowed jauntiness and exaggeration to slip into letters written home. "I have made some very narrow escapes indeed," wrote Pvt. Buck, whose unit, stationed above the ford, had sustained no casualties. "I have had the bullets, grape, canister and shells to fall around me like hail and not the least injured yet." Equally laudatory but no more well founded was a straggler's reply to some Bristoe Station ladies who inquired about the regiment. "The 17th Virginia," he asked? "Why they fought like tigers and was all cut to pieces. Hardly an officer was left."²⁶

After Friday, July 19, was uneventful, and Longstreet's brigade the next day reoccupied the lines along Bull Run. The evening of July 20 passed quietly; but at dawn the following day, a barrage from enemy artillery across the run shook the ground. Confederates prepared for an assault, only to have the Union fire slacken and then die away completely. As it did so, a new blast of cannon was heard far upstream on the Confederate left. "The roar of artillery was accented by the crash of musketry," Pvt. Hunter commented, "and it soon was apparent that a major battle was underway."²⁷

In the pre-dawn darkness, prior to the opening of the Federal guns, elements of several regiments had crossed Bull Run and taken positions

²⁶Ibid., 22; Richard Buck to mother, July 24, 1861, Buck Letters; Mrs. Burton Harrison, Recollections Grave and Gay (New York, 1911), 48.

²⁷Ibid., 62-63.

as skirmishers. These troops, companies A and H of the 17th Virginia among them, were to reconnoiter the Union defenses in preparation for an attack which Longstreet expected Beauregard to order at any moment. Presently, however, the Virginians came under an intense artillery fire and were forced to retire to the south bank. Company H remained under fire for some hours, spiritedly repulsing a body of skirmishers sent against them. The unit suffered one killed and three wounded in the encounter.²⁸

By early afternoon the remaining Confederates had returned to the south bank. Enemy gunners maintained a galling, long-range fire on the rebel line; but most of the men paid more attention to the sound of battle continuing to reverberate from the west. At times the noise would swell, mounting to shrieking crescendoes, then decline in intensity until troops could distinguish individual reports. No communication being received from upstream, the Virginians could only speculate as to the result.²⁹

Finally, at 3:30 P. M., a courier arrived with orders for Longstreet's brigade to advance across the run and head for the Centreville pike. After a mile's march the men learned that the battle was won, the enemy was routed, and that they were to give pursuit. Cheers and caps filled

²⁸Ibid., Official Records, II, 543, 570. Beauregard's plans for an attack by his right were permanently disrupted by heavy Federal columns assaulting his left. This unexpected development caused Beauregard and his staff to lose control of the situation. Proof of this appears in Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, I, 45-61.

²⁹Official Records, II, 498; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 62-63.

the air and the men advanced at the double quick despite officers' attempts to slow them.³⁰

Soon the Virginians came upon a breastwork where Union artillery and infantry reserves had been stationed. Evidence of panic was widespread: strewn documents, officers' tents, food, champagne and accoutrements. Hungry rebels did not stop to plunder but continued to pursue the Federals. However, a courier rode forward and delivered an order to Gen. Longstreet, who was riding in the van of the 17th Virginia. Angered by the instructions, his reply was heard by all the men in the regiment. "Retreat! Hell! The Federal army has broken to pieces!" Alexander Hunter later wrote: "Our hopes were dashed and with bitter curses we about faced and returned to camp."³¹

On July 23, the brigade formed and marched to Centreville. Still sullen from their aborted pursuit, the spirits of the 17th Virginia had been further dampened by a torrential downpour which struck Manassas the morning after the battle. Private Hunter cheerlessly hailed the new position as "Camp No Camp." On the following day, the men surveyed and erected a new tent city. Slipping back into the camp routine of drills and details, the days passed languidly, until August 11, when orders arrived shifting Longstreet's brigade to a new post at Fairfax Court House.³²

³⁰Ibid. See also Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, I, 73. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston listed the time of the Union rout at 4:40 P. M. This means that Longstreet's pursuit could hardly have begun before 5 o'clock. This writer believes Johnston's timing to be more nearly correct.

³¹Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 64.

³²Ibid., 70; Wise, 17th Virginia, 32.

The Virginians made the seven mile march to Fairfax without incident. Upon their arrival they encamped east of the village on the right side of the Alexandria Turnpike. Sergeant Wise termed it "a good location, with plenty of wood and water." Nevertheless, diseases such as typhoid fever stalked the camp. The regimental report, completed on September 1, showed only 665 of 894 members present for duty. Of those absent, 101 were sick or wounded.³³

Happier news, in the form of a Confederate paymaster, arrived at Camp Harrison during the latter part of August. Assembling for their first military pay, the privates collected the sum of \$44 for four months' duty. Much of the soldiers' wages soon found its way to the sutler's wagon, that "licensed highwayman" (Hunter declared) who sold "stale pie, mouldy cake, vinegar cider, canned fruit, fly blown molasses and other useless articles."³⁴

The 17th Virginia exacted revenge from one unprincipled sutler. Having sold the unsuspecting soldiers a quantity of vile-tasting black-berry pies, the dishonest tradesmen returned a week later with a fresh supply of pastry. The pies were laid, layer on layer, in a great deep basket and after the uppermost pies were sampled, the basket and its contents were purchased.

The excellence of the pies lay solely in the upper layers. Beneath, the majority were made with smelly butter and filled with bad fruit. Basket and contents were set aside awaiting return of the sutler. On

³³Ibid., 36-38; CSR, Roll 582.

³⁴Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 71.

his reappearance he was seized and bound to a tree. Then, reproducing the basket of now ancient pastry, they made the poor man's face a target for flying pies. Thoroughly caked with rotted fruit, the pie merchant fled the camp of the 17th Virginia and was never seen again.³⁵

Within days the Confederates began to advance their outposts toward the Potomac. Falls Church, lying nine miles to the east, was occupied, and the Southerners moved swiftly to reoccupy a number of nearby hills. These elevations--Munson's, Mason's and Upton's hills--soon became battlegrounds. Munson's Hill quickly fell to the Southerners' but the other points remained the scene of vicious firefights between rival pickets. On one occasion the respective lines were so close that the "Old Dominion Rifles" could hear an enemy unit having roll call. As the sergeant went through the roll, the Confederates promptly answered "here" from their side.³⁶

From their vantage point on Munson's Hill, the Virginians could see Washington and the unfinished dome of the Capitol. Masted schooners eased up and down the Potomac, and trains could be heard arriving at the Washington station. Alexandrians could even look upon their native city, which they had abandoned to the Federals three months earlier. Earthworks, rifle pits and a chain of redoubts soon encircled the crest of the hill. Lacking artillery, enterprising Confederates constructed and emplaced several logs called "Quaker guns" on the heights.³⁷

³⁵ Hopely, Life In The South, II, 119-20.

³⁶ CSR, Roll 582, Warfield, Memoirs, 70.

³⁷ Richard Buck to father, Sept. 3, 1861, Buck Letters; Wise, 17th Virginia, 36. Quaker guns were hollow logs, peeled and painted black, which were mounted to resemble artillery.

On the last day of August, elements of the 3rd New Jersey Infantry advanced against Munson's Hill. Colonel George W. Taylor, having for some time been annoyed by Confederate picket fire, determined to capture or disperse the enemy marksmen. Moving through the woods, under cover of darkness, the Federals emerged on what they believed to be the flank and rear of the rebels. Instead, they stumbled into the "Old Dominion Rifles," who were lying in ambush.³⁸

The Virginians patiently waited for the Federals to come within range. The bluecoats were first obliged to scale a rail fence and then traverse a narrow cornfield. Once they were well into the field, the Confederates opened a rapid and well directed fire which had telling effect. Within two minutes, Taylor saw three men close to him shot down. Ordering his men to carry off the wounded, the Colonel then directed them back to the woods some thirty yards distant. Only the latter order was obeyed and the men did not stop retreating until they reached a blacksmith shop three-quarters of a mile away. Unable to carry away the casualties, the Federals asked for and received a truce for the purpose of recovering them. The Union forces did not renew their attack on Munson's Hill. It remained in Confederate control until September 28, when Gen. Joseph E. Johnston ordered its abandonment.³⁹

Excluding the danger, the men of the 17th Virginia discovered picket duty to have certain advantages. The assignments usually lasted for four or five days and required only company-strength units.

³⁸Official Records, V, 121-22.

³⁹Ibid., Warfield, Memoirs, 72.

Consequently, picket became a haven from the details, drills and inspections which characterized camp life. The men read, slept, wrote letters, played cards and stood only an occasional watch. Although rainstorms lashed the area, the Indian summer days were generally warm and comfortable. On several pickets, Capt. Robert H. Simpson of Company B had the good fortune to maintain his headquarters at the Aspen Hill estate of James Benton. "It is a beautiful place," he said, "deriving its name from the beautiful trees in the yard. They are the finest species I have ever seen."⁴⁰

Returning from picket meant a resumption of drills at all organizational levels. These movements were often performed poorly as many company officers forgot their commands. Private Hunter, watching his brigade hopelessly bungle one maneuver, surmised the results if they attempted to perform it under fire. Drills, however, were not always monotonous. If the companies encountered a rabbit, they quickly gave chase and destroyed the formation. On other occasions, when ordered to charge, the men would outrun their officers, change direction, and return to camp.⁴¹

⁴⁰Richard Buck to mother, Sept. 16, 1861, Buck Letters; Robert H. Simpson to sister, Sept. 16, 1861, Simpson Letters; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 71-72. One night, when occupying a small schoolhouse, the reserve pickets of Pvt. Warfield's company doused the lights and proceeded to throw shoes, cartridge boxes and haversacks at one another. Suddenly pickets began firing and the men were ordered to fall in. Many did so without shoes; others had on the wrong belts and cartridge boxes. Fortunately the enemy retired before this Virginia company reached the scene. See Warfield, Memoirs, 71.

⁴¹Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 75-80.

Following drill, the men amused themselves with schoolboy sports: marbles, follow the leader, football and cards. Draw poker was so popular that soldiers would gamble away their pay and sign an "O. P." (Order of the Paymaster) to cover their losses. However, some sought surceases from their boredom in the bottle. Thus the guard house (which was located on the second floor of the courthouse) was usually filled with inebriated soldiers. One day a member of the 17th Virginia was going about the room alternately bellowing and shouting: "I'm a bull!" A member of Major Roberdeau Wheat's Battalion rushed the Virginia yelling: "I'm a tiger!" He then seized the Virginian by the waist and threw him from the window, breaking his leg.⁴²

On September 24, the 17th Virginia was ordered to cook three days' rations and march to Falls Church. The next morning, in company with Joseph B. Kershaw's 1st South Carolina Regiment and three pieces of the Washington Artillery of New Orleans, the 17th Virginia proceeded up the Alexandria and Leesburg Turnpike. Arriving at the intersection of the turnpike and the road leading to Georgetown, the men learned that an enemy column was two miles away at Lewinsville. Moving quickly, the Confederate gained an eminence overlooking the village. A line of Federals, drawn up ready for combat, was in view.⁴³

Masking the infantry below the brow of the hill, the Confederates unlimbered their artillery and opened fire. The Federals panicked under the sudden onslaught and the ensuing infantry charge swept them from the

⁴²Ibid., 75; Warfield, Memoirs, 69.

⁴³Wise, 17th Virginia, 37-38.

field. A Union battery, located 800 yards away, killed and wounded several of Kershaw's South Carolinians. Colonel Corse, commanding the operation, ordered the line to fall back. Then, marching by the flank, the Confederates routed the enemy battery from its position. The men returned to Falls Church at nightfall. They stopped at least once to raid a henhouse.⁴⁴

On October 16, Longstreet's brigade returned to Centreville. Through some error, the 17th Virginia, on picket at Mill's Cross Roads, was not apprised of the movement and did not reach the village until after midnight. Making their encampment on a hilltop to the south and west of town, the Virginians began preparing winter quarters. Those with tents weatherproofed them by doubling the walls, adding floors and trenching the tent. By use of a chimney of flour barrels, they vented a stove or fireplace through the roof. Some energetic soldiers even began the construction of log cabins.⁴⁵

Food at the Centreville camp was in abundance. The normal ration for each Confederate soldier consisted of one pound of flour or crackers and one-half pound of meat--usually pork. Yet here the men could ignore issued rations and trade with farmers who daily visited camp. Each regiment would hang a beef carcass in camp each day so that every man could slice himself a liberal portion for consumption or exchange. Fresh vegetables, butter, milk, pastries, fritters and molasses were

⁴⁴ Ibid., 38-39.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 41; Richard Buck to mother, Oct. 18, 1861, Buck Letters; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 97. Buck's letter also contained valuable information concerning the construction of the Centreville Defenses.

also readily available. "Such a diet," Pvt. Hunter recalled, "caused the men to grow fat and lazy."⁴⁶

The retrograde movement to Centreville also marked the arrival of a new brigade commander. Longstreet, being promoted to major general, was given division command. General Charles Clark, a Mississippian, served as brigade commander for three weeks and was followed on November 8, by Gen. Richard S. Ewell. The Brigade at this time consisted of the 1st, 7th, 11th and 17th Virginia Regiments.⁴⁷

On October 30, 1861, Gov. John Letcher presented state flags to each Virginia regiment. When it came the turn of the 17th Virginia to receive its flag, the governor expressed the hope that the banner would fly in Alexandria after the invaders were driven out. Colonel Corse replied: "It shall be planted on the high places around Alexandria, or the blood of the Seventeenth shall flow freely in the attempt."⁴⁸

During the ceremony, the enemy put up a balloon. The governor looked up and remarked drily: "I reckon that fellow up there thinks it's hell to pay down here."⁴⁹

The establishment of winter quarters did not mean the end of picket duty. Four of every fourteen days were spent on patrol, and additional time was consumed in improving the trenches. These assignments became more unpleasant as the weather became colder. Picket fires were forbidden

⁴⁶Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 73.

⁴⁷Official Records, LI, Pt. 2, 349, 368. Longstreet's emotional farewell and Ewell's assignment appear in Wise, 17th Virginian, 40-41, 46.

⁴⁸Ibid., 44-45.

⁴⁹Warfield, Memoirs, 74.

since the blaze might offer a target to enemy riflemen. On December 5, the Virginians' tasks increased when Gen. Beauregard ordered Longstreet's men to make Quaker guns for the Centreville defenses.⁵⁰

At about the same time, orders were issued for the troops to construct more substantial barracks. Company wagons were requisitioned for hauling the framework of dilapidated and deserted dwellings into camp, where the men wasted little time in erecting comfortable houses with all the conveniences for cooking and sleeping. Sergeant Buck stated: "I have commenced to build my shanty in which I hope to spend the winter. It is so very cold that some of the boys are at work on their houses today, Sunday." Thinking of the upcoming holiday season, Buck added: "I cannot come home for Christmas. But my time is up in April and I hope to be home for some time."⁵¹

Along with their quarters, the men of the 17th Virginia constructed the first of a few chapels to appear on the Manassas lines. Indicative of the piety of the Regiment were the "Old Dominion Rifles," who had begun morning and evening prayer meetings in the early days of the war. Captain Arthur Herbert and Lt. William H. Fowle, Jr. were the company's religious leaders. The Rev. John L. Johnson was the regimental chaplain.⁵²

⁵⁰Ibid., 77, CSR, Roll 582; Wise, 17th Virginia, 47.

⁵¹Ibid., 48; Richard Buck to mother, Dec. 15, 1861, Buck Letters. Capt. Simpson described his quarters as a cabin 15 x 11 feet, with a well-covered floor and bed. See Robert H. Simpson to sister, Jan. 1, 1862, Simpson Letters.

⁵²Alexandria Gazette, May 17, 1861; Rev. J. Williams Jones, D.D., Christ In The Camp (Richmond), 1887, 260.

On December 20, the 17th Virginia returned from a shivering three days of picket at Outpost No. 4, which was located on the Braddock Road about five miles from Centreville. Earlier that same day, a foraging party of four infantry regiments, with an escort of Gen. J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry, were ambushed and defeated in a battle near Dranesville. The 11th Virginia, a sister regiment to the 17th, suffered heavy casualties in the engagement. The Confederates were forced to abandon their dead and wounded. Suffering of the injured was intense in the cold night that followed.⁵³

Two days later, the 17th Virginia braved inclement weather to attend the burial of those members of the 11th Virginia who had fallen at Dranesville. Colonel Samuel Garland, saddened by the loss of his men, was deeply touched by this expression of concern. Writing to Col. Corse, the young Lynchburg lawyer stated: "I desire to express, on my behalf, and on behalf of the officers and men of the 11th Virginia Volunteers, our grateful appreciation of the soldierly friendship, which induced your command to unite in paying the last tribute of respect to those of our gallant comrades, whom we buried on yesterday." In the meantime, torrents of snow, sleet and hail caused whiskey rations to be issued to the benumbed troops.⁵⁴

With the coming of the new year, the 17th Virginia considered re-enlistment. Most of the men signed for three more years, or the duration, thereby receiving the liberal rewards of the "Furlough and

⁵³CSR, Roll 582; Wise, 17th Virginia, 49. Dranesville is located in Loudoun County.

⁵⁴Ibid., 50. The weather remained so harsh that whiskey rations were continued through the holiday season. Overindulgence was frequent.

Bounty Act." The "Warren Rifles" desired transfer to the cavalry, but the scarcity of mounts prevented them from doing so. Sergeant Buck, hoping for an assignment to either cavalry or artillery, was late in re-enlisting, and the opening of the spring campaign cost him his furlough.⁵⁵

January and February, 1862, were months of misery for the soldiers. Picket duty was often spent in a continuous storm of snow and sleet, which caused men to resemble human icicles. During one three-week period, rain or sleet fell every day and turned the roads into such rivers of bottomless mud that even empty wagons had trouble moving. Firewood became so scarce (owing to the road conditions) that Sgt. Buck was forced to conceal his supply to prevent its theft.⁵⁶

In March, 1862, the frigid temperatures abated, although the incessant rains continued. Yet the weather was now of secondary importance. Richard Buck informed his father that "Everything is being sent to the rear, except what one can carry on his back; two blankets and a change of underwear." Buck added: "There is no certainty of our impending movement or if we are moving at all."

Then, on March 5, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was informed of "unusual activity" among Federal troops on the Maryland shore opposite Dumfries.

⁵⁵Richard Buck to brother, Jan. 25, 1862; to father, Jan. 29, 1862; to mother, Feb. 16, 1862, Buck Letters. For problems resulting from the "Furlough and Bounty Act" see Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, I, 130-33.

⁵⁶Richard Buck to father, Jan. 29 and Feb. 6, 1862, Buck Letters.

Believing this to be a Union advance which would turn the Confederate right flank, Johnston ordered all forces east of the Blue Ridge to fall back to the line of the Rappahannock.⁵⁷

⁵⁷Ibid., Feb. 28, 1862; Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, I, 138-140.

CHAPTER III

"DEATH RIDES IN EVERY PASSING BREEZE"

Orders for the Confederate withdrawal were delivered immediately. Within forty-eight hours of Johnston's decision, the soldiers of Gen. Daniel Harvey Hill who anchored the army's left flank evacuated their positions at Leesburg. Troops on the right, near Aquia Creek, retreated shortly thereafter. At Centreville, Johnston held his divisions in line until the evening of March 9 so as to cover the last-minute removal of supplies. Then, believing he had saved all that was possible, the Confederate commander started his column southward. Cavalry remained behind to destroy the depots and all the property left along the railroad track.¹

The march began poorly. Lacking the stamina necessary for a long trek, the men had little experience in marching at night. Many regiments, the 17th Virginia included, had accumulated large amounts of personal items with which, Pvt. Hunter declared, "each soldier loaded himself down hating to leave anything behind." Artillery, cavalry and the lengthy wagon trains cut deep ruts in the spongy, rain-soaked roads, causing the

¹Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, I, 140. The loss of material was immense. Over 1.4 million pounds of meat, and a large packing plant, were destroyed. Enormous piles of personal baggage, including state consignments of blankets and clothing, were also put to the torch. Many of the heavy guns were left in their emplacements.

heavily laden soldiers to wallow wretchedly in the mire. More than two days were spent reaching Warrenton, a distance of less than twenty miles.²

Leaving Warrenton on March 11, the 17th Virginia increased its speed. Reaching the village of Woodville a night later, the Virginians bivouacked after completing a march of thirty-six miles in forty-eight hours. The wearying pace had convinced many soldiers to lighten their loads. For miles, the ditches were littered with clothing, cooking utensils and provisions. "Country people," as Pvt. Hunter called them, stood along the roadsides to scavenge the discarded items. The following day, the 17th Virginia moved on to the Hartsel River in Culpeper County, where the regiment spent three days waiting for stragglers.³

On Sunday, March 16, the 17th Virginia resumed its march. The men reached Culpeper Court House at nightfall and pushed on the following morning toward Orange. The dirt road was so cut to pieces by baggage trains and artillery that the infantry had to trudge through the fields for the greater part of the way. On the morning of the 18th, the Confederates crossed the Rapidan River at Madison's Mills and encamped two miles west of Orange on the Taylor farm. There they remained for two weeks, enduring torrential rains and performing drills. Unimpressed with the area, Pvt. Smith wrote: "The land about Orange Court House is not so good, and is of a red sticky soil. The streets of the village

²Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 99-100.

³Ibid., Diary of William Randolph Smith, entry for Mar. 23, 1862, University of Virginia Library. Smith was killed at the battle of Frayser's Farm. His friend, George S. Pickett, found the diary and made additional entries.

are two to three feet deep in mud with no sidewalks to brag of."⁴

At 6 P. M. April 6, the 17th Virginia, in the company of Longstreet's division, embarked on a punishing night march toward Fredericksburg. Brought to a halt around midnight, the men were awakened early the next morning, furnished with crackers and bacon for breakfast, and then resumed their march. Reaching the village of Verdiersville near mid-morning, the troops passed through the community and were abruptly ordered into bivouac for the night. The next morning, in the midst of a pelting rain, the troops formed ranks and retraced their steps toward Orange. After a march of five miles, the column turned right at a crossroad and proceeded in the direction of Louisa Court House.⁵

The march to Louisa became a nightmare for the troops. "All day long did we plod on through rain and mud," Pvt. Smith wrote in his diary, "until near night when we stopped near a church. The ground was not very elevated, so that there was plenty of water on the surface, we had to stand and sit around our fires all night, our clothes completely saturated." What followed was even worse. Snow, broken by sleet showers, occurred throughout the day. Arriving in Louisa at twilight, the wet and fragmented 17th Virginia spent a chilly, supperless night. More than half of the regiment straggled into town the following morning.⁶

⁴Ibid. Pvt. Smith had equal disdain for the residents of Culpeper and Orange. Describing them as "not so generous or kind by half as those of Fauquier and Rappahannock counties," the young soldier also claimed that "if we wanted anything to eat, we stood a better chance with the poorer classes than the rich."

⁵Ibid., Apr. 10, 1862.

⁶Ibid.; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 101. Hunter termed the mud as "real Louisa County mud, a dark red loam, as hard to get rid of as if it had been tar and turpentine."

On April 11, after a two-day respite, the 17th Virginia headed for Richmond. The skies had cleared, and with the drying roads came a swifter pace. At 2 P. M. on the 14th, the Virginians paraded through their capital. "The streets were filled with spectators and there were more children than I ever saw at one time before," Pvt. Smith wrote. "Also, a lot of able bodied men who looked as if they sadly needed a gun." Marching to Rockett's, the Regiment took passage on the steamer Curtis Peck and moved down the river to King's Mill Landing. By the 18th, the men were in the trenches at Yorktown.⁷

The Confederate defenses, situated on low marshy ground bordering the Warwick River, were inexpertly constructed. No space existed either to lie down or to build a fire. Rain fell incessantly for several days in succession. The lines became muddy streams. Soldiers frequently found their musket barrels completely filled with water. Meals consisted of "three soggy crackers washed down with a drink of dirty water." A fourth of the 17th Virginia's 600 effectives succumbed to persistent colds, neuralgia and rheumatism.⁸

Shells and rifle balls also ripped the trenches. The enemy lines, less than 300 yards away, were manned by Berdan's Sharpshooters, famed as the finest shots in the Army of the Potomac. Utilizing the long-range striking power of their weapons, these marksmen forced the Virginians to

⁷Ibid., 103; Smith Diary, Apr. 25, 1862. During the march from Centreville, Ambrose Powell Hill, formerly colonel of the 13th Virginia, became commander of the First Brigade. General Ewell was promoted and given division command. Most of the 17th Virginia preferred Col. Corse. See Warfield, Memoirs, 79.

⁸Official Records, XI, Pt. 3, 481, 531; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 103-5, 112.

remain hidden behind their earthworks. Farther down were McClellan's enormous siege guns which, Pvt. Hunter wrote, "harried the men by day and startled them by night." During their stay in the trenches, the 17th Virginia lost 2 men killed and 2 wounded. At least three others found trench life so unbearable that they deserted.⁹

Despite the intense firing, a limited amount of fraternization took place. On several occasions, the 17th Virginia employed a stray dog to carry trade articles between the lines. A sack of tobacco was tied around the animal's neck and was then steered toward the Union entrenchments. The bluecoats, coaxing the animal into their lines, would replace the tobacco with a sack of coffee and send it back. Several exchanges were made before the officers halted the process.¹⁰

On April 26, the 17th Virginia reorganized and elected officers. Colonel Corse was re-elected as colonel with Capts. Mayre and Herbert becoming lieutenant colonel and major respectively. New company commanders included:

Andrew J. Humphreys	Company A
William B. Lynch	C
James T. Burke	D
James M. Steuart	E
Grayson Tyler	F
Robert F. Knox	G
William H. Fowle, Jr.	H
Raymond Fairfax	I
James D. Kirby	K

Captain Robert H. Simpson was re-elected as commander of Company B. Alexander Hunter, dismayed by the elections, noted: "Officers who drilled

⁹Ibid., 104, 110; Smith Diary, May 1, 1862.

¹⁰Warfield, Memoirs, 81.

the men well and demanded obedience, were shunned in favor of lazy and ambitious men who promised easy duty and relaxation of discipline. Good officers were dropped and efficiency reduced."¹¹

At 2 A. M. on May 24, the 17th Virginia left its encampment at Lebanon Church and began to retreat up the Peninsula. As usual it was raining and the roads that day were "truly deplorable." Guns and wagons were abandoned; mired horses and mules "were allowed to perish on the spot." Mid-morning saw the mud-spattered Virginians slish into Williamsburg, where a secondary Confederate defense line was located. At 3 P. M. Union troops were reported nearby. The 17th Virginia was ordered into line of battle. Here the soldiers remained throughout the night, sleeping on their arms.¹²

Monday, May 5, was another day of steady rain. The soldiers rousing early, mechanically consumed their cooked rations of bread and bacon while they boiled coffee over sputtering fires. The sound of battle erupted beyond Williamsburg, in the direction of Yorktown, and soon the order came to fall into line. Colonel Corse calmly rode along the line, "cautioning the men to keep cool and take deliberate aim," and expressing confidence that "the enemy could not stand before them."¹³

¹¹Wise, 17th Virginia, 57; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 111. Captain George R. Head was re-elected as commander of Co. C but declined to serve. George S. Hamilton, the deposed captain of Co. "F," immediately re-entered Confederate service as a surgeon. See CSR, Roll 587; Smith Diary, Apr. 26, 1862.

¹²Ibid., May 4, 1862; Morgan, Reminiscences, 100; Wise, 17th Virginia, 57.

¹³Smith Diary, May 5, 1862.

Once formed, Hill's brigade returned to Williamsburg. The troops passed through town, deposited their baggage and moved on toward the growing battle. The men came under Union artillery fire but double-quickened out of range. They turned south across some fields and formed line of battle in a deep hollow. Here they anchored the extreme right of the Confederate line, apparently in reserve.¹⁴

At 10 A. M., Hill's Brigade was ordered to the front to support a body of Southern troops who had become disoriented by enemy fire and lack of ammunition. The Virginians advanced behind sister units: the 1st, 7th and 11th Virginia Regiments. The formation was a close column, men packed nearly elbow to elbow. Thus aligned, the brigade crossed an open field toward a grove of pines. There the men halted and the order came "to load at will."¹⁵

After loading their weapons, the Virginians formed a line of battle and entered the woods. A spirited firefight ensued. The Federals slowly retreated until they reached an abattis of fallen trees. From this position the bluecoats delivered several telling volleys into the Confederate ranks. Capt. Andrew J. Humphreys of Company A, was killed, as were two regimental lieutenants. Captain Simpson narrowly escaped a lethal wound when a Minie ball was deflected by one of the buttons on the breast of his uniform coat. Turning aside, the missile passed through the captains' clothes, slightly bruising the skin on his right

¹⁴Ibid.; Morgan, Reminiscences, 103.

¹⁵Smith Diary, May 5, 1862; Wise, 17th Virginia, 58; Confederate Veteran, V (1897), 477-78.

side. Temporarily stunned by the Union fire, the Confederates fell back to the edge of the woods.¹⁶

Reforming among the trees, the Virginians began to return the fire. The Southerners concentrated their muskets on the toppled foilage and poured in volley after volley until they perceived a slackening of the enemy resistance. Then, rising en masse, the Virginians charged the Federal line and broke it completely. Dead and wounded bluecoats were thick behind the log defenses, and 160 of the fleeing men were taken prisoner. Hill's brigade also scooped up 7 stands of colors, 8 pieces of artillery and hundreds of enemy knapsacks. Many soldiers exchanged their powder-fouled muskets for the better weapons of their foes. Gathering their captives and replenishing their exhausted ammunition supply from the fallen, the Confederates returned to the woods. There they remained the rest of the day.¹⁷

After dark the Virginians withdrew from the forest. Returning to Williamsburg to retrieve their packs, the men then marched out of town and turned off into a muddy field. Rain continued to fall; fires were impossible. Yet the men rolled up in their blankets and slipped into exhausted slumber.¹⁸

¹⁶Ibid., Official Records, XI, Pt. 1, 575-77; Robert H. Simpson to sister, May 12, 1862, Robert H. Simpson Letters.

¹⁷Morgan, Reminiscences, 105-9; Warfield, Memoirs, 83; Southern Historical Society Papers, XVII (1889), 414-15. Private Smith, grieved by the death of his tentmate, Alexander B. Grayson, vented his anger on the 19th Mississippi. Claiming that their irregular marching had scattered Company F, he stated: "A good many of them managed to leave the field under various pretenses and to hear these tell it; they did more execution than all the rest."

¹⁸Smith Diary, May 5, 1862.

On May 6, the Confederate army continued its retreat. Losses had been heavy in the Rebel ranks. Those too badly wounded to move were left in the hands of the enemy. Hill's Brigade had lost 67 killed, 245 wounded and 14 missing. Of this total, the 17th Virginia suffered 17 killed, 47 wounded and 10 missing. This figure represented 10% of the Regiment's combat strength. By comparison, Blackburn's Ford was a minor skirmish. The most seriously felt loss was Capt. Humphreys, shot down as he rode at the side of Col. Corse.

The march was a punishing one, as the brigade continued to wade through almost impassable mud. The supply wagons, having departed while the fighting was in progress, were far in the front. The men thus plodded along with empty stomachs. Reaching the Chickahominy River on the 9th, Hill's brigade encamped for a week at Christian's Farm. On the 15th, it headed for Richmond. Camping within sight of the Confederate capital the Virginians resumed the tedium of camp life.¹⁹

On May 22, the brigade witnessed its first and only "drumming out." The men were Marylanders who, believing that they had no right to serve beyond twelve months, had deserted from Yorktown in the face of the enemy. Receiving information that they would be discharged to join the "Maryland Line," the men returned on May 14, only to be arrested by order of Capt. Tyler. With the brigade drawn up in formation, a solemn reading of the findings of the court-martial occurred. The men, escorted by a guard, drummer and fifer entered the field. To the tune of the "Rouges March," the men, heads shaven, marched and counter-marched the

¹⁹Ibid., May 5, 15, 1862; Official Records, XI, Pt. 1, 569; Wise, 17th Virginia, 60.

length of the brigade, then returned to the center of the ranks, where they were dishonorably dismissed. The men looked silly with their shaved heads, "but no one smiled," Pvt. Hunter noted.²⁰

An uncle of the 17th Virginia's Richard Buck planned a far more painful fate for a disloyal Warren County resident. Writing to his nephew, the irate man declared: "Thomas Campbell is leading the Yankees around. Wouldn't I like to have a rope around his Bolecks and lead him about. Or to use old Pap's language, slit his bag and run his legs through it."²¹

While in camp, the 17th Virginia received new uniforms. Decked out in their finery, the men quickly devised schemes to enter the capital. Passes were impossible to obtain or forge, and being caught by the provost-guard meant a night in Castle Thunder plus an ignominious return to the regiment the next day. The boldest and most successful scheme came from Pvt. Walter Addison of Company A. Going to headquarters, the young Virginian requested Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's autograph for his sister. Johnston, very busy at the time, signed the paper without

²⁰Smith Diary, May 14, 22, 1862; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 122-23. Determining the identity of the guilty parties is difficult. The Alexandria Gazette, May 23, 1861, noted that James and William Rheim, of Baltimore, came to Alexandria with John Zellers to join the "Loudoun Guard." They were discharged May 14, 1862. On the same day, Pvt. Smith claimed that the deserters were arrested. Smith, however, also asserted that the deserters were from the "Prince William Rifles." Three "Rifles" privates, Francis M. Duval, James B. Sherwood and William C. Sutter were dishonorably discharged for desertion at Yorktown.

²¹Uncle to Richard Buck, Jan.-May, 1862, Buck Letters.

reading it. The Alexandrians quickly changed the wording to indicate a two-week pass and, as Pvt. Hunter recalled, "were quite successful."²²

Following the battle of Williamsburg, the Army of the Potomac approached Richmond in a more cautious manner. Sending his right to the north, directly in front of the capital, Federal Gen. George B. McClellan circled his left to Bottom Bridge, thirteen miles below the city. On May 21, a division crossed the Chickahominy. Soon Federal corps of Erasmus Keyes and Samuel Heintzelman massed in a six-mile line along the Williamsburg Road at Seven Pines. On May 30, Johnston learned of the enemy's position and determined to crumple the Union left before the right wing could come to its aid. Four full divisions were to make the attack, scheduled for daylight the following morning.²³

On the night of May 30, a torrential rainstorm, accompanied by blinding flashes of lightning and loud peals of thunder, burst upon the rival armies. Near midnight, as the rain abated, the long roll of the drums called the Virginians into line. Sixty rounds of ammunition and three days' rations were distributed. Alexander Hunter, contemplating the coming battle, recalled the morbid lines:

"Death rides in every passing breeze,
And lurks in every flower."

²²Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 121-25.

²³Ibid., 126-28. During May 6-31, the 17th Virginia experienced but one brush with the enemy. On the 23rd, two companies detailed to escort a forage train of thirty-six wagons unsuccessfully engaged two Union gunboats on the York River near Allen's Farm. See Smith Diary, May 23, 1862; Diary of William W. Sherwood, Co. "F," May 23, 1862; Virginia Historical Society.

After cooking rations and packing knapsacks, the men returned to their blankets. The drum roll sounded before dawn and the men began to march eastward down the Williamsburg road.²⁴

Results of the heavy rains slowed the march. Fords were breast-high, so the men waded with cartridge boxes, rifles and haversacks held overhead. About five miles from Richmond, the regiment halted for breakfast. Soldiers wolfed down their rations and continued the march. At noon the men moved into an open field on the left of the road and awaited orders. The opening guns of Seven Pines erupted fifty minutes later.²⁵

Throughout the afternoon the battle continued unabated. As afternoon became evening, many of the men hoped that they would not be used. However, at 4 P. M., a bespattered aide rode up and conversed with Col. Corse, who then ordered the men forward by the left flank at the double quick. Streams of wounded, in every kind of mutilation, soon appeared; the din of musketry and artillery became increasingly louder. Upon reaching the field, Brig. Gen. James L. Kemper, the new brigade commander, ordered his regiments to bear obliquely to the right. Then, without stopping to form a line of battle, he impetuously charged them across a field toward a Federal camp which fronted some breastworks. A battery enfiladed the tightly packed column. Men dropped at every step.²⁶

²⁴Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 131.

²⁵Ibid., 132; Wise, 17th Virginia, 65.

²⁶Official Records, XI, Pt. 1, 579; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 132-33. The distance to the breastworks was 500 yards. The camp was situated an additional 100 yards to the rear.

In the course of their advance, the Confederates realized that the enemy defenses were silent. Crossing the outer works, where a barn and immense woodpile were located, the troops--still in column--entered the Union camp. As the Virginians moved among the tents, they met a murderous fire from the woods. Unknowingly, Kemper's brigade had stumbled into a trap.

Deployed in a crescent-like formation, Federals poured a punishing, converging fire on the camp. The Virginians, hampered by the closed ranks, could not return the fire. The wood-pile, barn and trench works were obstacles that prevented the men from dispersing. Soon they degenerated into a milling mob. Sergeant William Morrill, the color-bearer, was pierced by three balls. His replacement, Cpl. Charles Digges, was also gravely wounded. A private seized the colors and took a bullet in the heart. With a blind rush, the troops vaulted over the breastworks and behind the woodpile. Here they held.²⁷

Behind the works the Virginians listened to the incessant firing. Occasionally a man would peer over the parapet, only to be toppled by a bullet. The rain had stopped, yet the mire reached depths of three feet. Confederate wounded died, drowning as they slipped below the surface of the yard. Soldiers could feel the bodies of Union soldiers in the mud beneath their feet. Late in the evening, the Federal fire slackened and died away. The Virginians advanced to find the bluecoats

²⁷Ibid., 133-36; John Lipscomb Johnson, The University Memorial: Bibliographical Sketches of Alumni of the University of Virginia Who Fell in the Confederate War (Baltimore, 1871), 128-30.

on the other side of the Chickahominy. At nightfall the men withdrew to a clump of woods a few miles in the rear.²⁸

Casualties had been heavy. During those terrible minutes in the muddy farmyard, fourteen members of the 17th Virginia were killed and forty-one more were wounded. Injured officers included Major Herbert, three captains and five lieutenants. Lieutenant William Gray had been killed instantly. As Cpl. Digges was borne from the field, he asked the doctor his chances. "One in a thousand," the surgeon replied.

"Doctor, I am glad of this," Digges stated, "I will take advantage of this one chance." Digges died in January, 1907, forty-two years later.²⁹

On Sunday, June 1, the Virginians gathered around campfires to discuss the previous day's battle. "Gen. Kemper," Hunter observed, "came in for an unmeasured amount of censure for sending us into battle four deep, pell mell, to be shot down with never a chance to retaliate."

After breakfast, the brigade expected a Federal attack and returned to the Federal camp in the farmyard. Its assignment was to support a section of Stuart's Horse Artillery. The enemy made a spirited assault on Gen. Williams Mahone's troops, but Kemper's men saw no action. The 17th Virginia pulled out of line that evening and proceeded to camp in

²⁸Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 137-38. See also Sherwood Diary, May 31, 1862.

²⁹CSR, Rolls 582-96; Confederate Veteran, XV (1907), 240. See also Alexandria Gazette, June 13, 1862. Several sources claim that the 17th Virginia suffered over 70 casualties.

a swamp after a miserable night march over badly rutted roads. On June 2, the men returned to camp in the suburbs of Richmond.³⁰

In the days following Seven Pines, the 17th Virginia gradually recuperated from the battering it had taken. Rations were plentiful, camp duties light, picket and drill infrequent. Conscripts and recovered wounded arrived to fill gaps in the ranks. "Blockade whiskey" abounded and regimental sutlers did a brisk business. One enterprising trader cleared \$6,000 in a single day. For other extras, the sutler sold coffee for \$1.50 per pound, and sugar for fifty cents. Butter cost \$1.25 per pound and eggs were \$1.00 per dozen. Writing paper was 5¢ per sheet as were envelopes. "These are the prices we must pay," Pvt. Smith wrote, "for the commissary only furnishes us with one pound of flour or bread per day and half a pound of fat bacon and occasionally a few peas."³¹

As June reached its mid-point, many of the Virginians began to grow restless and bored. The early summer weather was oppressively hot. Teeming swarms of flies, attracted by camp offal, made sleeping and eating next to impossible. Attempting to pass the time, the troops cooled in the shallows of a nearby creek, played marbles or cards and discussed military action. Jeb Stuart's ride around McClellan, and "Stonewall" Jackson's Valley Campaign were the most frequent subjects.

³⁰ Sherwood Diary, June 2, 1862; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 147-52.

³¹ Ibid., 159-60; Smith Diary, June 10, 1862.

On their own front the troops could hear occasional cannonading.

"However," Pvt. Smith wrote, "it is more for practice than effect."³²

At dawn on Wednesday, June 26, Kemper's brigade left its camp on the Williamsburg road with 1,433 muskets in line. Columns of troops were moving in various directions. The Virginians passed several brigades as they marched partly around Richmond before halting near the Mechanicsville turnpike. There they remained until nightfall listening to the fury of battle some three miles away. About 8 P. M., the Virginians moved forward to a narrow causeway crossing the Chickahominy Swamps and bivouacked.³³

That night, several artillery horses broke loose and galloped down the road on which the 17th Virginia was sleeping. The animals were in harness, and their rattling traces sounded like an approaching troop of cavalry. Some of the men heavy with sleep, panicked and cried: "Lookout, Yankees!" Others equally groggy, dived headfirst into rain-filled ditches. More than fifty were completely drenched, including Col. Corse.³⁴

The next morning, the Virginians marched to Mechanicsville and saw the wreckage of the previous day's battle. Dead and dying lay everywhere; disembowled horses, overturned wagons and other military equipment were scattered over the countryside. The dead, many of them

³²Ibid., June 10, 16, 20, 1862; Sherwood Diary, June 11, 16, 1862; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 159-63.

³³Official Records, XI, Pt. 2, 762-66; Smith Diary, July 2, 1862; Wise, 17th Virginia, 72-73.

³⁴Ibid., Warfield, Memoirs, 89.

victims of canister, were shapeless masses of splintered bones and torn flesh. The rich aroma of burning bacon, coffee, hardtack and other stores wafted on the air from an immense supply depot the Union forces had set ablaze. Ahead the battle raged again as Gen. D. H. Hill's division assailed the Federal lines at Gaines's Mill. Kemper's brigade continued to move eastward, still in reserve. At mid-afternoon, while the men were eating their rations, rumors swept the ranks that the new battle sounds to the north represented Stonewall Jackson, who had just arrived from the Shenandoah Valley. The news spread "as an electric flash" and fostered a tremendous celebration among the Virginians.³⁵

About 6 P. M. that evening, as the troops were preparing their evening meal, deafening musketry broke out a half-mile ahead. Arms were quickly unstacked and the men fell into ranks. Stray bullets hummed among the trees, causing the men to crouch and eventually to lie flat. At sunset the order to advance came and the men double-quickened toward the fighting. Streams of wounded appeared, including an ashen-faced major whose arm had been severed by a solid shot. Cheering the troops, he yelled: "Forward boys! we are driving them, and the Virginians are in front!"³⁶

Several moments later, the Virginians reached Gaines's Mill, where the fierce fighting continued. Ascending a rise to some breastworks seized from the enemy by Gen. John B. Hood's Texans, the Virginians formed line of battle. The order "Charge bayonets!" came as darkness

³⁵Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 169-71.

³⁶Ibid., 171.

fell. However, as the Virginians reached the lines, the bluecoats were already in flight. Fourteen hundred prisoners were collected, and Companies H and K of the 17th Virginia escorted them to Gen. Lee's headquarters. The rest of the regiment bivouacked on the battlefield.³⁷

On the following day, June 28, the Virginians remained in the captured Union works. The soldiers passed the time in obtaining new clothing, knapsacks, haversacks, blankets and munitions. Many men replaced their antiquated Springfield smoothbore muskets with new Enfield rifles. "Thousands of letters were left by the Billy Yanks," Pvt. Hunter observed. "The love letters interested us most." More callous men robbed the dead.³⁸

Early on the 29th, the divisions of A. P. Hill and James Longstreet crossed the Chickahominy at New Bridge. Passing through the deserted Union lines, the men marched almost to Richmond, then turned eastward and headed for White Oak Swamp. The march was a hard one. No rest periods were allowed, which made drinking and eating impossible. Toward afternoon the gait became a run on a road ten inches deep in dust. The dust rose in thick clouds, filling eyes, nostrils and mouths to the point of suffocation. Men were forced into the fields to obtain fresh air.

Worse still, water was very scarce. Thirst combined with choking dust and ninety-degree temperatures soon took their toll. Sunstroke

³⁷Ibid., 172-73; Confederate Veteran, VI (1898), 569; Wise, 17th Virginia, 75. Many of the Virginians saw their commander taking his breakfast in the saddle.

³⁸Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 175-76. Most of the spoils came from the 44th New York.

claimed some, but many collapsed from simple exhaustion. By nightfall, hundreds of men were prostrate along the road. At 11 P. M., the Virginians encamped on the Darbytown Road, on the flank of the center of McClellan's retreating army.³⁹

The next day, June 30, the march began at dawn. In contrast to the punishing hike of the previous day, the pace was leisurely, with frequent rest periods. Stragglers slowly rejoined their units. At 3 P. M., the brigade halted in the vicinity of a road leading to Frayser's Farm and formed line of battle to the right of and perpendicular to the road. A heavy battle was in progress. For an hour the Virginians remained in reserve. Then, shortly after 4 o'clock, the regiments dressed lines and swept forward. As they did so, Dr. Harold Snowden caught the eye of Capt. John Burke, whose face wore a foreboding and serious look. Snowden shouted: "Cheer up, Captain! If you are wounded, I have some medical stores for you," and Snowden shook his canteen.

Burke, recovered from a wound at Seven Pines, replied: "Give it to me now, Doctor; life is uncertain and its joys are fleeting."

The officer seized the canteen and, as Capt. Herbert recalled, "drew inspiration for himself and a hearty laugh from those who heard him."⁴⁰

The Virginians found the next hour anything but amusing. Advancing at the double quick through a narrow swamp and some open fields, the

³⁹Ibid., 180, 185.

⁴⁰Ibid., CSR, Roll 583; Herbert, Sketches, 5; Official Records, XI, Pt. 2, 762-66.

Virginians entered another marshy area which broke down the symmetry of the lines. Some men sank to their knees in mud. Keeping as much order as possible, the soldiers struggled to a rail fence and, after crossing it, stopped a moment to reform. As they did so, a masked battery supported by a line of infantry opened with canister at point-blank range.

Despite the destructive fire of the enemy batteries, the Virginians drove back the infantry supports and captured the guns. However, counterattacks from front and flank dispersed the few men who reached the works. Kemper's troops then discovered that their advance was unsupported by other Confederate units. Long lines of Federal infantrymen appeared on the flanks. The Southerners broke and scattered. Those caught in the crossfire were cut down, but a few maintained the unequal contest. Finally they were surrounded and captured.⁴¹

Losses in the 17th Virginia were severe. Of the 250 men who went into action, 3 lieutenants and 14 enlisted men were dead; 2 officers and 21 men were wounded. Worst of all was the loss of 13 officers and 60 men captured. The regimental flag fell to the 2nd New York Volunteers. Brigade losses were over 400 men, one-third of them prisoners of war.⁴²

⁴¹Ibid., Warfield, Memoirs, 92; Alexandria Gazette, July 8, 1862, Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 188-90, 198. Hunter held Kemper directly responsible for the disaster at Frayser's Farm.

⁴²Official Records, XI, Pt. 2, 101, 425, 979. Private Smith was killed and his death was recorded by his friend, Pvt. Frederick Ebhardt. See Smith Diary, July 2, 1862. For Smith's last letter home, see Ethel Maddox Byrd and Zelda Haas Cassey, Memoirs of the War Between the States (Richmond, 1961), 38-40.

On the evening of the battle, Pvt. Edgar Warfield was assisting the surgeons with the large number of wounded. Coming upon a Union soldier with a slight scalp wound, Warfield noticed that the bluecoat was wearing his brother's cap. By close questioning, Warfield determined that his brother was dead. He began to search for him. Failing in his quest, he finally came upon the regimental burial detail, which informed him that his brother had just been interred. Marking the grave for later identification, the bereaved Warfield returned to camp.⁴³

On July 1, Kemper's battered brigade continued in pursuit of the retreating Federals. The Virginians were on the right of the Confederate lines and saw no action. They remained in reserve during the assault on Malvern Hill. After several days near Harrison's Landing, the men moved to Darbytown on the road to Richmond.⁴⁴

For the next six weeks the 17th Virginia lay inactive. Conscripts arrived to bolster the shattered ranks, and those captured at Frayser's Farm were exchanged to rejoin the regiment. On August 10, after several days spent in improving the Richmond defenses, Kemper's brigade marched to the city depot and boarded the cars of the Virginia Central Railroad. The troops then rode to Gordonsville.⁴⁵

On Saturday, August 16, the Virginians departed on a long twelve-day march that eventually brought them to Thoroughfare Gap in the Bull

⁴³Warfield, Memoirs, 93.

⁴⁴Wise, 17th Virginia, 90.

⁴⁵Sherwood Diary, July 31; Aug. 6, 10, 1862.

Run Mountains. The late summer days were scorchingly hot. Men trudged along roads that were deep in dust. Three days' rations were issued and proved to be the last commissary allotment the soldiers would receive for more than two weeks. Forced to live off the land, the men subsisted on green apples and raw corn picked from fields and orchards along the route. Colonel Corse, in temporary command of the brigade, created laughter by calling out to one group: "Come back here, you miserable stragglers, to desert your colors for a few green apples!"

Corse, however, recieved payment in kind from the entire brigade when he and his staff halted along the road to chat with some ladies. Observing the officer, soldiers in the ranks yelled: "Come back from there, you miserable straggler!"⁴⁶

Despite the heat, dust, and logistical problems, the march proceeded swiftly. General John Pope, to avoid entrapment in the narrow space between the Rapidan and Rappahannock Rivers, had retired behind the latter stream. On August 27, Pope moved north to confront "Stonewall" Jackson's flanking column. Jackson, dispatched two days earlier, had marched away from Pope's front, circled behind the Bull Run Mountains and then came east through Thoroughfare Gap and struck in Pope's rear. In the meantime, Longstreet's corps probed the enemy defenses along the Rappahannock fords.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Wise, 17th Virginia, 92; Confederate Veteran, XVI (1908), 500. Charles T. Loehr, War History of the Old First Virginia Infantry Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia (Richmond, 1884), 27. Kemper was in temporary command of a small division of three brigades.

⁴⁷Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 233-34. Jackson cut Pope's lifeline on the evening of Aug. 26, when he struck Bristoe Station on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. The Confederates moved on to destroy the huge Union supply base at Manassas Junction.

On August 24, the evening before Jackson's march began, Kemper's brigade came under severe artillery fire at Rappahannock Station. Driving off the enemy batteries, the brigade moved north along the south bank of the Rappahannock until the night of the 26th, when the columns crossed the river at Hinson's Ford. Continuing their march the next morning, the brigade completed a hike of thirty-five miles before halting at midnight. Barely a quarter of the 17th Virginia was in line when the column halted. The last stragglers did not appear until dawn.⁴⁸

On the following afternoon, August 28, Kemper's brigade found itself stalled in front of Thoroughfare Gap. Enemy infantry controlled the narrow passage, and it required the remainder of the day to dislodge them. At dusk the Confederates, aided by a flank attack, pushed through the gap over the dead bodies of many Federals. Longstreet reached the far end of the gap with his lead brigade before ordering his troops into bivouac.⁴⁹

On the morning of the 29th, Longstreet's brigades completed the trip to Manassas. Marching in extreme heat, the thirsty troops drank from slime-covered ditches along the road. Kemper's brigade reached Gainesville at noon and proceeded to take a position in the rear of Gen. Micah Jenkins' brigade near the Manassas Gap Railroad. The Confederates had to cross an open field in full view of the enemy's batteries, which opened with a severe fire. Two members of the 17th

⁴⁸ Ibid., 240; Confederate Veteran, XVI (1908), 500; Wise, 17th Virginia, 93-94.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 94-95.

Virginia fell wounded. A short time later, the brigade moved an additional three-fourths of a mile to the left, where it remained under arms for the night.⁵⁰

The forenoon of August 30 was quiet. Hungry Confederates, without rations for several days, stepped into cornfields to pluck their breakfast. At noon, Pope threw his Federal brigades at Jackson's lines. For the Virginians, watching the banks of white smoke rising to the left, the waiting was nerve-wracking. Pocket testaments appeared, with the more excitable soldiers imploring readers to go faster. "Hurry up there, Ned. We'll all get killed before you get through."

Another stated: "What does Ned care if we are all damned, so long as he is saved."

Then, at 4 o'clock, the order to fall in came down the line. Men dropped blanket rolls, checked cartridge boxes and loaded rifles.

"Forward! Guide to the colors! March!" sounded the order to advance.⁵¹

The ranks moved forward across a level plateau toward the Chinn House. As they advanced, a six-gun Union battery, located behind and to the left of the house, channeled its fire on the Rebel lines. Gaps appeared in the ranks but soon closed. The 17th Virginia, on the extreme right of the line, dressed by colors and bore an oblique left toward the battery.

⁵⁰Ibid., Official Records, XII, Pt. 2, 625-27; LI, Pt. 1, 134-35. Contrary to Maj. Herbert's report, George Wise claimed that the 17th Virginia shifted several times during the night.

⁵¹Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 246-47.

The lines remained in good order almost to the Chinn House. There Federal infantrymen rose from behind a stone wall and delivered a withering volley at point-blank range. Losing cohesion, the Confederates soon recovered and returned a punishing fire of their own. Now the antagonists exchanged fire with neither giving way. Lieutenant Col. Mayre of the 17th Virginia went down with a shattered kneecap as his men surged forward. Regiments on the left of the line struck the enemy right and began to enfilade the entire position. Assailed front and flank, the Federals broke for the rear.⁵²

The victorious Virginians barely had time to breathe before a fresh Union line advanced on them. The weary men fell back a few steps and then broke for the rear. Others cowered behind the Chinn House and in a nearby gully. Colonel Corse desperately called for reinforcements and was soon rewarded by the appearance of Hood's Texans. Merging with these legendary fighters, the Virginians counterattacked.

The outcome of the contest was quickly decided. Union infantry were so routed that the six gun battery was left unsupported. Double-shotted with canister, the guns had torn large gaps in the charging Rebel ranks. Now musket butts, bayonets and rammer staffs clashed in the fading light before stubborn Yankee gunners finally raised their hands. To the left, the remainder of Pope's army was in full retreat and the pursuit lasted until nightfall.⁵³

⁵² Ibid., 247-48; Official Records, XII, Pt. 2, 625-27.

⁵³ Ibid., Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 249-54.

The battle of Second Manassas had been bitter and bloody. Yet some soldiers asserted that they expended over 100 rounds in the engagement. Private Hunter wrote that his arm was badly bruised from the constant recoil of his rifle. Thousands of muskets, fouled from overheating, lay on the field after the battle. The 17th Virginia sustained a loss of 3 men killed and 51 wounded. Eight died later. A permanent loss was Lt. Col. Mayre, whose leg was amputated above the knee. Colonel Corse received a leg wound and had his horse shot, but he did not leave the field.⁵⁴

The next day the pursuit continued as the Virginians crossed Bull Run at Sudley Mills and headed for Fairfax. The battlefield presented a sickening sight. Pillaged bodies of the dead caused many men to curse bitterly. A yellow flag flew from the roof of a small house in the area being used as a hospital. The front room was slippery with blood, and outside the window a grisly heap of arms, legs and fingers rose to a height of over five feet. Bivouacking along the road, each member of the 17th Virginia received two crackers and a quarter-pound of fat bacon. That was the first regular rations since the regiment left Gordonsville.⁵⁵

Late in the evening of September 1, the rain-soaked 17th Virginia found itself near the once-stately mansion of Chantilly. Although a severe battle had just ended, Gen. Jackson ordered Kemper "to put his

⁵⁴Ibid., 255; CSR, 582-596; Confederate Veteran, XXIX (1921), 236. Colonel Corse and Surgeon Lafayette Guild, the Confederate States Medical Director, gave varying accounts as to the number of casualties in the 17th Virginia at Second Manassas. The writer used tabulations from the CSR. See also Official Records, XII, Pt. 2, 560.

⁵⁵Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 260-61.

men in and drive the enemy." Kemper objected; Jackson reluctantly acquiesced by stating: "Let it alone, let it alone; put one of your regiments on picket."

Picket duty fell to the 17th Virginia; and when Col. Corse later made the round of sentries, he came upon one fast asleep against a tree. Startled by the colonel's challenge, the young soldier brought his bayonet to a charge and nearly impaled the officer.⁵⁶

On September 3, fortified by a delicious meal provided by the ladies of Leesburg, the regiment headed north. Passing through Dranesville and Leesburg, Kemper's brigade spent the night of September 5 near Big Springs. The next morning the men stripped and hanging pack and clothes on fixed bayonets, crossed the Potomac at White's Ford. Once across, the 17th Virginia test-fired its muskets, then stopped to watch "Uncle Ebony," a camp ducky, bring up the rear on his mule. The animal, almost hidden from view by pots and kettles, balked at entering the stream. "Don't let that Ancient Mariner stop!" one yelled. "Hurry him up, Uncle, we want our skillets along. Run him in the water and make a good Baptist out of him."

When the mule finally entered the water, both man and animal momentarily sank from view. Finally reaching the Maryland shore, a well-drenched "Uncle Ebony" declared: "Dis here nigger's nebber gwine to cross dat ribber any mo, you hear me? Let dem Yankee's cotch me first!"⁵⁷

⁵⁶Ibid., 267; Herbert, Sketches, 7; Wise, 17th Virginia, 106-7.

⁵⁷CSR, Roll 582; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 270, 272-73.

Prior to crossing the Potomac, Gen. Lee had ordered all sick and barefooted soldiers to report to Winchester. A number of men observed that many troops, throwing away their shoes so as to qualify as barefooted, used the order as an excuse to avoid the Maryland campaign. An additional loss of troops resulted from the Commissary-General's failure to provide proper supplies. The continuous diet of green apples and raw corn led to widespread outbreaks of chronic diarrhea. Roadside homes became occupied by hundreds of disease-weakened soldiers. Lice, or "graybacks" as they were popularly known, were particularly troublesome during this campaign. Since most of the soldiers had lost their extra clothing at Second Manassas, they now would go for weeks without a change of clothing. No countermeasures, even boiling one's clothes, seemed to diminish the vermin.⁵⁸

The Confederates quickly discovered that Maryland's citizens were sharply divided in their sentiments. Marching through Frederick, the 17th Virginia was greeted by a glacial silence. "Citizens were everywhere," Pvt. Hunter reported, "but there was no enthusiasm, no cheers and no waving of handkerchiefs."

Irate shopkeepers were forced to keep their establishments open and accept (as they termed it) "the damned rebel issue" in payment. The next day, September 11, the Virginians reached Hagerstown to find themselves as honored guests. Citizens invited soldiers into their homes and provided the ragged men with food and clothing. One man

⁵⁸Ibid., 270, 274, 279-80; SHSP, XXXI (1903), 38. Hunter estimated that the "Barefoot Order" cost the army 10,000 men.

removed his shoes and presented them to a limping, barefooted infantryman.⁵⁹

At 5 A. M. on September 14, Kemper's brigade retraced its steps through Hagerstown and headed for the pinnacle of South Mountain. Clouds of dust rose under rapidly marching feet, many of them lacerated further by stone-covered roads. Reaching the hamlet of Boonesborough, just west of the mountain, the brigade marched down the road leading to Harper's Ferry for two miles, then hiked along the ridge to the right of the Confederate line. Trudging up the mountainside, the 17th Virginia moved into position at an angle to the Union lines, thus permitting an enfilading fire from Union artillery, located 600-800 yards away.⁶⁰

The enemy shelling was ineffective. Colonel Corse thereupon ordered the regiment forward for 100 yards and flung out skirmishers to engage the enemy. Shortly thereafter, at about 4 P. M., the 17th Virginia moved by the left flank to connect its line with the 11th Virginia, which was occupying a cornfield. The depleted 56th Virginia covered Corse's right. Off to the left, a severe battle was in progress,

⁵⁹Wise, 17th Virginia, 110-11; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 278-79, 281. In contrast to Hunter's remembrances of Frederick, Pvt. Sherwood wrote that "several Confederate flags were flying and the ladies were quite friendly." Sherwood Diary, Sept. 10, 1862.

⁶⁰Ibid., Sept. 14, 1862; Wise, 17th Virginia, 111; Official Records, XIX, Pt. 1, 904-5. James V. Murfin, The Gleam of Bayonets (Atlanta, 1965), 180, concludes that the orders for Garnett's, Evan's and Kemper's brigades were confused at Boonesborough, causing the units to march miles out of their way. "Arriving at dusk," Murfin wrote, "they were too late and to blown to be of much use."

and the brigade to the right of the Virginians also came under attack. In the meantime, with no enemy showing, the 17th Virginia held its fire.

Fifteen minutes later, the Confederate line began to buckle. Troops covering the flanks of Kemper's brigade fell back under Union pressure, leaving the Virginians in an exposed position. Withdrawing to a rail fence, the 17th Virginia easily repulsed a Union attack and maintained its position until nightfall. At 7:30 P. M., the men fell back to the Fredrickton & Boonesborough Road with the rest of the brigade.⁶¹

At 10 P. M., Kemper's brigade marched back through Boonesborough and took the road to Harper's Ferry. The next morning, the weary troops halted at the village of Kistersville and were allowed time to cook breakfast. They then marched to Sharpsburg and took position in line of battle southeast of the town. Here they remained for the next two days, as Gen. Lee concentrated the Army of Northern Virginia. A severe artillery duel occurred on the 16th, but the expected infantry assault did not follow. During the night a little drizzle began to fall. The men wrapped themselves in their blankets and slept on their arms.⁶²

Before dawn on Wednesday, September 17, the Virginians were awakened by the reverberation of artillery fire. The regiment countermarched for most of the morning before settling about noon in a position behind a rail fence on the reverse slope of a hill. Over the ridge from Kemper's

⁶¹Official Records, XIX, Pt. 1, 904-5; SHSP, XXXVIII (1910), 262-67; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 281.

⁶²Wise, 17th Virginia, 114-15; Sherwood Diary, Sept. 16, 1862.

brigade lay a stone bridge spanning Antietam Creek at the extreme right of the Confederate line. In front of the Virginians, responsible for defending the bridge, was Gen. Robert A. Toombs with a badly weakened brigade of Georgians.

Lying on their hillock, the 17th Virginia had a good view of the fight on its left. "The reports of the cannon were incessant and deafening," Pvt. Hunter remembered. "At times it seemed as if a hundred guns would explode simultaneously and then level off to individual shells. The continuous volleys of musketry mingled in a grand roar, and the gunsmoke rose above the battlefield in such thick clouds that the sun looked down gloomy red in the sky, while the dust raised by the mass of men floated to the clouds."

By noon, the heavy Federal assaults against the forces of Jackson and D. H. Hill had broken in frustration and bloodshed. The battle then began to shift toward the Confederate right and the 17th Virginia.⁶³

In reality, the battle for the right was hours old. General Ambrose E. Burnside, apparently mesmerized by the stone bridge over Antietam Creek, had spent the entire morning wasting his tremendous manpower advantage by attempting to force the span. Unit after unit faced the narrow channel of Confederate fire only to be broken in bloody fragments. Finally, at mid-afternoon, two regiments cleared the bridge and soon Burnside had a division on the west bank of the stream. At 3 P. M., Toombs' brigade collapsed. Streaming over the ridge, the

⁶³Warfield, Memoirs, 115; SHSP, XI (1883), 14-16. Toombs' brigade numbered 400 muskets.

Georgians retreated through Kemper's brigade to reform in the streets of Sharpsburg. Shells began to drop on the hill as the Virginians braced for assault.⁶⁴

Unknown to Burnside, the troops defending the Confederate right had dwindled to barely 2,500 men. Kemper's brigade, minus two regiments, consisted of little more than an oversized company. The 17th Virginia had approximately fifty men who could stand to arms. Almost starving and devoured by lice, this handful of men was unimpressive in appearance. "None had any underclothing," Pvt. Hunter recalled. "My costume, average for the regiment, consisted of a pair of ragged trousers, a stained dirty jacket, an old slouch hat, the brim pinned up with a thorn; a begrimed blanket over my shoulder, a grease-smearred cotton haversack full of apples and corn, a cartridge box full and a musket. I was barefooted and had a stone bruise on each foot."

In spite of their condition, not one Virginian broke from this seemingly untenable position. At 3:30 the Union batteries, having silenced the Confederate guns, ceased firing. Then the officers were heard to cry in low tones: "Steady, men, steady! They are coming!"⁶⁵

For a moment it was quiet; then voices could be heard from beyond the hill. Officers shouting commands, the clanking of equipment and the tramp of marching feet were easily distinguishable. Colonel Corse,

⁶⁴Ibid., 17; Herbert, Sketches, 8; Warfield, Memoirs, 114-18.

⁶⁵Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, II, 217; Official Records, XIX, Pt. 1, 905; Confederate Veteran, XVI (1908), 500; SHSP, XI (1883), 18; XXXI (1903), 40. Several members of the 17th Virginia were killed or wounded in the artillery duel preceding the assault.

standing along the line, admonished his men not to fire until the enemy appeared above the hill. The first sight of the enemy was the top of their flag staffs, then the flags followed by the tops of blue caps, and next "a line of the fiercest eyes men ever looked upon," as the Northern troops reached the crest of the hill.⁶⁶

When the Union bayonets appeared, the rail fence exploded in flame. "Many fell, some of them striking for the rear," Pvt. Hunter recalled, "but the majority sent a stunning volley at us, and but for the fence there would have been hardly a man left alive."

Nevertheless, half of the regiment was disabled by the initial salvo. The remainder sustained the unequal contest for an additional ten minutes. At that point Corse was knocked to the ground by a bullet, and the Federals began to overlap the flanks. Now overwhelmed, the Virginians broke for the rear. Running back (he later referred to it as "tall walking"), Maj. Herbert "experienced the fear of having a bullet through his back at every step."⁶⁷

Temporarily winded, the bluecoats stopped at the fenceline previously held by Kemper's brigade. Alexander Hunter, captured by the Federals, looked upon the unconscious form of Brig. Gen. Isaac Rodman, who had been mortally wounded by Pvt. Samuel Coleman of Company G. The respite allowed the retreating soldiers to regain their composure, then reform near Toombs' men. After realigning their troops, the Federals resumed their advance. The outnumbered Confederates were giving ground

⁶⁶Ibid., 40-41.

⁶⁷Official Records, XIX, Pt. 1, 905; Herbert, Sketches, 9; SHSP, XI (1883), 18.

grudgingly when sounds of battle exploded on the right. General A. P. Hill and his "Light Division" had arrived from Harper's Ferry. Hill's assault crashed into the exposed flank of the Union lines. The Virginians joined in pushing the bluecoats back to their former positions. That night the 17th Virginia interred its dead, with Maj. Herbert reading the burial service of the Episcopal Church. Sniper fire occupied the following day. At 9 P. M. on the night of the 18th, the Army of Northern Virginia slipped back through Sharpsburg to begin the retreat from Maryland. Marching all night, the Confederates crossed the Potomac early the next morning.⁶⁸

The depleted ranks of the 17th Virginia revealed the cost of the battle of Antietam. Of fifty-five men who went into the fight, forty-one were casualties. Captain John T. Burke, who at Frayser's Farm had spoken of "the fleeting joys of life," was among the dead. Colonel Corse, badly wounded in the foot, passed temporary command of the regiment to Maj. Herbert.⁶⁹

The route from Maryland was through Martinsburg, where the Virginians rested for several days before moving to the vicinity of Bunker Hill. Here, for several weeks, the men resumed the routine of camp life while refitting a command, shrunken from 800 to barely a dozen.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Ibid., 19-21; Herbert, Sketches, 9; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 294; Wise, 17th Virginia, 118.

⁶⁹Official Records, XIX, Pt. 1, 810, 905.

⁷⁰Wise, 17th Virginia, 120-21.

CHAPTER IV
FREDERICKSBURG, SUFFOLK, MANASSAS GAP
AND SUFFOLK AGAIN

For the battleworn Army of Northern Virginia, October, 1862, was a period of relative quiet. To the north, Jeb Stuart's butternut squadrons were riding around McClellan's inactive army for a second time. Yet the infantry, with the exception of a few minor movements, remained in camp. By the 10th, the return of stragglers, the sick, those who had absented themselves under the provisions of the "Barefoot Order," along with the arrival of new conscripts, had restored Lee's enfeebled brigades to a strength of over 60,000 men. Kemper's brigade, now a part of Gen. George E. Pickett's new division, spent much of its time preparing and conducting reviews for Longstreet, Lee and a number of foreign dignitaries. Meanwhile, the onset of cold weather and the general lassitude of the enemy seemed to indicate an end to the season's campaigning. However, on October 26, the Army of the Potomac suddenly began advancing toward Leesburg.¹

In response to McClellan's move, Gen. Lee broke camp at Winchester and set out for Culpeper. Longstreet's corps preceded Jackson's which was to remain in the Valley until McClellan's intentions could be determined. Leaving its Bunker Hill camps on the 28th, Kemper's brigade

¹Official Records, XIX, Pt. 2, 660: Sherwood Diary, Oct. 9, 19, 1862; Wise, 17th Virginia, 121; Hale, Four Valiant Years, 198.

crossed the forks of the Shenandoah River early the following morning. Front Royal was reached in the afternoon, and the hometown "Warren Rifles" spent a short visit with families and friends before continuing the march to Chester's Gap. Marching through the pass and down the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge, Longstreet's corps on October 31 reached its destination. There it encamped for three uneventful weeks. In the meantime, the Army of the Potomac, disgruntled by Lincoln's removal of McClellan, went into camp at Warrenton. There the Federals awaited the plans of their new commander, the pleasant but inept Ambrose E. Burnside.²

At dawn on Friday, November 21, Pickett's division was on the march. It crossed the Rapidan River at Raccoon Ford and took the road to Fredericksburg. Rain was falling as the march began and mud sloshed over shoetops in many places. Reaching Fredericksburg on the 23rd, the Virginians encamped and were put on picket to observe the Army of the Potomac as it concentrated on Stafford Heights across the Rappahannock River. Burnside had been there for over a week, stymied by the lack of pontoons to bridge the wide, swift stream. The days remained cold. Shivering Confederates had to subsist on half rations much of the time. Private George S. Pickett wrote: "The commissaries' excuse is that the bull got away."³

²Ibid.; T. Harry Williams, Lincoln and His Generals (New York, 1952), 195; Wise, 17th Virginia, 122.

³Ibid., 123; Smith Diary, Nov. 21-27, 1862. Burnside's remarks about the pontoons are found in Official Records, XXI, 82-97.

On December 3, the 17th Virginia left its camp, said goodbye to the men of its old brigade and moved to the campground of the new one. Along with the 15th, 30th, and 32nd Virginia regiments, it constituted an additional brigade for Pickett's division. Happily for the men of the 17th, Montgomery Corse was their commander. He had received a brigadiership as a result of a fine combat record plus the openings created by the losses of the Maryland campaign. Both Lee and Longstreet recommended his promotion, the First Corps chief stating: "Corse and his regiment have been distinguished in at least ten of the severest battles of the war."⁴ Private Pickett wrote that Corse wanted the 11th Virginia to join his brigade, "but they wouldn't agree to leave Kemper, for we could not endure him nor his Adjutant Gen. Fry, but we hate to lose the name of the 1st Brigade."⁵

During the pre-dawn hours of December 11, Burnside's engineers began to bridge the Rappahannock. Signal guns, fired by Confederate troops stationed in Fredericksburg, roused Corse's men from their blankets. Soon the bleary-eyed men found themselves moving into lines

⁴Ibid., XIX, Pt. 2, 678, 683, 698-99; XXI, 540, 1033. Corse was originally ordered to the command of Pickett's old brigade, but a reshuffling of assignments caused this command to be given to Gen. Richard B. Garnett. Thus the 15th and 32nd Virginia regiments of Gen. Paul Semmes' brigade, and the 30th Virginia of Gen. John R. Cooke's brigade, were linked to the 17th Virginia and assigned to Corse.

⁵Smith Diary, Dec. 2, 1862; Wise, 17th Virginia, 126. Arthur Herbert was promoted to lieutenant colonel and became commander of the 17th Virginia. Captain Robert H. Simpson was promoted to major, with Lt. Francis W. Lehw taking command of Company B. Pickett erred in naming Gen. Kemper as the former commander of the 11th Virginia. His regimental experience was with the 7th Virginia.

to the right and below the city. Firing continued until evening, when the enemy finally succeeded in throwing across a pontoon bridge under the protection of siege guns. The Confederates, mostly Mississippians under the command of Gen. William Barksdale, withdrew from the shell-shattered streets and marched to the safety of Mayre's Heights.

The next day the rival armies completed their preparation for battle. Pickett's division moved several times before settling into position near the Confederate center. The Virginians strengthened their line by erecting breastworks of felled trees and earth, while a number of fieldpieces provided close support. Night fell, bitterly cold, with an icy fog blanketing the field.⁶

Dawn, December 13, again found the Virginia countryside shrouded in mist. For three hours, the Confederates lay on their arms and awaited the Union assault. Around 10 A. M., the sun burned away the fog. Across the plain, to the right of their position, the men of Corse's brigade could see the massed ranks of Gen. William B. Franklin's "Left Grand Division"--more than 40,000 men. To the west, columns of troops were marching toward Mayre's Heights. Muzzle flashes flickered from atop Stafford Heights as powerful Federal artillery opened the battle.

Except for some shelling, Corse's brigade did not participate in the fighting. From their position the Virginians could hear the incessant roll of musketry and artillery reverberating from Mayre's Heights, while observing the unsuccessful Federal attack on their right.

⁶Ibid., Robert H. Simpson to sister, Dec. 14, 1862, Robert H. Simpson Letters; Smith Diary, Dec. 13, 1862.

"They moved on in gallant style with colors flying," Lt. Col. Herbert wrote, "until, under our fire, they melted away. Reinforced, they would reform and come on again, and my impulse was to cheer them for their pluck and courage." At nightfall came the tidings of the enemy's repulse, at all points, followed by the echo of the rebel yell.⁷

For the next two days the Virginians remained in their trenches, all the while keeping a watchful surveillance on the Army of the Potomac. On the night of December 15, the bluecoats withdrew across the river. The 17th Virginia was promptly placed on picket along the south bank. "The weather was intensely cold," a veteran observed, "many of the soldiers barefoot, and all of them uncovered even by the frail protection of tents."

After positioning his men, Col. Herbert rode out onto Mayre's Heights, where the Federal dead lay piled in heaps, scores of them used as breastworks by their own men. Many of the corpses were naked, stripped by needy Confederates who lacked for shoes, overcoats and other articles. "One body," Herbert recalled, "was fastened tightly to a stump with canteen straps to hold it while the boots were drawn."⁸

Being relieved on the night of the 17th, the half-frozen men returned to camp. Several days later, they departed for Guiney Station, on the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad, where the construction of winter quarters began. Severe weather hastened the work on the soldier's shelters. "The latter part of December was

⁷Ibid., Herbert, Sketches, 13-14.

⁸Ibid., Robert H. Simpson to sister, Dec. 16, 1862, Robert H. Simpson Letters; Smith Diary, Dec. 16-17, 27-28, 1862; Wise, 17th Virginia, 132.

fearful," one stated, "with a long rain followed by a hard bitter freeze." Men remained huddled around their fires after all drills and inspections were suspended. Following the inevitable thaw, large regimental details were necessary to rescue brigade wagons from hub-deep mud. Christmas, passing with few extra edibles and without any liquor, made the men despondent. New Year's was no better. Boredom descended on the bleak encampments, and was dispelled only occasionally by brigade snowball fights.⁹

On January 27, 1863, the 17th Virginia marched through rain and snow to a picket point fifteen miles northwest of Fredericksburg. During the night the storm became a blizzard, with high winds swirling the snow and uprooting trees. One tree, a foot in diameter, toppled and crushed the ordnance wagon to its bed. "The suffering was fearful," Edgar Warfield recalled. The men, having outdistanced their mired wagons, slept without tents and were drenched to the skin. The following morning a detail of shivering men proceeded to a place one and one-half miles away to throw up breastworks. However, this was abandoned when many of the wagons became hopelessly stuck. Returning to camp on the 29th, the Virginians celebrated the occasion by capturing a whiskey peddler and informing him that selling liquor to soldiers was a hanging offense. Confiscating the spirits, the men dismissed the quaking tradesman and proceeded to hold a roistrous party. Colonel Herbert confessed

⁹Confederate Veteran, XXI (1913), 281; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 326-29.

that "having ears I heard not and having eyes saw it was better not to see."¹⁰

During the same period, Col. Herbert visited Gen. Lee's headquarters to secure a marriage furlough for a captain of the 17th Virginia. After an exchange of pleasantries Herbert had stated his request. The gray-haired general replied: "Colonel, this is not a time for the young men and officers to marry; they should think only of our cause, our country and the glory that awaits them in a soldier's career."

Agreeing, but still hopeful, the young Alexandrian rejoined, "You can't keep the girls out of the boy's heads!"

An amused Lee granted the furlough and Herbert turned to leave. As he did so, the famed commander called him back with the question, "I suppose, Sir, after this success for your friend, you will soon return with some request for yourself?"

"No, General," Herbert stated, "you can count on me for the war without any entangling alliances!"

Breaking into laughter, Lee replied, "I am glad to hear it, Sir."¹¹

On February 15, Pickett's division departed Guiney's Station and passed through Richmond four days later. "Our baggage was sent by the cars," a disgruntled Sgt. Wise wrote, "while we marched through heavy rain and knee deep mud." After a day of rest the division marched nine

¹⁰Warfield, Memoirs, 138-39; Wise, 17th Virginia, 133; Herbert, Sketches, 15; Diary of Pvt. Henry Bennett, Jan. 29, 1863. The Bennett Diary is found in Ramey, Years of Anguish; 44-52. Hereafter cited as Bennett Diary.

¹¹Herbert, Sketches, 15-16.

miles farther southward to Chester Station, and went into camp. The ranks were somewhat thinned by stragglers. Many soldiers took unauthorized absences in the capital. "Veteran troops, ridiculed city sentinels," Pvt. Hunter recalled, "and cursed them if they asked for a pass." The Virginians remained at Chester Station until March 1, when they marched to a position three miles below Petersburg on the City Point Road.¹²

After a dreary three-week encampment remembered most for heavy snowfalls, Corse's and Gen. Lewis Armistead's brigades shifted to Ivor Station on the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad. "The troops cheered the order to march," Pvt. Hunter asserted, "having spent three-fourths of the time without fires and most of the time literally under water during the thaw." The line of march led the Virginians through uninviting swampy country covered with water. "Plantations were in a backward state and all dwellings seemed in disrepair." Passing through Prince George Court House, Pvt. Bennett observed: "This town shows little enterprise in the county and very little use for lawyers. I see but two houses besides the courthouse, jail and clerk's office." Sodden from marching along roads submerged knee-deep in water, the jaded 17th Virginia arrived at Ivor on March 25 after a hike of forty-five miles.

¹²Warfield, Memoirs, 142; Wise, 17th Virginia, 135-36; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 334.

A week later, the men moved to Tucker Swamp Church and resumed camp routine.¹³

On April 10, the 17th Virginia marched to Franklin Station, on the Roanoke Railroad, where a large part of Longstreet's corps was concentrating for an expedition against Suffolk. The next morning, the Confederates crossed the Blackwater River at South Quay and force-marched to within seven miles of the city. At 4 A. M., the Virginians left their campfires and, moving by various roads, encircled Suffolk from the White Marsh to the Nansemond River. Gunfire exchanged in the capture of enemy outposts alerted the Union garrison to the Confederate presence.¹⁴

The besieged Federals wasted little time in lashing out at their foes. Before dawn on April 15, the 17th Virginia, in position astride the White Marsh Road and covering a narrow neck of land between there and the Dismal Swamp, was awakened by two cannon shots immediately followed by an advance of blue infantry and cavalry. Its ranks reorganized, the regiment fell back one-half mile across a milldam. Forming line of battle in a small copse of woods, the Virginian, barely 200 strong, blunted the enemy attack. The 17th Virginia returned to its previous position and with aid from the 15th and 30th Virginia regiments,

¹³Ibid., 341; Bennett Diary, March 23-25, 1863, Wise, 17th Virginia, 138. Garnett's and Kemper's brigades, of Pickett's division, were sent to North Carolina to aid D. H. Hill in the investment of New Bern. See Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, II, 475, 479.

¹⁴Wise, 17th Virginia, 140; Bennett Diary, April 10, 1863; Official Records, XVIII, 281-82. A force of 15,000 Federals under Gen. John J. Peck held Suffolk.

dispersed a spirited cavalry charge the following afternoon.¹⁵

Anticipating renewed Union efforts, the Virginians hastily constructed breastworks. On April 17, the 29th Virginia (under the temporary command of Col. Arthur Herbert) repelled an enemy charge and on the 18th repulsed Federals again. The last significant action of the campaign occurred a week later, when a Union force of 5,500 men and 10 field pieces attempted to assault the Confederate works on the Edenton (White Marsh) Road. However, Confederate artillery fire alone shattered the attack. The following night, the 17th Virginia pulled out of line and rejoined its brigade three miles on the left.¹⁶

On May 3, having stripped the area of food and fodder, Longstreet's corps headed northward to rejoin Lee. Reaching Richmond on the 9th, the Virginians encamped for a week before proceeding up the Telegraph Road to Hanover Junction. While in the capital, the troops learned of "Stonewall" Jackson's death from wounds received at the battle of Chancellorsville. Members of the 17th Virginia were saddened by the loss of the famous paladin, whose body briefly lay in state at the Capitol. On May 13, the body was conveyed to Lexington for burial. General Corse was a pallbearer.¹⁷

¹⁵Ibid., XVIII, 289; Wise, 17th Virginia, 141; Warfield, Memoirs, 145; CSR, Roll 582; Bennett Diary, April 15, 1863.

¹⁶Ibid., Apr. 16-19, 1863; Wise, 17th Virginia, 142-44. General Michael Corcoran of the Union VII Corps claimed that the attack of Apr. 24 drove the Confederates from their entrenchments. Official Records, XVIII, 289.

¹⁷CSR, Roll 582; Warfield, Memoirs, 146; Bennett Diary, May 10, 1863.

On June 7, after several days of escort duty, Corse's brigade was ordered to the defense of the numerous bridges spanning the South Anna River. On the following day, the other brigades of Pickett's division departed with the main body of Lee's army in the direction of Culpeper. Corse's orders were "to keep communications open to Virginia, protect the railroads from Richmond to Gordonsville and the city itself, from raiding parties. Another of Pickett's brigades, that of Gen. Micah Jenkins, remained at Petersburg.¹⁸

Lee's plans were to launch an invasion into Pennsylvania. He requested that Corse's brigade be dispatched to join him. Accordingly, the Virginians spent two dust-choking days marching toward Culpeper, only to face about and return to the South Anna bridges. "Our duties at the bridge being light," Sgt. Wise wrote, "we all passed many pleasant hours, feasted on the fruits and vegetables of the neighborhood, and had a good time generally." On May 23, some 1,000 prisoners taken at Winchester by Ewell's Corps passed by en route for Richmond prisons. The next day, Corse received orders from Lee to report with his brigade to Gordonsville.¹⁹

Dawn, June 25, found the Virginians on the march. Eight miles above Hanover, the brigade boarded muddy cattle cars, which reached Gordonsville early the next morning. On that day, Federal cavalry from Gen. John Dix's Fort Monroe command smashed the small Confederate

¹⁸Warfield, Memoirs, 149; Official Records, XXVII, Pt. 1, 76.

¹⁹Ibid., XXVII, Pt. 3, 885; Wise, 17th Virginia, 154; Bennett Diary, June 23, 1863. Clifford Dowdey and Louis Manarin, The Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee (Boston, 1961), No. 494.

detachment at Hanover Station. Tearing up track, the raiders also destroyed the South Anna bridge and Quartermaster's depot. Thirty-five army wagons, 700 horses and 100 prisoners were carried away. General William H. F. "Rooney" Lee, the commanding general's second eldest son, was taken from a private home, where he was convalescing from a leg wound received at Brandy Station. In response to frantic reports, the Virginians hurried southward by rail but arrived too late to be of any help. The next morning, June 30, Corse's sleepy-eyed brigade moved to the Virginia Central Depot. After a six-hour wait the men returned to Gordonsville and encamped for nine days, while Lee's army fought a desperate struggle at Gettysburg.²⁰

On July 8, Corse's brigade left Gordonsville to rejoin the Army of Northern Virginia. Passing through Madison Court House and Milan's Gap, "a most picturesque pass in the Blue Ridge," one veteran recalled, the Virginians forded both branches of the Shenandoah and on the 13th struck the Valley Turnpike. Passing 4,700 Federal prisoners captured at Gettysburg, the dusty troops bivouacked at Winchester late that afternoon. The next day Lee's battered brigades withdrew across the Potomac to the vicinity of Bunker Hill; and on July 20, Corse's brigade moved southeastward toward Front Royal. Instead of supporting a successful army of invasion, the 17th Virginia was now the advance guard of its retreat.²¹

²⁰Bennett Diary, June 25, 1863; Official Records, XXVII, Pt. 1, 19, 75-76; Pt. 3, 111, 453-54. Dix's command, consisting of the IV and VII Corps, totaled 33,880 men.

²¹Bennett Diary, July 14-19, 1863; Wise, 17th Virginia, 156-60; Herbert, Sketches, 18.

At daybreak on July 21, Corse's brigade crossed the Shenandoah River at Front Royal. The weather was blisteringly hot, but recent rains had swollen the stream to such levels that the crossing was hazardous. Several men were swept away by the swirling waters and would have drowned had it not been for the assistance of mounted officers. Reaching the eastern bank, the 15th, 29th and 30th Virginia regiments, under Gen. Corse, headed for Chester's Gap. The 17th Virginia continued eastward to secure Manassas Gap.

The occupation of Manassas and Chester's gaps, avenues through the rugged Bull Run Mountains, was vital to the Confederates. Blue columns allowed to pour through these passes would prevent Lee's army from crossing the Shenandoah River, thereby cutting it off from Richmond. Furthermore, the Army of the Potomac would be closer to the Southern capital than its defenders. Enemy forces were said to be massing at Linden Station, but upon reaching Manassas Gap the 17th Virginia found the pass deserted. Major Simpson (Col. Herbert had stopped in Front Royal to have his horse shod) detailed companies B and C to cover a road passing through the gap of the Manassas Railroad. The remainder of the regiment took a position astride the road over the mountains near the village of Wappen. A strong picket, containing members of Companies A and E, assumed a position several hundred yards in advance of the regiment.²²

The absence of the enemy had a relaxing effect on the troops. Some stacked arms and began to pick blackberries. Privates Edgar Warfield

²²Ibid., Bennett Diary, July 21, 1863; Wise, 17th Virginia, 160-61.

and Mason Washington, accompanied by Surgeon J. W. Leftwich, began a leisurely journey up the gap. Herbert, rejoining his command, rode ahead to inspect the placement of the pickets and to ascertain if other Confederate troops were present. He was joined by a private citizen who expressed the desire "to get over the Gap today."

Riding for some distance, Herbert became fearful for his pickets, posted beyond easy supporting distance of the regimental reserve. Rounding a bend in the road, the young officer observed a group of Union officers and one or two squadrons of cavalry on the mountaintop. The civilian mumbled, "I don't think I will go through the Gap today," and spurred his horse to the rear. Putting a man on his horse (probably Adjutant William W. Zimmerman), Herbert ordered him "to ride to the reserve and inform Capt. Tyler the enemy would be on him directly and to get the regiment ready for action." Moments later, Capt. Steuart, and what remained of the pickets, burst into view with Union horsemen close behind them.²³

Hearing the clatter of hooves, Herbert ordered his men into the brush. As the cavalry came abreast of their position, the infantrymen delivered a pointblank volley, then broke for the reserve. Several more Virginians were taken prisoner, but the resulting confusion allowed most of them to escape. Reaching the reserve just ahead of the enemy, Herbert ordered the men to fire when the enemy's advance guard turned the bend in the road. Ten riders were felled by rebel fire, the remainder

²³Warfield, Memoirs, 153; CSR, Rolls 582-96; Herbert, Sketches, 19-20. Twenty-two officers and men of the 17th Virginia were taken prisoner at Manassas Gap. Among them was Capt. William W. Smith of Co. A.

stampeding for the rear. Private Warfield, braving a storm of Union fire, mounted Surgeon Leftwich's horse and rode to Front Royal for reinforcements.

On reaching the town, Warfield discovered that no troops were available. Engineers were busy laying pontoons, but the van of the Army of Northern Virginia was still plodding along the road from Winchester. After a brief conference with Capt. E. R. Baird of Pickett's staff, Warfield recrossed the treacherous Shenandoah and soon came upon the dapper Virginia general as he rode at the head of his division. Acting immediately, Pickett ordered Maj. Joseph C. Cabell to take the survivors of Gen. Lewis Armistead's brigade and relieve the 17th Virginia. "This battered unit responded with enthusiasm," Warfield recalled, "proceeding at route step."²⁴

All the while, the battle for Manassas Gap continued with little abatement. During a brief lull, Pvt. John Beach of Company H crept up to the dead and wounded. Finding one man badly wounded and lying partly under his horse, Beach pulled him out with the snarl, "I want your boots."

The wounded man replied, "You ain't going to rob me before I die?"

Beach answered, "I will wait awhile, but your men will be back soon and I can't wait long."

The dying man asked for water. Beach placed a blanket under his head and gave him his canteen. Looking up, the cavalryman stated, "You

²⁴Ibid., Warfield, Memoirs, 153-55.

are a good fellow, take the boots; I reckon I can make the balance of the trip barefooted."

At midafternoon, Lee's wagons began to roll into Front Royal. Federals of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th U. S. Cavalry redoubled their efforts and threw more and more troops into the fight. On one occasion, the hard-pressed Virginians had to withdraw to prevent envelopment. "Slowly the sun descended toward the west," Herbert commented, "and seemed for hours to stand still in the sky. The little regiment suffering from hunger and thirst, heat and smoke, stood firm across the path, but no help came." Finally, at twilight, a drum was heard and Armistead's brigade filed into the Gap.

Along with the reinforcements came Longstreet's orders to attack. A line of battle was formed in the fading light. On moving forward, the Confederates found enemy horsemen drawn up near the summit. A well-directed fire emptied several saddles, and the resulting charge dissolved the Union line. Pursuit continued for two miles until a railroad cut afforded a rallying point for the Federals. Color Sgt. Robert Steel and his successor, Cpl. Robert Buchanan, were both badly wounded. With total darkness imminent, Herbert pulled back for the night. A courier arrived with orders to resume the attack at dawn. Yet before daybreak the Virginians were relieved by Gen. Henry Benning's Georgia brigade.²⁵

²⁵Official Records, XXVII, Pt. 1, 945; Pt. 2, 362, 417; Pt. 3, 735; Herbert, Sketches, 20-22. The prisoners from the 17th Virginia gave Federal Gen. Wesley Merritt highly erroneous information. Describing themselves as members of Hoover's brigade (non-existent) of Corse's 10,000-man division, the Virginians reported their regiment as 600 strong. The actual regimental strength was barely one-third that number.

The next morning, McLaws' division cleared a passage for the army. Rejoining its sister regiments, the 17th Virginia marched all night and reached Gaines' Crossroads at daybreak. After a short rest, the Virginians moved on to Culpeper and, by August 3, were in the vicinity of Orange Court House. Two days later, the troops moved to Summerville's Ford, via Rapidan Station, where they began a month's encampment. "During this time a religious revival swept through Lee's army which added many of every regiment to the army of the cross."²⁶

On September 8, Pickett's division broke camp, marched through Gordonville to Richmond, then travelled by rail to Petersburg. Six days later, Corse's brigade moved to the depot of the Southside Railroad, departing for Lynchburg after dark. At the depot, in a quarrel, Pvt. James R. Hurst of Company F was mortally wounded by a knife-thrust in the groin inflicted by Cpl. David Manly of Company G. Manly, found guilty of murder, was sentenced to death. However, after eight months in the Petersburg jail, he was returned to duty.²⁷

At Lynchburg which was reached on the morning of the 15th, the Virginians shifted to the cars of the Virginia and Tennessee railroad. Rolling southwestward, with brief stops at Wytheville and Bristol, the brigade arrived two days later at Zollicoffer, Tenn. Here they reported

²⁶ Ibid., 23; CSR, Roll 582; Bennett Diary, July 22; August 21, 1863; Wise, 17th Virginia, 164.

²⁷ Ibid., 165; CSR, Rolls 588, 590; Official Records, LI, Pt. 2, 769. Following crippling losses at Gettysburg, Pickett's brigades were assigned to various areas. Pickett took command of the Department of North Carolina, which lay between the Appomattox and Cape Fear rivers.

to Gen. Samuel Jones, whose small force was attempting to stall Burnside's advance from Knoxville.

The battle-toughened Virginians were little impressed with Jones's men, particularly the cavalry. "They never could get near enough to the enemy to bring in any reliable information," Col. Herbert recalled. "The people held them in mortal terror, as nothing was safe from their grasp except the enemy, before whom they fell back in wild disorder."

One day, after a sharp skirmish with Burnside's cavalry, the commander of the 17th observed one of these rangers sprinting up the road without hat, horse or arms. Calling out and asking his problem, Herbert was told: "We struck a big pile of Yankees and had to git up and git."

The Virginian asked, "Where is your horse?"

"I tuck 'cross the mountain, and come to a fence, and the old mare, she couldn't take it, so I had to get down and git."

"Well, where's your gun?"

"I couldn't carry no dead weight so I flung it away."

"And your sabre?"

"Well, I left that too."²⁸

On September 30, after two weeks of forage details and minor skirmishes, Corse's brigade returned to Petersburg. Arriving on October 3, the 17th Virginia soon departed for Ivor Station, where it constructed winter quarters and obtained new issues of clothing. "Oysters and sweet potatoes were abundant," Sgt. Wise wrote, "the

²⁸ Herbert, Sketches, 23-24; Wise, 17th Virginia, 167-68.

former costing \$5.00 per gallon and the latter \$6.00 per bushel."

Colonel Herbert was given command of the area, known officially as the "Blackwater Line."²⁹

Throughout the month of October, the 17th Virginia maintained a close surveillance of the Union garrison at Suffolk. Two companies were stationed at the Blackwater River; outposts of cavalry were constantly on alert in case of an advance by the Federals. Late in the month, the regiment served as host for 500 refugees from Union-occupied Norfolk. During November 3-5, it distributed salt among the residents of the adjoining counties. "Great numbers of them came in gladly to get it," Sgt. Wise wrote, "in many different conveyances, often with things to sell the soldiers."³⁰

On Monday evening, November 9, Col. Herbert ordered the 17th Virginia and three pieces of artillery to cross the Blackwater River and begin a march on Suffolk. Spending a cold night without fires, the Virginians moved to Windsor Station the next morning and merged with Col. Alexander G. Talaiferro's 23rd Virginia. Herbert intended to advance to within six miles of Suffolk and then make a frontal assault at dawn. Hope of an attack in the Union rear vanished when it was discovered that the Federals had destroyed all boats on the Nansemond River and were picketing its south bank.

²⁹Ibid., 169; Bennett Diary, Sept. 20, 1863; Official Records, XXIX, Pt. 2, 776, 812. On Oct. 15, 1863, the remainder of Corse's brigade went to Dublin, Va.

³⁰Ibid., 797-98; Wise, 17th Virginia, 170.

Upon arriving below Windsor, Herbert found that even a frontal assault was impracticable. Meeting a man named Phillips, the young Alexandrian learned that it would be impossible even to surprise their first picket at the bridge beyond Suffolk. Federal pickets were on the north bank and had so arranged the flooring of the bridge that at two or three minutes' notice they could drop it into the creek below. Determined to salvage something from the demonstration, Herbert dispatched a company of cavalymen who dashed into the town and seized a wagon, 8 horses and 7 prisoners. The disappointed Virginians then returned to Ivor.³¹

On November 15, Lt. Scott Roy, captured while scouting within the Union lines, returned to camp. It was his information concerning the weakness of the Suffolk garrison that influenced Herbert to attempt its capture. Recognized as a previous escapee, he and another comrade of Company B were placed under guard in an upper room of Fort Norfolk. As was his custom, the daring Roy "advised his captors to watch him, as he intended to leave them if possible." Several nights later, he and his companion cut through the roof, slid down a lightning rod, passed the sentinels and slipped into the darkness. Finding a canoe, they paddled up the Nansemond and returned to camp.³²

The abortive raid on Suffolk marked the end of that year's campaigning. With winter quarters completed, battalion and company drills resumed more for maintaining physical conditioning and discipline

³¹Official Records, XXIX, Pt. 1, 638.

³²Hale, Four Valiant Years, 288; Wise, 17th Virginia, 170-71. This was Roy's third escape.

than from a need to practice. News of other Confederate armies was infrequent; what information the Virginians did receive was usually incorrect. Diet reverted to salt pork and hardtack as vegetables became unavailable. Major Simpson requested 100 pounds of margarine from his cousin and added: "I could trade it advantageously for sugar and coffee."

On December 30, the regiment ended the year with several court-martial cases. "Some of the punishments were severe," Pvt. Bennett wrote. "Half of men's head were shaved and others received a year at hard labor, while wearing a twelve pound ball and chain. One soldier of Co. C was sentenced and shot for desertion."

Describing the opening weeks of January, a bored private wrote a two-word entry: "In camp."³³

³³Bennett Diary, Nov. 2-5, 12-20; Dec. 3, 30, 1863; Jan. 1-24, 1864; Robert H. Simpson to cousin, Jan. 11, 1864, Robert H. Simpson Letters. Among the false rumors circulating at Ivor were these: Longstreet's capture of Burnside's army at Knoxville, Grant's retreat from Chickamauga, John Hunt Morgan's escape to Canada and Lee's pursuit of Meade across the Rapidan.

CHAPTER V

THE LAST DESPERATE MONTHS

Implementation of plans to recover Confederate control of the North Carolina sounds abruptly jolted the 17th Virginia from its midwinter torpor. Possession of these waterways, in Union hands for nearly two years, would provide innumerable havens for blockade runners to land desperately needed cargoes. As a part of this strategy, Gen. Pickett secured Lee's approval for a secret attack on New Bern. The debonair Virginian summoned his scattered troops and added Robert F. Hoke's North Carolina brigade, which was detached from the Army of Northern Virginia. Petersburg became the staging area; and on January 23, 1864, Lt. Col. Herbert received orders to transport his regiment to that point. Five days later, Pickett's men boarded trains to join Confederate contingents massing southward at Kinston, N. C.¹

On the evening of January 30, the 15th and 17th Virginia regiments, detached from Corse's brigade and assigned to Col. James Dearing, began a forced march toward New Bern. Fifty-three miles were made in twenty-seven hours, along roads so deep in sand that many men removed their shoes and marched barefooted. The object of the movement was Fort Anderson, situated on the north bank of the Neuse River. South of the

¹CSR, Roll 582; Official Records, XXXIII, 95, 1099, 1106; LaSalle Corbell Pickett, Pickett and His Men (Atlanta 1900), 330-31. The remainder of Corse's Brigade traveled from Dublin, where they had guarded the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad.

river advanced six additional brigades, under the command of Gens. Pickett and Seth Barton. The troops of the latter were to destroy the railroad to Morehead City, then attack the Federal rear when Dearing and Pickett diverted their attention. To spread further confusion, Col. John Taylor Wood was to use his small flotilla in a foray against Union gunboats stationed near the forts.

At 2 A. M. on February 1, Dearing's men began their final approach to Fort Anderson. Arriving at dawn, the Confederates looked upon the frowning citadel with tight-lipped grimness. Their attack, to begin when Barton's assault exploded from the rear, would traverse a half-mile of open ground, through abattis and palisades, to the main defenses. A moat twenty feet wide and six feet deep fronted the earthworks, and 100-pounder rifles swept the entire expanse of ground. "To have stormed it," Major Simpson wrote, "would have resulted in heavy loss of life. Our success would have been very doubtful but if ordered we would have done so without hesitation."

Barton's situation remained ominously quiet as the hours passed. To the south, Hoke's and Corse's men overran a Union outwork. Other enemy troops were diverted when Col. Wood's sailors captured and scuttled the USS Underwriter. Meanwhile, the mystery of Barton's whereabouts continued. At 2 P. M., Gen. Hoke observed trains arriving from Morehead City, which indicated that Barton had yet to reach his destination.

The next morning Pickett received word from Barton that the defenses of Morehead City "were too strong to take, that he had made

no advance and had no intention of doing so." Barton then added that "geographical obstructions would prevent his rejoining the main body for an additional forty-eight hours." This news, combined with Dearing's report from Fort Anderson, caused a thoroughly discouraged Pickett to order a general retreat. Reaching Kinston on the 5th, the 17th Virginia continued on to Goldsboro, where it went into camp.²

With a return to camp life, the Virginians resumed drills. Yet everything was not routine. On the night of February 12, the regiment was saddened by the death of Pvt. Charles Steed, accidentally killed by Pvt. Marcus Roberts. Steed and Roberts, engaging in a moment of careless horseplay, had snapped their muskets at one another. Robert's weapon, thought to be unloaded, discharged and killed Steed instantly. Three days later, with the tragedy still in their minds, the men of the 17th Virginia enlisted for the duration of the war.³

On February 24, the Virginians climbed aboard passenger trains and traveled to Lexington, N. C. Reports of civil insurrection were arriving from the area, but the Confederates found these alarms to be imaginary. The citizens were hospitable and, having seen no soldiers

²Ibid., 332-35; Herbert, Sketches, 25; Bennett Diary, Feb. 1-3, 1864; Official Records, XXXVIII, 54-56, 96, 1145; Robert H. Simpson to sister, Feb. 13, 1864, Robert H. Simpson Letters. Barton found his route to the Union rear blocked by a swift-flowing stream. Since enemy forces controlled the only bridge, he decided that any advance would be disastrous. Pickett denounced Barton and refused to accept his report. General Lee requested a court of inquiry, but it never convened. In subsequent action, at Chester Station, Barton again failed to perform to the satisfaction of his commander. General Robert Ransom censured him and relieved him of his command. Barton's career as a general was over.

³Ibid., CSR, Rolls 593-94; Bennett Diary, Feb. 7-18, 1864; Records of the 17th Virginia Volunteers, Virginia State Archives. Roberts died at Flat Creek three months later.

of either army, were also curious. At their request, Lt. Col. Herbert formed up the 15th and 17th Virginia regiments and conducted a drill and dress parade. By March 7, the Virginians were back at Kinston.⁴

A week later, after a heavy snowfall, occurred the most famous snowball fight in the memory of the 17th Virginia. Early that morning, Pvt. Edgar Warfield, in the process of trapping snow birds, observed Hoke's North Carolinians forming line of battle opposite the camp of Corse's brigade. Exhorting his troops, the Tarheel native called upon them "to repel the invasion of the rascally Virginians." Asking for time to meet the challenge, Warfield turned and sprinted for camp. The long roll sounded and the 15th, 17th and 30th Virginia regiments began to form. As they do so, Hoke's men bore down upon them.

The cheering Tarheels quickly broke the ranks of the half-formed Virginians, driving many of them into a swamp that covered the rear of the camp. Warfield and Capt. William Fowle went in above the knees. At this moment, a shout on the right announced the arrival of the 29th Virginia, another of Corse's regiments. Hearing of Hoke's attack, the men advanced to the aid of their comrades. Hoke's brigade was flanked, several of his staff officers, many men and a battle flag were captured, with the remainder driven in the opposite direction for several miles. Some of the wet and exhausted men did not return until nightfall.⁵

Two weeks later, on All Fools Day, the 17th Virginia assembled for a more somber occasion. Private Theophilus Daniel, a conscript assigned

⁴Official Records, XXXIII, 1199; Bennett Diary, Feb. 24, 27; Mar. 7, 1864; Warfield, Memoirs, 164-65.

⁵Ibid., 140-41.

to Company G, was to be executed for desertion. The condemned man had been confined in the Petersburg jail until his tribunal completed its findings. He was now brought forward and placed with his back to the firing squad. After a reading of the sentence, the order to fire came. A crack split the air. When the smoke cleared, the man lay dead on the ground.⁶

The arrival of suitable weather led the Confederates to attempt again to break the Federal grip on the North Carolina sounds. This time, the goal was the town of Plymouth, which lay on the south side of the Roanoke River before it enters Albemarle Sound. On April 16, as part of this mission, Corse's brigade left its Kinston encampment and advanced again on New Bern. The Virginians marched to within eleven miles of the place, surprised and drove in the enemy pickets, made some menacing gestures, then withdrew by the same route. Corse's demonstration temporarily froze the Union forces in their positions; and Confederate deserters (possibly dispatched by the clever Virginian) gave unreliable information which steered the enemy away from the true objective. On the morning of the 20th, Plymouth fell to Gen. Hoke's forces. Five days later, Confederate pressure forced the evacuation of Washington.⁷

On May 3, Corse's brigade marched from Kinston to join Hoke's command in an attack on New Bern. Arriving on the 5th, the 17th Virginia took position east of the city, along the banks of the Neuse River.

⁶Wise, 17th Virginia, 173; CSR, Roll 585.

⁷Ibid., Roll 582; Official Records, XXXIII, 281, 905-6; SHSP, XXXVI (1908), 363-67.

Here they awaited the arrival of the ironclad C. S. S. Albemarle, which was to steam into Pamlico Sound and shell the forts. During the night, the Virginians endured a tremendous shelling from Union gunboats, but suffered no loss.⁸

The next morning, the surprised troops received orders to return to Kinston. Reports from Petersburg stated that a large Union army, under the command of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, was advancing up the lightly defended Yorktown peninsula while Lee's forces, already outnumbered, were heavily engaged in the Wilderness. Pickett had less than 1,000 men to contest Butler's advance. He ordered Hoke to come north without delay. Leaving a rearguard to deceive the enemy, the Confederates again retired from New Bern without a conclusive engagement.⁹

At dawn on May 10, Corse's brigade boarded the cars for a return to Petersburg. Between Wilmington and Weldon, the train was brought to a halt by a forest fire which had spread across the tracks and consumed a portion of the ties. Repairing the damage consumed a number of hours and prevented the cars from reaching Weldon until daylight. The Virginians left the cars at Belleplain because the track had been torn up and the bridges burned by Gen. August V. Kautz's cavalry. The troops marched nine miles to Stony Creek Station, where they again boarded the trains and continued to Petersburg. Arriving on the 12th, the tired soldiers bivouacked three miles from the city.¹⁰

⁸Warfield, Memoirs, 165; Wise, 17th Virginia, 173.

⁹Ibid.; SHSP, XII (1884), 289-90.

¹⁰Official Records, LI, Pt. 2, 908; Wise, 17th Virginia, 174.

The next morning, the 17th Virginia received orders to proceed to the vicinity of Amelia Court House and repel Union horsemen who were threatening to break the Richmond and Danville Railroad. In company with the 30th Virginia, the men took the cars at Petersburg, traveled to Burkeville Junction, then sped southward about twenty-five miles to Flat Creek. Being informed that raiders were in the area, the troops left the cars and moved to the defense of three bridges that spanned the stream.

The 8th and 30th Virginia regiments deployed before a large iron railroad bridge, while the 17th Virginia marched to a wooden structure some distance away. Lt. Col. Herbert placed Companies C, D, E, G and I at the bridge while holding four companies in reserve. Company B took position at a county road bridge 100 yards up the creek. Initial contact was made at midnight; and as the first streaks of daylight appeared, the bluecoats advanced upon the Virginians.¹¹

The Union forces opened with artillery, then charged the county bridge. Driven back, the Union officers berated their men severely. Yelling for them "to drive the damned conscripts out of the way," the Federal commanders received an angry retort from the men of the 17th Virginia: "If you think these are conscripts, come down a little closer yourselves."

The battle, overlapping to the rail span, continued for three hours. Around 9 A. M., Herbert committed his reserve and drove the enemy horsemen toward Amelia Court House. Seven Union troopers lay dead

¹¹Ibid., 176; CSR, Roll 582.

on the field; twelve more were prisoners. The Virginians lost three men killed and one wounded, all of Company B.¹²

At 1 A. M. on the 15th, the Virginians arrived by train at Richmond. The troop trains then journeyed to Rice's Turnout from where the men marched to join Corse's brigade at Drewry's Bluff. Severe fighting was in progress. Several soldiers, including Sgt. Maj. Thomas G. Hart, received wounds as the regiment searched for its position along the fog-shrouded lines. Having gone for two days without rations, the famished troops discovered that the commissary wagons were absent.¹³

About 10 A. M. as the starved 17th Virginia was at last obtaining a consignment of food, Corse's brigade received orders from Gen. Hoke to advance and support the beleaguered troops of Gen. Bushrod Johnson. Angry protests filled the air and cries for bread greeted Gen. Corse as he rode along the line. Assuring his men that plenty of food was available in the Federal trenches, the Alexandria native urged them forward. As the Virginians advanced from their trenches, the Union batteries opened fire with every gun. Shrapnel scored Corse across the loins, but he rode ahead with the shout: "Wade in, my buddies, wade in!"

Rolling onward, across ground strewn with felled trees, the 17th Virginia crashed into the 100th New York and drove it for more than a

¹²Ibid.; SHSP, XII (1884), 292-93.

¹³CSR, Roll 582; Walker, Memorial, 279; Wise, 17th Virginia, 178; Official Records, XXXVI, Pt. 2, 1012. Sergeant Hart's wound was ghastly. The bullet entered his mouth and lodged in his neck. He was carried to Chimborazo Hospital in Richmond about two weeks after the battle. The ball was extracted from the back of his neck but caused immediate death.

mile. Over 100 bluecoats, mostly German immigrants, surrendered. The 17th Virginia reformed ranks and, joined by officers and men from the rest of the brigade, changed front and used a flanking fire to drive the bluecoats from their last position. Regimental casualties were Maj. Robert H. Simpson, mortally wounded at the first fire, and twenty-nine enlisted men wounded.¹⁴

The next morning, Gen. Beauregard ordered a pursuit of Butler's now defeated army. Finding the enemy entrenched at Bermuda Hundred, the colorful Creole set his men to constructing earthworks of their own. The Confederate lines in the Union army's front, and the imprisoning arms of the Appomattox and James Rivers on its flanks, was shockingly effective. Butler's army, as Grant termed it, "was as completely shut off from further operations directly against Richmond as if it had been in a bottle strongly corked." Heavy Union artillery and naval bombardment proved ineffective; and on the 19th, four Confederate brigades (including Corse's) received orders to return to the Army of Northern Virginia.¹⁵

On May 27, Corse's brigade rejoined Pickett's Division on the North Anna River. It then began marching in a southeasterly direction to intercept Grant's most recent flanking maneuver. Moving through Aylett's Station and Mechanicsville, the Virginians arrived on June 1 at the desolate crossroads of Cold Harbor. Geographical barriers made

¹⁴Ibid., 236-38; SHSP, XII (1884), 293; Warfield, Memoirs, 170; Wise, 17th Virginia, 178, 180.

¹⁵Ibid., 182; Official Records, XXXVI, Pt. 3, 799; Robert V. Johnson and C. C. Buel (eds.), Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (New York, 1884-1887), IV, 147.

it difficult for the Federals to advance any farther toward the east; and with Richmond less than a day's march away, the Union commander resolved to break Lee's lines at that point. A heavy Federal attack absorbed a murderous repulse on June 3; and additional fighting, of less severity, continued for a week. The 17th Virginia, involved in several spirited skirmishes, lost 2 men killed and 2 mortally wounded. One of the latter, Pvt. William Terrett, "had expressed a desire to receive a flesh wound and thereby acquire a short furlough. A few minutes later, Terrett did go down with a fleshy wound above the knees. Unhappily, however, the bullet severed the femoral artery; and by the following morning the young soldier was dead."¹⁶

On June 13, Pickett's division was again in motion, the enemy slipping from Lee's front the previous night. At 8 P. M., Corse's brigade crossed the Chickahominy, passed over the battlefields of the Peninsular Campaign and, at 8 P. M., camped at Malvern Hill. Warfield halted during the march to re-mark the grave of his brother George, who had died at Frayser's Farm. Three days later, the Virginians crossed the James River at Drewry's Bluff and proceeded toward Petersburg.

The next morning (June 17) as Pickett's men approached a tree-lined stretch of road near Port Walthall Junction, they received a flanking fire from a system of old trenches to the left of the highway. These works, constructed by Beauregard but abandoned by him when his troops shifted south to defend Petersburg, now held the Federal soldiers of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler. Swinging his column into line of battle,

¹⁶CSR, Rolls 582, 585; Warfield, Memoirs, 176-77.

Pickett ordered his brigades to charge the Union positions. The Virginians responded with alacrity and captured the first line of trenches before nightfall.¹⁷

With the first rays of dawn, the Confederates re-opened the battle. The Virginians exchanged fire all day. At 4 P. M., they charged the Union lines and drove them from all the works near the Clay House. The assault was a tremendous success, despite a belated order from Gen. Lee cancelling the attack as too hazardous. After the Confederates had reached their objective, Lee sent congratulations to Gen. Richard Anderson on the fine conduct of the men of the First Corps. Said the commander: "I believe that they will carry anything they are put against. We tried very hard to keep Pickett's men from capturing the breastworks of the enemy but couldn't do it." In addition, Lee ordered Pickett to remain in these positions and hold Butler at bay. Consequently, the Virginians remained in a position facing Bermuda Hundred for the remainder of the year.¹⁸

Bermuda Hundred quickly became an inactive sector as Grant edged southward in an attempt to cut Lee's rail communications below Petersburg. The Confederate defenses, known as "Howlett's Line," extended for almost three miles from the James to the Appomattox rivers. It consisted of a heavy line of earthworks along the entire distance, with abattis in front and rifle pits for the protection of pickets. A

¹⁷Ibid.; Wise, 17th Virginia, 186.

¹⁸Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, III, 532; Walter Harrison, Pickett's Men: A Fragment of War History (New York, 1870), 130. Anderson was in temporary command of the First Corps. He replaced Longstreet, who was recovering from wounds sustained in the battle of the Wilderness.

battery of siege guns, mounted at Howlett's House, swept the river. On occasion, large-scale artillery duels occurred. Butler employed his men in digging a canal to bypass these defenses, but it was unsuccessful. The Union troops, members of the X Corps, proved friendly by exchanging tobacco, coffee, newspapers and conversation. Firing was so infrequent that through the next six months the 17th Virginia suffered fewer than ten casualties as a result of enemy action.¹⁹

As summer stretched toward autumn, the Virginians found other foes more tenacious and deadly than the enemy. On September 23, Adjutant General Samuel Cooper received reports that malaria was decimating Pickett's division and that Corse's brigade had suffered most. Exposure, lack of exercise and an imbalanced, steadily dwindling diet served to strike down dozens of others--often bringing on sieges of diarrhea that invariably disabled or killed. Wells dug in the rear of each regiment on the Howlett's Line supplied pure water and prevented outbreaks of dreaded typhoid fever.²⁰

The increasing number of sick leaves and absences heaped additional burdens upon the healthy. Men had to stand picket duty every fifth day as well as hold the trenches between tours. Desertions increased markedly. On October 18, a member of the 7th Virginia was executed in

¹⁹Wise, 17th Virginia, 190, 196, 206-7, 213. Duels between the rival batteries and gunboats accounted for the majority of fighting along the Howlett Line. The only sustained infantry firefights occurred between Nov. 22 and early December, when several regiments of Negro troops were put in line directly opposite the defenses of Corse's brigade.

²⁰Ibid., 192; Official Records, XLII, Pt. 2, 1271; CSR, Rolls 582-96.

a nearby camp. Sergeant Loehr of the 1st Virginia reported that "all six balls had gone through the center of his breast and entered the stake to which he was tied, cutting the stake in half."

In an attempt to curb this leakage of men, Gen. Pickett offered a twenty-day furlough to anyone arresting a soldier attempting to desert, and thirty days to one firing upon and securing a deserter's body. Sergeant Wise believed "that this method was productive beyond doubt." Yet desertions, particularly among conscripts, continued to grow.²¹

With the advent of October rains, the men on Howlett's Line began preparing winter quarters. Log huts covered with boards were erected near the lines, and rifle pits in front were also covered to shelter the pickets from the weather. Strengthening their defenses, the Virginians constructed a second line of obstructions and abattis.

On October 17, after completion of their huts, 108 members of the 17th Virginia volunteered to assist in building a church in which the brigade might hold its meetings. Construction began that same day, with members of Parker's Battery occupying a redoubt between the 15th and 17th Virginia regiments, also lending assistance. On the 30th, regimental chaplain Robert M. Baker conducted services for the entire division. Thereafter the church was a scene of increasing crowds for morning and evening prayer meetings. As the winter deepened, food became scarce. News of other armies contained only defeat. Sergeant Wise observed that "an air of grace pervaded a great portion of the

²¹ Ibid., Roll 582; Loehr, 1st Virginia, 54; Wise, 17th Virginia, 204.

army." Nevertheless, as Christmas time approached, Gen. Lee wrote of his command: "Scant fare, light clothing, constant duty, [and] no recruits have discouraged it."²²

On the night of January 4, 1865, after seven months on the Howlett's line, Corse's brigade received orders to proceed to the north side of the James River and man the lines of Fort Gilmer. Crossing the river at Chaffin's Bluff, the ill-clad Virginians occupied vermin-infested tents, which stood in boot-top pools of icy water. Firewood, the men discovered, had to be carried for more than a mile. By mutual agreement, pickets could forage for fuel between the lines without fear of enemy fire. Daily rations disintegrated to a quarter-pound of rancid bacon and a small portion of unpalatable meal. Repeated invitations from Union pickets offered "hot coffee, plenty of rations and freedom"--and caused about forty men to desert. Finally, on February 20, Corse's brigade gladly returned to the Howlett line.²³

Ice began to thaw and streams overflowed their banks as March opened on Howlett's line. On the 9th, following a grand review of Pickett's division, the Virginians began a series of wearing marches

²²Ibid., 200-04; CSR, Roll 582; Warfield, Memoirs, 182; Official Records, XLII, Pt. 3; 1311. On one occasion, when newspapers brought word of victory, a most amusing incident occurred. The victory, Gen. Nathan B. Forrest's capture of four Union gunboats, was much ballyhooed and received the title "Gen. Forrest Has Capped the Climax." A notorious camp gossip called Barney, who was always anxious to spread any news, heard the headline and began shouting that Forrest had captured a climax. "Barney did not know what a climax was," Pvt. Warfield wrote, "but he knew Gen. Forrest had captured one. It was a long time before the boys let him forget it."

²³Ibid., XLVI, Pt. 2, 104, 1255; Warfield, Memoirs, 202-03; Herbert, Sketches, 33-34.

to intercept Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's cavalry, which was operating against the Virginia Central Railroad. The marches were unproductive as the Federal horsemen turned eastward before reaching Richmond. Corse's brigade struck the Union rearguard at Ashland, but the result was negligible. By March 18, Pickett's division was back in the Richmond entrenchments.²⁴

On the evening of March 25, the Virginians broke their encampment along Nine Mile Road and moved to Swift Creek. Four days later, they shifted again, this time proceeding ten miles westward on the Southside Railroad, to Sutherland Station. Federal infantry and cavalry were moving to apply more pressure to this vital Confederate artery; and Pickett was given the responsibility of its defense.²⁵

The next morning, March 30, Pickett's rain-soaked troops marched on muddy roads to the far right of the Confederate lines. Shortly after halting, Lee arrived and ordered Pickett to take his own brigades, two of Richard Anderson's, and six guns of Col. William J. Pegram's artillery to Five Forks. From Five Forks, with the support of cavalry, Pickett was to advance on Dinwiddie Court House and assail the enemy. If the Federals could be driven from this village, where four roads intersected--the most vital of which led through Five Forks to the Confederate flank; the railroad would be saved. During the afternoon,

²⁴ Official Records, XLVI, Pt. 2, 993-4, 1309-10; Pt. 3, 38; Wise, 17th Virginia, 214-16.

²⁵ Ibid., 218; Official Records, XLVI, Pt. 3, 237, 1350-51; Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, III, 656. Pickett's division took no part in the ill-fated assault on Fort Stedman.

despite annoying brushes with Union cavalry, the Virginians slogged to their destination and by sunset were in position to attack.²⁶

At 10 A. M., on March 31, Pickett's men began to move on Dinwiddie. Discovering Federal cavalry drawn up behind swollen Chamberlayne Creek, the graycoats closed with the enemy. For the remainder of the day, stubborn fighting occurred. At one point a misunderstanding of orders created a gap between Corse's and Gen. George H. "Maryland" Steuart's brigades. Through this corridor, Col. Herbert wrote, "the enemy forced a heavy line of skirmishers, and meeting no resistance in front, struck the right of our line in flank, driving back the 32nd Virginia and exposing the 17th Virginia to the whole force of their fire." So sudden was the attack that nineteen men were taken prisoner. Twenty more were shot down or clubbed from behind. Remaining calm, the Virginians refused their flank and repulsed the Federals with a heavy fire. By nightfall, the Southerners were within a half-mile of the courthouse.²⁷

Before daybreak, the Virginians arose from their slumber and withdrew to Five Forks. Enemy pursuit was so precipitous, that some of the wounded barely escaped capture. Reaching their destination after sunrise, the men consumed a meal of parched corn and then formed line of battle along the road. Pickett received orders from Lee to hold Five

²⁶Ibid., 658-59; Wise, 17th Virginia, 218-20.

²⁷Ibid., 221; Herbert, Sketches, 35. Refusing the flanks of a line of battle refers to positioning the troops on the flanks so that they stand at an angle to the main body.

Forks at all costs in order to prevent the loss of the Southside Railroad, some two miles in his rear.²⁸

Pickett's line of battle was parallel to and lay along the White Oak Road, with both flanks refused to varying extents. From left to right were the infantry brigades of William Wallace, Matthew Ransom, George Steuart, William Terry and Montgomery Corse. Of Pegram's Artillery, three guns were at the Forks, with the other three bolstering the right. William H. F. Lee's cavalry covered the right flank, while Fitzhugh Lee's troopers sprinkled themselves along the four-mile void between Pickett's left and the right end of the main Confederate defenses. The men tore down rail fences, felled trees and dug trenches, so that by early afternoon fairly formidable earthworks were in view. However, the weakness of the left flank ultimately was to bring isolation and destruction.²⁹

For several hours, little transpired except occasional cavalry thrusts along the line. In late afternoon, heavy firing commenced on the left and increased until it extended across the length of the Confederate line except in the immediate front of the 17th Virginia. Firing grew in the rear, yet little attention was paid to the development. The men of the regiment, impressed that their line was still intact, remained confident that the day belonged to them.

In reality, the day was already lost. Heavy columns of Union infantry, having overrun Fitzhugh Lee's dismounted troopers, were now

²⁸Harrison, Pickett's Men, 138; Wise, 17th Virginia, 226.

²⁹Ibid.; Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, III, 663-64; James Longstreet, From Manassas to Appomattox, ed. by James I. Robertson, Jr. (Bloomington, 1960), 597-98.

rolling up the Rebel line. It quickly resembled a huge barn door slamming shut. With a mob of leaderless fugitives streaming into their rear, Corse's brigade--despite being assailed from three sides--formed at right angles to its works and for a time helped to stem the rout. W. H. F. Lee's cavalry also maintained its cohesion. Then, as night fell, the pressure became too great. Word passed for the men to look out for themselves. Sergeant Ira Deavers of Company H tore the regimental flag from its staff and secreted it inside his shirt to prevent its capture.³⁰

The next morning the remnants of Pickett's command, learning of Petersburg's evacuation, retreated westward toward Amelia Court House. Rearguard fighting was almost continuous, mud was knee deep and rations (when they existed) were handfuls of parched corn. Horses and mules received even less. The exhausted column, encumbered by a ten-mile long wagon train, inched along at a crawl.³¹

On April 6, several miles west of Amelia Court House and near a small stream known as Sayler's Creek, Union cavalry exploited a gap in Lee's retreating column. Federals isolated the starving Virginians from the main body. Forming ranks, the dispirited men attempted to break through the curtain of horsemen. Yet Federal infantry arrived

³⁰Ibid., 601; Herbert, Sketches, 36; Warfield, Memoirs, 200; Wise, 17th Virginia, 227-28. George Wise estimated brigade losses at forty. This is certainly a conservative number. Known casualty figures for the 17th Virginia are 1 wounded and 20 captured.

³¹Ibid., 231; Warfield, Memoirs, 203-4. Appearing on the morning of April 3, these wagons represented the remaining transport of the Army of Northern Virginia.

and the fighting became severe. Late in the afternoon, the numerically superior enemy turned the Confederate left. Federals swirled into their rear and opened a murderous artillery crossfire. Union infantry breached the thin gray lines, capturing hundreds and routing the rest. Seven generals, including Montgomery Corse, were taken prisoner. By evening, all that remained were fugitives streaming toward Farmville.³²

Dwindling by the hour, the battered Army of Northern Virginia continued its retreat. Soldiers dropped from the ranks; horses collapsed; artillerymen spiked their guns; and teamsters burned their wagons. Everyone sensed defeat, but many were still defiant. A soldier of the 17th Virginia wrote: "During the past ten days our losses have been very heavy, and we are now sadly straitened for food and forage, while we are pressed on every side by a large army that is abundantly supplied with everything. Still I am willing to follow as long as Uncle Bob leads. I only hope the Yankees may not get him, whatever befalls the rest of us."

Another man, collapsing from exhaustion, called out to Pvt. Warfield: "I can go no farther, but tell Col. Herbert that although I may be taken prisoner, I will never take the oath."³³

Nightfall, April 8, brought the Confederates to a point near the village of Appomattox Court House. During the night, Union troops moved

³²Official Records, XLVI, Pt. 3, 610, 864; W. B. G. Andrews to father, Apr. 25, 1865, Robert H. Simpson Letters; Wise, 17th Virginia, 234-35.

³³Ibid., 236; Warfield, Memoirs, 204.

into position to block the road, which ran westward from Appomattox. Private William Rust wrote that "the enemy campfires were all around us." At daylight, an attempt was made to drive the enemy from the army's escape route, but the effort failed. With no other alternative than capitulation, Gen. Lee surrendered his surviving troops. Among them were the remaining forty-seven officers and men of the 17th Virginia Regiment.³⁴

³⁴Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, III, 728-29; SHSP, XV (1887), 78; William O. Rust to Richard Buck, Apr. 10, 1865, Buck Letters. Buck had been seriously wounded at Dinwiddie Court House and was not present at the surrender.

EPILOGUE

When making judgements of the officers and men of the 17th Virginia, the writer is conscious of the inherent dangers involved in such assessments. Of particular import is the realization that through the words and opinions of a few the story of hundreds is told. Nevertheless, the available evidence is ample enough to answer basic questions concerning the members of any military unit. Specifically: Why did they fight? What were their characteristics? How did they perform?

The men of the 17th Virginia were not fanatical secessionists. If they fought for slavery or the preservation of a venerable but decaying way of life, no record exists of it. Their military preparations, occurring in 1859-1861, were more the result of a fear of Northern extremists than a growing hostility toward the national government. That this sentiment was not inspired by Southern fanatics is evident from the presidential election of 1860, when northern Virginia led the state in support of conciliatory John Bell and gained for him Virginia's electoral vote. However, when the Lincoln administration attempted to solve the sectional schism by force of arms, these citizens faced a question of loyalties. Most were quick to demonstrate that they were Virginians before being Americans.

Four years of war serve to reveal much of the 17th Virginia's character. Comprised of farmers, day laborers, students, businessmen and professionals, the regiment soon developed a comradeship and an intense unit pride that transcended social and economic distinctions.

Individually the soldiers were human beings, occasionally plundered civilians, brawled, gambled, damned their officers, straggled, overindulged in alcohol and made visits to nearby bawdy houses. In contrast, they were courageous, compassionate and, in the presence of women, mannerly if not chivalric. Owing to the efforts of Arthur Herbert, more than half the regiment was intensely religious.

The men of the 17th Virginia never failed to perform their duty on the field of battle. Only the misinformed remarks of Daniel Harvey Hill concerning the unit's behavior at Seven Pines blemish its record.¹ When they defended, as at Blackburn's Ford, Manassas Gap and Flat Creek, they held well. When they charged with coordinated support, as at Williamsburg, Second Manassas and Drewry's Bluff, they were irresistible. In the wreck of Five Forks, they helped to rally the survivors. When they failed, as at Frayser's Farm, Antietam and Sayler's Creek, the Union superiority in numbers was overwhelming.

Following Appomattox, the men of the 17th Virginia returned to ravaged homelands and began rebuilding their lives. Never again would they rise to the beat of the long roll, make wearying marches in dust or mud, bivouacks in the rain, or assault an enemy line. Hating the war, they had yearned longingly for peace; yet now that their desire was fulfilled, they realized that soldiering had become an important part of their lives. On July 13, 1865, the poem of an unidentified soldier appeared in the Alexandria Gazette. The verses focus on his

¹Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, I, 241-42.

remembrances of soldier life and his desire to revive the past. It is a fitting epitaph for the 17th Virginia Regiment.

I've longed for my home by the river side-
 My home in the town on Potomac's shore,
 Where I'd often watched ships at anchor ride,
 While playing in front of my father's door.
 Yes, I've often wished for a city life,
 Where day begins at the coming of night,
 Where the only danger is in the strife
 Tween tradesmen who fight with sticks for their right,
 Where tasty viands are served up in style,
 At such cheap rates the poorest can buy;
 Where cool punches will your sense so beguile,
 That you think you were born never to die;
 Where, should you desire to take a ride,
 In the evening to cool your heated head,
 A quarter will bring a coach to your side,
 Whose horses are plump, and who have been well fed.
 Or, should your drinking cause you to doze,
 At your disposal you'll find a soft bed,
 On which to rest till you cannot repose,
 Or till the whiskey has seaped from your head,
 Where parties, balls, and moonlight excursions,
 Eating, drinking, and absence of fighting,
 Form life's happy and sweet divisions,
 Tho' their effects on morals are blighting.

But now that my longings have been fulfilled,
 And a city's life I've tasted again-
 Waltzed at the parties, and at the bars swilled-
 I find that my hopes were foolish and vain:
 Yes, now the charms of the city have gone,
 Its vices and follies I loath and spurn,
 And from dewey eve till early morn,
 To my former haunts I long to return,
 Roused at the dawn by Jack Nightingale's drum;
 Face and hands washed in the swift running stream;
 Was not that sweeter than a city's hum?
 More healthy than Cameron, where tadpoles teem?
 While my daily food-served out by the gauge-
 Was one pound of meal and one third of meat,
 And water was used my thirst to assauge,
 My stomach wasn't palled, I always could eat.
 And then after marching for many days,
 Flanking a raider who could not be found-
 Exposed to the rain and the sun's hot rays,
 How sweet the slumber I took on the ground!
 When settled in camp, if on a lark bent,
 Instead of frequenting the close saloon,
 By paying a visit to Jonah's tent,

You could, at night, get as tight as a loon.
Twas pleasant too for the pickets to fire,
And to the cannon's approaching boom,
For then it was my spirit grew higher,
And a foemen soon had to meet his doom.
Yes, a life in camp is a life for me,
With my cheerful comrades always close by,
Where not but pleasure and sport I would see,
And where fond friendship her tightest knots tie.²
17th Virginia

²Alexandria Gazette, July 13, 1865.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The basic foundation of all works on the Civil War is the War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1880-1901). Funded by an act of Congress, its 128 volumes contain battle reports, organizational tables, orders, casualty lists and other invaluable evidence needed to construct an accurate account of a unit's actions. On a more individual basis, the "Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served In Organizations From The State of Virginia" (Washington, 1960) reveal important facts about each member of the 17th Virginia. Microfilm rolls 582-596 pertain to the regiment and contain a summary of each man's war record. In addition, this collection includes an extensive wealth of regimental and company reports, musters, hospital and prison records.

Personal letters disclose the innermost thoughts of soldiers and give on-the-scene reports of camp and battlefield. Richard Bayle Buck's letters (deposited in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia) is the most extensive collection in this category. Buck, an educated youth, wrote clear and detailed descriptions of the 17th Virginia's activities from its evacuation of Alexandria until the March, 1862, withdrawal from Centreville. Most outstanding are his observations of picket duty in the months following First Manassas. The entire Buck collection is prodigious. Unfortunately the young private's letters after the spring of 1862 have been lost.

Another member of the 17th Virginia, Robert H. Simpson, also wrote many informative letters (deposited in the Perkins Library, Duke University). Simpson, who died of wounds received at Drewry's Bluff, filled his correspondence with battlefield descriptions along with pledges of devotion to the Southern cause.

At various times during the war, several members of the 17th Virginia kept diaries. The first was Pvt. William Randolph Smith, whose writing covered the three-month period before his death at Frayser's Farm. Smith was an ardent secessionist who described all facets of military life, including excellent accounts of Williamsburg and Seven Pines.

In the fall of 1862, Pvt. George S. Pickett discovered Smith's diary and continued it until the following February. His entries are particularly good for descriptions of menus and the weather.

Similar information is found in the diaries of William W. Sherwood and Henry Bennett. Bennett's entries also contain valuable information on the Suffolk, Gettysburg and New Bern campaigns. The Smith-Pickett Diary is deposited in the Alderman Library, while the Sherwood Diary is at the Virginia Historical Society. The Bennett Diary is published in Emily G. Ramey and John H. Gott's Years of Anguish; Fauquier County, Virginia, 1861-1865 (Warrenton, 1965).

In the years following Appomattox, three soldiers of the 17th Virginia wrote memoirs. Foremost among these is Alexander Hunter's Johnny Reb and Billy Yank (New York, 1905). Rich in imagery, prosaic in style, accurate and detailed, it is one of the finest volumes to

come from the ranks of the Army of Northern Virginia. Unfortunate for historians of the 17th Virginia, Hunter transferred to the cavalry after Longstreet's 1863 Suffolk campaign.

Equally important, although not blessed with Hunter's skill, is George Wise's History of the 17th Virginia, CSA (Baltimore, 1870). Written while his war experiences were still fresh, Wise's narrative is the starting point for a scholar of the 17th Virginia and represents the most thorough treatment of the subject.

Written in his declining years, Edgar Warfield's A Confederate Soldier's Memoirs (Richmond, 1936), suffers from extensive copying of the Official Records and Wise's 17th Virginia. Nevertheless, Warfield's keen and often humorous observations are found throughout the narrative. To ignore the work would be irresponsible.

Three massive compilations of similar accounts used in this narrative were the Southern Historical Society Papers (Richmond, 1876-1952, 52 vols.), the Confederate Veteran (Nashville, 1893-1932, 40 vols.) and Robert U. Johnson and C.C. Buel (eds.), Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (New York, 1884-1887, 4 vols.). In engaging and intimate detail, former soldiers discussed their battlefield experiences and feelings during the struggle. These publications were also instrumental in advancing the study of Southern history.

Other remembrances, not a part of the previously mentioned collections, were also useful. In his Sketches and Incidents of Movements of the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry (Washington, 1909?), Arthur Herbert provided a brief history of the regiment. He concentrated

on the period following Second Manassas. Particular emphasis was placed on the little known fight at Manassas Gap and the battles of Dinwiddie Court House and Five Forks.

Until May 24, 1861, when Union forces confiscated their presses, the Alexandria Gazette printed many items concerning the companies that formed the 17th Virginia. The paper did not resume publication until April 1862, and thereafter it published little more than regimental casualty lists.

A number of additional primary sources made minor contributions. William H. Morgan's Personal Reminiscences of the War 1861-5 (Lynchburg, 1911) and Charles T. Loehr's War History of the Old First Virginia Infantry Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia (Richmond, 1884), are excellent histories of two regiments that served with the 17th Virginia in Kemper's brigade. Catherine B. Hopely's Life In the South (New York, 1974, 2 vols.) and Judith W. McGuire's Diary of a Southern Refugee (Richmond, 1889) both give helpful accounts of the death of Capt. John Quincy Marr. Mrs. Burton Harrison's Recollections Grave and Gay (New York, 1911) relays an incident of the battle of Blackburn's Ford. James Longstreet's From Manassas to Appomattox, ed. by James I. Robertson, Jr. (Bloomington, Ind., 1960) helps to identify the regiment's role at Five Forks. LaSalle Corbell Pickett's Pickett and His Men (Atlanta, 1900) and Walter Harrison's Pickett's Men: A Fragment of War History (New York, 1870) offers information on the New Bern, Drewry's Bluff and Petersburg campaigns.

Also useful were John L. Johnson's The University Memorial (Baltimore, 1871) and Charles D. Walker's Memorial, Virginia Military

Institute (Philadelphia, 1875). These volumes give biographical information on University of Virginia and VMI graduates who fell in the service of the Confederacy. Several members of the 17th Virginia are mentioned.

J. William Jones' Christ in the Camp (Richmond, 1887) contains a small reference to religious activities in the regiment.

Since the subject was but one regiment, relevant primary sources left several gaps. Therefore, the use of secondary sources was necessary. The most important was Douglas Southall Freeman's Lee's Lieutenant's: A Study In Command (New York, 1942-1944, 3 vols.). Freeman detailed the history of the Army of Northern Virginia at the general's level and examined all of its campaigns in thorough detail. Freeman's large bibliography, found at the close of Vol. III, is also noteworthy.

Lee A. Wallace (comp.), A Guide to Virginia Military Organizations, 1861-1865 (Richmond, 1964), provided the company nicknames, dates of enlistment and a listing of captains for the ten companies of the 17th Virginia.

Laura Virginia Hale's Four Valiant Years in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1861-1865 (Strasburg, 1968) featured an amazing collection of letters, diaries and memoirs of the soldiers and civilians from the area. The "Warren Rifles," Company B of the 17th Virginia, is mentioned several times.

Also of some value is Wayne R. DeLaney and Marie E. Bowery's The Seventeenth Virginia Volunteer Infantry C.S.A. (Washington, 1961) and

Ethel Maddox Byrd and Zelda Haas Cassey's Memoirs of the War Between the States (Richmond, 1961). DeLaney and Bowery's abortive work ends with First Manassas. The Byrd-Cassey book presents information on Pvts. Elcon Jones and William Randolph Smith of the 17th Virginia.

Of minimal value to this study, but excellent works in their own right, are F.N. Boney's John Letcher of Virginia (University of Alabama, 1966), T. Harry William's Lincoln and His Generals (New York, 1952), Clifford Dowdey and Louis Manarin's The Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee (Boston, 1961) and James V. Murfin's The Gleam of Bayonets (Atlanta, 1965).

APPENDIX

The following is a descriptive roster of the men who served in the 17th Virginia. The National Archives' "Compiled Service Records" (Rolls 582-596) is the source. The records are relatively easy to understand but some explanation is necessary:

- (1) The date following each soldier's name marks his entrance into the service;
- (2) Rank for enlisted men represents the final rank held during the war;
- (3) The terms "deserted" and "AWOL" do not always mean a soldier was intentionally absent. Men frequently became separated from their units during marches and battles;
- (4) Military prisons in which members of the 17th Virginia were confined are frequently omitted in the text. Those captured at Fraziers Farm were imprisoned at Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor. In the Appomattox campaign, with the exception of those taken at Five Forks, the captives were sent to Point Lookout. The Five Forks prisoners awaited their paroles at Hart's Island, in New York Harbor. All deviations are noted in the text.

FIELD AND STAFF

Baker, Robert M. (June 1, 1863 - Chaplain), surrendered at Appomattox.

Boswell, Lewis A. (Oct. 29, 1863 - Asst. Surg.), ordered to Moseley's Battalion of Artillery.

Brent, George William (May 2, 1861 - Maj.), dropped Apr. 27, 1862.

Corse, Montgomery D. (May 17, 1861 - Col.), promoted to brigadier general Nov. 1, 1862.

Dulaney, U. H. (June 16, 1863 - Asst. Surg.), paroled May 8, 1865.

Johnson, John L. (Chaplain).

Kemper, H. S. (quartermaster sergeant).

Leftwich, J. W. (Mar. 21, 1862 - Surg.), July 30 - Dec. 1864 (sick); surrendered at Appomattox.

Lewis, Magnus M. (May 17, 1861 - Surg.), promoted to Division surgeon, June 1863.

Munford, William (June 13, 1861 - Lt. Col.), dropped Apr. 27, 1862.

Snowden, Harold (May 20, 1861 - Asst. Surg.), transferred to Savannah, Georgia, Apr. 1864.

Steele, Robert R. (Apr. 25, 1861 - Ensign), wounded at Seven Pines; wounded at Antietam (shoulder); wounded at Drewry's Bluff (left shoulder); paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

All other field and staff officers (those with the rank of major or higher; commissary, quartermaster and ordnance sergeants'; sergeant-majors'; color corporals' and adjutants) appear with the companies in which they originally mustered.

COMPANY A - "ALEXANDRIA RIFLEMEN"

Abbott, Frank H. (June 19, 1861), killed at Williamsburg.

Adam, John G. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred Sept. 22, 1862, to Co. D, 4th Virginia Cavalry.

Adams, Francis (Aug. 29, 1861), transferred May 1862, to Capt. Barry's Company.

Addison, John (Apr. 17, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), wounded at 2nd Manassas; captured at Sailors Creek; released from Johnson's Island June 18, 1865.

Addison, John F. (June 5, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), killed at Williamsburg.

Addison, Walter D. (Apr. 17, 1861), paroled Apr. 21, 1865.

Archibold, C., took oath at Goldsboro, North Carolina.

Ashby, William W. (June 3, 1861), deserted, Aug. 1862; took oath May 11, 1865, at St. Louis, Missouri.

Avery, Richard H. (May 22, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; became clerk for Gen. Pickett.

Bowers, Daniel (Conscripted June 5, 1864), transferred July 1, 1864, to 29th Virginia Infantry.

Bryant, Herbert (Apr. 17, 1861 - Adj.), wounded and captured at Antietam; exchanged.

Bryant, John Y., Jr. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged June 30, 1862.

Buford, P. S. (Nov. 23, 1863), Pioneer Corps, Nov. 1863 - Aug. 1864; paroled.

Burke, Jourdan M. (Apr. 17, 1861), Signal Corps, May 1862 - Dec. 1864.

Cadle, James R. (Aug. 29, 1861), transferred Apr. 29, 1862.

Carter, Meriwether (June 6, 1861), discharged Feb. 5, 1862.

Cawood, Charles H. (Aug. 29, 1861), transferred to Signal Corps, Sept. 1861.

Chase, J. Edward (conscripted June 10, 1864 - Surg.), took oath July 12, 1865.

Chase, Theodore L. (June 13, 1861 - Comm. Sgt.), wounded at Fraziers Farm; surrendered at Appomattox.

Clagett, William E. H. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Seven Pines (permanently disabled).

Crockford, William Hamilton (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred Jan. 26, 1863, to the 12th Virginia Infantry.

Davidson, Francis J. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged Dec. 4, 1861.

Douglass, Thomas V. (May 8, 1861), transferred Oct. 31, 1861, to Co. E, 30th Virginia Infantry.

Dunn, John W. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred to Capt. Browning's Company.

Dyer, Baker F. (Aug. 12, 1861), discharged Feb. 20, 1862 (dyspepsia).

Eaches, Hector B. (Oct. 28, 1861), wounded and captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged; detailed as draftsman, Nov. 1862.

Eaches, John B. (transferred from 1st Missouri Infantry, Feb. 13, 1864); captured Apr. 3, 1865.

Edwards, Brice J. (conscripted Sept. 28, 1863).

Fairfax, Archibald C. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines.

Fairfax, Eugene V. (Oct. 28, 1861), killed at Williamsburg.

Fairfax, Raymond (Apr. 17, 1861 - Capt.), detached with Pioneer Corps, Aug. 1863.

Ford, Hezekiah (conscripted Oct. 17, 1863), detached May 1864, at the Lynchburg Hospital.

Ford, Norval E. (June 24, 1861), discharged Jan. 3, 1862; conscripted May 26, 1864.

Foster, George R. (conscripted Oct. 17, 1863).

Grady, Franklin T. (Apr. 17, 1861), detailed to Transportation and Paymaster Departments, Sept. 1861.

Gray, William E. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 1st Lt.), killed at Seven Pines.

Green, Charles W. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Asst. QM), captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged; transferred to Gibbs' Artillery Battalion.

Green, Robert H. (July 18, 1861), died, July 1862.

Gunnell, Henry L. (June 17, 1861), transferred Oct. 1, 1864, to the Irish Battalion.

- Gwinn, Thomas T. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred Sept. 8, 1861, to Tripplett's Company.
- Gwynn, George E. (Aug. 29, 1861), transferred May 1862, to Capt. Barry's Company.
- Hall, James H. (transferred Jan. 15, 1864, from Co. D, 5th Virginia Cavalry), deserted to the enemy Apr. 17, 1864.
- Hancock, John D. (conscripted Oct. 12, 1863), captured Apr. 6, 1865, at Farmville.
- Hancock, W. T. (Oct. 18, 1863), discharged Feb. 4, 1864.
- Harmon, Charles P. (July 8, 1861), AWOL, Nov. 1862 - Feb. 1863; discharged.
- Harmon, William (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged; transferred to the cavalry, Mar. 1863.
- Hartley, Ephraim W. (Apr. 17, 1861), died July 23, 1862.
- Hayes, Thomas G. (Apr. 17, 1861), died June 14, 1864 (wounds).
- Hicks, George L. (May 18, 1861), discharged June 8, 1862 (disability).
- Hill, Thomas T. (Apr. 17, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.
- Hillsman, Aurleius S. (conscripted Oct. 17, 1863).
- Hite, Hugh S. (Apr. 17, 1861), mortally wounded at Williamsburg.
- Hite, Kidder M. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Corp.), captured at Petersburg, Apr. 2, 1865; released from Point Lookout, June 13, 1865.
- Hoe, Phillip B. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), defeated for re-election.
- Hoskins, D. H. (Oct. 20, 1863).
- Hoxton, William (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred Dec. 24, 1861, to Pelham's Horse Artillery.
- Humphreys, Andrew J. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Capt.), killed at Williamsburg.
- Hunt, Albert L. (May 7, 1861), detailed to Commissary Dept. May 1862 - June 1863 and Nov. 1863 - Jan. 1864; transferred Jan. 1864, to Co. D, 5th Virginia Cavalry.
- Hunter, Alexander (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; captured at Antietam; transferred May 13, 1863, to the 4th Virginia Cavalry.

Hutchison, Ludwell L. (Apr. 17, 1861), detailed with Signal Corps May 1862; killed at Spotsylvania Court House, May 10, 1864.

Hyde, Reginald F. (Apr. 17, 1861), clerk for the Adjutant of the 17th Virginia May - Dec. 1862; detailed to Ordnance Dept. Feb. - Dec. 1863; transferred to Engineer Corps, Apr. 1864.

Jackson, Andrew (June 24, 1861), discharged Oct. 5, 1861.

Jamieson, George W. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged Aug. 24, 1861, (disability).

Johns, E. T. (Oct. 23, 1863), discharged Dec. 13, 1864, (permanently disabled).

Johnson, Robert C. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Johnston, William S. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged June 18, 1861.

Jones, Spotswood J. (conscripted Sept. 20, 1863), wounded at Dinwiddie Court House.

Kelly, Edward F. (Apr. 17, 1861), Hospital Nurse, July 1861 - Apr. 1862; a Steward May 1862 - Nov. 1864.

Kerr, George (conscripted Oct. 17, 1863), sick with diarrhea and anasarca, June - Nov. 1864.

Lambert, Benjamin H., Jr. (Apr. 17, 1861), sick in various hospitals July 1861 - Mar. 1863; detailed to Commissary Dept. May 1863 - June 1864; detailed to Quartermaster July - Oct. 1864.

Landreth, Thomas (June 5, 1864), surrendered at Appomattox.

Laughlin, William C. (conscripted Oct. 17, 1863), deserted to the enemy Apt. 17, 1864.

Lee, Daniel (Apr. 17, 1861), detailed to Post Office, July 1861 - Feb. 1862; killed at Fraziers Farm.

Loggans, Samuel S. (transferred July 1, 1864, from Co. F, 29th Virginia Infantry), deserted to the enemy Jan. 24, 1865.

Malone, Edward E. (Aug. 13, 1861), transferred to Engineer Corps Apr. 15, 1864.

Marshall, Edward C., Jr. (Apr. 17, 1861), detailed to the Post Office Sept. 1861 - Feb. 1862; transferred, July 1862.

Mason, John S. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas.

- Mason, John T. (July 1, 1861), discharged Sept. 27, 1861.
- Mason, London R. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged Aug. 5, 1862.
- May, Reuben (conscripted Aug. 6, 1863), captured Apr. 3, 1865, while in Richmond Hospital.
- Mayre, Charles B. (May 18, 1861), transferred to artillery Apr. 12, 1862.
- Mayre, Morton (Apr. 17, 1861 - Col.), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at Second Manassas (right leg amputated above the knee).
- McCauley, Albert S. B. (conscripted Aug. 29, 1863), deserted, Nov. 1864.
- McKnight, Charles P. (July 2, 1861), wounded and captured at Williamsburg (left arm amputated); discharged Sept. 10, 1862.
- McMurran, Samuel (June 24, 1861), captured at Manassas Gap; exchanged from Point Lookout Mar. 16, 1864; wounded at Drewry's Bluff (arm); wounded by shellfire Apr. 6, 1865; died Apr. 23, 1865.
- McVeigh, James H., Jr. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded and captured at Williamsburg; transferred May 15, 1863, to the 4th Virginia Cavalry.
- Milburn, Washington C. (Apr. 17, 1861), surrendered at Appomattox.
- Mills, John (May 1, 1861), discharged May 28, 1862.
- Morrill, William T. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), died June 11, 1862 (wounds received at Seven Pines).
- Murray, Jesse (May 5, 1861), captured at Manassas Gap; exchanged Mar. 17, 1864.
- Murray, William (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), discharged July 20, 1862.
- Nuwine, Bennett W. (conscripted Sept. 15, 1863), died Dec. 22, 1863 (tuberculosis).
- Partlow, Theodore A. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Fraziers Farm.
- Paul, Samuel (Apr. 17, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), wounded at Williamsburg; elected 2nd Lt. of Co. G, Nov. 28, 1863.
- Paul, William J. (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at Antietam; transferred Dec. 31, 1862, to Co. G. of the 17th Virginia Infantry.
- Perry, Thomas (Apr. 17, 1861 - 1st Lt.), captured at Manassas Gap; exchanged Oct. 11, 1864.

Perry, William (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; surrendered at Appomattox.

Potter, George F. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred to Pate's Battalion, May 1862.

Powell, Alfred H. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred Nov. 30, 1861, to Capt. Carter's Company.

Powell, Robert C. (Apr. 17, 1861), Hospital Steward, May - Oct. 1862.

Price, Mark L. (June 3, 1861).

Pulliam, Thomas A. (conscripted Oct. 17, 1863), surrendered at Appomattox.

Purcell, William T. (June 5, 1861 - Corp.), discharged May 14, 1862.

Ramsey, William G. (July 1, 1863), surrendered at Appomattox.

Robinson, R. H. P. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged, Dec. 1862.

Rowland, A. (Nov. 4, 1863), surrendered at Appomattox.

Ryan, Sealbrook S. (June 19, 1861), transferred June 20, 1861, to Capt. Schaffer's Company.

Sale, James Ludwell, detached to Quartermaster Dept. July 18, 1864.

Sangster, J. H. L. (June 19, 1861 - Corp.), captured at Fraziers Farm; mortally wounded at 2nd Manassas (died Sept. 2, 1862).

Sangster, Thomas R. (June 3, 1861), killed at Blackburn's Ford.

Saunders, Addison E. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 1st. Sgt.), July - Dec. 1862 (sick).

Savage, John H. (Aug. 29, 1861), transferred, June 1862.

Slater, Joseph (June 13, 1861), discharged July 28, 1862.

Smith, Charles A. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas.

Smith, William W. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Capt.), wounded at Fraziers Farm, captured at Manassas Gap; released June 11, 1865.

Stickley, James (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Cherry Grove, Mar. 30, 1864; exchanged Mar. 14, 1865.

Stouts, John (June 5, 1864), deserted June 25, 1864; returned voluntarily Sept. 27, 1864.

Sully, Robert M. (Apr. 17, 1861), detached July 1861 - Apr. 1862; on Gen. Ewell's Staff as an Engineer May - Oct. 1862.

Sutherland, John (June 5, 1864), surrendered at Appomattox.

Swan, John N. (Apr. 17, 1861), mortally wounded and captured at Williamsburg.

Taliaferro, Edward F. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged Jan. 31, 1863 (deafness).

Taliaferro, Hay B. (May 27, 1861), assigned to Asst. Commissary for Corse's Brigade Dec. 12, 1862.

Thomas, George I., Jr. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred to Capt. Schaeffer's Company June 11, 1861.

Thomas, Joshua (Apr. 17, 1861), July 1861 - Apr. 1864 serving on the staffs of Gen. Johnston and Robert E. Lee; transferred to "Smith Guards" Apr. 1, 1864.

Thompson, John E. (Aug. 29, 1861), transferred to Capt. Barry's Company, May 1862.

Turner, Thomas B. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred, May 1862.

Turner, W. P. H.

Warfield, Abel D. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford.

White, Thomas W. (Apr. 17, 1861), July 1861 - Apr. 1865 serving on the staff of Gen. Johnston and Robert E. Lee; surrendered at Appomattox.

Wise, Charles J. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), surrendered at Appomattox.

Wise, Edward N. (Apr. 17, 1861), made a Lt. in Engineer Corps June 5, 1863.

Withers, Littleton (Apr. 17, 1861), May 1862 - Dec. 1864, as a Hospital Steward.

Wright, William D. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred Oct. 31, 1861, to Co. E, of the 30th Virginia Infantry.

Zimmerman, John R. (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Manassas Gap; exchanged Mar. 17, 1864; surrendered at Appomattox.

COMPANY B - "WARREN RIFLES"

Ashby, Benjamin A. (May 3, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg; AWOL July 18, 1863; Jan. 1864, in Division Guard House.

Baker, William, captured Jan. 5, 1863; exchanged Mar. 28, 1863.

Balthis, William H. (Apr. 18, 1861), deserted June 10, 1862.

Beaty, William (conscripted Feb. 1, 1862), AWOL, Feb. 1863.

Bennett, William, deserted Oct. 15, 1863.

Bonham, M., surrendered at Appomattox.

Boone, John W. (Apr. 18, 1861), transferred to the cavalry, Nov. 10, 1862.

Bowen, Andrew J. (Apr. 18, 1861 - Ord. Sgt.).

Bowen, Thomas A. (Apr. 18, 1861), Apt. - Aug. 1862 - sick; AWOL Sept. - Dec. 1862.

Bowen, Walter, (Apr. 18, 1861).

Brown, Charles A. (May 1, 1863), captured at Five Forks.

Brown, David (May 26, 1861), AWOL Oct. 30, 1862.

Brown, James E. (May 3, 1861), paroled Apr. 17, 1865.

Brown, James H. (Apr. 18, 1861), Brigade Commissary Sgt. Apr. 1862 - May 1863.

Brown, Jesse (July 16, 1861), (teamster).

Brown, John N. (Mar. 3, 1862), died June 25, 1863 (pneumonia).

Brown, Joseph (conscripted Sept. 1, 1862), wounded at Antietam; deserted Nov. 3, 1863.

Brown, Joseph A. (exchanged from cavalry for Sgt. Dekalb Piper, July 15, 1863), killed at Drewry's Bluff.

Brown, Victor M. (Apr. 18, 1861, Coms.), appointed commissary to Regt. June 29, 1861.

Brown, Washington (conscripted Sept. 1, 1862), AWOL July 22, 1863.

Broy, Elias (Mar. 9, 1862), killed at Seven Pines.

Broy, William (Mar. 10, 1862), discharged July 23, 1862.

Buck, Alvin D. (June 19, 1861), transferred to the western army, Jan. 1862.

Buck, Charles N. (Apr. 18, 1861), wounded accidentally Aug. 7, 1862; captured Feb. 22, 1864 (Warren County); paroled from Camp Chase Feb. 25, 1865; right foot amputated at Chimborazo Mar. 10, 1865.

Buck, Irving A. (July 25, 1861), clerk for Beauregard, Dec. 1862.

Buck, Richard B. (Apr. 18, 1861 - Lt.), wounded at Dinwiddie Court House.

Cain, John F. (conscripted Feb. 1, 1863), AWOL July 12, 1863; under arrest Dec. 1863 - May 1864.

Campbell, Thomas R. (Apr. 18, 1861), captured at Williamsburg; exchanged.

Carder, Stephen H. (May 24, 1861 - Corp.), died June 3, 1862, from wounds at Seven Pines.

Chapman, Samuel F. (May 24, 1861), transferred Oct. 19, 1861, to Dixie Artillery.

Chrisman, John M. (Feb. 22, 1862), killed at Williamsburg.

Chuning, Walter A. (Apr. 24, 1861), died Oct. 19, 1861.

Cline, William R. (Apr. 18, 1861 - Sgt.).

Cook, Giles, Jr. (Mar. 10, 1862 - Ord. Sgt.), wounded at Antietam; transferred Dec. 21, 1862, to the cavalry.

Cooley, Samuel C. (May 18, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; transferred Dec. 21, 1862, to the cavalry.

Cooper, Edward, captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at 2nd Manassas.

Copp, Leonard (May 24, 1861), died May 2, 1862.

Cornwell, Lebbeus (May 24, 1861), paroled, May 1865.

Castelow, George B. (May 24, 1861), AWOL June 28, 1863.

Cusai, John D. (Apr. 26, 1861).

Darr, Marcus D. (May 3, 1861), killed at South Mountain.

Darr, Phillip C. (May 3, 1861), died June 3, 1862, from wounds received at Seven Pines.

Derflinger, Jonas J. (May 31, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; paroled Apr. 19, 1865.

Duke, George W. (Apr. 18, 1861), paroled May 1, 1865.

Dyke, Nathan (exchanged Aug. 1, 1863, from 7th Virginia Cavalry for Sgt. William R. Cline), surrendered at Appomattox.

Earle, Baalis (May 3, 1861), discharged Sept. 25, 1861 (disability).

Eckhardt, Charles P. (May 3, 1861), killed at Dinwiddie Court House.

Elbon, Joseph (Feb. 22, 1862), detached service May - Dec. 1863; hospital nurse Jan. - Aug. 1864; surrendered Appomattox.

Everly, Samuel F. (Apr. 18, 1861).

Farra, Walter H. (Apr. 18, 1861) deserted Aug. 24, 1861; returned under arrest Dec. 28, 1861; wounded May 1864; paroled Apr. 18, 1865.

Fisher, David F. (exchanged from cavalry Dec. 21, 1862), deserted.

Forsythe, William E. (Apr. 29, 1861).

Forsythe, William R. (May 2, 1861), accidentally wounded July 23, 1861.

Fox, Anthony (conscripted Feb. 1, 1863), sent back to company from which he deserted, June 1863.

Fox, Charles W. (May 3, 1861), died Oct. 29, 1861 (typhoid fever).

Fox, Lemuel F. (May 3, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; listed as a deserter, July 1863; returned; captured at Deep Creek Apr. 3, 1865; released from Point Lookout June 12, 1865.

Fristoe, Scott W. (Apr. 18, 1861).

Garrett, James W. (Aug. 21, 1862), paroled Apr. 26, 1865.

Garrett, Newton W. (Apr. 28, 1861), Jan. - Oct. 1862, sick; paroled Apr. 26, 1865.

Garrison, Thomas N. (Apr. 26, 1861), wounded at Antietam (permanently disabled).

Gordon, James W. (May 3, 1861), died Apr. 9, 1862.

Grove, Amos (Apr. 18, 1861), discharged July 18, 1862.

Grove, George W. (Apr. 18, 1861), Sept. 1862 - June 1863, sick; May - Oct. 1864, baggage guard.

Grubbs, Franklin (May 26, 1861 - Sgt.) died June 12, 1864 (tuberculosis).

Harry, James P. (May 10, 1861), AWOL July 16, 1863.

Hawkins, Matthew W. (Nov. 15, 1863), sick with fever, June 1864; never returned.

Heath, James W. (May 24, 1861), discharged July 8, 1861 (accidentally wounded).

Hickerson, William H. (Nov. 15, 1863), killed at Cold Harbor.

Hope, George H. (Apr. 18, 1861), July 1861 - clerk to Beauregard's assistant adjutant general; paroled Apr. 21, 1865.

Hopper, Hanson W. (Mar. 5, 1862), captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled June 13, 1865.

Hopper, James (May 3, 1861), died Oct. 14, 1862.

Johnson, John I. (Apr. 29, 1861), clerk to provost-marshal Nov. 1861 - Aug. 1862; transferred Mar. 13, 1863, to Co. E, 7th Virginia Cavalry.

Jones, William (conscripted Feb. 1, 1862), AWOL, Feb. 1863; July 1863, in the regimental guard house.

Keller, George B. (Nov. 15, 1863), killed at Flat Creek.

Kendrick, James W. (July 16, 1861), captured Mar. 1862, at the Front Royal Hospital.

Kenner, William B. (Apr. 18, 1861), surrendered at Appomattox.

Kerrick, William T. (May 24, 1861), discharged July 31, 1861 (permanently unwell).

Kidwell, John T. (May 26, 1861), AWOL Aug. 1, 1863.

Lake, John H. (May 26, 1861), discharged Sept. 18, 1861 (necrosis of femur).

Lehew, Charles E. (May 26, 1861), surrendered at Appomattox.

Lehew, Francis W. (Apr. 18, 1861 - Capt.), wounded at Antietam; captured at Dinwiddie Court House; released June 18, 1865.

Littleton, Edward S. (June 28, 1861), captured at Antietam; captured at Suffolk; captured at Five Forks; released June 20, 1865.

McDonald, William H. H. (May 31, 1861 - Corp.), deserted Jan. 1862 - but re-enlisted for bounty; captured at Dinwiddie Court House; released June 23, 1865.

McKay, Thomas B. (July 13, 1861), teamster, Jan. 1862.

Miller, David (May 24, 1861), discharged Sept. 20, 1861, (ulceration of the ankle).

Miller, Hampson M. (Apr. 18, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Miller, Joseph W. (Apr. 18, 1861), wounded, Sept. 1862; captured at Front Royal May 16, 1863; left the service May 16, 1864.

Mills, Henry (conscripted Feb. 1, 1863), AWOL.

Mitchell, Robert B. (May 26, 1861).

Myers, Gaper (Apr. 18, 1861), paroled May 11, 1865.

Nail, James I. (May 3, 1861), deserted Mar. 11, 1862; sent to Camp Chase June 25, 1862.

Oliver, James A. (May 3, 1861), Mar. - Oct. 1862, teamster; Nov. 1862 - Oct. 21, 1864, division wagon master.

Overall, J. H. (Apr. 18, 1861), discharged June 10, 1861.

Painter, John (Apr. 18, 1861), discharged Nov. 30, 1861; enlisted Oct. 15, 1863; deserted May 27, 1864.

Painter, William H. (May 3, 1861), deserted May 6, 1862.

Parmer, Edward (Mar. 9, 1862), deserted June 10, 1862.

Peterson, Eligah (Apr. 18, 1861), discharged Nov. 30, 1861.

Petty, Bertrand W. (Mar. 8, 1862 - Sgt.).

Petty, George N. (Apr. 18, 1861), transferred to cavalry, Nov. 10, 1862.

Petty, Henry S. (May 1, 1864), captured at Five Forks; released June 21, 1865.

Petty, James T. (Apr. 18, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; Brigade Commissary, Nov. 1862 - Apr. 1863 and July 1863 - Aug. 1864; paroled Apr. 15, 1865.

Petty, Thomas W. (Apr. 18, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), dropped Apr. 26, 1862.

Pipher, DeKalb (May 3, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Fraziers Farm (head); transferred July 15, 1863, to the cavalry.

Reager, Lewis A. (Nov. 15, 1863), killed at Flat Creek.

Reed, Peter (May 24, 1861), paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

Richards, William B. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 2nd Lt.).

Richards, Charles U. (Apr. 18, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; Nov. 1862 - Dec. 1863, courier.

Richardson, William (Apr. 18, 1861 - 3rd Lt.), mortally wounded at Williamsburg; died May 25, 1862.

Rinker, Romanus (May 3, 1861), teamster, Nov. 1862 - June 1863 and Sept. 1863 - Apr. 1864; surrendered at Appomattox.

Ritenour, Benton (Nov. 10, 1862), AWOL July 12, 1863.

Ritenour, Isaac (May 24, 1861), deserted May 31, 1861; involuntarily returned July 7, 1861; wounded at Williamsburg; AWOL June 27, 1863.

Roberts, Marcus (May 3, 1861), killed at Flat Creek.

Roy, Thomas B. (Apr. 18, 1861), transferred to the western army, Nov. 1861.

Roy, Walter S. (Apr. 21, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), wounded at 2nd Manassas; wounded at Suffolk; Sept. 1863 - Dec. 1864, commander of scouts; paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

Rust, William O. (Apr. 18, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg; Nov. 1862 - Dec. 1864, brigade quartermaster clerk; surrendered at Appomattox.

Rust, Bushrod (May 3, 1861), discharged May 26, 1861 (underage).

Saffell, Edwin M. (Apr. 18, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1862, Hospital Steward; discharged June 12, 1863.

Sainey, John, discharged Aug. 13, 1862.

Santmyers, Thomas W. (May 26, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; paroled Apr. 26, 1865.

Scroggin, Lewis A. (Apr. 18, 1861), July 1861 - Oct. 1862, teamster; Nov. 1862, Brigade Forage Master; surrendered at Appomattox.

Scroggin, Peyton R. (Apr. 18, 1861), mortally wounded at Williamsburg; died May 23, 1862.

Seemers, John (May 3, 1861), deserted May 20, 1862; discharged Aug. 14, 1862.

Settle, George W. (May 3, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg; captured at Dinwiddie Court House; released June 20, 1865.

Simmons, Charles E. (Feb. 22, 1862), died May 17, 1862 (typhoid fever).

Simpson, John W. (Feb. 25, 1862), killed at 2nd Manassas.

Simpson, Robert H. (Apr. 18, 1861 - Major), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at 2nd Manassas; mortally wounded at Drewry's Bluff; died June 9, 1864.

Smith, John (enlisted as a substitute May 25, 1862), deserted May 31, 1862.

Snyder, Newton W. (Apr. 21, 1861 - 1st Lt.), dropped Apr. 26, 1862.

Spengler, Abraham S. (Apr. 18, 1861), died July 21, 1861 (typhoid fever).

Spengler, Daniel H. (May 26, 1861).

Spengler, Samuel F. (May 26, 1861), mortally wounded at 2nd Manassas; died Sept. 6, 1862.

Spicer, Charles W. (May 3, 1861), discharged June 28, 1862.

Steed, Chaney J. (May 24, 1861), mortally wounded at 2nd Manassas; died Oct. 28, 1862.

Steed, Charles B. (Mar. 5, 1862), accidentally killed Feb. 13, 1864.

Steele, Bengamin (conscripted Feb. 21, 1863), AWOL July 12, 1863.

Steele, John W. (May 26, 1861), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Steele, John W. (Nov. 10, 1862), AWOL July 1, 1863.

Stickley, Phillip (May 24, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm (shoulder); Jan. - Dec. 1863, ambulance driver; Jan. - Aug. 1864, Brigade wagoneer; captured at Five Forks; paroled June 20, 1865.

Stokes, Joseph (conscripted Feb. 1, 1863).

Studd, C., wounded at 2nd Manassas.

Suttle, C. N., wounded at Williamsburg.

Thompson, Elliot D. (May 3, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1862, wounded; paroled May 1, 1865.

Thompson, Gilbert (May 24, 1861), deserted June 3, 1861; arrested July 16, 1861; escaped from Manassas guardhouse Aug. 16, 1861.

Timberlake, Richard L. (Apr. 18, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Apr. 1861, baggage guard; AWOL, May 1862.

Triplett, Leonidas (Apr. 19, 1861), AWOL, May 1862.

Triplett, William B. (Apr. 18, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Apr. 1862, provost-guard; captured at Fraziers Farm; AWOL, Sept. 1862.

Turner, James H. (Apr. 18, 1861), discharged Dec. 3, 1861.

Turner, Robert H. (May 3, 1861 - QM), appointed quartermaster Apr. 1, 1862.

Turner, Smith S. (Mar. 10, 1862 - 1st Lt.), Nov. 21, 1862 - Jan. 3, 1863 (diphtheria); Mar. 27 - Apr. 2, 1865 (foot wound).

Turner, William B. (May 3, 1861), paroled Apr. 20, 1865.

Tyler, Gustavus (Apr. 18, 1861 - Corp.), surrendered at Appomattox.

Tyler, James M. (June 30, 1861), never mustered.

Venable, James T. (Feb. 25, 1862), wounded at 2nd Manassas; captured while AWOL, Dec. 29, 1862; exchanged from Camp Chase Mar. 28, 1863.

Walter, Henry S. (May 14, 1861), AWOL, Mar. 10, 1863.

Walter, William (Apr. 18, 1861), transferred Oct. 19, 1861.

Watkins, Samuel A. (May 10, 1861), acute diarrhea, June 14 - Aug. 27, 1864; captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled June 22, 1865.

Weaver, Robert L. (May 10, 1861), captured, July 1863 and sent to Point Lookout; transferred to Elmira, Aug. 1864.

Willey, Achilles (Feb. 25, 1862), captured at Fraziers Farm; Nov. 1862 - Feb. 1863 and July - Dec. 1864 (sick); paroled Apr. 21, 1865.

Willey, Atwell L. (May 3, 1861), AWOL, Nov. 1862.

Willey, Jacob W. (Feb. 25, 1862), captured at South Mountain; captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled June 22, 1865.

Williams, George (exchanged from cavalry, Mar. 19, 1863), AWOL, July 12, 1863.

Williams, George A. (Jan. 13, 1862), transferred to western army; captured at Jonesboro, Georgia, Sept. 1, 1864; paroled May 1, 1865.

Williams, George N. (May 3, 1861), discharged July 17, 1862.

Williams, William (May 3, 1861), Sept. 1862 - Feb. 1863 (sick); AWOL, July 26, 1863.

Yates, James M., captured while AWOL Dec. 28, 1862; released from Camp Chase, Mar. 26, 1863.

COMPANY C - "LOUDOUN GUARDS"

Adams, William (Apr. 27, 1861), AWOL, Apr. 30, 1862.

Adie, George C. (May 1, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Ankers, Moses (July 1, 1861), captured May 6, 1862; exchanged Aug. 2, 1862.

Athey, John M. (Apr. 22, 1861), deserted, June 1862.

Athey, William W. (Apr. 27, 1861 - 1st Lt.), captured at Fraziers Farm.

Attwell, Bernard R. (Apr. 22, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Attwell, Luther L. (Apr. 22, 1861), killed at Antietam.

Bender, William (Apr. 22, 1861), deserted, Apr. 1862.

Birkby, Charles (Apr. 22, 1861 - Corp.).

Birkby, Henry C. (Apr. 22, 1861), May - Aug. 1862 (sick); Sept. - Dec. 1862 (AWOL); dropped as a deserter, Aug. 1863.

Bopp, William G. (Apr. 22, 1861), deserted, June 1863.

Bradfield, Andrew J. (Apr. 27, 1861 - Sgt.), surrendered at Appomattox.

Bradfield, Cornelius H. (May 25, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; paroled Apr. 20, 1865.

Brenner, John E. (Apr. 22, 1861), captured at Manassas Gap; transferred from Point Lookout to Elmira, Aug. 16, 1864; exchanged Mar. 10, 1865.

Brightwell, J. T. (Aug. 17, 1863), mortally wounded at Drewry's Bluff (died next day).

Cox, George C.

Curry, David H. (Apr. 22, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg; deserted, Aug. 1863.

Dailey, John T. (Apr. 23, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; deserted, Aug. 1863.

Divine, John A. (May 22, 1861 - Sgt.)..

Donnelly, Edward (Apr. 29, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; deserted, Aug. 1863.

Donnelly, Patrick (conscripted May 1863), deserted, Aug. 1863.

East, J. H. (Oct. 12, 1863).

Easterday, William D. (Apr. 22, 1861), deserted June 22, 1864.

Edwards, Charles E. (Apr. 26, 1861), Hospital Steward (Oct. - Apr. 1862); discharged May 21, 1862.

Edwards, Charles G. (Apr. 22, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford (leg); transferred, Nov. 1862, to the 8th Virginia Infantry.

Evard, Charles E. (Apr. 27, 1861 - Sgt.), deserted June 22, 1864.

Fadeley, Charles W. (Apr. 23, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Ford, Typhthon (conscripted May 23, 1863), arrested, June 1863.

Fox, Erasmus H. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged Oct. 1, 1861.

Francis, Joseph F. (May 23, 1861 - Sgt. Maj.), killed at Seven Pines.

Garner, Hezekiah (Apr. 23, 1861 - Corp.), captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled June 13, 1865.

Grubb, Anderson (Sept. 20, 1863), Jan. - June 1864 (sick); AWOL, June 1864; discharged Feb. 27, 1865.

Hamilton, Charles B. (July 19, 1861).

Hamilton, E. W. (Dec. 1, 1864).

Hardy, William H. (Apr. 23, 1861), wounded Sept. 1862 - Nov. 26, 1863; AWOL, Dec. 1863.

Harris, C. T. (Oct. 12, 1863); deserted Nov. 11, 1863; returned Mar. 26, 1864.

Harris, Spencer M. (Apr. 23, 1861), deserted Sept. 20, 1861.

Harrison, James A. (Mar. 10, 1862).

Hatcher, Mahlon G. (Apr. 16, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Williamsburg; paroled May 15, 1865.

Hawkins, A. B. (Oct. 20, 1864), surrendered at Appomattox.

Hayes, Edward (Mar. 6, 1862), captured at Fraziers Farm; deserted May 1863.

Head, Benjamin F. (Apr. 22, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; took the oath Aug. 11, 1862.

Head, George R. (Apr. 22, 1861 - Capt.), dropped Apr. 27, 1862.

Henderson, Fenton M. (Apr. 27, 1861 - Lt.), made Lt. of Ordinance, Dec. 1862.

Herring, George (Aug. 9, 1862), Nov. 1863 (under arrest); died of pneumonia, Dec. 28, 1863.

Hirst, Samuel N. (Apr. 23, 1861 - Corp.), paroled Apr. 21, 1865.

Hollingsworth, T. J. (Oct. 12, 1863), AWOL Nov. 11, 1863 - Mar. 26, 1864; surrendered at Appomattox.

Inzer, John H. (Apr. 22, 1861), paroled May 8, 1865.

Johanas, Martin (July 17, 1861), transferred Nov. 12, 1861, to Maryland Infantry.

Johnson, William H. (Apr. 22, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; absent wounded Sept. 1862 - Nov. 26, 1863; AWOL, Dec. 1863.

Johnston, John H. (Apr. 27, 1861), sick when company mustered; died in Loudoun County, date unknown.

Jones, Thomas, deserted; joined under conscript Act.

Kelly, John W. (Apr. 23, 1861).

Kephart, Joseph C. (Apr. 23, 1861), deserted, Sept. 1862.

King, Edgar C. (May 25, 1861 - Ord. Sgt.), paroled Apr. 20, 1865.

Lambden, George T. (Apr. 22, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Laughlin, Michael (Apr. 27, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; deserted May 1863.

Lauman, John H. (Apr. 22, 1861), deserted, May 1862.

Lawhorn, William (Oct. 8, 1863), captured at Farmville, Apr. 7, 1865 (wounded in left leg and neck).

Lefever, Henry (Nov. 4, 1863).

Linkens, Henry B. (Apr. 23, 1861 - Corp.), deserted, Mar. 1864.

Littleton, Edgar (Apr. 22, 1861 - Corp.).

Littleton, Francis B. (Apr. 22, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; mortally wounded at Antietam; died Sept. 25, 1862.

Lynch, William B. (Apr. 27, 1861 - Capt.), Nov. 1863 - Feb. 1864, at Virginia House of Delegates; paroled June 14, 1865.

Manning, Jacob H. (Apr. 22, 1861), Oct. 20, 1861 - May 1862, detached; discharged June 9, 1862.

Marriott, Charles C., joined as a substitute; deserted May 1863.

Massie, J. P. (Nov. 4, 1863).

Matthews, William.

McCue, Patrick (Apr. 27, 1861), deserted, May 1863.

McDonough, Leven (Apr. 27, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

McGraw, Richard (Aug. 19, 1863), died, Sept. 1864.

McGraw, Robert (Aug. 27, 1863), died, July 18, 1864.

McIthaney, Patrick (Apr. 27, 1861), never mustered.

Mitchell, Edward H. (July 17, 1861), died Feb. 12, 1862.

Mobberly, Abner J. (Apr. 22, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Mosely, James (Apr. 27, 1861), deserted to the enemy, Jan. 1865.

Moore, Nathan (Feb. 27, 1864), AWOL, Feb. 1864; dropped as a deserter, Mar. 1864.

Morgan, Lewis (Nov. 21, 1864), captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled June 15, 1865.

Morris, Nicholas (Oct. 8, 1863).

Murphy, John (Apr. 22, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; captured at Antietam; deserted, May 1863.

Murphy, John L. A. (May 1, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg; died June 20, 1862.

Muse, James H. (Apr. 22, 1861), Sept. 20, 1861 - Aug. 1862; baggage guard.

Norris, Thomas B. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged May 19, 1862.

Nuchels, R. (Oct. 8, 1863), killed at Drewry's Bluff.

Nuchels, Samuel (Oct. 8, 1863), captured at Amelia Court House, Apr. 6, 1865; paroled June 3, 1865.

O'Brien, Phillip (May 1, 1861), deserted June 7, 1861.

Oliver, John (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged July 22, 1862.

Orr, John M. (Apr. 22, 1861), never mustered.

Orrison, Samuel (Apr. 22, 1861), deserted, May 1862.

Parker, John W. B. (Apr. 22, 1861), rejected as unfit; enlisted Mar. 6, 1862; Jan. 1863 - June 11, 1864 (conscript duty); wounded and captured June 11, 1864; exchanged from Elmira Oct. 29, 1864; paroled Apr. 25, 1865.

Parker, Lafayette (Apr. 22, 1861), accidentally wounded May 12, 1861; deserted, May 1862.

Pickett, George W. (June 5, 1864).

Pickett, William S. (Apr. 27, 1861).

Quigley, John (Apr. 27, 1861), deserted, May 1862.

Raney, George W. (Apr. 23, 1861), killed at Drewry's Bluff.

Raw, Charles H. (May 1, 1861), discharged May 18, 1862.

Raw, Gustavus L. (Apr. 22, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Reynolds, J. W. (Oct. 17, 1863), surrendered at Appomattox.

Rheim, James J. (May 16, 1861), discharged May 14, 1862.

Rheim, William G. (May 16, 1861), discharged May 14, 1862.

Rogers, Milton M. (Apr. 27, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Apr. 1862 (detached); promoted 1st Lt. of Loudoun Artillery, May 1862; discharged May 28, 1862.

Sewell, James W. (Nov. 4, 1863), died at Kinston Apr. 1, 1864.

Sexton, John W. (Apr. 23, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; discharged, July 1862.

Sharp, Tyler O. (conscripted June 5, 1864), July - Oct. 1864 (sick).

Sibbett, James H. (Apr. 23, 1861), killed at Williamsburg.

Sinclair, Charles W. (Apr. 23, 1861 - Sgt.), discharged July 16, 1862.

Sinclair, Henry (May 13, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Smale, John C. (Apr. 28, 1861), AWOL, May 1862; dropped as a deserter, Sept. 1862.

Smart, Fayette (May 11, 1861), died of tuberculosis Mar. 24, 1863.

Stansberry, Jesse J. (Apr. 27, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), dropped Apr. 28, 1862.

Steadman, James T. (Apr. 22, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Steadman, Marshall B. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged July 16, 1862.

Sweeney, Michael, joined as a substitute; deserted, May 1863.

Taylor, John M. (May 20, 1861), deserted, May 1862.

Tebbs, Charles B. (Apr. 27, 1861 - Capt.), transferred July 8, 1861, to become Lt. Col. of the 8th Virginia Infantry.

Thomas, William H. (Apr. 22, 1861 - Corp.), captured at Fraziers Farm; took oath Aug. 11, 1862.

Thomas, Joseph B. (Apr. 22, 1861), captured on furlough Mar. 16, 1863; exchanged Mar. 26, 1863; deserted, July 1863.

Thompson, John E. (May 1, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; AWOL, Sept. - Dec. 1862.

Vandevanter, Cornelius (Apr. 22, 1861), never mustered.

Wallace, David M. (Apr. 23, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; captured at Charles Town Oct. 16, 1862; exchanged from Fort McHenry Oct. 25, 1862; deserted, May 1863.

Wallace, Francis M. (May 20, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; mortally wounded at South Mountain; died Sept. 29, 1862.

Wallace, James W. (Apr. 22, 1861), deserted, May 1862.

Waller, James (June 5, 1864), July 25 - Aug. 29, 1864 (debility); died May 27, 1865.

Waller, Michael (June 5, 1864), captured Apr. 3, 1865; paroled June 1, 1865.

Waller, Thomas (June 5, 1864), captured Apr. 3, 1865; died May 27, 1865 (chronic diarrhea).

Wiard, Jacob S. (Apr. 22, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Wildman, Charles B. (Apr. 27, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), dropped Apr. 28, 1862.

Winsett, T. S., captured Apr. 3, 1865.

Witt, A. H. (Oct. 12, 1863), discharged July 9, 1864.

Woodard, John N. (Apr. 23, 1861), died Nov. 27, 1861 (typhoid fever and pneumonia).

Wright, Charles (Mar. 6, 1862), killed at Williamsburg.

Wright, John E. (Apr. 23, 1861), July 25, 1861 - Aug. 1862 (sick); deserted, Sept. 1862.

Young, John E. (Apr. 22, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Zellers, John (May 13, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Apr. 1862 (sick); transferred May 3, 1862, to Deas' Lt. Artillery.

COMPANY D - "FAIRFAX RIFLEMEN"

- Ashford, Charles C. (May 2, 1861), discharged Apr. 28, 1862.
- Ashford, Francis A. (May 2, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), captured at Sailor's Creek; released from Johnson's Island July 18, 1865.
- Ashford, John A. (May 8, 1861), discharged July 26, 1862.
- Barnes, John A. (Apr. 25, 1861 - Corp.) AWOL, Dec. 1861.
- Barnes, Samuel L. (Apr. 25, 1861), May - Dec. 1862 (sick).
- Barnes, William A. (Apr. 25, 1861 - Capt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged; paroled Apr. 27, 1865.
- Beach, Ferdinand (Apr. 25, 1861), May 1862 - Apr. 1863 (teamster); paroled Apr. 27, 1865.
- Beach, James (May 5, 1861), died June 14, 1862 (typhoid fever).
- Beach, Joseph (Apr. 25, 1861).
- Beach, Richard (Aug. 1, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; paroled Apr. 29, 1865.
- Beake, Thomas (May 10, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford.
- Broadwater, Arthur, captured at Front Royal Jan. 6, 1864; exchanged from Point Lookout, Nov. 1, 1864.
- Brown, James T. (Apr. 15, 1861), transferred to VMI, June 6, 1861.
- Brown, William H. (May 5, 1861), captured at South Mountain; transferred to Maryland Line May 1, 1864.
- Burke, John T., appointed captain Apr. 16, 1862; wounded at Seven Pines; killed at Antietam.
- Butler, Richard H. (Apr. 25, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Five Forks; paroled June 21, 1865.
- Cash, Patrick (Apr. 25, 1861), provost-guard, Jan. - June 1863.
- Caton, John C. (Apr. 25, 1861), arrested for desertion June 1862; returned in Oct. 1862; deserted to the enemy Oct. 4, 1863; sent to Point Lookout Oct. 27, 1863; transferred to Elmira July 23, 1864; paroled May 17, 1865.

Chichester, Daniel M. (May 13, 1861 - Corp.), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at Antietam.

Cockerille, John H. (May 20, 1861), discharged Aug. 5, 1861.

Cockerille, Joseph (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted July 15, 1861.

Cook, Israel (Apr. 15, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg, (blinded).

Coon, Salyman A. (Apr. 15, 1861), died July 16, 1863.

Corbett, Robert E. (Apr. 25, 1861), killed at Drewry's Bluff.

Cornell, Alexander (May 7, 1861).

Cornell, Charles (May 10, 1861), Jan. 1863 - June 1864 (teamster); captured Apr. 3, 1865; escaped prison hospital Apr. 30, 1865.

Cornwell, I. A., surrendered at Appomattox.

Crowley, Michael (May 25, 1861), wounded and captured at Antietam; Jan. - Dec. 1863 (hospital duty); paroled Apr. 24, 1865.

Davis, James T. (May 26, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at 2nd Manassas; July 1863 - Dec. 1864 (provost - guard); paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

Davis, John H. (May 8, 1861), deserted to the enemy, Feb. 2, 1864.

Dove, Armistead (Aug. 1, 1861), died Aug. 2, 1862 (chronic diarrhea).

Dulaney, William H. (Apr. 25, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; dropped Apr. 26, 1862.

Dulaney, William T. (June 6, 1861), Sept. 22, 1861 - June 1864, (commissary department); surrendered at Appomattox.

Fairfax, Herbert C. (Apr. 25, 1861 - Lt.).

Fairfax, James W. (May 15, 1861), July 1861 - Aug. 1862 (sick); deserted, Nov. 1862.

Finnacom, George W. (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged July 26, 1862.

Ford, Walter S. (Apr. 25, 1861).

Fox, Francis G. (Apr. 25, 1861 - 2nd Lt.) dropped Apr. 26, 1862.

Fox, William H. (May 8, 1861), AWOL, Mar. - Aug. 1862; dropped as a deserter, Sept. 1862.

- Freeman, Joseph N. (Apr. 15, 1861), captured at Williamsburg; exchanged.
- Gaines, George W. (May 21, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), arrested for desertion, Nov. 1862; court-martialed; dishonorably discharged and re-enrolled as a conscript, Feb. 1, 1863.
- Gooding, Phillip P. (Apr. 25, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Ware Bottom Church June 18, 1864; paroled Apr. 29, 1865.
- Gossom, James H. (May 15, 1861), transferred to Maryland Line, May 24, 1862.
- Grigsby, Alexander S. (Aug. 12, 1861 - Surg.), promoted to Surgeon Sept. 12, 1862.
- Guard, Robert S. (Apr. 25, 1861), captured at Five Forks; paroled June 23, 1865.
- Gunnell, Charles A. (May 23, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; captured at Suffolk.
- Hall, Eilbeck (July 1, 1863), Sept. 1863 - June 1864 (teamster); took oath May 29, 1865.
- Hall, William (May 23, 1861), wounded at Antietam; July 1863 - June 1864 (detached service); paroled Apr. 27, 1865.
- Hansom, S., wounded at 2nd Manassas.
- Harmon, Henry T. (Aug. 1, 1861), mortally wounded at 2nd Manassas (head and chest); died Sept. 4, 1862.
- Harrison, George W. (Mar. 1, 1862), wounded at 2nd Manassas; paroled Apr. 28, 1865.
- Hixon, John (June 1, 1861), died Jan. 22, 1864.
- Howard, Peter (Aug. 6, 1861 - Sgt.) wounded at 2nd Manassas; captured at Five Forks; paroled June 21, 1865.
- Ish, Milton A. (June 12, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at 2nd Manassas; transferred to Co. I, 1st Virginia Infantry; became hospital steward Nov. 23, 1864; paroled Apr. 12, 1865.
- Jackson, Charles (May 6, 1861), transferred Dec. 2, 1861, to Co. B, 2nd South Carolina Infantry.
- Kelly, Michael (May 25, 1861), transferred June 25, 1861 to the Washington Artillery.

Kidwell, Charles (Apr. 15, 1861), dropped as deserter, Mar. 1862.

Kidwell, John T. (May 6, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas (shellfire).

Kincheloe, Robert E. (May 1, 1861), deserted July 1863; arrested Nov. 1863; returned Jan. 1864; paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

Lynn, Thomas W. (Apr. 25, 1861), mortally wounded at Seven Pines; died June 12, 1862.

Marks, David A. (Apr. 25, 1861 - Sgt. Maj.), captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged; paroled Apr. 29, 1865.

Mayhugh, George (May 23, 1861), paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

Mayhugh, James (May 2, 1861), discharged Oct. 30, 1861.

Mayhugh, Richard (May 23, 1861), captured at South Mountain; exchanged; deserted, July 1863; captured Jan. 19, 1865; released June 16, 1865.

Milliam, George W. (Apr. 25, 1861), captured at South Anna Bridge June 26, 1863; exchanged; paroled Apr. 26, 1865.

Mills, Simeon D. (May 20, 1861), wounded and captured at Williamsburg; returned Sept. 1862.

Monroe, Deskin (Apr. 25, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Feb. 1862 (provost-guard); took oath May 19, 1865.

Nalls, Benjamin F. (Apr. 25, 1861), Nov. 1861 - June 1862 (sick); AWOL, Sept. - Dec. 1862; captured on furlough Feb. 20, 1864; transferred from Atheneum Prison to Camp Chase to Fort Delaware, exchanged Feb. 27, 1865; paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

Newcomb, John W. (May 1, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; killed at Cold Harbor.

Newman, Chuck (May 1, 1861), deserted Sept. 1863; captured Oct. 4, 1863; paroled from Point Lookout, Mar. 17, 1864.

Newman, John D. (Apr. 25, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; captured at Suffolk.

Payne, Sandford (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged July 26, 1862.

Pearson, James (May 18, 1861), captured May 25, 1861.

Petitt, Corbin L. (Mar. 1, 1863), paroled Apr. 14, 1865.

Pettitt, Charles R. (Apr. 25, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; captured at Farmville Apr. 6, 1865; released from Point Lookout June 16, 1865.

Pettitt, Hiram (Apr. 25, 1861), rejected by the mustering officer.

Pettitt, John T. (Apr. 25, 1861), hospital detail May - Aug. 1862; AWOL Sept. - Oct. 1862; deserted in Union lines Aug. 19, 1863; paroled Apr. 26, 1865 from Johnston's army.

Ratcliffe, John R. (Aug. 10, 1861), died Oct. 27, 1864 (chronic diarrhea and pneumonia).

Richardson, George H. (Apr. 25, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1861 (provost-guard); substitute furnished June 15, 1862.

Richardson, James W. (Apr. 25, 1861), captured at Antietam; detached service. Sept. - Dec. 1863.

Sewall, Joseph C. (Mar. 24, 1862), wounded at 2nd Manassas; returned Jan. 1863; Sept. - Dec. 1863 (sick); surrendered at Appomattox.

Simms, Francis (Mar. 24, 1862), mortally wounded at Seven Pines.

Simpson, John (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged May 22, 1861.

Simpson, Silas J. (Apr. 25, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Feb. 1862 (sick); wounded at Ware Bottom Church, June 18, 1864 (right ear); paroled Apr. 1, 1865.

Speakes, Everett (Apr. 25, 1861), captured on furlough Feb. 20, 1864; sent to Atheneum Prison; transferred to Camp Chase and later Fort Delaware; released June 21, 1865.

Spindle, Spotsylvania C. (Apr. 25, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; wounded at Drewry's Bluff (lost right leg); retired Nov. 19, 1864.

Stallions, William (June 1, 1861), deserted Sept. 25, 1861.

Steele, James R. (Apr. 25, 1861), blacksmith, Sept. 1, 1861 - Apr. 1862; teamster for surgeon, May - Dec. 1862; regimental wagonmaster, Jan. 1863 - Apr. 1864; teamster May - Dec. 1864; surrendered at Appomattox.

Steele, John R. (Apr. 25, 1861 - Sgt.), killed at Antietam.

Steele, Peter C. (July 24, 1861), paroled Apr. 17, 1865.

Steele, William H. (Apr. 25, 1861), accidentally wounded, July 1861; retired Feb. 21, 1865.

Sutherland, Archibald (May 23, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas.

Sutherland, Edgar (May 23, 1861), Jan. - Oct. 1862 (wagoneer); captured Apr. 3, 1865; released June 19, 1865.

Sutherland, John W. (May 23, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1861 and Jul. - Oct. 1862 (sick); paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

Sweeny, Adolphus (Nov. 1, 1862).

Taylor, Robert T. (Apr. 25, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Apr. 1862 (Wagoner); AWOL, May - Aug. 1862; Sept. 1862 - Dec. 1864 (teamster for Gen. Corse); captured at Five Forks; released on oath June 20, 1865.

Thomas, Edgar (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged July 26, 1862.

Thomas, James A. (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted, May 1862.

Thompson, Minor L. (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted, June 1862.

Trumble, Martin (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted, Jan. 1862.

Weber, William (May 1, 1861), deserted June 16, 1861.

Weiss, Herman (June 25, 1862), deserted June 26, 1862.

Williams, Alexander C. (Apr. 25, 1861 - 1st Lt.) paroled May 14, 1865.

Williams, W. W., paroled Apr. 28, 1865.

Worster, Francis (May 25, 1861), never mustered.

Wrenn, John (May 20, 1861), died of typhoid fever, winter of 1862.

COMPANY E - "MOUNT VERNON GUARDS"

Abbott, George F. (Oct. 21, 1863), deserted to the enemy, Feb. 1865.

Allen, William W. (May 17, 1861 - 2nd Lt.) dropped Apr. 27, 1862.

Allison, George W. (Apr. 17, 1861), entered Union lines, Apr. 1865, at Fairfax Court House.

Allison, John (Apr. 17, 1861), mortally wounded near Bermuda Hundred, Aug. 25, 1864 (thigh and right elbow); died Sept. 17, 1864 (wounds and typhoid fever).

Allison, John H. (Apr. 17, 1861), Aug. 1861 - Oct. 29, 1864 (commissary department); captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled June 5, 1865.

Allison, Richard F. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines (left arm); Apr. - Oct. 1863 (watchman at a Richmond arsenal); appointed musician Feb. 15, 1864; captured Apr. 3, 1865; paroled June 22, 1865.

Arrington, Charles H. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Drewry's Bluff.

Beach, Solomon (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. 1861 - June 1862 (quartermaster department); deserted.

Bedsaul, B. (Feb. 21, 1863), detached to Hospital department, May 1863.

Bell, J. T., captured Sept. 25, 1864, at Harrisonburg; sent to Point Lookout.

Biggs, Henry R. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Yorktown; wounded at Drewry's Bluff; deserted to the enemy, Dec. 15, 1864.

Bransford, William A. (Oct. 9, 1863), paroled Apr. 26, 1865.

Breen, John (Apr. 17, 1861), never mustered; swore allegiance to the Union.

Brien, W., paroled Apr. 26, 1865.

Brown, Alexander H. (Apr. 17, 1861), detached with medical service for the entire war.

Bruin, Dulany (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; captured at Manassas Gap; transferred to Elmira from Point Lookout Aug. 16, 1864; paroled Feb. 25, 1865.

Busby, Joseph (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Carrico, William G. (Feb. 21, 1863), deserted May 29, 1863; returned Sept. 19, 1863; wounded at Cold Harbor (left leg); captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled June 10, 1865.

Cassell, James E. (Feb. 21, 1863), transferred Dec. 1863, to Co. C 51st Virginia Infantry.

Chauncey, Thomas A. (Apr. 17, 1861), detailed with surgeons Aug. 1862 - Oct. 1863; detailed Southside Railroad Machine Shop, Feb. 1864.

Christian, Paul (Sept. 15, 1863), died Oct. 11, 1864.

Clapdore, William H. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged Apr. 24, 1862.

Clarke, John (Nov. 5, 1863), paroled May 15, 1865.

Coleman, Samuel S. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; detached to naval workshop at Selma, Alabama, Dec. 31, 1863.

Columbus, Joseph (Apr. 17, 1861), mortally wounded at Antietam; died Sept. 26, 1862.

Conway, Albert (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted June 30, 1862.

Cook, John Thomas (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged Apr. 24, 1862.

Craven, George (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted to the enemy May 6, 1862.

Crook, Bernard C. (Apr. 17, 1861), never mustered.

Cross, Thomas (June 9, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; discharged Oct. 6, 1862.

Crowder, Henry C. (Nov. 6, 1863), wounded at Drewry's Bluff; captured Apr. 2, 1865; paroled June 24, 1865.

Darley, William (May 30, 1861), captured at Manassas Gap; transferred from Point Lookout to Elmira Aug. 16, 1864; exchanged Mar. 1865; paroled Apr. 13, 1865.

Davis, Arthur (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Feb. 1862, wagoner; deserted June 20, 1862.

Davis, Peter (May 30, 1861), Jan. 1862 - Dec. 1864 (ordnance Train); paroled May 18, 1865.

Davis, Roderick H. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred to Co. E, 30th Virginia Infantry.

Davis, Thomas (Apr. 17, 1861), accidentally wounded July 17, 1861; Mar. 1862 - Apr. 1865 (quartermaster department); captured Apr. 3, 1865.

Day, James (Apr. 17, 1861), July 1861 - Apr. 1862 (blacksmith); May 1862 - June 1864 (quartermaster department); deserted, June 1864.

Delphy, John (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded accidentally Oct. 1861; detached as machinist, Nov. 1861; Sept. 1863 - Dec. 1864 (Medical Purveyors office).

Devaughn, John T. (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; discharged Aug. 5, 1862.

Devaughn, Samuel H. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Capt.), dropped Apr. 27, 1862.

Donnelly, John T. (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted May 5, 1862.

Dudley, Joseph T. (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Oct. 20, 1864 (quartermaster department); captured at Five Forks; paroled June 20, 1865.

Duncan, Issac (Feb. 21, 1863), deserted May 14, 1863; arrested, Oct. 1863; returned next muster.

Duvall, James E. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged May 20, 1862.

Edwards, Ephraim (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged July 18, 1862.

Emerson, Benjamin F. (Apr. 17, 1861), mortally wounded at Fraziers Farm; died July 19, 1862.

Fadely, Charles W. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas (arm fractured by shell); discharged Oct. 14, 1862.

Field, Benjamin F. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at 2nd Manassas (arm fractured by shell); discharged Oct. 14, 1862.

Field, Edgar H. (Apr. 17, 1861), surrendered at Fairfax, Apr. 17, 1865.

Field, George W. (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted June 16, 1862; arrested Feb. 13, 1863; deserted July 21, 1863; joined Stuart's Horse Artillery, July 1864.

Flexhnor, William F. (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Feb. 1862 (sick); discharged, July 1862.

Gale, James (Apr. 17, 1861), detached to Orange and Alexandria Railroad, Sept. 1861.

Gardner, Giles M. (Sept. 17, 1863), captured at Dinwiddie Court House; died May 13, 1865, at Point Lookout.

Glasscock, George W. (Nov. 5, 1863), surrendered at Appomattox.

Greenwood, Charles W. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Corp.), captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged.

Greenwood, John (Mar. 1, 1862), May - Oct. 1862 (sick); died Apr. 15, 1863 (smallpox).

Gregg, Joseph L. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Corp.), wounded at Antietam; paroled Apr. 19, 1865.

Hammerdinger, William A. (Apr. 17, 1861), detached to Sappers and Miners, Nov. 1861.

Hanks, Enoch (Feb. 21, 1863), arrested for desertion, May 1863; captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled June 3, 1865.

Hantzman, George (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted July 1862; returned under guard June 30, 1863; deserted to the enemy Jan. 15, 1865.

Hantzman, Joseph (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted, Sept. 1862.

Harper, George D. (June 9, 1861), Sept. 1861 - June 1862 (detached); discharged Oct. 2, 1861; captured as a spy Apr. 25, 1863.

Harper, Washington M. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Antietam.

Hudson, Thomas B. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm (mouth); discharged Apr. 15, 1863.

Hicks, Albert W. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Seven Pines; captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled May 20, 1865.

Horseman, John (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; took Federal oath.

Humphries, John A. (Apr. 17, 1861), detailed to Orange and Alexandria Railroad, Mar. 1862; paroled Apr. 15, 1865.

Jackson, Elisha (Mar. 1, 1862), captured at Manassas Gap; transferred to Elmira from Point Lookout Aug. 16, 1864; exchanged Mar. 10, 1865.

Javins, Charles (Apr. 17, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; dropped Apr. 27, 1862.

Javins, James A. (Apr. 17, 1861).

Jefferson, Reuben (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted and joined the Union army.

Jenkins, William (Apr. 17, 1861), AWOL, July 1862 - Feb. 1863; discharged, Mar. 1863.

Jones, Stephen (Apr. 17, 1861), Jan. - Dec. 1863 and July 1864 - Apr. 1865 (sick), took oath May 17, 1865.

Kenley, Charles H. (Feb. 21, 1863), deserted May 14, 1863; returned, July 1863; deserted to enemy July 15, 1864.

Kirk, Harrison (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged, July 1862.

Kreig, Godfrey (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines (foot); discharged, Nov. 28, 1862.

Lacklin, Hugh (Apr. 17, 1861), absent with disability, June 1861.

Larowe, Joshua (Feb. 21, 1863), died Apr. 30, 1863 (brain fever).

Lawler, John (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged Apr. 24, 1862.

Leftwich, James (Feb. 21, 1863), May - Aug. 1863 (sick); AWOL, May - Aug. 1864.

Lewis, Charles E. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; transferred to cavalry Apr. 16, 1863.

Lewis, William L. (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at 2nd Manassas; captured at Manassas Gap; transferred to Elmira from Point Lookout Aug. 16, 1864; exchanged Mar. 10, 1865.

Lyles, Alexander (Apr. 17, 1861), Jan. - Apr. 1862 (carpenter); May 1862 - Oct. 21, 1864; (quartermaster department); paroled Apr. 24, 1865.

Lyles, George H. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; captured at Manassas Gap; took Federal oath Mar. 10, 1864.

Mankin, Charles E. (Apr. 17, 1861), July 1861 - Apr. 1862 (commissary department); wounded at 2nd Manassas; captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled June 22, 1865.

Mankin, Samuel A. (May 5, 1864), paroled Apr. 22, 1865.

May, Edward H. (Apr. 9, 1864), May - Dec. 1864 (reserve ordnance); captured Apr. 6, 1865; paroled June 15, 1865.

McCabe, James E. (Mar. 1, 1862), wounded at Williamsburg; never returned.

McKnight, William P. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Lt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded and captured at Antietam; captured June 27, 1863 (escaped same day); took oath May 31, 1865.

Miffleton, Henry (Sept. 20, 1864), in Libby Prison at the fall of Richmond.

Mills, Chamberlin (Mar. 1, 1862).

Mitchell, William L. (Nov. 3, 1863), captured Apr. 2, 1865; paroled June 15, 1865.

Molair, James E. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Seven Pines.

Murry, John W. (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted at Antietam; took Federal oath.

Myers, Abraham (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged, July 1862; arrested by Federals, Jan. 13, 1863.

Ogden, Eligah (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Apr. 1865, (Richmond Police Force); took oath July 12, 1865.

Ogden, Henry (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged Sept. 15, 1862 (chronic gastritis).

Padgett, William T. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Williamsburg.

Paff, Frederick (Apr. 17, 1861), Mar. - Aug. 1863 (quartermaster department); deserted Sept. 13, 1863.

Paine, John (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted at Williamsburg.

Paine, Thomas H. (Apr. 17, 1861).

Penn, Joseph R. (Apr. 17, 1861), mortally wounded at Williamsburg; died May 19, 1862.

Piles, Walter L. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged, July 1862.

Pollard, Charles (Apr. 9, 1864), May - Dec. 1864 (reserve ordnance).

Power, Francis J. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Lt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; slightly wounded at South Mountain; captured at Manassas Gap; released from Johnson's Island June 11, 1865.

Proctor, James A. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), mortally wounded at Fraziers Farm; died July 4, 1862.

Proctor, John J. (Apr. 17, 1861), May 1862 - Aug. 1863 (hospital detail); paroled Apr. 17, 1865.

Richards, George H. (Apr. 17, 1861), not mustered until Sept. 1861 (sick); Sept. 1861 - Oct. 1862 (quartermaster department); deserted Nov. 1862.

Robey, William (May 30, 1861), transferred May 1862, to the Maryland Artillery.

Roland, Richard W. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Seven Pines; captured at Manassas Gap; transferred to Elmira from Point Lookout Aug. 16, 1864; exchanged Feb. 20, 1865; paroled Apr. 18, 1865.

Rose, F. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; wounded at Antietam; AWOL, Mar. - Oct. 1863.

Rudd, Charles D. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged July 10, 1862.

Rudd, Issac W. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; wounded at Drewry's Bluff; in Libby Prison when Richmond surrendered.

Rudd, Robert (May 30, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Feb. 1862 (sappers and miners); Mar. 1862 - Dec. 1864 (detailed with Orange and Alexandria Railroad).

Schwartz, Issac (Apr. 17, 1861), purchased a substitute, July 1862.

Shinn, James W. (Apr. 17, 1861), Nov. 1, 1861 - Oct. 1862 (machinist in Richmond); AWOL, Nov. 1862 - June 1863; July 1863 - Dec. 1864 (government workshops in Selma, Alabama).

Shrakes, James P. (Aug. 19, 1863), paroled Apr. 22, 1865.

Simpson, ----- (Apr. 17, 1861), never mustered.

Simpson, William M. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 2nd Lt.) captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at 2nd Manassas; captured at Manassas Gap; released June 11, 1865, from Johnson's Island.

Sipple, Charles O. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Suffolk; captured Apr. 3, 1865; paroled June 19, 1865.

Skidmore, Andrew F. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Yorktown.

Smith, William H. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Lt.), dropped Apr. 26, 1862.

Snyder, George (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted at Williamsburg.

Stephenson, Robert A. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged May 14, 1862.

Stewart, James M. (Capt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; captured at Dinwiddie Court House; released from Johnson's Island June 9, 1865.

Sullivan, John (Apr. 17, 1861), July - Oct. 1862 (sick with bilious fever); captured Apr. 6, 1865; paroled June 9, 1865.

Summers, George L. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), captured June 27, 1863 (escaped same day); wounded at Drewry's Bluff; captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled May 30, 1865.

Sutphin, Jordan (Feb. 21, 1863), died Apr. 2, 1863 at Ivor Station, Virginia (brain fever).

Swam, James (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged July 19, 1862; enlisted Oct. 18, 1864; captured Apr. 6, 1865; paroled June 20, 1865.

Thompson, William H., jumped bounty Apr. 1, 1862 (bounty not paid).

Tubman, Albert Magruder (Apr. 17, 1861 - 1st Lt.), wounded at South Mountain; appointed provost-marshall of Liberty, Va., July 1863; retired July 26, 1864.

Turner, Albert (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1861 (sick); AWOL, Jan. 1862.

Underwood, William H. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at South Mountain; Jan. - Aug. 1863 (chronic rheumatism); wounded at Drewry's Bluff (knee); retired Sept. 7, 1864.

Vincent, William (Apr. 17, 1861).

Walker, Ethelbert O. (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Williamsburg; exchanged; deserted, Sept. 1862.

Walker, James T. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 1st Sgt.).

Walker, William E. (Mar. 1, 1862); deserted Apr. 15, 1863.

Warfield, George T. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Waring, Thomas E. (May 30, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; exchanged; paroled Apr. 22, 1865.

Warring, Bazil (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Farmville Apr. 1, 1865; released June 20, 1865.

Waters, John W. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred May 14, 1862 to Deas Artillery.

Wheatley, William (Apr. 17, 1861), Nov. 1, 1861 - Dec. 1864, (government workshop in Richmond).

Whettington, George T. (Apr. 17, 1861), never mustered.

White, Charles O. (May 30, 1861), discharged Sept. 18, 1861.

White, William M. (Oct. 22, 1863), returned to 44th Virginia Infantry July 18, 1864.

Wilkerson, W. E. (Nov. 3, 1864), surrendered at Appomattox.

Williams, John A. (Apr. 17, 1861), AWOL, first muster.

Williams, Joseph (May 30, 1861), discharged Jan. 26, 1863.

Wools, Albert (May 30, 1861), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Young, Daniel R. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Corp.), captured at Fraziers Farm; deserted May 3, 1863.

Zea, Martin (May 30, 1861), deserted at Harper's Ferry.

COMPANY F - "PRINCE WILLIAM RIFLES"

- Arnold, William (May 26, 1861), paroled May 16, 1865.
- Basye, Luther (Mar. 10, 1862), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at 2nd Mansasas; died Oct. 27, 1863 (meningitis).
- Baxter, William K. (May 24, 1861), sick until Mar. 1863; wounded at Drewry's Bluff; captured at Five Forks; paroled June 20, 1865.
- Bosey, Edmund B. (Apr. 26, 1861 - Sgt.), killed at Seven Pines.
- Brady, Edward T. (Apr. 26, 1861), rejected by mustering officer; conscripted Nov. 1, 1862; paroled Apr. 28, 1865.
- Brady, James D. (Apr. 26, 1861), killed at Seven Pines.
- Brady, John W. (Apr. 26, 1861), captured Nov. 9, 1862; died in Union hands Jan. 4, 1863 (smallpox).
- Brady, Richard (Apr. 26, 1861), died Aug. 9, 1862 (diarrhea).
- Brawner, George W., captured Apr. 6, 1865; paroled June 23, 1865.
- Brawner, John A. (Mar. 20, 1862), paroled May 2, 1865.
- Bristow, Robert B. (Apr. 26, 1861), discharged Jan. 17, 1862.
- Burgess, Edward W. (Apr. 26, 1861), mortally wounded at Seven Pines; died June 14, 1862.
- Burgess, John R. (Apr. 26, 1861), killed at Fraziers Farm.
- Bush, Montgomery (May 5, 1861), deserted May 12, 1861.
- Callahan, Patrick (May 29, 1861), deserted Nov. 21, 1862.
- Canty, Stephen, deserted Aug. 7, 1863; took Federal oath Sept. 23, 1863.
- Carter, Andrew J. (Aug. 29, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg; paroled May 2, 1865.
- Carter, James S. (May 31, 1861), June 29 - Nov. 27, 1862 (typhoid fever); captured at Five Forks; paroled June 26, 1865.
- Carter, Marshall A. (Apr. 30, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.
- Carter, Winston L. (Apr. 26, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), killed at Williamsburg.

Clowe, Eligah W. (Apr. 26, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; discharged, July 1862.

Clowe, Thomas S. (Apr. 26, 1861), died Dec. 17, 1861 (typhoid fever).

Cogan, Charles E. (Apr. 26, 1861), deserted Aug. 21, 1862.

Cornwell, John W. (Apr. 20, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; captured at Five Forks; paroled June 26, 1865.

Davis, Minor F. (May 24, 1861), escaped from regimental guardhouse, Dec. 1861.

Davis, William E. (Apr. 26, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; Aug. 14 - Sept. 10, 1863 (nephritis); captured Apr. 6, 1865; paroled June 11, 1865.

Duval, Francis M. (May 28, 1861), dishonorably discharged for desertion at Yorktown July 21, 1862.

Ebhardt, Frederick (Apr. 26, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg; wounded at 2nd Manassas; paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

Ellis, Thomas R. (Apr. 26, 1861), died Apr. 27, 1865 (gunshot wound in the head).

Ephardt, Frederick, wounded and captured at 2nd Manassas; Nov. 18 - Dec. 22, 1862 (in hospital with gunshot wound in the right arm).

Flynn, John (Apr. 30, 1861), wounded (shell contusion of the right leg) and captured Apr. 1, 1865; released from Elmira July 7, 1865.

Foley, Alexander R. (Apr. 26, 1861), died Feb. 26, 1862 (typhoid fever).

Foley, Richard (Apr. 26, 1861), discharged July 1862.

Foley, Willis S. (Apr. 26, 1861), captured at Williamsburg; exchanged; deserted Aug. 7, 1863.

Galleher, Marion W. (July 23, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines (face); discharged Nov. 1, 1862 because of his wounds.

Gough, Alexander (Mar. 1, 1862), deserted Nov. 1, 1862; paroled by Federal forces Nov. 12, 1862.

Goulding, Henry (Mar. 4, 1862), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Grayson, Alexander B. (July 17, 1861), killed at Williamsburg.

Haislip, Charles S. (Apr. 26, 1861).

Haislip, James N. (Apr. 26, 1861), July - Dec. 1862 (sick); July 25 - Sept. 22, 1864 (acute dysentery); captured Apr. 2, 1865; paroled June 20, 1865.

Hamilton, George S. (Apr. 26, 1861 - Capt.), dropped Apr. 28, 1862; became a surgeon.

Hamrick, Lewis H. (Apr. 26, 1861 - Sgt.), discharged Dec. 27, 1861 (typhoid fever).

Harrington, Daniel (May 29, 1861), discharged June 10, 1864.

Harrison, John C. (Apr. 26, 1861), promoted to assistant surgeon, July 1862.

Harrison, William S. (Mar. 3, 1862 - 1st Lt.), wounded at Seven Pines (wrist); paroled Apr. 29, 1865.

Hawley, Artemus B. D. (May 9, 1861), captured at Williamsburg; captured at Manassas Gap; exchanged; paroled May 5, 1865.

Herrell, James E. (Apr. 26, 1861 - Capt.), Sept. 1861 - Mar. 1862 (detached); paroled May 5, 1865.

Hite, George L. (June 9, 1861), captured Apr. 7, 1865; paroled June 13, 1865.

Hixson, Felix G. (May 24, 1861), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Hudleston, Robert J. (conscripted June 14, 1863), Jan. - June 1864 (pneumonia and chronic bronchitis); July 12 - Aug. 8, 1864 (measles); paroled between Apr. 11 - 21, 1865.

Hulfish, Joel N. (Apr. 26, 1861 - Lt.), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Hunton, Logan (Apr. 26, 1861), transferred, Aug. 2, 1861, to Capt. Turner Ashby's Company.

Hurst, James R. (Apr. 26, 1861), AWOL Sept. 1862 - Feb. 1863; stabbed to death by David Manly of Co. G, 17th Virginia Infantry, Sept. 16, 1863.

Hutchinson, Frederick M. (July 18, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm (thigh); paroled May 19, 1865.

Hutchinson, Robert L. (Apr. 26, 1861), July 1861 - Apr. 1862 (sick); Nov. 1863 - Mar. 1864 (detached); captured Mar. 29, 1864; exchanged; paroled May 5, 1865.

Jordan, John R. (Apr. 26, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), resigned, ill, May 6, 1862.

- Kennard, George W. (Apr. 26, 1861), deserted, Apr. 1863.
- Keys, Robert S. (May 15, 1861), Apr. 1862 - escaped from regimental guardhouse and deserted to the enemy.
- King, Joseph H. (Mar. 1, 1863), deserted Sept. 7, 1863; captured by Federals Jan. 23, 1864; released from Point Lookout June 12, 1865.
- Lee, Reuben M. (Apr. 26, 1861 - Corp.), wounded at South Mountain.
- Marshall, John G. (May 24, 1861), deserted Nov. 1, 1862.
- Mayhugh, Oscar G. (Apr. 26, 1861), died July 24, 1861 (typhoid fever); never mustered.
- McDonough, James (Apr. 26, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Feb. 1862 (baggage guard); discharged, July 1862.
- McIntosh, William S. (Apr. 26, 1861), discharged Dec. 1, 1861; entered hospital service Nov. 1, 1862; Mar. 18 - Nov. 18, 1863 (debility); died Dec. 7, 1864 (acute dysentery).
- Moore, John A. (May 13, 1861), wounded at Dinwiddie Court House (legs); captured Apr. 3, 1865; died Apr. 28, 1865.
- Nalls, Thomas W. (Apr. 26, 1861), paroled Apr. 28, 1865.
- Newman, Marmion R. (Apr. 26, 1861 - Corp.), wounded and captured at Williamsburg; exchanged; paroled Apr. 26, 1865.
- O'Shea Thomas (Apr. 26, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), captured Aug. 15, 1863; took oath Sept. 27, 1863.
- Pattie, James A. (Apr. 26, 1861 - Sgt.), Oct. 28, 1861 - Jan. 1862 (typhoid fever); captured at Five Forks; paroled June 21, 1865.
- Pattie, Oscar F. (Apr. 26, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.
- Payne, James R. (Apr. 26, 1861), July - Oct. 1861 (sick); died Mar. 15, 1865 (apoplexia).
- Payne, Levi W. (Apr. 26, 1861), AWOL Sept. - Dec. 1862; deserted Sept. 7, 1863; captured by Federals Sept. 22, 1863; took oath at Point Lookout Mar. 22, 1864.
- Pickett, George S. (Apr. 26, 1861), wounded and captured at Sailor's Creek; paroled June 16, 1865.
- Pierson, George W. (July 15, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; paroled May 4, 1865.

Pierson, James (Apr. 29, 1861), rejected by the mustering officer.

Pierson, Robert A. (July 15, 1861), deserted Aug. 31, 1862; returned; paroled May 4, 1865.

Polend, Charles J. (Apr. 26, 1861), AWOL, July 10, 1861; dropped as a deserter, Sept. 1861.

Polend, John T. (Apr. 26, 1861), AWOL, Mar. 10, 1862; court-martialed, Mar. 1863; deserted Sept. 7, 1863; in division guardhouse, Dec. 4, 1864.

Posey, John T. (Sept. 2, 1861), transferred to 17th Virginia from Co. K, 2nd Florida Infantry, Apr. 6, 1864; surrendered at Appomattox.

Rennoe, John L. (May 15, 1861), wounded at Allen's Farm, May 23, 1862; May 6 - June 11, 1863 (dysentery); deserted into Union lines Jan. 21, 1865.

Rizen, John F. (May 15, 1861), sick at home when the army evacuated Manassas, Mar. 1862; dropped as a deserter, Nov. 1862.

Rogers, Jesse S. (Apr. 15, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Seven Pines (thigh); paroled Apr. 24, 1865.

Rollins, George W. (Oct. 7, 1864), paroled Apr. 28, 1865.

Rollins, James D. (Apr. 26, 1861), wounded at Frazier Farm; paroled May 1, 1865.

Sherwood, James B. (May 28, 1861), dishonorably discharged for desertion at Yorktown.

Sherwood, William W. (Apr. 26, 1861 - Corp.), paroled May 5, 1865.

Sizemore, John (Mar. 1, 1863), AWOL, Sept. 10 - Oct. 18, 1863; deserted to the enemy Jan. 15, 1865.

Smith, William R. (Apr. 26, 1861 - Sgt.), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Speake, Edward (Apr. 26, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Stokes, Henry P. (June 9, 1863), died Mar. 23, 1864 (pneumonia).

Sullivan, James R. (May 1, 1862 - Corp.), June 29 - Aug. 20, 1862 (pleuritis); wounded at South Mountain; Oct. 6, 1862 - Nov. 1863, (tuberculosis); paroled May 1, 1865.

Sutter, William C. (Apr. 26, 1861), deserted at Yorktown; in Old Capitol Prison Sept. 23, 1862.

Tillet, James F. (May 24, 1861), July - Oct. 1861 (measles); deserted Nov. 1, 1862.

Turner, Thomas W. (Apr. 26, 1861), July 1861 - Feb. 1862 (sick); July 1862 - Oct. 1863 (sick); captured Aug. 5, 1863; exchanged at Point Lookout Dec. 24, 1863.

Tyler, Grayson (Apr. 26, 1861 - Lt. Col.), July - Oct. 1862 (sick); captured at Sailor's Creek; released from Johnson's Island, July 25, 1865.

Warren, James T., paroled May 17, 1865.

Watson, Robert (Mar. 5, 1862), deserted Aug. 31, 1862.

COMPANY G - "EMMETT GUARDS"

Alley, Hezekiah (conscripted June 5, 1864), surrendered at Appomattox.

Alley, Leonard (conscripted June 5, 1864), surrendered at Appomattox.

Archibald, James (May 13, 1861), AWOL, Aug. 13, 1862; discharged Feb. 10, 1863; captured by the Federals May 16, 1863; took oath June 24, 1865.

Austin, John (conscripted June 5, 1864), deserted June 27, 1864; returned by Oct. 30, 1864.

Austin, Thomas W. (Oct. 13, 1863), wounded at Drewry's Bluff (face).

Austin, William S. (Jan. 1863), on wounded furlough, July 1864.

Balderson, Arthur (Nov. 4, 1863), paroled between Apr. 11 - 21, 1865.

Balderson, M. B. (Nov. 4, 1863), May 17 - July 29, 1864 (debility); captured Apr. 2, 1865; died May 13, 1865 at Point Lookout.

Bowers, B. B. (June 1, 1863), deserted June 25, 1863.

Bradley, James (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged Aug. 13, 1862.

Brennan, James (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged Aug. 13, 1862.

Brennan, Thomas, died July 12, 1862 (chronic diarrhea).

Burke, Patrick (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted from Camp Pickens.

Burton, James H. (May 23, 1863), deserted June 23, 1863; returned by Aug. 31, 1863; surrendered at Appomattox.

Butler, Thomas (May 19, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Manassas Gap; released from Point Lookout Feb. 1, 1864, to join the Union Army; willing to fight, except against the South.

Cardle, M. W. (Oct. 24, 1863), AWOL, Nov. 11, 1863; arrested Dec. 12, 1864; captured Apr. 6, 1865; paroled June 24, 1865.

Carter, John A. (Nov. 6, 1863), died July 31, 1864 (chronic diarrhea).

Carroll, Thomas (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged July 27, 1862.

Castigan, Edmund (Apr. 25, 1861), left at Centreville, supposedly a prisoner, Mar. 1862.

Clarke, Green L. (Nov. 14, 1863), in Danville hospital Apr. 3, 1865 (gunshot wound in abdomen); paroled from Johnston's army, May 14, 1865.

Collins, James (Oct. 20, 1863), AWOL, Nov. 11, 1863; took oath, Sept. 24, 1864.

Compton, James R. (May 18, 1863), deserted June 23, 1863; arrested Dec. 20, 1863; returned Aug. 1864; captured Apr. 3, 1865; paroled, Apr. 25, 1865.

Connelly, Francis (Apr. 25, 1861), AWOL, May 1861.

Conner, Cornelius (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted in Maryland Sept. 15, 1862.

Cook, William (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged Apr. 28, 1862.

Daniel, Theophelius (Oct. 10, 1863), deserted Nov. 11, 1863; arrested Jan. 5, 1864; executed by firing squad Apr. 7, 1864.

Delahunt, John (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted June 5, 1862; conscripted in the fall of 1862; deserted July 1864; took Federal oath.

Desmond, S. (June 7, 1863), deserted June 27, 1863.

Dickerson, William H. (Nov. 9, 1863).

Dohoney, Daniel (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged Aug. 5, 1862.

Dohoney, John (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged Aug. 5, 1862.

Donohoe, James (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged July 27, 1862.

Downey, Michael (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted Nov. 21, 1862.

Doyle, Patrick (Apr. 25, 1861), killed at Seven Pines.

Dyer, Michael (Apr. 25, 1861), captured at Williamsburg; exchanged; discharged July 27, 1862.

Elliot, Thomas J. (Aug. 13, 1863), wounded at Drewry's Bluff.

Farrell, Anthony (Apr. 25, 1861), AWOL, May 1862.

Fitzgerald, Jerry (Apr. 25, 1861), left at Centreville, supposed a prisoner, Mar. 1862.

Fitzgerald, Lawrence (Apr. 25, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; captured at Manassas Gap; released from Point Lookout Jan. 22, 1864, to join U. S. service on condition that he not fight against the South.

Freeman, Burton (June 5, 1864), surrendered at Appomattox.

Fry, William (May 24, 1863), AWOL, Oct. 5 - Dec. 5, 1863; deserted Aug. 22, 1864; returned; surrendered at Appomattox.

Goode, F. L. (June 3, 1863), deserted June 25, 1863.

Grace, John (Apr. 25, 1861), confined in Libby Prison at the fall of Richmond.

Griffin, Daniel (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted, June 1862.

Grogan, John E. (Nov. 9, 1863), deserted Feb. 26, 1864.

Harper, Charles (May 29, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; AWOL, Jan. 1863.

Harrington, Patrick (May 2, 1861), killed at Seven Pines.

Hart, Patrick (Apr. 25, 1861), AWOL, May - Aug. 1862; deserted Nov. 21, 1862.

Hassan, Patrick (Apr. 25, 1861), dropped as a deserter, Aug. 1862.

Hawkins, Tazwell, (Corp.), deserted to the enemy Feb. 20, 1865; took oath July 1, 1865.

Hayes, Thomas (Apr. 25, 1861 - Sgt.), deserted Mar. 1, 1863.

Henry, Alexander (Apr. 25, 1861), Nov. 1861 - June 1862 (detached); discharged July 27, 1862.

Hoare, Morris (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged July 27, 1862.

Hodnett, John H. (Nov. 9, 1863), transferred, Apr. 1864, to Co. E, 53rd Virginia Infantry.

Hogwood, William (Oct. 13, 1863), killed at Drewry's Bluff.

Horrigan, John (May 12, 1861), wounded at Drewry's Bluff (left lung); captured Apr. 6, 1865; paroled June 27, 1865.

Howell, James (June 5, 1863), deserted June 28, 1863.

Ivors, James W. (Apr. 25, 1861), accidentally wounded May 5, 1862.

Johns, Henry (May 24, 1863), deserted May 28, 1863.

Johnson, James (Apr. 25, 1861), May - Oct. 1862 (sick); AWOL, Nov. 1862; according to other information died of wounds Sept. 11, 1862.

Jones, George W. (June 5, 1864), May - Aug. 1864 (measles and chronic diarrhea); surrendered at Appomattox.

Jones, Jeremiah (June 5, 1864), surrendered at Appomattox.

Keating, James (Apr. 25, 1861), wounded and captured at Williamsburg; died May 27, 1862 (of wounds).

Keating, Patrick (Apr. 25, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg; captured at Fraziers Farm; Sept. - Dec. 1862 (sick); AWOL, Jan. - Apr. 1863; deserted Nov. 1, 1863.

Keise, Issac A. (Nov. 9, 1863).

Kelly, John (June 25, 1863), deserted June 29, 1863; returned; captured at Manassas Gap; took oath Apr. 18, 1864.

Kemper, William H. H. (Apr. 25, 1861 - 1st Lt.), dropped Apr. 26, 1862.

Kennedy, Daniel (May 26, 1863), wounded at Dinwiddie Court House (right arm); paroled June 7, 1865.

King, Henry (conscripted June 5, 1864), deserted June 27, 1864.

Knox, Robert F. (Apr. 25, 1861 - Capt.), wounded, May 1862 (thigh); wounded at Drewry's Bluff; wounded at Five Forks (right shoulder); paroled May 13, 1865.

Lane, Patrick (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged Aug. 15, 1862.

Loving, Bird (Oct. 14, 1863), deserted from Chimborazo June 20, 1864 while being treated for diarrhea; paroled May 5, 1865.

Loving, Taliaferro (Oct. 14, 1863), captured at Drewry's Bluff; died at Point Lookout, June 6, 1865.

Low, E. B. (Sept. 14, 1863), deserted Nov. 9, 1863.

Lynch, Morris (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged July 27, 1862.

Mack, Dennis (Apr. 25, 1861), AWOL, May 1862; returned under arrest Aug. 1862; AWOL, June 24 - July 3, 1863; captured at Manassas Gap; released from Point Lookout Nov. 27, 1863 (took oath).

Manly, David (May 29, 1861 - Corp.), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at 2nd Manassas; murdered a fellow soldier, Sept. 16, 1863; released from death sentence, Apr. 1864.

Manly, Joseph (May 29, 1861), deserted, Mar. 1862.

Martin, James (May 29, 1861), discharged Sept. 30, 1861.

McCarthy, Charles (Apr. 25, 1861), captured at Manassas, Mar. 12, 1862.

McCarthy, Dennis, discharged July 15, 1861.

McEller, Francis (Apr. 25, 1861 - Corp.), discharged Sept. 14, 1861.

McGinnity, John (Apr. 25, 1861), Jan. 28 - June 1863 (sick); July 1863 - June 1864 (detailed in the Lynchburg Hospital); deserted July 13, 1864; took oath.

McKeown, William (Apr. 25, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford.

McKilligat, John (Apr. 25, 1861), AWOL in Alexandria May 10, 1861; deserted July 1862.

McSherry, Patrick (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted in Maryland, Sept. 15, 1862.

McSherry, Richard (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged July 27, 1862.

Monahan, Lawrence (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged May 24, 1862.

Mongall, Frederick (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged July 29, 1862.

Moore, Michael (Apr. 25, 1861), July - Dec. 1862 (typhoid); discharged Feb. 10, 1863.

Murphy, John (Apr. 25, 1861), wounded and captured at Williamsburg; exchanged.

Murphy, John (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted June 5, 1862.

Nash, Jesse (Oct. 9, 1863).

Nugent, John (Apr. 25, 1861 - Sgt.), deserted Mar. 1, 1863.

O'Connor, Cornelius (May 23, 1863), May - Sept. 1863 (lumbago); deserted to the enemy May 6, 1864; took oath.

Olive, William H. (Nov. 4, 1863), May 17 - June 30, 1864 (diarrhea).

Owens, John (June 6, 1863), deserted June 29, 1863.

Polunsky, A. (June 8, 1863), deserted June 25, 1863; under sentence of death, Nov. 1863; in Castle Thunder, Sept. 1864.

Purcell, William H. (May 29, 1861), July 1861 - Aug. 1864 (post office department); died Aug. 12, 1864.

Quick, John (May 24, 1863), deserted May 28, 1863.

Quinn, James (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged Aug. 13, 1862.

Ready, John (May 25, 1861), Mar. 10 - Apr. 21, 1862 (pleurisy);
surrendered at Appomattox.

Riely, Michael (Jan. 1, 1863), deserted Sept. 25, 1863.

Riely, Patrick (Apr. 25, 1861 - Sgt.), July - Oct. 1862 (sick); captured
at Manassas Gap; transferred to Elmira from Point Lookout Aug. 16, 1864;
exchanged Feb. 20, 1865; paroled Apr. 13, 1865.

Robertson, George E. (Oct. 18, 1863), AWOL, Nov. 11, 1863.

Robertson, T. C. (Sept. 6, 1863), AWOL, Nov. 11, 1863; arrested Dec. 12,
1864; captured at Five Forks; paroled June 20, 1865.

Robertson, Thomas F. (Nov. 14, 1863), AWOL, Dec. 20, 1863; returned;
Jan. 1864; AWOL, Sept. 1864.

Roop, Harmon (May 24, 1863), deserted June 23, 1863; returned July 1863;
surrendered at Appomattox.

Saunders, Nancy Mrs., mustered Mar. - Aug. 1864 (laundress).

Sicak, George (May 30, 1863), deserted June 7, 1863.

Smith, Hugh (Apr. 25, 1861), discharged Oct. 8, 1862.

Smith, James (Apr. 25, 1861), rejected by the mustering officer.

Souther, W. A. (June 1, 1863), deserted June 25, 1863.

Sumners, Charles C. (Jan. 3, 1863), died Oct. 26, 1864.

Thomas, George F. (Oct. 13, 1863), May 17 - June 30 (acute diarrhea);
paroled May 13, 1865.

Thompson, James (Apr. 25, 1861).

Toler, Frederick H. (Jan. 14, 1864), discharged Dec. 9, 1864.

Towson, James E. Jr. (Apr. 25, 1861 - Capt.), dropped Apr. 26, 1862.

Travers, Michael (Apr. 25, 1861), crazy in Richmond hospital, Mar. 25,
1862.

Walker, James (June 6, 1863), deserted June 7, 1863.

Warf, Hugh (June 5, 1864), deserted June 27, 1864; returned, Sept. 1864.

Wattles, Charles William (Apr. 25, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), dropped Apr. 26,
1862.

Whalan, James (Apr. 25, 1861), deserted May 10, 1861.

White, John (Apr. 25, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Wright, William, captured on the Southside Railroad, Apr. 9, 1865;
took oath July 3, 1865.

COMPANY H - "OLD DOMINION RIFLES"

Adam, William W. (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred July 28, 1864, to Co. D, 4th Virginia Cavalry.

Appich, Harrison (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; captured Apr. 8, 1865; paroled Apr. 11 - 21, 1865.

Arnold, John A. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; deserted, July 1863; courtmartialed Dec. 1863; paroled May 9, 1865.

Ashby, Herron W. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm (disabled).

Awbinoe, S. N. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged May 28, 1861 (underage).

Bacon, William H. (Apr. 17, 1861), Mar. 8 - Apr. 26, 1862 (debility).

Baldwin, Edward F. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; AWOL, May 1863; returned July 1863; wounded at Five Forks (right hip, groin and rectum); paroled Apr. 11 - 21, 1865.

Baldwin, Jonah W. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; died Aug. 11, 1862.

Ballenger, Clinton (July 1, 1861), killed at Williamsburg.

Ballenger, Frank (Mar. 5, 1862), captured at Fraziers Farm; killed at 2nd Manassas.

Barbour, Edwin G. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), mortally wounded at Williamsburg; died May 22, 1862.

Beach, John (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at South Mountain; entered Union lines at Fairfax Court House, Apr. 17, 1865.

Beacham, Edwin S. (Apr. 17, 1861), died Jan. 31, 1863 (smallpox).

Berry, William Douglas (Apr. 17, 1861), AWOL, Feb. - Oct. 1862; Nov. 1862 - Apr. 1864 (Lynchburg Hospital); hospital steward in Richmond, May 1864.

Both, I. S., surrendered at Appomattox.

Boyer, William H. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at 2nd Manassas; captured in the Washington Street Hospital Apr. 3, 1865 (Richmond); died Apr. 11, 1865.

Bradley, Henry H. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Corp.), wounded at Williamsburg; discharged Aug. 22, 1862.

Brent, Virginius (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; unfit for active service, detailed with commissary; surrendered at Appomattox.

Buchanan, Robert E. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Corp.), captured at Antietam; wounded at Manassas Gap; died Mar. 23, 1864 (wounds complicated by chronic diarrhea).

Burgess, Charles R. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Butts, Joseph (Mar. 1, 1864), unfit for service; detailed with brigade quartermaster, Dec. 1864.

Calmus, August (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; deserted Apr. 30, 1863.

Carlin, James (June 1, 1861), discharged May 23, 1862.

Castleman, William A. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Antietam.

Collingsworth, Robert (Apr. 17, 1861), went into Union lines at Fairfax Court House, Apr. 14, 1865.

Darley, Charles (June 27, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; fell from a moving train causing his right arm to be amputated; June 1863; retired Aug. 20, 1864.

Deavers, Barney (Sept. 13, 1861).

Deavers, Ira (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at 2nd Manassas; paroled Apr. 17, 1865.

Dozier, Melville (June 17, 1861), discharged Jan. 28, 1862.

Duffy, John H. (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted, Oct. 1863.

Fewell, L. N. (Apr. 6, 1862), captured July 30, 1864 at Bermuda Hundred; transferred to Elmira from Point Lookout Aug. 8, 1864; paroled June 19, 1865.

Fewell, W. H. (Apr. 6, 1862), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Fitzhugh, Thomas V. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 1st Lt.), mortally wounded at Seven Pines; died June 24, 1862.

Forrest, Douglas F. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), detached to Gen. Issac Trimble, Sept. 14, 1861; resigned, May 6, 1862.

Fowle, James (Apr. 9, 1864), May 12 - Dec. 30, 1864 (Signal Corps).

Fowle, William H. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Capt.), wounded at Seven Pines; wounded at Drewry's Bluff; July - Dec. 1864, on light duty as provost-marshal in Bedford County.

Gardner, William F. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), wounded at 2nd Manassas (thigh); unfit for service, ordered to Staunton, May 1863 - Apr. 1864; resigned, Apr. 1864.

Gibson, James C. (Apr. 17, 1861), reported as captured.

Goodwin, James L. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; detailed as courier for Gen. Corse, Nov. 1862; unfit for Infantry service, Dec. 1864.

Green, James E. (May 28, 1861 - Lt.), never mustered with the 17th Virginia.

Grimes, James E. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; killed at Williamsburg.

Hall, William J. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines, severely wounded at Antietam (left hand and arm); unfit for service, detailed with post office department.

Heiss, Fred S. (Apr. 17, 1861), quartermaster department, Nov. 1861; discharged Aug. 1, 1862.

Herbert, Arthur (Apr. 17, 1861 - Col.), surrendered at Appomattox.

Higdon, William J. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Seven Pines.

Holland, William (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred July 21, 1862, to the Maryland Line.

Hough, Harry (Apr. 17, 1861), July - Dec. 1861 (clerk to Gen. Corse); transferred to Co. A, May 1, 1862; Nov. 1862 - Dec. 1864 (clerk for Gen. Pickett); took oath May 14, 1865.

Hough, Lewis A. (Apr. 17, 1861), detailed Richmond post office, Jan. 1862.

Howell, Emory (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged Oct. 21, 1861.

Howell, Asbury F. (June 9, 1864), previously a member of Co. B, 1st Battalion of Cavalry Local Defense.

Hunter, Charles E. (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1861 (hospital steward; AWOL, Jan. - Dec. 1862; Jan. 1863 - Feb. 1864 (hospital); accidentally wounded May 17, 1864 (leg); captured Apr. 3, 1865; paroled May 10, 1865.

Hurdle, Allison N. (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; AWOL, Sept. 1862 - June 1863; detailed as a clerk, July 1863; returned, Jan. 1864; under arrest, Nov. 1864; captured at Five Forks; released from Point Lookout, May 15, 1865.

Hurdle, Armistead U. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; discharged Aug. 22, 1863.

Jordan, James W., captured at Bristoe Station, Feb. 26, 1864; exchanged, Nov. 1, 1864.

Jordan, Pendelton (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm (left breast); captured Nov. 14, 1862; exchanged; paroled Apr. 28, 1865.

Kell, Arthur C. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 1st Lt.), wounded at South Mountain; captured at Sailor's Creek; paroled from Johnson's Island, June 18, 1865.

Kell, Luther H. (Aug. 30, 1862), discharged Sept. 22, 1863; rejoined; captured Apr. 3, 1865; released from Point Lookout, Apr. 30, 1865.

Kelly, Thomas L. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Corp.), took oath, May 29, 1865.

Kidwell, Robert (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; wounded at Williamsburg; AWOL, May 1863; dropped as a deserter, July 1863.

Kidwell, William F. (Apr. 17, 1861), Oct. 22, 1861 (typhoid fever); June 16, 1864 (acute diarrhea).

Kinsloe, Owen W. (Apr. 17, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Apr. 1862 (ambulance driver); Apr. 30 - Oct. 1862 and Jan. 1863 - Aug. 1864 (wagoneer); in Libby Prison at the fall of Richmond.

Krouse, John E. (Apr. 17, 1861), May - Oct. 1862 (government workshop); Nov. 1862 - Dec. 1864 (Orange & Alexandria Railroad); paroled Apr. 15, 1865.

Lannon, Patrick (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Williamsburg.

Latham, Richard M. (June 2, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Oct. 1862 (sick); discharged, Dec. 1862.

Lovelace, William A. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), killed at 2nd Manassas.

Lunt, William H. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Seven Pines.

Mankin, Oscar (July 27, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; deserted, July 1863.

McDermott, Dennis (May 15, 1861), killed at 1st Manassas.

- McKeown, Nicholas (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged, July 21, 1862.
- McVeigh, T. E. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged July 21, 1862.
- Merrick, Marcus M. (Apr. 20, 1864), deserted to the enemy, Jan. 1865.
- Milburn, J. Clinton (May 29, 1862), Nov. 1862 - June 1863 (sick); July 1863 - Aug. 1864 (hospital nurse); surrendered at Appomattox.
- Miller, Fred W. (Apr. 17, 1861), detached to Confederate laboratory, Nov. 1861 - Aug. 1863; arrested while AWOL, Nov. 1863; returned to regiment May 13, 1864; wounded at Drewry's Bluff.
- Mills, John T. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Corp.), killed at Drewry's Bluff.
- Mills, William F. (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted when the company left Alexandria.
- Moore, Fred (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged, June 3, 1862.
- Murphy, James (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Oct. 1862, quartermaster department; AWOL, Nov. 1862.
- Murray, Charles H. (Apr. 17, 1861), deserted May 5, 1862.
- Murray, John S. (Apr. 17, 1861), killed at Seven Pines.
- Nightingale, John A. (July 15, 1861 - Corp.), Sept. 1861, drummer; captured Apr. 6, 1865; paroled, June 20, 1865.
- Noland, James W. (July 22, 1864), deserted to the enemy, Jan. 1865.
- Padgett, Benjamin (Apr. 17, 1861), died, Nov. 13, 1861 (typhoid fever).
- Patrick, John H. (July 5, 1861), transferred, Jan. 1862, to the Maryland Line.
- Pattie, John H. (May 28, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1861 (teamster); AWOL, Jan. 1862.
- Paul, Robert C. (Apr. 17, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), transferred May 1, 1862 to Co. A, 17th Virginia Infantry; captured at Fraziers Farm; captured at Antietam; paroled, May 20, 1865.
- Pitts, Henry S. (June 21, 1861), wounded and captured at Williamsburg; exchanged; AWOL, Sept. 1, 1862 - Feb. 23, 1863; captured Apr. 3, 1865; paroled May 10, 1865.
- Plain, Benjamin K. (Apr. 17, 1861), AWOL, Jan. - Dec. 1862; Nov. 1863 - Feb. 1864, clerk in provost-marshal's office; paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

Price, Charles R., Oct. 19, 1864 - Feb. 22, 1865 (wound in the right hand); captured Apr. 6, 1865; paroled June 16, 1865.

Riely, John P. (May 20, 1861), wounded at 1st Manassas; AWOL, May 1862; dropped as a deserter, Apr. 1863.

Robinson, John P. (Apr. 17, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Roxbury, Edward (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1861 (sick); Aug. 27 - Sept. 22, 1863 (acute diarrhea); paroled Apr. 27, 1865.

Rudd, James N. (Apr. 17, 1861).

Sedwick, Charles (Mar. 23, 1862), discharged June 3, 1862.

Sedwick, William D. (June 19, 1861), wounded June 27, 1862; AWOL, Jan. 1863.

Shinn, S. R. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), Jan. 1861, in James River defenses at Drewry's Bluff.

Simmons, Joseph F. (Apr. 17, 1861), July - Dec. 1861 (nurse); deserted to the enemy, Jan. 1862.

Smith, James G. (Mar. 3, 1862), Mar. 1862 - Jan. 1863 (sick); discharged Feb. 5, 1863.

Smith, James M. (Apr. 17, 1861), July 1861 - Dec. 1862 (post office department); AWOL, Jan. 1863.

Smith, O. F. (Apr. 17, 1861), never mustered.

Smith, S. D. (Apr. 17, 1861), captured Apr. 3, 1865; released May 31, 1865, from the Hamilton, Va. Military Prison Camp.

Smith, William H. H. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Mus.), Sept. - Dec. 1861 and May 1862 - Dec. 1863 (sick); deserted June 24, 1864; returned; captured Apr. 7, 1865; died May 7, 1865 (chronic diarrhea).

Sowers, James K. (May 15, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; discharged Nov. 18, 1862.

Suit, John (Apr. 17, 1861), AWOL, Jan. - Apr. 1862; May 1862 - Dec. 1864, government workshop in Richmond.

Summers, George W. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; paroled Apr. 22, 1865.

Summers, Wappello (Apr. 17, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Dec. 1863, regimental blacksmith; Jan. - Dec. 1864, brigade blacksmith; paroled Apr. 22, 1865.

Sutherland, Leigh M. (May 20, 1861), transferred May 1, 1864, to the Maryland Line.

Tatsapangh, William H. (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged July 24, 1862.

Taylor, Charles (Apr. 17, 1861), transferred June 14, 1861, to the Albemarle troops.

Taylor, George W. (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1861 (sick); AWOL, Jan. 1862.

Taylor, Robert J. (Apr. 27, 1861), AWOL, Jan. 12, 1863; courtmartialed; deserted, July 1863.

Tennisson, Charles E. (Apr. 17, 1861), rejected by mustering officer.

Terrett, William (Apr. 17, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; mortally wounded at Cold Harbor; died June 10, 1864.

Travis, John E. (May 20, 1864), transferred Apr. 17, 1864, to Confederate States Navy.

Wall, Augustus (Apr. 17, 1861), AWOL, Sept. - Dec. 1862; returned; Mar. - June 1863 (sick); captured Apr. 4, 1865; paroled, May 31, 1865.

Warfield, Edgar (Apr. 17, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Dec. 1864, regimental apothecary; surrendered at Appomattox.

Watkins, James H. (Apr. 17, 1861), brigade butcher Nov. 1862 - Feb. 1863 and May 1863 - Apr. 1864; wounded at 2nd Manassas; captured Apr. 3, 1865; paroled Apr. 20, 1865.

White, B. C. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Fraziers Farm; May - Dec. 1864 (sick).

Whitely, William (Apr. 17, 1861), discharged July 24, 1862.

Whiting, Charles H. (May 20, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged; discharged May 13, 1863.

Whittington, M. D. (May 28, 1862), killed at Seven Pines.

Williamson, James A. (Apr. 17, 1861), captured Apr. 3, 1865; paroled June 21, 1865.

Wise, Frank (Apr. 17, 1861), July 1861 - Apr. 1862, clerk in provost-marshal's office; Sept. 1862 - Dec. 1863 (Richmond office); Jan. - Dec. 1864 (treasury department).

Wise, George (Apr. 17, 1861 - Ord. Sgt.), Engineer Corps, Nov. 19, 1863.

Withers, John B. (Apr. 17, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; July - Dec. 1862 (sick); deserted, July 1863.

Wood, Frank (Apr. 17, 1861), AWOL, May - Oct. 1862; dropped as a deserter, Nov. 1862.

Young, Robert (May 20, 1861), July - Dec. 1864 (ambulance corps); surrendered Appomattox.

Zimmerman, William W. (Apr. 17, 1861 - Adj.), July - Oct. 1862 (detached); captured at Dinwiddie Court House; released from Johnson's Island, June 20, 1865.

COMPANY I - "O'CONNELL GUARDS"

- Barker, William (June 20, 1863), deserted to the enemy, Feb. 1865.
- Beal, Joel T. (conscripted Aug. 25, 1864), surrendered at Appomattox.
- Bell, Robert C. (May 23, 1861 - Sgt.), discharged, Aug. 25, 1861.
- Berry, John (May 23, 1861), killed at Seven Pines.
- Birmingham, Thomas (May 23, 1861), deserted May 22, 1862.
- Blish, Henry (May 23, 1861), deserted.
- Blunt, William (May 23, 1861 - Corp.), deserted May 19, 1862.
- Boswell, James (May 23, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Aug. 1864 (blacksmith and ordnance duty); deserted to the enemy, Dec. 20, 1864.
- Burns, Patrick (joined as a substitute for a conscript Jan. 11, 1863), captured Apr. 6, 1865; paroled June 23, 1865.
- Chune, Michael (May 23, 1861 - Sgt.), deserted Aug. 10, 1862.
- Conda, John (May 23, 1861), died in general hospital Nov. 15, 1861 (strangury).
- Connell, Martin (May 23, 1861), discharged Jan. 16, 1863.
- Conners, Owen (May 25, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; detached to Pioneer Corps, Apr. 1863; killed in Richmond, June 1863.
- Cornell, William A. (July 17, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; captured at Williamsport Sept. 15, 1862; entered Union lines May 16, 1865.
- Critzer, Spotswood (Oct. 15, 1863), July 23, 1864 (inflammation of the bladder).
- Croider, William (May 28, 1863), deserted, Oct. 1863.
- Cully, Michael (May 23, 1861), killed at Williamsburg.
- Davis, James H. (Aug. 28, 1863), captured at Dinwiddie Court House; paroled June 11, 1865.
- Dean, Henry (June 24, 1863), deserted July 31, 1864.
- De Grave, Antonio (May 23, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded, May 1862; discharged June 10, 1864.

Dougherty, Edward (May 23, 1861 - Sgt.), captured Apr. 3, 1865; paroled June 11, 1865.

Flood, Daniel (May 23, 1861).

Frederick, John (May 29, 1863).

Garner, Samuel P. (Aug. 31, 1863), left hospital at Goldsboro Sept. 8, 1864; ordered to Petersburg.

Godsey, Daniel H. (Aug. 22, 1863), paroled Apr. 11 - 21, 1865.

Gousher, Adam (May 23, 1861 - Corp.), July 7 - Sept. 1, 1861 (baker); wounded at Seven Pines; accidentally killed June 22, 1864.

Greely, Patrick (May 23, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Williamsburg.

Greever, H. T. (June 4, 1863), deserted, July 1863.

Hagerty, James (June 15, 1863), deserted to the enemy Sept. 15, 1864.

Hanrihan, Michael (May 23, 1861), deserted.

Hanrihan, Thomas (May 23, 1861), discharged Dec. 24, 1862.

Hart, John T. (May 28, 1861), transferred Oct. 1, 1861, to Co. A, 17th Virginia Infantry; wounded at Fraziers Farm; died July 12, 1862.

Heard, John L. (May 23, 1861), discharged May 24, 1862.

Herring, Thomas (May 23, 1861), discharged Oct. 24, 1861.

Horan, Timothy (May 23, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; discharged June 10, 1864.

Hyatt, Joseph E. (Sept. 25, 1863), surrendered at Appomattox.

Kelleher, Thomas (May 23, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Apr. 1862 (detached); discharged Feb. 17, 1863.

Kendrick, J. W. (Aug. 17, 1863).

Kennery, Jeremiah (May 23, 1861), discharged May 24, 1862.

King, John W. (May 14, 1861 - Sgt.), captured Sept. 12, 1862; captured at Suffolk; captured July 23, 1863; released from Fort Delaware, May 4, 1865.

Kinnery, William (May 23, 1861), deserted to the enemy, Feb. 1865.

Kirby, Thomas (May 23, 1861), Mar. - June and Sept. - Dec. 1863 (sick); detached in hospital Jan. - Aug. 1864; in Libby Prison at the fall of Richmond.

Kline, Joseph (June 15, 1863), deserted, Sept. 1863.

Leary, John (May 23, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; deserted to the enemy, Feb. 1863.

Lyons, Thomas (May 23, 1861), AWOL, June 18, 1861.

Mahar, Edward (May 23, 1861), killed at Williamsburg.

McBride, Michael (May 23, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; discharged June 10, 1864.

McCormick, Patrick (May 23, 1861), discharged, Nov. 1862.

McGuire, Owen (May 23, 1861), May - Aug. 1862 (sick); deserted at Antietam (took the oath).

McMahon, Michael (May 23, 1861), captured at Antietam; took oath.

McSherry, Michael (May 23, 1861), captured, Apr. 1863.

Miller, A. (Nov. 14, 1863), deserted.

Murphy, Dennis (May 23, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford (lost right arm); Sept. 3, 1864 (Invalid Corps).

Murray, William (May 23, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; discharged Jan. 16, 1863.

Noland, John (May 23, 1861), May - Aug. 1862 (sick); discharged Jan. 2, 1863.

O'Brian, Patrick (May 23, 1861), AWOL, May 30, 1861.

Ohair, Michael (May 23, 1861), deserted May 22, 1862.

Old, Robert E. (Aug. 17, 1863 - corp.).

Parish, Nelson J. (Sept. 25, 1863), took oath May 15, 1865.

Phalin, James (May 23, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; killed at Antietam.

Presstman, Stephen Wilson (May 23, 1861 - Capt.), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; dropped Apr. 26, 1862; transferred to the western army; accidentally killed, Jan. 1864.

Quigley, Patrick (May 23, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; Nov. 1862 - Aug. 1863 (Pioneer Corps); Sept. - Dec. 1863 (sick); deserted to the enemy Feb. 16, 1865.

Roach, John (Aug. 15, 1863), took oath at Point Lookout, June 30, 1865; died Aug. 3, 1865 (chronic diarrhea).

Rosa, Frederick (May 23, 1861), discharged May 24, 1862.

Ryan, John (May 23, 1861), AWOL, Mar. 1863; thought to be dead.

Ryan, Timothy (May 23, 1861), May - Dec. 1862 (neck wound); Mar. - June 1863 (sick); deserted to the enemy Feb. 16, 1865.

Sale, Phillip (Sept. 25, 1863), captured Apr. 6, 1865; released June 19, 1865.

Shennessey, Simon (May 23, 1861), discharged Nov. 3, 1862; arrested by Federals July 21, 1863; released on oath from Point Lookout, Jan. 21, 1864.

Sims, Benjamin H. (Oct. 1, 1863).

Slember, Benjamin (May 23, 1861), discharged May 24, 1862.

Slemmer, John (May 23, 1861), Mar. - June 1863 (hospital nurse); died Feb. 2, 1865 (typhoid fever).

Smith, R. -----

Southerland, James (May 23, 1861), deserted May 30, 1862.

Sullivan, Jeremiah (May 23, 1861), dishonorably discharged Nov. 30, 1861.

Sullivan, Owen (conscripted Jan. 3, 1863).

Tierney, Michael (May 23, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at 2nd Manassas.

Townsend, George (May 23, 1861 - 1st Sgt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; killed at Antietam.

Wallace, Horatio Sidney (May 28, 1861 - Lt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; May 1864 - Feb. 1865 (sick).

Watts, Ludwell (Oct. 31, 1863).

Whalen, James (May 23, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; Jan. - Apr. 1863 (sick), wounded at Drewry's Bluff (shoulder and neck); discharged Aug. 31, 1864.

Williams, T. (June 23, 1863), deserted, July 1863.

COMPANY K - "WARRENTON RIFLEMEN"

- Allen, Henry (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged July 22, 1862.
- Allison, Richard S. (July 16, 1861), paroled May 3, 1865.
- Beckham, John (Apr. 22, 1861 - Sgt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; Oct. 1862, wounded accidentally; wounded at Manassas Gap; transferred to Stuart's Horse Artillery Apr. 7, 1864.
- Bennett, Henry T. (Apr. 22, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Fraziers Farm; AWOL, Dec. 1864.
- Bowling, Egbert T. (Oct. 14, 1864).
- Bowling, William (Oct. 14, 1864).
- Bragg, Charles P. (Apr. 22, 1861), Nov. 1861 (purveyor's office); detailed as hospital steward June 24, 1863.
- Bragg, William M. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged Dec. 15, 1861.
- Briggs, Henry C. (June 7, 1861), July 1861 - July 1862 (commissary department); May 21, 1864 (acute dysentery); deserted Dec. 16, 1864.
- Brodie, A. M. (Apr. 22, 1861 - 1st Lt.), wounded Aug. 25, 1864 (left thigh).
- Brooks, Thomas D. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged, May 1862.
- Carter, Charles S. (May 15, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged; transferred to cavalry Apr. 18, 1863.
- Cole, Francis M. (Apr. 27, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; Nov. 15, 1863 (hospital detail).
- Cole, Joseph N. (Apr. 28, 1861), Oct. 1862, listed as AWOL for five months; paroled between Apr. 24 - 29, 1865.
- Cromwell, Oliver (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged, May 1862.
- Davisson, Hugh H. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged Apr. 19, 1865.
- Day, Alexander (Mar. 14, 1862), died July 6, 1862 (typhoid fever).
- Day, Henry (Apr. 22, 1861), paroled May 3, 1865.
- Digges, Charles W., Jr. (May 20, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; wounded at Antietam; transferred June 3, 1863, to the 4th Virginia Cavalry.

- Digges, George W. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged Dec. 15, 1861.
- Edmonds, Elias, Jr. (Apr. 22, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; discharged July 22, 1861; rejoined; captured at Manassas Gap.
- Embry, Albert G. (Apr. 22, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; AWOL, Dec. 17, 1862 to Feb. 21, 1863; mortally wounded near Gaines Mill June 7, 1864.
- Fant, John E. P. (Apr. 22, 1861), July - Dec. 1861 and May 14 - Aug. 1862 (gonorrhoea); Feb. 22 - Mar. 4, 1864 (syphilis).
- Field, William H. (Apr. 22, 1861), died Aug. 19, 1862 (typhoid fever).
- Fisher, James A. (Apr. 22, 1861 - 1st Sgt.), transferred Dec. 1, 1863, to Co. G, 17th Virginia Infantry; wounded at Drewry's Bluff; transferred Mar. 24, 1865 to Marshall's Battery (38th Virginia).
- Fisher, Edward L. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged July 15, 1861.
- Fisher, John E. (Apr. 22, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines.
- Fletcher, Albert (Apr. 22, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Dec. 1864, quartermaster department.
- Fletcher, Edwin (July 16, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas.
- Fletcher, Harrison (May 2, 1861), AWOL, July - Dec. 1863.
- Fletcher, Robert H. (Apr. 22, 1861), detailed to Columbus, Georgia as a shoemaker Nov. 1, 1862.
- Florance, Benjamin M. (Apr. 22, 1861), wounded at Fraziers Farm; paroled Apr. 29, 1865.
- Fogus, Andrew L. (Oct. 14, 1861).
- Foster, William G. (July 24, 1861 - Sgt.), wounded at Seven Pines; Mar. 1863 - Dec. 1864 (provost-guard); surrendered at Appomattox.
- Francis, Aaron B. (Apr. 22, 1861 - Corp.), discharged at Fraziers Farm; paroled Apr. 15, 1865.
- Frankland, Walter E. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged May 19, 1862.
- Golway, William H. (Apr. 12, 1861), July 22, 1861 - Feb. 1862 (sick); AWOL, Apr. 1, 1862; discharged Feb. 10, 1863.
- Graham, David E. (Apr. 22, 1861), Jan. - July 1862 (hospital nurse).

Groves, Robert H. (May 2, 1861 - Corp.), captured at Fraziers Farm; died Apr. 6, 1863 (tuberculosis).

Hamme, Luther E. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged July 22, 1862.

Hansbrough, James W., maimed at Harper's Ferry.

Hansbrough, John G. (May 2, 1861).

Hansbrough, Peter C. (May 2, 1861), Sept. 1863 - Feb. 1864 (sick); deserted to the enemy Feb. 26, 1865.

Harris, Albert (Apr. 22, 1861), Aug. 10, 1861.

Harris, John A. (Apr. 22, 1861), wounded Aug. 25, 1864; paroled May 4, 1865.

Hart, Thomas G. (Mar. 7, 1862 - Sgt. Maj.), wounded at 2nd Manassas; mortally wounded at Drewry's Bluff; died June 14, 1864.

Hoffman, Otterbine (Apr. 22, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1862 (baggage guard); wounded at Suffolk; discharged Apr. 14, 1864.

Hope, James W. (Apr. 22, 1861), died Sept. 14, 1861 (typhoid fever).

Hughes, George N. (Apr. 22, 1861), May 1861 - Dec. 1864 (quartermaster department).

Hughlett, Richard K. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged July 22, 1862.

Jefferies, Frederick (Apr. 22, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1861 (carpenter); Jan. - Mar. 1862 (hospital steward); detached, Apr. 1861 - June 1863; paroled Apr. 28, 1865.

Jeffries, Joseph A. (Apr. 22, 1861), spent the war as a hospital steward, serving in the Lynchburg and Danville hospitals.

Jenkins, George F. (Apr. 22, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; detached July - Oct. 1864.

Jones, Elcon (Apr. 22, 1861), detached to western army as a Signal Corpsman in early 1862.

Kane, Thomas F. (Apr. 22, 1861), July - Dec. 1861 (sick); May 1862 - Feb. 1863, May - Aug. 1863 and Sept. 14 - Oct. 19, 1863 (sick with rheumatism); mortally wounded at Drewry's Bluff; died June 2, 1864.

Kemper, George N. (Apr. 22, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged.

Kemper, Hugh T. (Apr. 22, 1861), AWOL, Apr. 1, 1862.

Kirby, James D. (Apr. 22, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged.

Kloeber, Charles E. (Apr. 22, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1861 and Apr. 1 - Aug. 1862 (sick).

Lancaster, David (Apr. 22, 1861).

Lear, Alpheus (May 23, 1861), July 1861 - June 1863 (commissary department); AWOL, July 1863.

Lear, William (Apr. 22, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Mar. 22, 1862 (hospital Steward); dropped as a deserter, Dec. 1862.

Leitz, George S. (Apr. 22, 1861), May - Aug. 1862 (hospital baker at Danville); AWOL, Sept. 1862 - Feb. 1863; Mar. - June 1863 (Danville); deserted to the enemy Aug. 25, 1864.

Lindsay, Stephen C. (Apr. 22, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), resigned Sept. 1, 1861.

Love, Robert (June 19, 1861), killed at Seven Pines.

Marable, Champion (Nov. 6, 1863), wounded Aug. 25, 1864; in hospital Nov. 9, 1864 (wound abscessed).

Marr, John Quincy, killed May 1, 1861 at Fairfax Court House.

Marshall, Robert T. (May 2, 1861), transferred Oct. 2, 1861 to Washington Artillery.

Mays, Jefferson (Oct. 14, 1864), unfit for field service; sent to Amherst County to arrest conscripts.

McClanahan, George W. (Apr. 22, 1861), mortally wounded at Williamsburg; died May 12, 1862.

McConchie, Benjamin F. (Apr. 22, 1861 - 1st Sgt.), discharged July 22, 1862.

McGee, John W. (Apr. 22, 1861 - Capt.), dropped Apr. 26, 1862.

McIlhaney, Hugh M. (Apr. 22, 1861), with quartermaster department from Sept. 1861 - Feb. 1864.

McIntosh, Charles R. (Apr. 22, 1861), wounded at 2nd Manassas; discharged Feb. 18, 1863.

McLearen, Thomas C. (Apr. 22, 1861), AWOL, Mar. 10, 1862.

Minter, William H. (July 17, 1861 - Sgt.), AWOL Mar. 10 - Oct. 1862; paroled Apr. 29, 1865.

Mooney, Galenius T. C. (Apr. 22, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Apr. 1862 (sick); AWOL, May - Oct. 1862; Dec. 8, 1862 - Aug. 1863 (sick); paroled May 8, 1865.

Moore, Joseph E. (Apr. 22, 1861), Sept. 1861 - Apr. 1864, at Longstreet's headquarters; surrendered at Appomattox.

Murray, Daniel (May 3, 1861), transferred July 15, 1861, to "Fauquier Guards."

Murray, Thomas J., Jr. (June 20, 1861).

Nelson, Joseph H. (Apr. 22, 1861), wounded at 1st Manassas, dropped as a deserter, Nov. 1862.

Norris, William C., Jr. (May 2, 1861), July 1861 - June 1862 (Ordnance department); dropped as a deserter, Nov. 1862; returned June 1, 1863; captured Apr. 3, 1865; paroled May 9, 1865.

Parkinson, John W. (Apr. 22, 1861), AWOL, May 12, 1862.

Payne, Henry (May 6, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; Aug. 10 - Sept. 13, 1862 (syphilis); captured at Five Forks; released from Point Lookout, June 10, 1865.

Payne, Richard (May 6, 1861), mortally wounded at Williamsburg; died May 8, 1862.

Payne, Richards, Jr. (Apr. 22, 1861 - 1st Sgt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; exchanged.

Pemberton, James O. (Apr. 22, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg; wounded Aug. 25, 1864.

Reynolds, Lewis H. (Apr. 22, 1861), Sept. - Dec. 1861 (sick); discharged Apr. 7, 1863.

Risdon, William J. (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged June 28, 1861.

Saunders, Thomas B. (Apr. 22, 1861), May - Aug. 1862 (sick); wounded at Suffolk; captured Sept. 8, 1863; exchanged from Point Lookout, Apr. 27, 1864; retired Aug. 22, 1864.

Sedwick, John F. (Apr. 22, 1861), July - Oct. 1863 (sick); Nov. 1863 - Aug. 1864 (hospital detail); deserted Nov. 18, 1864; returned; captured at Five Forks; released from Point Lookout, June 10, 1865.

Shackleford, B. Howard (Apr. 22, 1861 - Capt.), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; resigned Feb. 24, 1862; appointed Col. of cavalry Mar. 23, 1865.

Sinclair, Albert G. (May 2, 1861), wounded at Blackburn's Ford; Nov. 1861 - Aug. 1862 (hospital steward); discharged Aug. 4, 1862.

Singleton, James A. (Apr. 22, 1861), July - Oct. 1861 (hospital duty); wounded and captured at Williamsburg; AWOL, Sept. - Dec. 1862; court-martialed; AWOL, July 1863.

Slaughter, Lewis M. (June 22, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), captured at Fraziers Farm; wounded at Antietam; took oath Aug. 5, 1865.

Smith, Albert (June 10, 1861), became adjutant of the 38th Virginia Infantry, Sept. 1, 1861; resigned Aug. 9, 1864.

Smith, Edwin (Apr. 22, 1861), appointed commissary of the 49th Virginia Infantry, Oct. 2, 1861.

Smith, G. W.

Smith, John J. (Apr. 22, 1861), died Jan. 26, 1862 (typhoid fever).

Smith, Norman E. (Apr. 22, 1861), transferred Dec. 16, 1861, to the 4th Virginia Cavalry.

Spillman, William M. (May 24, 1861), paroled at Warrenton by the XI Corps, Sept. 30, 1862; killed at Drewry's Bluff.

Stout, James H. (July 16, 1861), July - Oct. 1862 (baggage guard); Mar. - Dec. 1864 (sick); wounded Mar. 11, 1865 (right leg).

Suddoth, Patrick H. (May 2, 1861), wounded at Seven Pines; AWOL, July 1863; captured by Federals Aug. 1, 1863; exchanged from Point Lookout, Feb. 13, 1865.

Suddoth, Robert A. (May 3, 1861), deserted Aug. 10, 1861.

Symington, William H. (Aug. 1, 1862), Jan. - Oct. 1863 (Corps Ordnance Sergeant); transferred, Nov. 1863, to Blount's Battery.

Tapp, Henry J. (Apr. 22, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Apr. 1862 (a guard at Manassas); AWOL, May 12, 1862.

Thomas, John P. (June 26, 1861), wounded at Williamsburg; paroled Apr. 22, 1865.

Tompkins, James H. F. (Apr. 22, 1861 - 2nd Lt.), July - Dec. 1861 (sick); resigned Oct. 10, 1862.

Turner, John R. (Apr. 22, 1861 - 2nd Lt.) dropped Apr. 26, 1862.

Walden, Richard E. (Apr. 22, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; captured at Antietam; exchanged; paroled May 5, 1865.

Wall, William (Apr. 22, 1861), discharged July 23, 1862.

Washington, Mason (July 30, 1861), captured at Fraziers Farm; paroled May 3, 1865.

Weaver, Mason A. (Apr. 22, 1861), AWOL, May 20, 1862.

Weaver, Richard A. (Apr. 22, 1861), died May 15, 1862 (typhoid fever).

Wheeler, John V. (Oct. 14, 1864), captured at Five Forks; released June 19, 1865.

White, Benjamin F. (Apr. 22, 1861), Nov. 1861 - Apr. 1862 (commissary department); May - Aug. 1862, detailed with A. P. Hill.

Whitescarver, George H., Jr. (June 6, 1861), AWOL, May 16, 1862.

Withers, Andrew F. (May 2, 1861 - Sgt.), Sept. - Dec. 1861 (sick); paroled Apr. 29, 1865.

Withers, Horace C. (Apr. 22, 1861), AWOL, Nov. 1861.

OTHERS

Bishop, S. J. (Jan. 24, 1865), deserted to the enemy.

Hall, James D. (Oct. 14, 1864), paroled Apr. 15, 1865.

Hannon, Thomas, wounded at 2nd Manassas.

Turner, William M., took oath July 31, 1862.

Voss, P. T., captured at Fraziers Farm.

Wallace, James M., Jr. (May 22, 1861), killed at Fraziers Farm.

Westervelt, Charles W., captured at Fraziers Farm.

Whittle, W. O., captured at Fraziers Farm, sent to Fort Delaware.

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THE 17TH REGIMENT VIRGINIA VOLUNTEERS, C.S.A.

by

James Thomas Siburt

(ABSTRACT)

This thesis is a socio-military history of a Confederate infantry regiment. Formed of companies from the city of Alexandria and surrounding counties, the Regiment fought in the Civil War as part of Corse's brigade, Pickett's division, Longstreet's Corps, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.

Through diaries, memoirs, letters and newspapers, the writer has traced the Regiment from its beginnings as individual companies to its last hours at Appomattox. Whenever possible the narrative focuses on the officers and men who comprised the unit. Therefore, except to provide clarity, little attention is paid to the movements of sister regiments, overall strategy or politics. Instead the emphasis is on the soldiers perceptions of his experiences in camp, on the march and the battlefield. Seeing extensive action, the Regiment fought at Blackburn's Ford, Williamsburg, Seven Pines, Frayser's Farm, Second Manassas, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Suffolk, Manassas Gap, Flat Creek, Drewry's Bluff, Bermuda Hundred, Five Forks and Saylor's Creek. Success or failure is measured by the units' individual performance and therefore is not evaluated with the army as a whole.

Appomattox brought defeat and surrender to the men of the 17th Virginia. However, the designation of victor and vanquished is of

secondary importance. Duty faithfully performed, in spite of incredible hardship, in the face of overwhelming odds, by a band of heroic, valiant men is the more enduring memory.