

CONFEDERATE LYNCHBURG, 1861-1865,

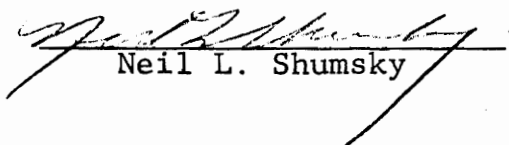
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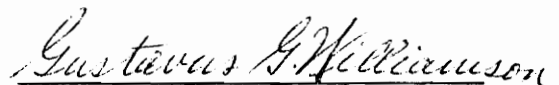
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CHAPTER I
ANTEBELLUM LYNCHBURG

In 1860, Lynchburg, Va., was experiencing a period of prosperity and promise. New businesses moving into the city had stimulated economic growth. Manufacturing institutions operated at peak capacity. Tobacco, which gave Lynchburg its financial base, flowed into the city in increasing quantities. Situated 110 miles west of Richmond on hills overlooking the James River, Lynchburg had become a vital link between the farming areas of southwest and central Virginia and the markets in the east. The transportation network being formed around Lynchburg would prove vital to the Confederacy. The James River and Kanawha Canal, open between western Virginia and Richmond, provided Lynchburg with a reliable avenue to the capital. In addition to the canal, six major turnpikes converged on Lynchburg from the directions of Salem, Conford, Covington, Campbell Court House, Pittsylvania County and the Blue Ridge Mountains. These roads gave farmers a ready access to the Lynchburg market and points beyond.¹

¹Lynchburg Daily Avenue, Oct. 12, 1936.

The introduction of railroads in Lynchburg greatly expanded the city's market potential and destined it to become a major crossroads for Confederate supply routes. The Virginia and Tennessee Railroad became the first to enter the hill city. Incorporated in Lynchburg, the company laid tracks that ultimately reached Chattanooga, Tenn. Through this line Southern soldiers from Georgia to Arkansas would pass through Lynchburg en route to battlefields in defense of their homeland. The next road to enter the city connected Lynchburg with Petersburg, Va. Entitled the Southside Railroad, it gave Lynchburg a quick access to eastern markets. The Orange and Alexandria Railroad completed the transportation network in the city. This road linked Lynchburg with the Virginia Central Railroad connecting Charlottesville and Richmond. In April, 1860, the Orange and Alexandria opened for business. At that time no one knew that in fifteen months the railroad would soon be transporting Confederate soldiers to the Manassas battlefield.

The railroads gave Lynchburg a far wider market than the townspeople had ever known. Railroad cars filled with tobacco rolled out of Lynchburg as the city increasingly became a major center for the tobacco trade. Since Lynchburg's founding, tobacco had given the city its financial base. By 1860, increasing production and greater distribution provided the city with an unprecedented economy.

The "golden leaf" brought to Lynchburg for sale found its way to one of several warehouses. Friend's, Liberty, Martin's, and Planter's operated in the city near the river and the railroads, thereby providing easy transportation to other markets. In 1860, aside from the four warehouses, eighteen tobacco factories in Lynchburg processed the leaf for smoking or chewing. Located throughout the city, the factories were an important part of Lynchburg's business community. Ferguson's, Chamblor's, Christian's and Sheau's factories were located along Main Street. Read's and Booker's factories operated close to each other on Court Street. Knight's factory was at Fourteenth and Jackson, Massie's at Thirteenth and Monroe, Crumpton's on Twelfth between Clay and Madison, Miller's at Twelfth and Harrison, and Ford's at Twelfth and Court. Langhorne's factory was at Eighth and Clay, Candler's at Fifth and Polk, Taliaferro's at Fifth and Court, Saunder's and Claytor's factories on Fourth Street between Main and Church, Burton's at Fourth and Harrison, and Wade's on Lynch Street. These industries employed over 500 men and women and provided the town with a tremendous source of revenue. The use of these factories

changed drastically in the coming years as the ravages of war turned the tobacco factories into hospitals.²

Although an important Lynchburg product, tobacco did not stand alone among the city's industries. Rich iron ore deposits in Virginia prompted the introduction of iron furnaces. Oxford Furnace, having been in production since near the turn of the century, operated six miles east of Lynchburg on Beaver Creek. Other nearby furnaces were located in Etna, Buena Vista, Arcadia, Clifton Forge and Roaring Run. The last-named furnace provided iron exclusively for Francis B. Deane, who owned the largest foundry in Lynchburg.³

Four foundries operated in or near Lynchburg. The Piedmont Works (owned by Deane) not only produced wrought iron and castings but included a factory that provided the passenger and freight cars for the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. The two divisions of the Piedmont Works had a capital investment of \$9,200 and employed fifty men. In

²W. Asbury Christian, Lynchburg and Its People (Lynchburg, 1900), 508; "City Directory-June 10, 1864" Lynchburg Historical Society Museum Papers, II, (1964), Cited hereafter as LHS.; Lynchburg News, Sept. 12, 1926; "Census of Industry in the Eastern District of Campbell County including Lynchburg," June 1, 1860, Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg. Hereafter cited as "Census of Industry."

³Richmond The Industrial South, Aug. 4, 1883; "Roaring Run Furnace," John D. Capron Papers, Capron Library, Lynchburg College.

1860, the foundry produced over 400 tons of iron, plus fifty railroad cars.⁴

The three other foundries, though not as large as the Piedmont Works, contributed to Lynchburg's growing productivity. Both George S. Diuguid's and the Phoenix foundries manufactured fixtures needed in the numerous tobacco factories. James D. Cardwell's foundry made plows and threshing machines. In the coming years, only Deane's Piedmont Works would be able to make the transition to war production.⁵

Iron foundries, though an important part of Lynchburg's manufacturing scene, were not the only producers. Surrounding farm land promoted the use of grist mills. In 1860, eleven such mills operated in the city. The Lynchburg Milling Company, located on Blackwater Creek, and the Piedmont Mills, on the canal, ranked as the two largest mills with the greatest output. Charles Scott and John S. Langhorne owned the Lynchburg Milling Company, which included a cooperage plant in addition to its grinding services. The Piedmont Mills, owned by William S. Morris, like most of the mills, provided only grinding services. Economically the grist mills furnished little

⁴"Census of Industry," June 1, 1860, Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg.

⁵Ibid.

since they seldom produced a gross profit of more than twelve percent. After war began, the grist mills continued to provide flour for the South's hungry soldiers.⁶

Other manufacturers operating in Lynchburg produced goods for a growing community. James Williamson and Max Guggenheimer manufactured clothing at their Main Street establishments. Lewis Merritt's steam mill turned out tobacco mills and boxes. John Winston made furniture at his Main Street store. Below Lynchburg on the James River basin, Charles Langhorne and F. G. Ruffin processed fertilizer for the farming interests around Lynchburg.⁷

Equally important in the Lynchburg business community were the merchants who provided day-to-day needs and services to the citizens. Grocers and commission merchants comprised the largest merchant class. Numbering thirteen or more, most of the grocers operated from Main Street stores. Second only to these establishments on Main Street were numerous clothing stores. Some merchants limited themselves to particular items of clothing, such as George M. Kelly's shoe store.⁸

⁶John D. Capron, "A Century and a Half of Manufacturing in Lynchburg," John D. Capron Papers, 7; Lynchburg Daily Advance, Oct. 12, 1936.

⁷Lynchburg Virginian, Nov. 8, 1860.

⁸Ibid.

The necessities of life were not enough for the growing social elite in Lynchburg. The literate public had a choice of two bookstores providing the finest selection of books in the area. For those citizens who could afford the finer things in life, James Dinwiddies's jewelry store offered many choices. The company of Mayer and Leman established a good business selling fine champagnes and wines.⁹

The business community of Lynchburg reflected the good times in the city's banks and saving institutions. Merchants Bank, Citizens Savings Bank, Exchange Bank and the Farmer's and Merchants Savings Institution not only offered a secure depository but provided necessary capital for emerging business concerns.

New to the Lynchburg merchant class were the auctioneers. Bryan Akers ran one of the largest auction houses in the city. Black slaves came with many estates, and it was not uncommon to find human beings sold from the auction platforms in the streets of Lynchburg. The auction houses remained prosperous in the coming war years, as did one other establishment. George A. Diuguid's mortuary had the task of burying the war dead.¹⁰

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

Lynchburg's emergence as a market center attracted salesmen and visitors to the hill city. Ample accommodations awaited these travelers in numerous hotels and saloons. Located on the corner of Church and Eighth Streets was the Washington House, owned by John S. Kyle. It was the finest hotel in the city. In striving to be competitive, the Piedmont House, owned by Leyburn Wilkes, offered free omnibus transportation to the three railroad depots located at various points in the city.¹¹

Many visitors to Lynchburg found the prevalence of religious institutions so overwhelming that they called it "the city of churches." Two separate branches of Methodists built churches on Court and Church streets. The Second Presbyterian Church was on the corner of Ninth and Church. The Baptists erected a church on Church Street near Ninth. The Episcopal Church established a second church on Sixteenth and Grace after St. Paul's, on the corner of Church and Seventh streets, became overcrowded. The Roman Catholic Church was on the corner of Clay and Ninth. The Jewish community in Lynchburg did not have enough members to support a synagogue. It held services at various members' homes. The only Negro church, the African Baptist, met in an old theater on Court Street near Fifth. These churches and their ministers nurtured

¹¹Ibid.

and strengthened the faith of the citizens of Lynchburg. During the coming war years, this faith would sustain many of them through the worst of times.¹²

As religion became an essential part of Lynchburg's character, so did education. Only five years old in 1860, Lynchburg College had become a proud addition to the community. With an emphasis on military training, the college provided studies in the social sciences, Latin, Greek, mathematics, anatomy, physiology, and constitutional law. Lynchburg College began a proud history only to be crushed by the forthcoming war and never to be reinstated. The College building, located on a square bounded by Tenth, Eleventh, Floyd and Wise streets, became a military hospital at the outset of the war.¹³

As Lynchburg grew, so did the need for a larger police force. The citizens elected a sheriff and deputy to control the city during the daylight hours. At night, appointed men (called "the nightwatch") patrolled the streets. However, after 1859, when John Brown's raid shocked the South, Lynchburg citizens realized that they

¹²Philip Lightfoot Scruggs, The History of Lynchburg, Virginia 1786-1946 (Lynchburg, n. d.), 94; Lynchburg Daily Advance, Oct. 12, 1936.

¹³Lynchburg, Virginian, Nov. 8, 1860; Christian, Lynchburg and its People, 168.

did not have adequate protection from any large-scale slave insurrection. As a result, and by the first months of 1860, Lynchburg could boast of three military companies.

On November 8, 1859, the first company organized under the title of "Home Guard." Samuel Garland, Jr., took the leading role in starting the company and became its first captain. A rising young lawyer, Garland proved to be an excellent leader. He entertained the men frequently in his home, and his own enthusiasm spread throughout the ranks. The "Home Guard" drilled in a large room located in Martin's warehouse on Lynch Street between Tenth and Eleventh. Whenever the company drilled, the room filled with citizens who enjoyed the impressive military display. One local resident wrote after a night of viewing the company: "It is the best officered corps in the state . . . I believe it will take rank with the first companies . . ." ¹⁴

Within weeks after the "Home Guard" organized, Richard Carlton Walker Radford formed a cavalry company, entitled "Wise Troop," in honor of Gov. Henry A. Wise of Virginia. "Wise Troop" drilled at the city fairgrounds,

¹⁴Charles M. Blackford, Jr., Annals of the Lynchburg Home Guard (Lynchburg, 1891), 12-17; Diary of William M. Blackford, entry of Dec. 15, 1859, Blackford Family Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Cited hereafter as Blackford Diary.

located just outside the western city limits on Fifth Street.¹⁵

The "Rifle Greys," the third company to organize, was under the command of Capt. Maurice S. Langhorne. On March 30, 1860, the "Rifle Greys" made its first public appearance in a grand parade involving the "Home Guard" and "Wise Troop." The three companies met in front of the courthouse and marched north on Court Street to Fifth. From Fifth Street the column turned up Salem Turnpike to the Lynchburg College grounds, where the ladies of Lynchburg presented the companies with flags. Thereafter a great competition developed between the "Rifle Greys" and the "Home Guard." The rivalry, though never bitter, grew competitive and eventually took the form of a drilling contest. On October 26, 1860, the Lynchburg Agricultural and Mechanical Society offered a \$100 prize to the best-drilled company. Hacks and omnibusses conveyed Lynchburg citizens to the fairgrounds. The Lynchburg Virginian reported that the grounds were filled with spectators of all sexes and ages. The "Home Guard," "Rifle Greys," "Wise Troop" and the College cadets performed throughout the

¹⁵Susan Blackford, "Memoirs of Life In and Out of the Army in Virginia During the War Between the States," typescript in private possession of Frank G. Murray, Jr., Lynchburg, 9. Cited hereafter as Blackford Memoirs.

day for the judges. When the final vote came, the "Home Guard" captured the prize.¹⁶

These military companies gave Lynchburg a sense of security, but such security was weakened by the presidential election. On November 6, 1860, citizens of Lynchburg had four choices for President: John C. Breckinridge, Stephen A. Douglas, John Bell and Abraham Lincoln. Lynchburgers never considered Lincoln as a plausible candidate mainly because of the "radical platform" of the Republican Party. The voters favored conservative John Bell and the continuation of the status quo. However, fire-eater John C. Breckinridge claimed many followers in the city. As the campaigning moved down to the last week, the atmosphere in Lynchburg became tense. Both parties staged rallies and imported out-of-town speakers. On almost any street corner, orators praised favored candidates while condemning the opposition. When election day arrived, the Lynchburg Virginian published a plea: "Let all hands keep cool as possible today. There is no reason for excesses and excitements. Keep cool."¹⁷

¹⁶Blackford, Annals of the Lynchburg Home Guard, 18; Lynchburg News, Mar. 29, 1908; J. T. Oadey (comp.), "The Story of the Old Lynchburg College," Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg, 39; Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 27, 1860.

¹⁷Christian, Lynchburg and its People, 187; Lynchburg Virginian, Nov. 6, 1860.

Lynchburg's citizens stayed cool and cast their votes without incident. As the men went to the polls, everyone knew that the fate of the nation depended on the outcome of this election. The Southern Democrats had made known their intention to secede if Abraham Lincoln gained office. When the votes were counted, Lynchburg citizens sighed with relief. John Bell and the Constitutional Union Party took the city with 969 votes. Breckinridge and the Southern Democrats came in second with 487 votes, while Douglas got only 132 votes. However, as the voting returns came in from across the nation, and Lincoln's victory became certain, Lynchburg's relief turned to fearful anticipation. By the first of the year, although South Carolina had seceded and other states had threatened to do so, Lynchburg remained optimistic for a solution. William Blackford, a local cashier at the Exchange Bank, wrote: "I have a lingering hope yet that all may not be lost."¹⁸

With the possibility of war hovering over everyone, gaiety should have been out of place. Such was not the case in Lynchburg. The winter of 1860-1861 proved to be one of the gayest Lynchburg had ever witnessed. Men and women tried to release anxieties through social gatherings. Few nights passed, excluding the sabbath, when someone did not host a

¹⁸Ibid., Oct. 30, 1860, and Nov. 6-7, 1860; Blackford Diary, Jan. 14, 1861.

party. A Lynchburg lady wrote: "For months every house available was thrown open and the entertainment given."¹⁹

Samuel Garland's home was the scene of many festive affairs. The home became such a social center that many likened it to a saloon. Punch bowls filled with champagne, and dancing until the last hours of the evening, characterized these parties. Mrs. Garland provided the social tact and talent to become the perfect hostess, yet the endless partying would prove fatal to her health.²⁰

Private parties, public dances and concerts provided diversions for a people desperately seeking an answer to what appeared to be a hopeless situation. In February, 1861, the citizens faced a choice over disunion or preservation of the Union when the city had to elect delegates to a state convention being organized to discuss the question of secession. The Disunionists nominated John Goggin and Thomas J. Kirkpatrick to the convention; the Unionists put forth John M. Speed and Charles R. Slaughter. When February 2, 1861, came, Lynchburg voters realized that the outcome of this day could well determine Virginia's fate. The voting took place in spirited fashion with men trying to sway voters to the end. Lynchburg once again cast her vote with the Union: Speed and Slaughter carried a majority

¹⁹Blackford Memoirs, 17.

²⁰Ibid., 3, 18.

of 672 votes. Most citizens rejoiced as results from across the state showed the conservatives sweeping the polls.²¹

This election provided a small reprieve from despair, and uncertainty remained in the air. With this uncertainty came hard times. Money became tighter. The sweet smell of prosperity died in the bitter cold. Some businesses and organizations closed, the largest being the Young Men's Christian Association, which was sold for debt. A relief society had to be organized to keep the poor from starving or freezing to death. Twenty-two females filled the city poor house as Lynchburg entered the fateful spring of 1861.²²

Talk of secession and war passed through the lips of everyone in town. Some citizens threatened to leave the state if the convention did not pass a secession ordinance. Yet most persons prayed for a continuation of the Union. By April 1, as citizens learned of massive troop buildups in the South, the Lynchburg Virginian was publishing constant pleas for the preservation of the Union. However, secessionist feeling grew in Lynchburg. On April 6, students at Lynchburg College raised a Confederate flag to express their sympathies.²³

²¹Blackford Diary, Feb. 4-5, 1861; Lynchburg Virginian, Feb. 5, 1861; Christian, Lynchburg and its People, 191.

²²Ibid.; Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 4, 1861.

²³Ibid., April 1, 6, 1861.

On that same day, telegraphic dispatches electrified the city with news that Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, was under siege by state troops. Rumors spread quickly that President Lincoln had dispatched Federal reinforcements to South Carolina. Reports continued to assert that South Carolina had given the Federal government an ultimatum of leaving the fort voluntarily or being subjected to bombardment. The fate of Lynchburg and her citizens appeared to rest on the outcome. The city waited in silent apprehension as the morning of April 12 dawned over Charleston harbor.²⁴

²⁴Ibid., Apr. 8-9, 1861.

CHAPTER II
A CALL TO ARMS

Excitement erupted in Lynchburg when news reached the city of Fort Sumter's surrender. Men fired guns at will while local artillery, placed on the Amherst Heights, bellowed salutes across the river. South Carolina's firm stand against the Federal government brought numerous congratulatory remarks from Lynchburg's citizens. However, not everyone shared the unbounded joy of secessionists. William Blackford wrote: "I never had more awful feelings. To think that a civil war had at last been inaugurated."¹

Virginia, unsure of her fate, remained with the union until three days after Fort Sumter. On April 15, President Lincoln made the fateful decision of calling on the states for 75,000 troops to suppress the Southern insurrection. Editor Charles Button of the Lynchburg Virginian considered Lincoln's act the final insult to Virginia and demanded secession. Two days later, the Virginia State Convention passed a secession ordinance to be placed before the people for ratification. The convention also urged Governor John Letcher to call out volunteers to protect the state from

¹Richmond Daily Dispatch, Apr. 16, 1861; Blackford diary, Apr. 12, 1861.

possible Federal attack. Most citizens rejoiced at the chance to leave the Union, but some were fearful of the outcome. Blackford wrote: "Great God, what a calamity is impounding over this people. My sensibilities as a patriot are dreadfully shocked."²

Blackford added that citizens were going wild with thoughts of secession. So they did. For the first days after Fort Sumter, all businesses suspended operations. Hundreds of people gathered around bulletin boards for any recent news item. Citizens raised state flags where only a week before the United States flag had flown. Lynchburg began to set into motion the largest war mobilization in the city's history.³

With the possibility of armed conflict with the North, a public meeting convened on April 15 at Holcombe Hall in Lynchburg to discuss public safety. The outcome of the meeting was a request for a hustings court to put the local volunteer companies on a war footing. Such a job was much more costly than it appeared. The existing companies--"Home Guard," "Rifle Greys" and "Wise Troop"--did not have complete

²Richmond Daily Dispatch, Apr. 18, 1861; Blackford diary, Apr. 15, 1861.

³Ibid.; Richmond Daily Dispatch, Apr. 18, 1861; Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 17, 1861.

accoutrements for the field, and the newly organizing companies in the city needed equipment.⁴

Martial spirit permeated the air as Lynchburg's young males rushed into companies being formed. The existing companies first had to be brought up to full strength. The "Rifle Greys" then had only sixty members; the "Home Guard" had but a few more. Since much of the new equipment first went to the older companies, their ranks rapidly filled. Some items had to be supplied by the men themselves. Captain Garland of the "Home Guard" told his men they would have to supply such items as blankets, shoes, towels, bedding and undergarments. The "Home Guard" joined the excited spirit of the town when it paraded through the city in full dress. The parade added to the citizens' already growing interest in military affairs. The Lynchburg Virginian, in a prophetic statement, observed of the mobilization: "It is more than probable, however, that we will all have ample opportunity to acquire some practical knowledge about such matters."⁵

Marcellus N. Moorman formed a Zouave company which became the only such outfitted company from Lynchburg. The "Home Guard" loaned its armory at Martin's Warehouse to the Zouaves. On April 19, the company was officially organized with Moorman as captain and voted to call itself the

⁴Ibid., Apr. 16, 1861.

⁵Ibid., Apr. 16-18, 1861.

"Beauregard Rifles." With grey pantaloons and grey shirts with green front trimmed in black, the "Beauregard Rifles" became a colorful addition to the Lynchburg units.⁶

Another military company organized in the city was the "Lynchburg Artillery," which later became known as Latham's Battery. The latter name was given to the company in honor of its first captain, Grey Latham. Mechanics and working men, most of whom were financially depressed, filled the ranks of the company. Having no uniforms or the means to acquire them, the "Lynchburg Artillery" turned to the ladies of the city who gladly contributed to making uniforms.⁷

This military spirit did not long confine itself to the youth of Lynchburg. Many older men wanted to join a company. A call then went out for all men over the age of forty-five to meet at Dudley Hall to organize a home defense company. This enthusiastic crowd formed the "Silver Greys." These men later met at Friend's Warehouse and elected William B. Brown as colonel of their two-company battalion. Each company became responsible for keeping order in its respective wards. Captain James A. Hamner's company controlled Lynch ward, while Captain Jacob H. Robertson's company covered Henry ward. These troops turned out at any public alarm and made a practice of visiting the families of absent soldiers. The

⁶Ibid., Apr. 22, 1861.

⁷Ibid., Apr. 18, 19, 22, 1861.

"Silver Greys" received the full support of the town.⁸

The "Lynchburg Rifles," along with the "Jefferson Davis Rifles," became Lynchburg's seventh and eighth military companies. James E. Blankenship formed the "Lynchburg Rifles," whose ranks contained a surprisingly large number of married men. Risque Hutter was instrumental in organizing the "Jefferson Davis Rifles," and he subsequently became its first captain.

Captain Richard Radford of "Wise Troop" first filled the ranks of his company and then began recruiting a full regiment of cavalry. Radford gathered horses and cavalymen from the surrounding countryside. His efforts ultimately led to the creation of the 2nd Virginia Cavalry, which materialized into one of the finest cavalry regiments in the Confederacy. Radford's cavalry units raised Lynchburg's manpower contribution to the war to over 800 soldiers. Yet talk continued of raising still more military units. Some men tried to put together a company of Negroes from the city. The Lynchburg Virginian applauded the idea and stated that the Negroes should be "sent to refute with bullets the stale slanders of the abolitionists."⁹

Monetary aid for the local companies came abundantly and quickly. On the evening of April 18, the city council

⁸Ibid., Apr. 16, 25, 1861.

⁹Ibid., Apr. 20, 25, 1861.

approved an appropriation of \$1,000 for each company of 100 men. The council also promised the same amount to any future companies organized. This spark of generosity from the council prompted other donations. In less than a week, eighteen Lynchburg citizens had donated \$500 each to equip local soldiers and provide for their families during their absence. The Exchange Bank and the Merchants Bank each contributed funds to the various companies.¹⁰

Financial aid was by no means the only help the local companies received. The ladies of Lynchburg provided needed sewing for soldier's clothing. They also contributed lint and bandages for medicinal purposes. C. S. Bliss, who owned a metal shop on Main Street, donated canteens to any soldiers requesting them. Holcombe Hall opened its doors without charge for meetings of local military companies. Even the girls at the Lynchburg Female Seminary on Twelfth Street used proceeds from a May festival to purchase knapsacks for the "Rifle Greys."¹¹ The Lynchburg companies drilled daily. George S. Kyle and N. S. Tanner, who operated photographic studios on Main Street, worked constantly as local soldiers lined up for pictures taken in full uniform.

¹⁰Ibid., Apr. 19, 22, 1861; Blackford diary, Apr. 20, 1861.

¹¹Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 19-23, 1861.

On April 22, orders came for the "Home Guard," "Rifle Greys" and the "Lynchburg Artillery" to proceed at once to Richmond. The departure was set for the following morning.¹² Very early on the 23rd, Lynchburg's streets were active with soldiers making last-minute preparations. At 8 a.m., the "Rifle Greys" formed in front of their armory on Main Street. The "Home Guard" gathered at Dudley Hall and the "Lynchburg Artillery" fell into rank at their armory on Clay Street. Around 9:00, the companies marched to a rendezvous point on Church Street between Eighth and Tenth. There they formed into columns and proceeded down Church Street, across Main to Bridge Street. The Rev. Jacob D. Mitchell of the Second Presbyterian Church addressed the soldiers and citizens of Lynchburg and asked prayers for the departing troops. The soldiers then moved to the Southside Railroad depot and began boarding cars "amidst the tears of sorrowing wives [sic] and disconsolate sweethearts."¹³

The railroad cars assigned to the soldiers were uncomfortable and provided no ventilation. Angry men soon knocked holes in the sides of the wooden cars. One citizen

¹²Ibid., Apr. 19, 22, 1861.

¹³Ibid., Apr. 24, 1861; Peter B. Akers and John L. Flemy, "The History of a Campaign Compiled from Copious Notes Taken on the Field as the Incidents Occurred," in private possession of Bessie Krebs, Lynchburg, Apr. 22, 1861.

thought it shameful that beloved sons were placed in such cars, and he hoped that the incident would not be repeated. Unfortunately, the incident would be repeated time and time again as thousands of troops passed through Lynchburg on cars designed for freight. As the last cars pulled out of the Southside depot, scarcely a dry eye remained among the citizens. For a few hours, the city assumed a flat depressed look; then attention shifted as more soldiers from surrounding areas poured into Lynchburg.¹⁴

Around 9 p.m. that evening, the "Home Guard," "Rifle Greys" and "Lynchburg Artillery" arrived in Richmond. Temporary quarters were made for them in the Central Hotel. The capital's residents were impressed with the Lynchburg troops; and according to a Richmond newspaper, the local ladies were taken with the Lynchburg boys. The "Home Guard" and "Rifle Greys" became part of the 11th Virginia Infantry, with Samuel Garland, Jr., becoming colonel of the regiment. The "Lynchburg Rifles" and "Jefferson Davis Guard" would eventually be mustered into this regiment. The "Lynchburg artillery" became part of the 38th Virginia Battalion of Artillery.¹⁵

Shortly after the departure of the Lynchburg companies, an agent from the Confederate Army arrived in the city to

¹⁴Blackford diary, Apr. 23, 1861.

¹⁵Blackford, Annals of the Lynchburg Home Guard, 45.

make arrangements for a large body of troops expected to arrive. Lynchburg's strategic location on three major railroads made it a logical and important dispatching point for soldiers. News of the expected soldiers spread rapidly through the city. Residents became worried over the effect that 10,000 soldiers would have on Lynchburg's 8,000 residents. Many accurately predicted a rise in merchant prices. However, the city was willing to receive the soldiers. Since a military camp had to be formed, Lynchburg College's Board of Trustees offered its building for a headquarters. (Most of the students had left to join the army.) The authorities kindly refused the offer and chose two campsites: the fairgrounds west of the city and a wooded area bordered by Pierce, Kemper, Twelfth and Sixteenth Streets to be called Camp Davis. Major Hugh Lawson Clay was appointed military commander at Lynchburg, and Col. Jubal Anderson Early was placed in charge of Camp Davis. All troops entering the city from states other than Virginia were assigned to the fairgrounds; all Virginia troops went into camp with Col. Early.¹⁶

By the first week in May, troops entering Lynchburg had set a routine that would continue throughout the war.

¹⁶Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 27 and 29, 1861; Blackford diary, Apr. 26, 1861; Scruggs, History of Lynchburg, Virginia, 99; Robert E. Lee to Hugh L. Clay, Sept. 2, 1862, Lee Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; Jubal Anderson Early, War Memoirs (Bloomington, Ind., 1960), 2.

Alabama soliders, the first to arrive, made an impressive appearance, fully equipped and dressed in smart uniforms. They presented a striking contrast to the Kentucky and Tennessee soldiers who entered Lynchburg shortly thereafter. Carrying bowie knives and old flintlock muskets, and lacking uniforms for the most part, these mountain men presented a rough, uncouth appearance to the citizens of Lynchburg.¹⁷

The Lynchburg Fair Grounds, located on the top of a high hill with the Blue Ridge Mountains rising in the west, became the largest encampment near Lynchburg. By the end of the first week in May, over 3,000 soldiers were stationed there. The first problem facing the encampment was the lack of shelter for hundreds of men who were without tents. Sheds were erected and sectioned off in stalls, each sleeping six men in bunk fashion. The sheds stood on the north end of the grounds. Soldiers continued to pour into the fairgrounds in what seemed an unending tide. One soldier wrote his father shortly after his arrival: "Just imagine hills piled on hills with deep ditches between them . . . a dozen locomotives whistle, screech and snort day and night, and so you have Lynchburg, Va."¹⁸

¹⁷Edmund Kirby Smith to mother, May 16, 1861, Edmund Kirby Smith Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Blackford diary, May 16, 1861.

¹⁸Lynchburg Virginian, May 6, 1861; J. Howard DeVotie to father, Sept. 11, 1862, Duke University.

War mobilization rapidly changed the streets of Lynchburg. Numerous store fronts displayed "For Rent" signs as proprietors answered the State's call for duty. Francis Deane's foundry began making the transition to war production. During the first week in May, it sent a large shipment of Columbiad shells to Richmond. The "Silver Greys" first organized local defenses by canvassing the city to ascertain how many private arms were available. The possibility of Northern spies aroused suspicions within the city. Unfamiliar faces were now common in Lynchburg, and citizens became increasingly guarded.¹⁹

While Lynchburg teemed with soldiers from distant states, the local companies also filled their ranks. The "Lynchburg Rifles" and the "Beauregard Rifles" constantly drilled and prepared to enter Camp Davis. Colonel Early had orders at Lynchburg to raise five regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry. The men for these regiments would come from Lynchburg and surrounding counties, including those counties in southwest Virginia accessible by rail. The first regiment Col. Early mustered into service was the 30th Virginia Volunteers, later to be known as the 2nd Virginia Cavalry. Richard Radford became colonel of the regiment, comprised mostly of Lynchburg-area men. On

¹⁹Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 24, 1861, May 6 and 18, 1861.

May 13, all Lynchburg independent companies were ordered into Camp Davis.²⁰

With sons and husbands either away at war or stationed in nearby camps, Lynchburg citizens turned their efforts to the thousands of soldiers in their town. Most of them were away from home for the first time. The greatest aid went to those soldiers without adequate clothing. Ladies of the city joined together to make clothing that was freely donated. Churches in the city opened their doors to the troops. Testament were distributed to all who requested them. Some soldiers found themselves faced with extortion by local merchants, but the newspapers openly condemned such action and encouraged the soldiers to present the names of those culprits for public repudiation. The hardships of camp life became considerably easier, thanks to the generous nature of Lynchburg citizens. One soldier observed that "cold and listless must have been the heart which failed to be touched by the brilliant ovations offered us."²¹

No amount of hospitality, however, can prevent the sickness that comes with camp life. Soldiers away from home for the first time found themselves susceptible to

²⁰Ibid., May 23, 1861; Lynchburg News, Mar. 5, 1913; Blackford diary, May 28, 1861.

²¹Lynchburg Virginian, May 6, 16, 21, 1861.

various diseases such as diarrhea and measles. Lynchburg College became the first military hospital in the city. Yet within a year it would be only one of many. Heading Lynchburg College hospital's staff was Dr. Henry Gray Latham. Miss Emily Mason became senior matron and did much to mold the hospital into a working unit. Military regulation dictated that a hospital should have one nurse for every ten patients. By the middle of May, College hospital housed over seventy-five patients. Dr. Latham issued a plea for volunteers to work in the hospital. Immediately soldiers began receiving the care they so badly needed. The College hospital soon became the General Military Hospital, with Dr. William Otway Owen as senior surgeon. Within the next month, General Hospital expanded to include Langhorne's tobacco factory at Eighth and Clay streets. Easily accessible by rail, the Lynchburg hospitals would become the receiving point for thousands of wounded and sick.²²

With hospitals always came death as well as healing. George A. Diuguid owned and operated the only mortuary in Lynchburg. Before the first shots were fired at Manassas, Diuguid had already buried more than twenty Confederate soldiers. He owned three hearses and, during 1861, could

²²Oakey, "The Story of Old Lynchburg College," 41; Regulations For the Medical Department of the Confederate States Army (Richmond, 1861), 8; Blackford diary, June 4, 1861.

offer burials in either wooden or metallic coffins. War shortages soon put an end to the use of metallic coffins. The soldiers who died in Lynchburg were either buried in City Cemetery, located just outside the town limits on the way to the fairgrounds, or Spring Hill Cemetery, a mile from the city on the Salem Turnpike. However, many loved ones wanted soldiers' bodies sent home. This meant that the corpse had to be preserved in some way. Diuguid rarely used embalming because of the scarcity of chemicals, but on numerous occasions he employed charcoal packing. Charcoal provided a cheap and easy method of shipping bodies. Diuguid's job was an unfortunate but a necessary one, and it would become even more so as the war progressed.²³

Lynchburg ended its first month of mobilization by making official a point that many took for granted: secession. The ordinance that the State Convention had approved had to be ratified by the people. On May 23, Lynchburg voters turned out to make the secession ordinance a unanimously supported act in the city. The election passed quietly with no celebration, for everyone knew that Virginia was already at war.²⁴

²³Diuguid's Book (unmarked), 1861, Diuguid Funeral Home, Lynchburg, 156; Diuguid's Book One, Feb. 1, 1862, Diuguid Funeral Home, Lynchburg, 11.

²⁴Lynchburg Virginian, May 24, 1861; Richmond Daily Dispatch, May 25, 1861.

With the ratification of the secession ordinance came important changes in Lynchburg. The post office refused to forward mail to points outside the Confederacy. In addition, all United States postage stamps were unacceptable. Postmaster Robert H. Glass commissioned his own printing press to make local stamps, since the Confederacy did not print large numbers of stamps until the following year. The postal service meant a great deal to the Lynchburg citizens, as letters were the only means by which to keep in touch with soldiers in the field. Many times letters had to be sent by members of the companies themselves.²⁵

June brought no relief from the constant influx of soldiers from Southern states. The Virginia and Tennessee Railroad continued to be the main artery for Confederates entering Virginia from Tennessee and en route to either northern Virginia or Richmond. Many soldiers arriving in Lynchburg were poorly clad and without arms. By June, the only practical weapons that could be issued in Lynchburg were long bowie knives made by local blacksmiths. As for clothing, the ladies of Lynchburg had recognized the serious need for aid and thus organized the Soldiers Aid Society. Mrs. Narcissa Owen headed the organization and secured clothing material from the Confederate government.

²⁵Lynchburg Virginian, June 1, 1861; Lynchburg Daily Advance, Oct. 12, 1936.

With the material and endless hours of work, the Soldiers Aid Society produced tremendous amounts of clothing in relatively short periods. During the month of June, for example, the ladies produced 322 jackets, 408 pairs of trousers, 321 shirts, 97 pairs of drawers, 80 caps, 9 coats, 2,074 cartridge bags, 124 haversacks, 150 towels and 13 pocket handkerchiefs.²⁶

Soldiers stationed around Lynchburg began to cause problems that would multiply as the years progressed. Drinking and careless use of firearms were major complaints made against the soldiers. One such incident occurred at the Virginia and Tennessee depot when a slave was shot in the shoulder by a drunken guard. Local authorities condemned such action, but little could be done with soldiers who stayed in Lynchburg for short periods.²⁷

A short reprieve from the hustle and excitement of mobilization came on June 13, when President Davis called for a day of fasting and prayer. All business was suspended and the various churches held services. One citizen wrote that the streets were quieter than on the Sabbath. Lynchburg had another reason for prayer, for on the previous day Eliza Garland had died. One of Lynchburg's finest ladies

²⁶"Lack of Equipment in 1861," Confederate Veteran, XVII (1909, 123; Lynchburg News, Apr. 3, 1960; Lynchburg Virginian, July 10, 1861.

²⁷Ibid., June 15, 1861.

left a son and a husband who had just been appointed colonel of the 11th Virginia Infantry. Colonel Garland made it home in time to spend the last few hours with his wife. She was buried the next day.²⁸

As June progressed, so did the military activity. Federal troops crossed into Virginia. The Confederate government reacted by massing troops at Manassas Junction. The 2nd Virginia Cavalry left for that point along with the 28th Virginia, under Col. Richard T. Preston, and the 24th Virginia, under Col. Early. Early had mustered these three regiments into service at Camp Davis. After Early, command of Camp Davis went to Col. Daniel A. Langhorne.

On July 18, Lynchburg soldiers received the baptism of fire at Blackburn's Ford, about four miles from Manassas. No losses occurred in the Lynchburg companies, but more intense fighting came three days later at Manassas. On July 21, news reached Lynchburg that a great battle was being fought. Large numbers of people came into town from the surrounding counties to await any news. July 22 dawned with still no word of the dead or wounded. Wives and parents trembled at the thought of bad news. When the first reports did come, Lynchburg was fortunate. None of her sons had been killed, although many were wounded. The city immediately set into motion efforts to bring the

²⁸Blackford Memoirs, 41.

wounded home and send whatever aid was needed. Nurses with medical supplies sent to Culpeper Court House. Lynchburg could not spare many supplies, as her hospitals were quickly filling. Some of the wounded who could travel were sent to the city, creating, for the moment, a shortage of space. Sick soldiers were placed in local homes by those willing to take them.²⁹

The need for another hospital became increasingly evident in Lynchburg. Surgeons in the hospitals became annoyed by the number of women trying to help in the wards. The wards were so crowded that Dr. Owen forbade women from entering unless directly employed in the hospitals. Mrs. Lucy Mina Otey became so incensed by Dr. Owen's order that she decided to open her own hospital. She traveled to Richmond to see President Jefferson Davis, who granted her official permission to open an independent military hospital. Mrs. John M. Speed and Mrs. Cornelia Jordon joined Mrs. Otey in establishing the Ladies Relief Hospital Association. The organization soon numbered 500 members. The ladies obtained the old City Hotel, on the corner of Sixth and Main streets, as their hospital. Dr. Thomas Walker was appointed senior surgeon. By the end of August, all three floors of the hospital were filled to capacity. Ladies throughout the city donated bedding and food to

²⁹Ibid., 82; Lynchburg Virginian, July 31, 1861.

the hospital, which became the most popular in Lynchburg among the soldiers.³⁰

By summer's end, Lynchburg had fully mobilized for war. Military camps had been organized and were receiving troops. Industries were geared for war production. Deane's foundry had just received a government contract for forty twelve-pounder howitzers. Hospitals, quickly established, were receiving sick and wounded that would come into the city in increasing numbers. The ladies of Lynchburg busied themselves with relief organizations to take minds off loved ones enduring the perils of war. Lynchburg seemed ready to meet whatever demands the war might place on her.

³⁰Lynchburg News, Mar. 6, 1960; August Forsberg, "Hospital Reminiscencies during the War between the States," in private possession of Mrs. Hilda F. Davis, Lynchburg, 1; Lynchburg Daily Advance, Oct. 12, 1936; Lynchburg Virginian, Aug. 28, 1861.

CHAPTER III
THE HARDSHIPS OF WAR

As cooling breezes whipped through the streets of Lynchburg in the autumn of 1861, war was taking its toll on the city. A glance at the hills surrounding the city revealed thousands of tents and what appeared to be a limitless supply of manpower. Hospitals were overcrowded with sick and wounded soldiers in need of more medical attention than could be provided. These soldiers drained the resources of the city. Shortages and high prices began to multiply. With winter only a few months away, the shortages became increasingly acute.

Dwindling food supplies gave rise to extortion and inflation. Items such as beef had more than doubled in price. A young mother complained to her soldier-husband that high prices had reduced the family to living on one chicken a day. Salt became an early target of speculators and extortionists as rumors spread through the city of a shortage of that ingredient. Local authorities quickly squelched the rumor by pointing out that large salt deposits still existed in southwest Virginia. However, salt would

increasingly become a victim of inflation. Even soap became scarce. City authorities urged farmers to produce more soap for the city.¹

An early paper shortage quickly affected the Lynchburg Virginian and the Daily Republican. The former had to start printing on half sheets. The price of paper began an upward swing that would continue through the war. This price rise, along with a loss in advertising from closed businesses, placed both newspapers in a state of financial stress; yet they continued publication until war's end.²

A grim reality of war, in addition to shortages, is sickness in camp. September brought a sharp increase in illnesses within the camps surrounding Lynchburg. One regiment of nearly 800 men reported 475 of its members unable to report for duty. The death of one or more soldiers each day seemed only to leave more room for the sick. Typhoid fever was the major illness, but rumor spread that the soldiers had contracted smallpox. Doctors quickly convinced the citizens that the reports were false. Yet bad news travels fast and far. The New York Herald

¹Lynchburg Virginian, June 26, Aug. 28, Oct. 2, 1861; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, July 2, 1861, Blackford Memoirs.

²Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, June 25, 1861, Blackford Memoirs; Lynchburg Virginian, July 1, 1861.

announced that smallpox was raging in Lynchburg. In reporting the news story, the Lynchburg Virginian quickly pointed out that no case of smallpox had been discovered for twelve months.³

The high rate of sickness strained Lynchburg's medical facilities as many doctors worked in close confinement in the sick rooms for more than twenty-four hours at a time. Citizens tried to relieve the pressures on the hospitals by taking ill soldiers into their homes. Nevertheless, such kindness did not deter death. The Diuguid funeral home buried fifteen soldiers in August, twenty-five in September.⁴

Many citizens gave assistance at the hospitals. Mrs. Harry Harrison Lewis would forego one meal a day at home and take her family's good to the Ladies Relief Hospital. A catholic priest, Father Hippolyte Gache, and four nuns frequented the College Hospital so often that Dr. Owen placed them on the hospital staff. The nuns provided needed assistance to the medical staff. Yet to the backwoods soldier they prompted unintentional amusement. A North Carolina soldier wrote home to his family describing

³J. Howard DeVotie to father, Sept. 14, 1861, Duke University; Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 17, 1861.

⁴J. Howard DeVotie to father, Sept. 20, 1861, Duke University; Diuguid's Book One, Aug. 24, Sept. 22, 1861, Diuguid Funeral Home, Lynchburg.

the Sisters of Charity: "They dress in a different way from any other woman I wish you could see one of their bonnets. I just think you would laugh till you could not stand . . . They remind me more of some great fowl with its wings spread."⁵

Shortly after the Ladies Relief Hospital opened its doors, needed materials poured in from citizens. Twenty ladies volunteered to do the cooking for the hospital. In a month's time, this hospital became better equipped than the two hospitals under Dr. Owen. The post surgeon attempted numerous times to break up the ladies hospital. However, on September 13, Secretary of War Leroy Pope Walker foiled Dr. Owen when he officially recognized the Ladies Relief Hospital and granted it government rations and subsidies for soldiers treated under its care.⁶

Both hospitals benefitted from numerous concerts and plays performed by traveling companies. Dudley Hall became the entertainment center for the citizens of Lynchburg as tableaux, speeches, bands and choruses performed. Profits went to the sick and wounded, which demonstrated how Lynchburg had opened its purse and heart.

⁵Lynchburg News, Mar. 13, 1960; Oakey, "The Story of Old Lynchburg College," 41; A. N. Proffit to sister, July 10, 1864, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

⁶Lynchburg Virginian, Aug. 29, Sept. 25, 1861; Blackford diary, Sept. 22, 1861.

Gracious gestures were not uncommon for Lynchburg citizens. Soldiers encamped around the city found themselves in trouble when they attempted to make purchases. Before the war, most merchants would not accept out-of-state bank notes. Now the banks of Lynchburg agreed to accept all foreign bank notes at face value. This action was quite generous, considering the fact that the bankers did not know the creditability of the banks whose notes they were accepting.⁷

Unfortunately, some of the soldiers abused the city's graciousness and brought crime to the streets. In July, two Irish soldiers precipitated a brawl in which one was disemboweled by a bowie knife. Two months later, on Bridge Street, three soldiers attacked and robbed a citizen of two hundred dollars. A large part of the problem was the free rein that the soldiers had in the city. They were allowed to visit freely the various saloons scattered throughout Lynchburg. On those several occasions when a whole company would become drunk and disorderly, the "Silver Greys" were called out to isolate the damage.⁸

The increasing violence committed by soldiers in Lynchburg did not dampen the martial spirit of the city. On September 11, townspeople proudly witnessed a local

⁷Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 13, 1861.

⁸Ibid., July 22, Sept. 20, 1861.

company of light artillery mustered into service. Thomas J. Kirkpatrick had no trouble filling his company's ranks. Local citizens flocked to replace wounded and sick in the local companies in the field. In addition to manpower, the Confederacy requested horses from Lynchburg. The government, which operated through the Exchange Stables run by G. M. Bruce, wanted fifty horses for immediate use in artillery service.⁹

Some citizens did not join in the martial spirit and chose to sit out the war. When an accountant at the Exchange Bank refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, authorities forced him to leave the state. Some men chose to buy substitutes when drafted, but they did so at the risk of losing face with their neighbors. Many local women made snide remarks to these men--even to the extent of questioning their manhood.¹⁰

At the end of October, many members of the 11th Virginia Regiment received their first furlough and returned to Lynchburg. The soldiers enjoyed their stay so much that Col. Garland had to request local authorities to steer them back to camp. For a few of the men, Lynchburg's reception undoubtedly proved overwhelming. One local soldier wrote

⁹Ibid., Aug. 24 and 27, 1861.

¹⁰Blackford diary, Aug. 17, 1861; George Woodville Latham to George W. Bagby, Sept. 5, 1861, Bagby Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society; Blackford Memoirs, 112.

that he might have had a good time at Lynchburg "if 40,000 people hadn't asked me 40,000 questions-everyone asking the same-Confound people."¹¹

On November 1, Lynchburg citizens went to the polls to elect the government of their new republic. Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stevens, running unopposed, were elected president and vice president. R. G. H. Keane won Lynchburg's seat in the Confederate States Congress. The Lynchburg Virginian commented that it had never witnessed a presidential or congressional election so void of excitement.¹²

Two weeks later, by edict of President Davis, Lynchburg observed a day of fasting and prayer. Unfortunately this day of prayer--like the one before it--brought tragedy for Col. Garland's family. News reached the city that Garland's father had died in Mississippi and that the body was en route to Lynchburg for burial. This news only added to Garland's grief; for in the wake of his wife's death less than seven months before, he had also lost his four-year-old son. In less than a year, one final chapter would be added to the story of this tragic family.¹³

¹¹Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 30, 1861; George Woodville Latham to George W. Bagby, Oct. 23, 1861, Bagby Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

¹²Lynchburg Virginian, Nov. 4 and 7, 1861.

¹³Ibid., Nov. 18, 1861; Blackford diary, Aug. 4, Nov. 19, 1861.

With November came cold weather and more hardships for the soldiers. Lynchburg citizens knew that adequate clothing and shelter had to be provided for her sons in the field. As early as September, the Lynchburg Virginian had suggested that the city begin gathering winter clothing for its soldiers. In October, city council appointed a committee to supervise a collection of 200 blankets and overcoats. When the 11th Virginia Regiment went into winter camp at Centreville, Lynchburg sent thirty carpenters to aid in constructing winter quarters.¹⁴

Unfortunately, winter winds struck Lynchburg as hard as they hit the soldiers. Shortages of the necessities of life spread fear of privation throughout the city. Many people became embittered when city authorities sent blankets to the military, for that left very few in Lynchburg. One young mother wrote that she was glad her husband had a blanket because they could not be purchased in Lynchburg. The Ladies Relief Hospital urgently requested anyone who could spare blankets to send them to the hospital. Wood and coal shortages loomed in everyone's mind. Plenty of wood existed in the countryside, yet only a few men were left to process the wood and transport it to the city. The Lynchburg Virginian gladly received payments in wood rather than in currency. The same problem existed with coal.

¹⁴Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 25, Oct. 16-17, 1861.

Southwest Virginia had plenty of coal but had difficulty in moving it. As winter approached, some proud Lynchburg families were reduced to charity in the form of accepting free coal from those who had plenty.¹⁵

Foodstuffs were also becoming scarce. The first major shortage was coffee. Many people began brewing rye as a substitute. Once again rumors spread throughout the city of a salt shortage. The problem did not lie with a lack of salt but with extortion. On November 12, a public meeting at Dudley Hall organized a committee, chaired by Francis Deane, to go to the salt works in Washington County, Va., and make arrangements for a regular supply of salt at \$3.50 per sack. Such a low price was a blow to the extortionists, who in some cases had been selling salt for \$20 a sack. Farmers in the surrounding countryside congratulated the committee on its work of procuring salt, as their livestock was in desperate need of the precious commodity. However, city authorities refused to sell the salt to the farmers until they brought food prices down to what the authorities considered an acceptable level.¹⁶

¹⁵Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, Nov. 12, 1861, Blackford Memoirs, 129; Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 3, Nov. 2, Dec. 14, 1861.

¹⁶Blackford Memoirs, 113; Blackford diary, Oct. 22, 1861; Lynchburg Virginian, Nov. 12, 15 and 19, 1861; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, Nov. 18, 1861, Blackford Memoirs.

Christmas came; and despite the shortages and empty places at the tables, the yuletide spirit filled many hearts. The Ladies Relief Hospital prepared a Christmas dinner for soldiers under their care. Most families packed Christmas boxes with food and clothing for menfolk at the front. The holiday giving was not limited to those at home, for the "Beauregard Rifles" sent the staff of the Lynchburg Virginian a keg of oysters. However, no matter how much people tried to spread the Christmas spirit, the holidays were lonely for many families. Susan Blackford of Lynchburg wrote to her husband: "I take little interest in it [Christmas] as you are not to be here."¹⁷

The end of the year brought annual financial reports from the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad and the James River and Kanawha Canal. The Railroad made a net profit of \$399,514 for its stockholders. The Canal did not fare as well, suffering a drop of forty-six percent in revenues. The Canal lost money because of reduced tolls for troops and munitions. The transportation lines were not the only ones worried about finances. The Confederate government passed personal property taxes that called for payment within a few months. Lewis L. Armistead was appointed assessor of the war tax in Lynchburg and worked from an

¹⁷Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 23 and 27, 1861; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, Dec. 23, 1861, Blackford Memoirs.

office on Main Street. Appointed too late to make any assessments, Armistead requested that all citizens make assessments of their own property and return the figures to his office.¹⁸

The new year dawned with some hope of a conclusion to the war. However, hopes were quickly forgotten with the reality of increasing prices and soldiers pouring increasingly into the city. Many of these troops were on leave. Since they could not locate in either of the two camps, it was up to lodging houses to provide accommodations. However, by the end of the month these quarters in Lynchburg proved insufficient for the volume of soldiers in the city. Finally, one of the tobacco warehouses was opened to quarter those soldiers who could not obtain lodgings anywhere else. Lynchburg residents took some of the soldiers into their homes. One local farmer quartered an entire company and furnished tobacco, pipes, water and heating coals.¹⁹

Regrettably, many of the soldiers did not return the kindness. Isolated incidents of violence continued to occur throughout the city. A drunken soldier on leaving the Washington House emptied his revolver into the side of a mule helplessly tied to a post. Private William Kenlock

¹⁸Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 13, Nov. 21, Dec. 12, 1861.

¹⁹Ibid., Feb. 27, 1862; Septimus L. Williams to Sarah Williams, Apr. 13, 1862, Virginia Historical Society.

was arrested for assaulting and robbing a fellow soldier. In February, an Irish company of the 16th Mississippi and members of the 1st Tennessee met at a saloon on Bridge Street. A fight erupted and swept up to Main Street. Centering in front of William A. Strother's Drug Store, the melee continued until the police (with the aid of soldiers) restored order. One man was fatally stabbed; several others suffered deep cuts.²⁰

The seriousness of the riot demanded some official response by Lynchburg authorities. Mayor William Branch made the first gesture by forbidding the sale of liquor while the city remained overpopulated with transient soldiers. This action proved futile; within a few weeks, the Lynchburg Virginian reported over thirty "illegal rum holes" operating inside the city. The editor called for martial law to restore order to Lynchburg. Local officials sought instead to reinforce the nightwatch and the police.²¹

As the country moved toward the second year of civil war, Lynchburg continued supplying the Confederacy with materials. The city's foundries, especially Deane's, produced valuable war materials. Unfortunately, they were running out of metal. Men searched the countryside for scrap iron. Some donated it; others sought a profit.

²⁰Lynchburg Virginian, Mar. 3 and 27, 1862.

²¹Ibid., Feb. 24-25, 1862.

Churches in the city offered bells to the Confederacy to be melted down for cannon. Any guns that were made from the bells were requested by the churches to go to Capt. Latham's battery. Richard Shepherd and Company repaired captured Federal muskets. William H. Wash invented a machine for greater production of percussion caps, and Dabney's Phoenix Works put it to good use. Munitions were not the only material that came from Lynchburg. John H. Bailey produced a large number of wagons, caissons and harnesses for the Confederacy. Bailey's operation turned out two wagons per day and four caissons a week.²²

As the army ranks were constantly being thinned by sickness and battle, Lynchburg continued sending men as replacements. Newspaper advertisements and visits from military commanders persuaded many young men to enlist. As the male population continued doing its part in the war effort, strong-hearted women of Lynchburg never failed to do their part. The Soldiers Aid Society and the Ladies Relief Hospital continued their benevolent labors. Not content with these groups, some ladies formed yet another organization, the National Defense Association of Lynchburg. The original object of this organization was to raise money for the purchase of an ironclad vessel for defense of the James River. However, the ladies were subject to some

²²Ibid., Sept. 16, 1861, Jan. 24, Mar. 29, Apr. 3 and 14, 1862; Blackford Memoirs, 190.

criticism from people who felt their efforts could be better directed elsewhere.²³

A serious problem that plagued the city was the rise in prices. Coffee had long since become unaffordable; but by April the coffee substitute--rye--was rapidly increasing in price. It appeared that coffee and rye drinkers would have to seek something else. One young mother complained that since her husband had left to fight, the family income had been gradually declining while prices had been rapidly increasing. Like many other citizens, she was forced to take in boarders in order to make ends meet. Much of the inflation was due to scarcities, but it was also fueled by speculators and extortionists. When such practices were known, local authorities worked quickly to eliminate it. Citizens were so satisfied with the efforts of their council and city officers that in the April elections they reelected most of the officeholders.²⁴

Thoughts by residents about their plights quickly faded when news came that great numbers of sick and wounded soldiers would be arriving from the Valley of Virginia. General T. J. "Stonewall" Jackson was operating against combined Union forces in the Valley. At first only sick

²³Lynchburg Virginian, Mar. 4, Apr. 2, 1862; Blackford Memoirs, 188.

²⁴Lynchburg Virginian, Mar. 4, Apr. 7, 1862; Blackford Memoirs, 189.

soldiers were transported to Lynchburg; the wounded were sent to Richmond. However, by May, most of the incapacitated soldiers from the Valley came to Lynchburg.

The city was totally unprepared for this huge onslaught of soldiers. Hospitals were physically incapable of handling all of the sick and wounded. No heat or beds could be provided for these soldiers who could not be accommodated in the hospitals. Residents were outraged to see dying soldiers placed in the open on wooden planks and without food. Although many people took soldiers into their homes, it was obvious that the city needed extra hospitals. Dudley Hall became a temporary hospital, but this extra shelter offered no respite for the overworked surgeons. Dr. Owen collapsed after a few days from overexertion. Because the surgeons could not take care of all the patients, many soldiers in Dudley Hall received no medical attention. These problems were only multiplied when Richmond hospitals notified Lynchburg that they were transferring approximately 1,800 sick soldiers to Lynchburg in order to make room for anticipated casualties from the Peninsular Campaign.²⁵

Throughout April, Union forces under Gen. George B. McClellan massed on the Virginia peninsular. Lynchburg

²⁵Blackford diary, Apr. 19, 1862; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, Apr. 23, 1862, Blackford Memoirs, 202; Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 22-24, 1862.

citizens were fearful of the results, for once again sons and husbands were going into battle. On May 5, the 11th Virginia and its sister regiments engaged the enemy in sharp fighting at Williamsburg. Three days later, when reports of the battle began arriving in Lynchburg, the news shocked the city. Eleven of Lynchburg's sons had been killed; thirty-four others were wounded. Church services were held for departed souls as the city mourned its dead.²⁶

After recovering from the initial shock of the losses, citizens demanded that a committee be formed to return their wounded and dead to Lynchburg. This was done and the committee left immediately for Richmond. As they departed, refugees from the capital began pouring into the city. Many Richmonders, fearful that McClellan's advance would succeed, looked to the sister city to the west as a haven.²⁷

Increasing numbers of sick and wounded coming into Lynchburg made additional hospital facilities mandatory. Relief came with the formation of General Hospital No. 2. Surgeon Wilson Cary Nicholas Randolph took charge of the hospital, which was set up in five divisions. The first and second divisions were located in Read's, Christian's, Saunder's, Taliaferro's and Booker's tobacco factories. The third division was housed in Ford's and Crumpton's

²⁶Ibid., May 9, 1862; Blackford diary, May 7-9, 1862.

²⁷Lynchburg Virginian, May 16, 19-20, 1862.

factories. Langhorne Hospital, formally a part of General Hospital No. 1, became the fourth division. Knight's and Miller's factories were the fifth division. In the first month of the hospital's operation, 2,034 soldiers were admitted.²⁸

General Hospital No. 1 was reorganized under the leadership of Surgeon George W. Thornhill. The College Hospital, under Surgeon T. W. Fisher, became the first division. Thornhill's hospital took over Burton's, Claytor's and Ferguson's factories. During May and June, General Hospital No. 1 received over 1,600 soldiers. The Ladies Relief Hospital remained separate from the general hospitals but still kept busy. During May, the hospital received 102 patients. Dr. Edwin Warren became senior surgeon at the Ladies Relief Hospital. Another independent facility, established at the same time as General Hospital No. 2, was Pratt Hospital on Twelfth Street. Having a staff of but two surgeons, Pratt Hospital was set up exclusively for Camp Davis. Dr. J. H. Murray was its senior surgeon.²⁹

²⁸Letters and Orders sent and received book for General Hospital No. 2, July 27, 1862-April 7, 1865, Confederate Museum, Richmond, 21. Hereafter cited as Letters and Orders Book; "Weekly Reports of Patients and Attendants, General Hospitals Nos. 1-3, Camp Nicholls, Ladies Relief, Pratt and Way Hospitals, Lynchburg, Virginia, 1862-1865," Chapter VI, Vol. 724, Medical Department, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives. Hereafter cited as "Weekly Reports."

²⁹Ibid.; "A Confederate Surgeon's Story," Confederate Veteran, XXXIX (1931), 457.

After the opening of General Hospital No. 2, Lynchburg became even more important to the Confederacy. Located in central Virginia on three major railroad lines was a city capable of handling close to 4,000 sick and wounded at one time. The citizens saw their hospitals not as institutions for suffering and dying but as centers for hope and cure. The ladies of Lynchburg provided a strong support for the hospitals. They produced bedding and bandages, and many worked as nurses aides. A kitchen depository was established on Fifth and Madison streets to receive food at all hours. Many citizens sent slaves to the hospitals to work as servants for the doctors. The response of Lynchburg citizens to the needs of the hospitals could be termed overwhelming. Yet much suffering did occur in the hospitals.³⁰

One lady wrote of watching a young soldier perish from homesickness. A South Carolina soldier was brought into the Ladies Relief Hospital dying of a chest wound. His only request was to die in a woman's arms. Mrs. Otey held the boy as he expired within an hour. As much as the citizens of Lynchburg tried to forget, the hospitals reminded them of the constant suffering accompanying war. Looking back later, a nurse in the Ladies Relief Hospital

³⁰Forsberg, "Hospital Reminiscencies," 3; Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 30, May 19, 1862.

wrote: "Surely, we did not really live amid such surroundings as then existed."³¹

Lynchburg citizens closely followed McClellan's advance on Richmond. On May 31, Lynchburg troops were among those who went into battle at Seven Pines. They helped in stopping the Union advance but suffered losses of 16 dead and 36 wounded. One of the men killed was Adjutant John Lawrence Meem of the "Home Guard." Meem's fiancée was heartbroken and confined herself to bed for three days. On June 4, the bodies of the dead soldiers arrived in Lynchburg by canal boats. Trustees at Spring Hill Cemetery donated an area 100 feet in diameter and named it Monumental Circle. The bodies were escorted to their burial by three companies of the 42nd North Carolina. A local citizen described the procession as a long one, the likes of which had never been seen before. All businesses were closed on the day of the funerals.³²

Lightening the burden of Lynchburg's grief was the announcement of the promotion of one of her sons. Colonel Samuel Garland was elevated to brigadier general. He had been slightly wounded at Seven Pines but managed a quick

³¹Forsberg, "Hospital Reminiscencies," 1, 5.

³²Lynchburg Virginian, June 2 and 5, 1862; Eliza Russell Payne to John Meem Payne, June 5, 1862, Virginia Historical Society; Blackford diary, Juen 4, Aug. 2, 1862.

recovery. The city was proud of a man who could put his personal tragedy behind him in the face of his country's needs.

More wounded soldiers arrived in Lynchburg as "Stonewall" Jackson increased his push on Federals in the Shenandoah Valley. At the same time, Lynchburg also started receiving Union prisoners of war. On June 10, between 3,000 and 3,500 prisoners arrived in Lynchburg and were confined at the fairgrounds. The 42nd North Carolina, Col. George C. Gibbs commanding, took charge of the Federals. Gibbs thought the premises chosen for the prisoners to be inadequate, for the sleeping quarters were in open stalls. Gibbs also complained that both his regiment and the prisoners lacked food. The quartermaster in Lynchburg, Capt. John M. Galt, was directing food to the battle front rather than to the fairgrounds. To remedy the situation, Capt. J. V. L. Rodgers was appointed assistant quartermaster for the prison camp. Following Rodgers' appointment, no further complaints arose over lack of food. The prisoners proved no real hardship to the local citizens except in contributing to the scarcity of food. Only one prisoner attempted to escape, and he was killed. The majority of the prisoners remained in

Lynchburg until the end of August, when over 2,000 were shipped to Richmond.³³

This huge bloc of Federal captives was not the only problem that Lynchburg faced during the summer. In the first week of June, the James River flooded and caused extensive damage to the canal. To repair the damage, the canal had to be drained. Since the city water works obtained water from the canal, Lynchburg was without running water while the canal was dry. With the aid of Federal prisoners, the work was finished within six weeks.³⁴

During the summer of 1862, Lynchburg residents still faced growing shortages and inflated prices. The Lynchburg Virginian appealed to local farmers to bring produce into the city for sale. Speculators grabbed practically every item possible, and this drove prices even higher. A local lady asked her soldier-husband at the front to purchase clothing material from the government and send it to her, for the price in Lynchburg was beyond her reach. Inflation also hit local manufacturing concerns. The Lynchburg Gas Company announced the second fifty percent increase in price. To add to the hardships of the Lynchburg financial

³³U. S. War Dept. (comp.), War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Ser. II, Vol. IV, 778-79. Hereafter cited as OR; unless otherwise stated, all references will be to Ser. I. Lynchburg Virginian, June 11, July 23, 1862.

³⁴Ibid., June 5 and 30, July 11, 1862.

market, counterfeit money began appearing. Prisoners apparently introduced the bills, and some \$3,000 worth managed to go into circulation.³⁵

The summer also brought an increasing rise in violent crimes committed on Lynchburg citizens. The newspapers stated that hardly a night passed without some outrageous crime. The city council anticipated the problem in the spring and passed a law forbidding the issuance of liquor licenses during the summer months. Alcohol was believed to be at the root of the crime wave. However, liquor continued to be sold at numerous bars throughout the city. Patrick Hagen, living on the Amherst heights, gladly sold whiskey to any who cared to cross the river. Numerous bawdy houses attracted undesirables and, as a result, many unsuspecting men were robbed. However, only a few dared to report thefts. Small gangs of ruffians, usually numbering three or four young men, roamed the city streets after dark. The worst night of violence occurred on July 22, when one man was shot and killed on Main Street, another was shot twice on Twelfth, and a third was robbed on Market Street. Lynchburg citizens lived in daily fear of street crimes, and local authorities seemingly did little to remedy the situation. Yet in August, the Confederate government established a provost guard in

³⁵Ibid., May 16, June 12 and 24, July 4, Sept. 3, 1862; Cassie Smith to Edward Kirby Smith, Sept. 6, 1862, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

Lynchburg to examine soldiers' credentials and to arrest violators of any rules. Captain Samuel H. Devaughin became the provost marshal. Citizens rejoiced at the prospect of being able to walk the streets again without fear.³⁶

September brought news of Gen. Robert E. Lee's invasion of the North. Lynchburg citizens watched closely for any reports as their men marched through enemy territory. On September 16, Lynchburg learned that Brig. Gen. Samuel Garland, one of her proudest sons, had been killed at Boonesboro, Md. As his wife and father before him, Garland was buried on a day set aside by President Davis for fasting and prayer. On the afternoon of September 19, funeral services were held at St. Paul's Church. All businesses were closed as the entire city seemed to turn out for the funeral. Twenty members of the 11th Virginia escorted the General's body to the grave. Before the war, the Garlands were one of Lynchburg's most promising families and the center of much social life. Following a year and a half of war, the Garland house was cold and deserted.³⁷

Ailing soldiers from the armies of Jackson and Lee poured into Lynchburg during the last months of summer. Not enough rooms could be supplied for the soldiers. Many

³⁶Lynchburg Virginian, May 8, June 17, July 7, 14, 23 and 26, Aug. 27, 1862.

³⁷Ibid., Sept. 25, 1862; Blackford diary, Sept. 18-19, 1862.

were simply left by orderlies on hotel floors. This was the kind of attention awaiting soldiers if they could survive the move to Lynchburg. Citizens were shocked at the condition of the men upon arrival. Large numbers died in transport. Frequently a train would arrive unannounced in Lynchburg late in the evening with no one to receive the wounded. The soldiers would be deposited at the station and not discovered until the next morning. Such horrors were constant reminders of the inhumanity of war.³⁸

With frequent exposure to suffering and death, it was not surprising to find Lynchburg males reluctant to fill the depleting ranks. The new substitute laws passed by Congress thus enabled men willing to fight for money to find a ready market in Lynchburg. Advertisements for substitutes constantly filled the newspapers. One physician in the city would examine substitutes and illegally pass them if provided with a ten-dollar "bonus." Substitutes would often take the money and desert, only to be hired again. Three such men, discovered by authorities in Lynchburg, were promptly returned to their former regiments.³⁹

The end of September brought a momentary lull in activity around Lynchburg. One local resident even

³⁸Lynchburg Virginian, July 11, Aug. 15, 1862; Letters and Orders Book, Nov. 17, 1862.

³⁹Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 31, Nov. 5, 1862; J. Howard DeVotie to father, Sept. 11, 1862, Duke Library.

complained of a lack of rumors to spark excitement. Then, on October 1, the city shockingly learned that a soldier in one of the hospitals had died of smallpox. Few diseases were more dreaded, since only a few people had been vaccinated. Senior surgeons of the hospitals appointed medical officers as vaccine physicians whose duty was to vaccinate all persons in the immediate vicinity. Dr. Owen requested all of the smallpox vaccine that Richmond could spare. As fear of an epidemic grew, Dr. Owen decided to establish a smallpox hospital behind the City Cemetery. All diseased patients were immediately transported to that facility.⁴⁰

Dr. John Jay Terrell took charge of the smallpox hospital. His first task was to paint the inside walls black in an attempt to preserve patients' eyes. As the hospital became crowded, Terrell expanded into a nearby barn. Unfortunately, the job cost Terrell several friends, who understandably avoided him. No clergy would visit the "pest house" except the Catholic priest, Father Gache, who came daily to the hospital. Fears were rampant that a smallpox epidemic would erupt; but thanks to Dr. Terrell and vaccinations, the dreaded disease was controlled.⁴¹

⁴⁰Blackford diary, Sept. 26, 1862; Lynchburg News, Sept. 26, 1926; Berryman to George W. Bagby, Dec. 28, 1863, Bagby Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society; Confederate Veteran XXXIX (1931), 458.

⁴¹The last case occurred eighteen months later. Ibid.; Lynchburg News, Sept. 12, 1926.

As the end of the year approached, numerous corporations held yearly meetings. The Virginia and Tennessee Railroad reported a very good year with passenger service up to 67,317 persons. The large number was mostly due to soldiers using the line. Freight increased to 6,749 tons over the previous year. The Orange and Alexandria Railroad showed a net profit of \$527,000 for the year. Yet, the James River and Kanawha Canal reported a drop in receipts, with net profits of \$47,969.⁴²

The transportation corporations did not reflect the real economic picture of Lynchburg. Inflation was eating away at everyone's savings, and it hit the poor hardest. Shoes jumped in price to \$15 a pair; flour was \$20 a barrel; precious wood fuel had zoomed to \$10 a cord. Even salt was once more becoming scarce. When Gov. John Letcher spoke in Lynchburg in October, he promised salt for everyone even if the state had to take control of the salt works.⁴³

As money became tighter, Lynchburg citizens searched for greater bargains and ways to sidestep speculators. Their answer was the auction. Auction and commission houses soon became the center of activity in the city. Not only could people find good bargains on items from tobacco to

⁴²Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 12, Nov. 1 and 22, 1862.

⁴³J. Howard DeVotie to Father, Sept. 11, 1862, Duke Library; Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 6 and 16, 1862.

furniture; but if families were in need of money, they could sell items through the auction houses. Although auctions of material items were now commonplace, slave auctions remained a lucrative business for many of the houses. In October, a young slave girl sold for \$1,925; a fourteen-year-old boy went for \$1,410. On December 30, only two days before President Lincoln formally issued the Emancipation Proclamation, Bryan Akers held Lynchburg's largest slave auction. Some 120 slaves were sold, with one male slave bringing \$2,925.⁴⁴

As cold weather approached, residents gave increasing thoughts to sons and husbands in winter quarters. The Soldiers Aid Society made an appeal for money to buy winter clothing. Within three days, the Society had collected \$1,342. Government agents came to Lynchburg to purchase shoes for the army. The hill city supplied 6,000 pairs. Unfortunately, the shipment created a shortage of shoes within the city, and their price rose accordingly.⁴⁵

On December 11, Lynchburg received news that an attack of Fredricksburg, Va., was imminent. Fear struck many citizens, for numerous relatives lived in Fredricksburg and the hill city had close ties with the Rappahannock port. When news came that the Federals had bombarded the

⁴⁴Ibid., Oct. 27, Dec. 31, 1862.

⁴⁵Ibid., Nov. 14 and 19, Dec. 2, 1862.

city, condemnations poured from Lynchburg. A subscription for the refugees of Fredricksburg netted \$6,800 in two months. With thoughts of Fredricksburg and their men away from home, Christmas 1862, was a bleak occasion.⁴⁶

Lynchburg's crime problem changed with the season from violent crime to a rash of robberies. With the growing problem of shortages and high prices, the robberies in many instances increased the deprivation of their victims. Smokehouses became a common target and winter supplies of meat could disappear in a single night. Some of the wealthier stores, such as Joseph Clemens' Jewelry and Watch Repair Shop, were burglarized. The police force was ineffective in stopping the crimes. The Lynchburg Virginian responded by advocating that people take the law into their own hands. Luckily, cooler heads prevailed.⁴⁷

Another sort of robbery plagued Lynchburg when government impressment officers came into the city. These officers always impressed items at government-quoted prices, which inevitably were lower than the going market price. Many business houses refused to open their doors to government agents. Captain Galt, quartermaster at the Lynchburg post, quickly ordered military personnel to open the houses. One advantage did come from the government's

⁴⁶Ibid., Dec. 16, 1862, Feb. 18, 1863.

⁴⁷Ibid., Dec. 2, 1862, Jan. 20, 1863.

practice in that it gave the Lynchburg market a ready supply of stock. Speculators, afraid of losing merchandise at government-quoted prices, chose to sell on the inflated market.

Tobacco was one item free of government impressment. Yet because the demand for the golden leaf was high, speculators found a profitable item in tobacco. William Blackford, cashier at the Exchange Bank, was a novice at speculating but decided to invest in tobacco. Within four months, he made \$16,000 profit. Ironically, Blackford strongly condemned other speculators and their practices.⁴⁸

The people of Lynchburg were becoming accustomed to inflated prices and accepted them as a fact of life. Jokes were made over the situation. The newspaper printed such stories as a robber breaking into a dry goods store and finding the prices so high that he left in disgust. Some local businesses gave employees raises by as much as \$250-- which many complained was still insufficient. However, some tried to beat the system by going out of the city to buy goods.⁴⁹

On January 15, 1863, over 1,000 Federal prisoners from the battle of Murfreesboro, Tenn., arrived in Lynchburg.

⁴⁸Ibid., Apr. 1, 1863; Blackford diary, Mar. 30, 1863.

⁴⁹Lynchburg Virginian, Mar. 31, 1863; Blackford diary, Mar. 7, 1863; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, Mar. 10, 1864, Blackford Memoirs. 509.

Several blocks of Main and Church streets were quartered off to accommodate the Northerners. Photographer N. S. Tanner captured a likeness of the prisoners and earned quite a profit from selling copies to the citizens. The prisoners were soon ushered to the fairgrounds by city officials.⁵⁰

At the end of April, a group of citizens provided a room on the upper floor of the City Hose House for use as a library for the sick soldiers. Books, including Bibles, were donated by citizens to aid the intellectual activity of the soldiers. After its opening, the reading room was frequently crowded with soldiers.⁵¹

Lynchburg then received news that her soldiers were entering battle at Chancellorsville. When the battle ended and the wounded reports arrived, one name stood out above all the rest: "Stonewall" Jackson. Even though he was not a native of Lynchburg, the city felt as though one of her own had fallen. Prayers and divine services were held to ask that Jackson's life be spared. Such was not to be. On May 10, Jackson died at Guiney's Station, south of Fredricksburg. Lynchburg mourned the death of "the mighty Jackson;" and when it was ascertained the body would pass

⁵⁰Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 14, Mar. 18, Apr. 2, 1863.

⁵¹Ibid., Apr. 1, 1863.

through the hill city en route to Lexington, elaborate plans were made for the occasion.⁵²

At 6:30 p.m. on May 13, Jackson's body arrived in Lynchburg on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Colonel Maurice Langhorne led the procession to meet the remains. With him were all of the city's able-bodied soldiers to act as an escort for the hearse and pallbearers. Following the hearse were city officials and scores of other mourners. After receiving the body, the procession moved up Seventh Street to Main, then down Bridge Street to the canal boat landing, where Jackson was placed by the pallbearers on the packet boat John Marshall. Soldiers fired one-minute salvos during the entire procession. The packet boat did not leave for Lexington until 10:00 that evening. When it did start upriver, it carried much of the hopes of the Confederacy with it.⁵³

⁵²Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, May 4, 1863, Blackford Memoirs.

⁵³Lynchburg Virginian, May 13, 1863; Blackford diary, May 13, 1863.

CHAPTER IV
SOME STILL HELD HOPE

Two years had passed since Lynchburg cast her fate with the Confederacy. During that time hundreds of wives and parents had watched loved ones leave home to fight on distant battlefields. Many returned not to be kissed but to be buried. Some of the city's manufacturers, unable to convert or compete in a war economy, had ceased operations. The entire city had been changed by war. Even tobacco, on which Lynchburg had depended for prosperity, became less an economic factor as hospitals replaced tobacco factories. Lynchburg citizens watched their city deteriorate, but many still held hope.

As oarsmen pulled Gen. Jackson's funeral boat up the James River, hundreds of wounded from the Chancellorville fighting poured into the city. For several days, Lynchburg mourned the death of the man Gen. Lee considered his right arm. However, life was more important than death. The city thus turned thoughts and efforts to the young men struggling for life in local hospitals. The Ladies Relief Hospital urgently requested materials for use as bandages. The ladies of Lynchburg quickly supplied the cloth. While

other hospitals in the Confederacy were having difficulty procuring bandages, Lynchburg was able to supply fresh underclothes as well as bandages to all patients largely because of the efforts of the Soldier's Aid Society. One soldier was so pleased with treatment he had received at the Ladies Relief Hospital that he offered the only gift he owned: a ginger cake in his dirty trousers. The ladies concentrated their efforts on the living, yet they did not forsake the dead. The Ladies Relief Hospital assumed the task of beautifying soldier graves in the city's cemeteries. Military and civilian visitors to Lynchburg constantly gave praise to the ladies of the hill city for this work.¹

Not all of the hospitals ran as efficiently as did the Ladies Relief Hospital. The General Hospitals stored large quantities of whiskey for use by the patients. However, male hospital stewards habitually used the liquor for personal consumption. Finally the head surgeons issued a directive placing a serious fine on anyone making unauthorized use of whiskey. The stewards rebelled and threatened to leave the hospitals unmanned. However, when they realized that upon leaving the hospital they were eligible to be

¹Lynchburg Daily Republican, June 12, 1863; Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 12, May 13 and 19, 1863; Forsberg, "Hospital Reminiscencies," 3.

drafted and sent to the front, they quietly returned to their posts.²

The problems at the hospitals also took their toll on the doctors. One surgeon wrote upon returning from a twelve-day leave: "Wished I could have stayed 12 weeks or better always, if there was only no war."³

On May 12, Lynchburg beheld a welcome sight when approximately 2,000 Confederate prisoners arrived in the hill city after having been exchanged. The city received the ragged and ill-fed soldiers with open arms. During their short stay in Lynchburg, the soldiers received food and heartwarming hurrahs.⁴

On the same day that the exchanged prisoners arrived, news that black slaves had mutilated and killed their Amherst County owner shocked the city. Working on an island in the James River, two male slaves had held Gen. Terisha W. Dillard while four female slaves took knives to him. This incident added fuel to a public cry for a city defense organization that would go beyond the "Silver Greys." In response, the provost marshal requested that all refugees

²"A Confederate Surgeon's Story," Confederate Veteran, XXXIX (1931), 458.

³Diary of Dr. Henry C. Somerville, entry of Aug. 2, 1862, Virginia State Library, Richmond. Cited hereafter as Somerville diary.

⁴Lynchburg Virginian, May 13, 1863.

in Lynchburg organize themselves into military units for home defense. Colonel Langhorne, the post commander, sought all boys between fifteen and eighteen years of age to be trained for local militia. For the first time since the beginning of the war, Lynchburg authorities began making a serious effort to mobilize for the defense of the city.⁵

On June 4, while militia units were organizing, Ohio Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham paid a visit to Lynchburg. Having been banished from the United States by President Lincoln for his arguments against the Lincoln administration, Vallandigham was guest of honor at several dinners and meetings during his short stay.⁶

At the end of June, news reached Lynchburg that Gen. Lee's army had once again moved into enemy territory. As Lee crossed the Potomac, people in Lynchburg could not help but remember the loss of local soldiers in the northern invasion a year earlier. However, many people felt relieved that the war was once again being taken from Virginia. July 4 then dawned with celebrations of the country's independence and a reaffirmation of the principals of democracy. Rumors of a great battle raging in Pennsylvania

⁵Ibid., May 13, June 4, 1863.

⁶Blackford diary, June 5, 1863.

interrupted the celebrations. Reports soon began arriving in the hill city. The first communiques were optimistic and told of the Federal army being routed. This news somewhat offset the word that Vicksburg, Miss., had fallen, thereby opening up Mississippi River to Federal shipping. As reports continued to arrive at the telegraph office, the true story of the battle of Gettysburg unfolded. Lynchburg units suffered light casualties compared to the rest of the army, with only 6 dead and 23 wounded. As in the past, the city council named a committee to go to the battlefield and retrieve the wounded. To cross enemy lines did not appear to both these men as their first duty was to their wounded fellow citizens.⁷

Losing Vicksburg on top of the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg alarmed the people of Lynchburg. This feeling quickly transposed itself into energy as many citizens actively sought to continue building the city's defenses. An artillery company was organized strictly for home use. On July 7, four companies of militia, totalling about 300 men, were mustered in front of the courthouse. This unit, the 131st Virginia Militia, was under the command of Capt. John B. Shaver. The four company commanders were Capts. Christopher V. Winfree, William B. Brown, James A. Hamner and John B. Winfree. A new cavalry company was

⁷Lynchburg Virginian, July 8 and 14, 1863.

organized under Capt. John S. Langhorne. At this time Gen. Francis R. T. Nicholls arrived to assume command of the Lynchburg post previously held by Col. Maurice Langhorne. Nicholls established a warning system for the militia whereby a call of thirteen tolls on the Courthouse bell would be the alarm. The city council requested that several competent military officers visit Lynchburg and formulate plans for defending the city. These officers soon arrived, selected fortification placements and began construction.⁸

Convalescents in the hospitals contributed a great share to Lynchburg's defenses. Men capable of working on fortifications did so, and some convalescents performed guard duty around the city. General Nichols compiled names of those soldiers in the hospitals who would be able to report for duty in case of attack. During drills, most of the men proved themselves capable and reliable, thereby providing Lynchburg with needed additional manpower.⁹

On July 18, the local militia had its first test. General Samuel Jones, commanding the Army of Western Virginia, requested that the Lynchburg militia respond to a possible raid by Union forces on the Virginia and

⁸Ibid., June 16, July 7 and 29, 1863; Christian, Lynchburg and Its People, 212; Letters and Orders Book, Aug. 29, 1863.

⁹Ibid., June 29, Aug. 25, 1863.

Tennessee Railroad in southwest Virginia. The militia was prompt, even though the threatened attack never materialized. A month later, Gen. Jones again asked the militia for aid in an anticipated attack on the railroad. Some 864 militiamen and convalescents responded as the Courthouse bell rung all day. However, the alarm once again proved false. Having demonstrated their capability and alertness, the militia provided Lynchburg with greater security than it had known since the war's beginning.¹⁰

In August, the Confederate medical department approved an additional hospital for Lynchburg. Wayside Hospital was thereupon established on the corner of Franklin and Nineteenth Streets. The hospital was intended as a triage point for soldiers entering the city in need of medical attention. If a soldier's illness or wound was minor, Wayside treated and released him; but if his infirmity was major, the hospital transferred the soldier to one of the general hospitals.¹¹

Inflation continued to corrode everyone's savings. Fueled by shortages, inflation hit hardest at the poor.

¹⁰OR, XXVII, Pt. 3, 1023; Lynchburg Virginian, July 25, Aug. 25 and 31, 1863; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, Aug. 26, 1863, Blackford Memoirs, 424.

¹¹Lynchburg Virginian, Aug. 6, 1863; Letters and Orders Book, Sept. 3, 1863; The Lynchburg Virginian stated that Wayside Hospital was on Franklin and Nineteenth Streets, but the city directory for 1865 placed the hospital of Jefferson St. between Sixth and Seventh.

Instances such as a soldier's wife losing her child and not having enough money for burial awakened the city to the condition of the destitute. A public meeting at Dudley Hall ended with a demand for action. City council met and appropriated \$25,000 for the purchase of bacon, flour, corn meal and other articles to be sold to the poor at cost.¹²

All classes of society felt the effect of inflation. Many families had to take in boarders to help with the finances. Some despised this practice since it amounted to sharing their homes with strangers. Another avenue for extra money was auctions. By selling household items through the auction houses, the owner could gain a considerable profit on an inflated market. Mrs. Susan Blackford, having had to manage for two and a half years without her soldier-husband, decided to break up her home and sell the furniture and houseware items to meet expenses. To her husband at the front she explained her distaste for the whole affair: "As the time for breaking up approaches . . . my heart sinks within me to think that in a few weeks they [household pieces] will be scattered and in possession of strangers."¹³

¹²Lynchburg Virginian, July 31, Aug. 1, Sept. 23, 1863.

¹³Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, Sept. 30, 1863, Blackford Memoirs, 443.

Before the auction, Mrs. Blackford could not bear to open her house for inspection of the articles. Yet the auction brought considerable income to the Blackfords. A bureau that originally cost \$20 sold for \$205; a carpet brought \$400 and a lounge chair went for \$320. Although the Blackfords hated to sell their furnishings, this additional revenue provided them with enough money to live out the rest of the war.¹⁴

The rising cost of living hit some businesses as hard as it did some families. The owners of two of Lynchburg's more prestigious hotels put them up for auction when they were unable to meet operating costs. The Washington House brought \$35,000 and the Norvell House sold for \$45,100. Lynch's tobacco warehouse, one of three remaining in operation, went for \$127,000 at auction. When the Lynchburg Gas Company raised its rates for a third time, the fuel became too expensive for many families. Candles became increasingly popular as the war continued. Businesses attempted to give employees periodic raises in pay, but the raises never kept pace with the rise in the cost of living. William Blackford was astonished when he realized that his income of \$8,000 was insufficient to support his family.¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid., 449; Blackford diary, Oct. 18, 1863.

¹⁵Lynchburg Virginian, July 22, Dec. 12, 1863; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, Oct. 17, 1863, Blackford Memoirs, 449; Blackford diary, Sept. 5, Nov. 20, 1863.

As the war dragged on, some of Lynchburg's citizens began showing signs of despair. A young wife, in a letter to her husband, asked how the South would ever have enough munitions to fight. Her church had donated its bell for cannon. Metal fences in the city were melted down for ammunition. People were scraping tobacco barns for niter to use in gunpowder. Beside her fear of dwindling supplies, she, like many other soldier's wives, constantly feared for her husband's life. Her letters displayed an ever-growing desire to be at his side.¹⁶

Some people expressed desperate feelings through songs. One such tune published in Lynchburg bore the descriptive title: "When This Cruel War is Over," As despair grew, so did attendance at church. Both soldiers and citizens filled the pews to hear words of consolation. Revival meetings became popular in the hill city as more and more people turned to a power mightier than mortal man.¹⁷

Federal prisoners had become a common addition to Lynchburg military life. Citizens gave little thought to the prisoners, for local authorities easily controlled their numbers (usually around 200 men). However, during

¹⁶Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, Oct. 31, Nov. 1, 1863, Blackford Memoirs, 457.

¹⁷Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 3 and 16, 1863.

the first week of November, Capt. Thomas P. Turner, commander of Libby prison in Richmond, came to Lynchburg to investigate the possibility of moving some of Libby's prisoners to the hill city. Residents voiced loud complaints when it became known that Turner wanted to transfer almost 2,000 Union soldiers. Fortunately, the move never materialized.¹⁸

As the third winter of war approached, shortages and high prices loomed greater than ever before. Salt, forever the victim of speculators, had reached record prices. As railroads gave preference to private enterprise, government salt seldom arrived; and when it did, it was later than scheduled. With no assurances as to the availability of the cheap government salt, people were forced to buy at higher prices. Further infuriating the citizens was the fact that speculators and extortionists now practiced their trade in the open. Oftentimes they would go from store to store buying up all of one item and then setting their own price on that item. In the first week of November, citizens began experiencing an increasing shortage of foodstuffs when an investigation revealed that farmers were refusing to ship their goods because railroad tolls were too high. Moreover, government agents waited at the market to impress their food at a lower cost.

¹⁸Ibid., Nov. 6, 1863.

With increasing shortages, the forthcoming winter looked bleak to many Lynchburgers.¹⁹

Winter winds did not stop Union encroachments into Virginia. Having threatened the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad numerous times without success, Union cavalry on December 16 broke the railroad at Salem and occupied the depot. The Lynchburg militia moved immediately to Salem. Strangely enough, Lynchburg's citizens did not become excited over an enemy force only fifty miles away. War had reduced many people to living only for one day at a time. At that moment, their real enemies were cold weather and deprivation.²⁰

As Christmas approached, decreased fighting reduced the patient load in the Lynchburg hospitals. Many patients were able to obtain furloughs for the holidays. This situation gave Lynchburg a temporary respite, and the hospitals enjoyed a quiet Christmas.

Although the Lynchburg Virginian in January, 1864, reminded young ladies that this was the beginning of leap year, few of them were in a marrying mood. Some citizens saw the new year as bringing either victory or defeat for

¹⁹Ibid., Sept. 8 and 19, Nov. 2 and 6, 1863.

²⁰Blackford diary, Dec. 16, 1863.

the Confederacy. With dwindling stores of food and munitions, few felt the war could last over a year longer.²¹

The Lynchburg market opened in January with such items as bacon, beef, butter and beans on the scarce list. Flour reached \$160 a barrel. Molasses was up to \$15 a quart. The new year brought Lynchburg's first scarcity of beef. One of the main reasons for the shortage were Richmond and Petersburg agents who came into the city and bought all the beef stores. The Lynchburg Virginian reminded the public that such practices were illegal. In efforts to remedy the shortage, the city council sought the establishment of a municipal slaughter house in hopes of bringing down the price of beef as well as supplying it.²²

Inflation, fueled by these shortages, constantly depreciated the value of Confederate currency. In February, one mercantile house in Lynchburg sold \$44,000 worth of goods. Such a figure was unprecedented. Taxes, which bit into everyone's savings, rose accordingly with inflation. Cashier William Blackford had to pay \$6,000 in taxes for the previous year. However, inflation did not stop Lynchburg's generosity to her soldiers.²³

²¹Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 14, 1864; Blackford diary, Feb. 1, 1864.

²²Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 1, Feb. 2 and 29, 1864.

²³Ibid., Feb. 18, 1864; Blackford diary, Feb. 18, 1864.

The Soldier's Aid Society regularly furnished bread to fourteen wives and fifty children of local soldiers. By 1864, the Society had produced 1,010 winter coats, 1,801 jackets, 2,156 pairs of trousers, 2,023 pairs of underwear, 3,342 shirts and 356 socks. The Society did not merely help the soldiers. It also gave the hospitals 6,846 bed sacks, 12,939 sheets, 11,692 pillow cases and 949 comforts. The women of Lynchburg unselfishly performed all of the work for the Society. In addition to the Soldier's Aid Society, local ladies formed a knitting society. Mrs. David E. Spence was elected president of the society. With the intention of producing socks, the new society sent Susan Blackford to Richmond to secure wool and cotton.²⁴

A group of local men made an attempt to move Randolph-Macon College to Lynchburg. The men's college, located in Mecklenburg County, had closed its doors early in the war for lack of finances. On January 14, 1864, a meeting was held to influence investors in buying the Lynchburg College building to house the new college. The plan failed for lack of investors. The college would have made a fine addition to the city, but few people could give thought to education during the war.²⁵

²⁴Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 9, Feb. 4, 1864; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, Jan. 18, 1864, Blackford Memoirs, 471.

²⁵Christian, Lynchburg and Its People, 214.

On December 28, 1863, the Confederate Congress had repealed the law on substitution. All males who previously had purchased substitutes now had to join the ranks. Men grudgingly filled the enrolling office for the month of January. Provost guards literally dragged into the enrolling office those men who were delinquent in registering. Not all soldiers remained in the army once they enlisted. John Hits, of Nelson County, deserted his cavalry company and came to Lynchburg to hide. Discovered at the Norvell House, Hits tried to escape out the back door. A provost guard fatally shot him in the back.²⁶

As if freezing temperatures, inflation and a new military draft were not enough for worry, Lynchburg that winter was faced with a rash of fires. The first came at the end of December, when a government bakery on Twelfth Street caught fire. The bakery did the cooking for the general hospitals. A second fire, on January 20, destroyed Ford's tobacco factory on Court Street. Only a week later, some private stables caught fire. Five horses and three mules were destroyed. Authorities concluded that the fires were intentionally set, but no suspect could be found. A month later, a large cooper shop belonging to the Lynchburg Milling Company caught fire. The blaze destroyed 1,200 barrels of flour stored in the building. Even though

²⁶Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 4 and 6, Feb. 2, 1864.

\$1,500 was offered by authorities for the capture of the arsonists, they were never apprehended.²⁷

On January 20, two and a half years after it left Lynchburg, the 2nd Virginia Cavalry returned for a few days' rest. With Col. Thomas T. Munford in the lead, the cavalrymen entered the city and passed in review before Gen. Nicholls at the Lynchburg College grounds. That evening over 700 persons attended a feast and ball given in honor of the regiment. Unfortunately, James Thomas, a member of the regiment, was killed in a brawl a few days later at a bawdy house across the river. When the 2nd Virginia Cavalry prepared to leave, Lynchburg sent with her boys over 100 pounds of chewing tobacco. The entire celebration at least proved that Lynchburg's hospitality existed even in the hardest of times.²⁸

After the cavalrymen left, Lynchburg experienced a severe cold spell. On February 19, the temperature dropped to two degrees below zero. Many of the city's poor suffered severely during this period, and some were reduced to stealing for fuel. John G. Meem, who owned a farm near the fairgrounds, complained of thieves destroying his wooden fence at night. William Blackford had no

²⁷Letters and Orders Book, Jan. 2, 1864; Lynchburg Virginian Jan. 21 and 30, Mar. 1, 1864.

²⁸Ibid., Jan. 21 and 25, Feb. 5, 1864.

trouble with thieves but ran dangerously low on fuel. When a coal shipment arrived, Blackford referred to it as a "timely relief."²⁹

The cold winter winds became too much for one lonely man in the city. He decided to take a bride. However, his method for doing so was unorthodox to the people of Lynchburg. He chose to advertise for a wife in the Lynchburg Virginian. Charles Button, editor of that paper, condemned the practice as one very popular in the North. The man "must be a very sorry fellow," Button stated, "and she that will respond to such an application must be hard run indeed."³⁰

As spring approached, military preparedness became increasingly more important. The city could expect renewed activity by the Union army which the previous year came as close as Salem. While local militia filled its ranks, seventeen youths were struck by the martial spirit and decided to join the 2nd Virginia Cavalry. City authorities took decisive action for defense by dividing Lynchburg into four patrol districts. The two previously outlined wards, Henry and Lynch, became two of the districts. Diamond and Franklin hills in the southwest quadrant of the city became the third district,

²⁹Ibid., Feb. 2 and 19, 1864; Blackford diary, Feb. 3, 1864.

³⁰Lynchburg Virginian, Feb. 9, 1864.

and Daniel's hill on the north side the fourth. All males over the age of sixteen in said districts formed the patrol squads.³¹

As Lynchburg prepared its defenses, the citizens experienced a rare occurrence in wartime: prices began to decline. Sugar dropped from \$8.00 to \$7.50 per 100 pounds. Pork and beef prices stabilized but became plentiful. Unfortunately, the stable market was illusory. The Confederate government soon depreciated the currency, and inflation became more disastrous than ever. However, an added boost to the market was a ten-month suspension of the state tax. Residents enthusiastically praised Francis Deane, state representative from Lynchburg, for introducing the tax bill to the state legislature.³²

The relieved market, however, did not slow down the incidence of robberies. Smokehouses continued to be an easy target, although nothing was sacred to these criminals. A Union deserter burglarized the Second Presbyterian Church and took \$300 worth in books. The hustings court appointed forty-two men to patrol the city streets at night. Such action proved fruitless. Crimes continued with many occurring in the boldness of daylight.³³

³¹Ibid., Mar. 2, 3 and 10, 1864.

³²Ibid., Feb. 20, Mar. 15 and 22, 1864.

³³Ibid., Feb. 9 and 15, 1864.

During the first months of 1864, Lynchburg received authorization from the Confederate States medical department to organize a new general hospital and convalescent camp. The new installment became General Hospital No. 3, under Senior Surgeon T. H. Fisher. The hospital was in two divisions. The first occupied the Lynchburg College hospital. The second division took over Ferguson's hospital. The new hospital did not increase space for patients, but it did allow for better organization and it brought in additional surgeons. The number of sick and wounded in Lynchburg shocked one of the new surgeons. On March 1, Dr. Henry C. Somerville estimated the number of patients at 4,000, even though the spring offensive had not yet begun.³⁴

In an effort to clear hospital beds of those soldiers capable of moving but not yet able to fight, Camp Nicholls was established just outside the city limits on the south-side of the Salem Turnpike. Captain Van R. Otey commanded the convalescent camp. He divided the soldiers into companies and prepared them to man defense works in the city should the need arise.³⁵

³⁴Letters and Orders Book. Feb. 8, 1864; "City Directory--June 10, 1864" Lynchburg Historical Society Papers, II (1964), 1; Somerville diary, Mar. 1, 1864.

³⁵Letters and Orders Book, May 18 and 26, 1864.

This transfer of convalescent soldiers opened the general hospitals' beds in time to receive the wounded of the Wilderness campaign in northern Virginia. Battered soldiers poured into the city. Even the vacant hospital beds were not enough. Tents were pitched outside the hospitals to accommodate the overflow. The workload became even greater when Surgeons Owen and Thornhill were ordered to the battlefield to help with the wounded. Dr. Terrell toiled constantly for days. The Ladies Relief Hospital desperately sought extra rags for bandages. Special wagons were sent by the hospitals to obtain food from the surrounding countryside. With Union forces continuing their push into Virginia, the onslaught of patients did not subside for weeks.³⁶

As the city filled with wounded soldiers, citizens continued working on defenses. The city council made it mandatory for men between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five, who were not in the army, to join the local militia. Twenty-two young boys formed an ambulance corps to move to the battlefield at a moment's notice. General Nicholls directed that local slaves be impressed to work on the fortifications around Lynchburg as if an attack seemed imminent.³⁷

³⁶Confederate Veteran, XXXIX (1931), 458; Lynchburg Virginian, May 10, 1864.

³⁷Ibid., Apr. 8 and 29, May 3, 1864.

Elections for city officers were held in June. More candidates sought the offices than had at any other time in Lynchburg's history. The Lynchburg Virginian suggested the reason for new interest in the political offices to be the exemption from the army that many of the offices carried with them. However, one of the candidates running for city sergeant had a true interest in the city, and everyone knew it. Since the beginning of the war, John B. Tilden had made numerous trips to Lynchburg's soldiers in the field. Carrying letters and parcels from loved ones, he had earned the city's admiration. The only drawback that might prevent his winning the election was voter concern that he would have to cease his trips to the battlefield. Tilden assured the electors that he could hold office and still make the trips. He thereupon won the election handily.³⁸

As the warming days of June foretold the end of spring, local militia already cut in half by a new government draft nevertheless continued drilling. Impressed slaves worked on fortifications around the city limits. Unknown to them and the citizens, a Union officer in Staunton, Va., was then planning a concerted attack on Lynchburg.

³⁸Ibid., May 25, Apr. 1, 1864.

CHAPTER V

THE BATTLE OF LYNCHBURG

Work continued on the fortifications around Lynchburg as news reached the city that the Union Army of West Virginia, over 20,000 men strong, was sixty miles north of the city. Having no idea of the Union commander's objective, the city did not treat his presence with much alarm. Then, on June 6, Gen. Ulysses Simpson Grant ordered Gen. David Hunter to advance that army to Lynchburg.¹

After the battle of the Wilderness, Grant had moved down to the vicinity of Richmond. Realizing that he could not take the capital, he resolved to gain control of the rail center at Petersburg. Yet before moving south of the James River, Grant wanted the Confederacy's supply and communication lines north of the river destroyed. Thus did he order Hunter to destroy the railroad lines around Lynchburg. After completion of that objective, Hunter would move north on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, meeting Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, commanding the Cavalry Corps for the Union Army of the Potomac. Sheridan's orders were to destroy the Central Virginia Railroad. The combined forces of Hunter and Sheridan would then unite

¹OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 598.

with Grant at Petersburg. If successful, the plan would deliver a crippling blow to the supply lines for the Confederate army.²

General Robert E. Lee, commanding the Army of Northern Virginia, grew concerned with Hunter's position in the Valley. Lee knew that his battle-worn but potent force could least afford to lose its supply lines in the west. The only Confederate forces facing Hunter were two cavalry units under Gens. John McCausland and John D. Imboden, plus a small infantry force under Gen. John C. Vaughan. Fearful of the inadequacy of this force, Lee ordered Gen. John C. Breckinridge from Richmond with 5,000 infantrymen and dismounted cavalymen to stop Hunter. Leaving Richmond, Breckinridge headed toward Rockfish Gap.³

After receiving Grant's orders in Staunton, Hunter began assembling his strike force. To the First Infantry Division, under Gen. Jeremiah Sullivan, and the First Cavalry Division, commanded by Gen. Alfred Duffie, Hunter added Gen. George Crook's Second Infantry Division and Gen. William W. Averell's Second Cavalry Division. Hunter's Army of West Virginia, at a full strength of 18,622 men,

²Ibid.; Charles M. Blackford, The Campaign and Battle of Lynchburg (Lynchburg, 1901), 8.

³Col. J. Stoddard Johnson, "Sketches of Operations of General John C. Breckinridge" Southern Historical Society Papers, VII (1879), 318. Cited hereafter as SHSP.

included eight artillery batteries of thirty-two guns.⁴

Hunter then requested that Averell suggest a plan of operations for taking Lynchburg in five days. On June 9, Hunter approved the proposal. According to Averell's plan, speed was essential. Concurring with Averell, Crook wrote: "If we expected to take Lynchburg at all we must move upon it immediately and rapidly."⁵

On June 10, the Army of West Virginia left Staunton. Crook, Averell and Sullivan led their divisions on different roads southward up the Valley. Duffie, with the First Cavalry Division, moved southward along the western base of the Blue Ridge Mountains. His objectives were to destroy parts of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, damage military stores at Amherst Court House, then advance to the James River. Once across the river, Duffie was to destroy part of the Southside Railroad before rejoining Hunter at Liberty. Duffie's raid, if successful, would isolate Lynchburg from reinforcements by rail.⁶

As Hunter left Staunton, McCausland, who kept close watch on Hunter, attempted to block his advance. The Union

⁴Blackford, Battle of Lynchburg, 9; E. Alvin Gerhardt, Jr., "The Battle of Lynchburg," Lynchburg Historical Society Papers, VIII (1864), 1.

⁵OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 146; David H. Strother, "An Eye-Witness Account of the Battle of Lynchburg," Iron Worker, XXIV (Spring, 1960), 27.

⁶OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 146.

forces repeatedly drove at McCausland's position. Lacking sufficient men for a frontal attack, McCausland directed his efforts to slowing the Union advance. By nightfall, the Federal forces had advanced only to within ten miles of Lexington.⁷

Duffie's cavalry, meanwhile, had proceeded along the Waynesboro Pike toward Tye River Gap. Leaving Staunton at 3 a. m., Duffie made a small demonstration against Imboden and remnants of Gen. Vaughan's infantry, which were defending Waynesboro. Duffie pinned down the Confederate force with a small detachment. This allowed his main force to proceed unmolested. Reaching the Gap by nightfall, Duffie's divisions prepared to cross the mountains the next day.⁸

Duffie sent a detachment of ten men to destroy the Orange and Alexandria depot at Arrington. Although the foray was successful, it warned a Confederate artillery unit in Amherst Court House of the raiders' presence. Captain Henry C. Douthat's Botetourt Artillery, a force of only 100 men, commandeered a train and moved to within six miles of Arrington. Between Douthat and Arrington lay a railroad span across the Tye River. Douthat's objective was to reach this bridge before the Federals could burn it.

⁷Ibid., 111.

⁸Ibid., 146.

The destruction of this bridge would cripple the Orange and Alexandria for months. When the Union cavalrymen met Douthat's pickets, they retired and reported that a large infantry force protected the bridge.⁹

On June 11, while Duffie's forces maneuvered in Amherst County, Hunter's army broke camp and began skirmishing with McCausland. The Confederates fell back to Lexington after burning the bridge across the North River. By noon, McCausland had his artillery positioned along the river. He then began shelling Hunter's army as it approached. Confederate sharpshooters positioned on the roof of Virginia Military Institute fired into the Union lines. In mid-afternoon, faced with overwhelming odds, McCausland gathered the V. M. I. cadets and abandoned Lexington. Union engineers used wood from nearby dwellings to construct a crude bridge across the river. At "a quarter after four," a local resident wrote, "the vile rabble came scampering over the hills in swarms."¹⁰

⁹A. H. Plecker, "Who Saved Lynchburg from Hunter's Raid," Confederate Veteran, XXX (1922), 373.

¹⁰James A. Thompson, "The Lynchburg Campaign, June, 1864," GAR War Papers, I (1891), 129; Achilles J. Tynes to Harriet F. Tynes, June 13, 1864, Tynes Letters, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Charles Lynch, The Civil War Diary, 1862-1865, of Charles H. Lynch, 18th Conn. Vol's. (Hartford, 1915), 74; Rose P. Pendleton, "General David Hunter's Sack of Lexington, Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXIII (1975), 176.

Sheridan's cavalry force left the Union lines north of Richmond on schedule to attack the Virginia Central Railroad. Informed of his movements, Lee dispatched two cavalry divisions under Gens. Wade Hampton and Fitzhugh Lee to counter the Union thrust. On June 11, Hampton met Sheridan a few miles south of Trevilian's Depot. Since Sheridan's force outnumbered the Confederate divisions, Hampton could not unleash a head-on assault. Therefore, leaving a thin line of resistance to the Union advance, Hampton marched the rest of his command to Sheridan's rear. The next morning, when the Federal cavalrymen advanced on Hampton's front, the Confederates attacked Sheridan's forces from the rear and captured his wagons and artillery. Surprised and confused, the Federal line broke; and my midnight Sheridan was retreating across the Rapidan.¹¹

Half of Grant's strategy to disrupt Lee's supply routes to the west had failed. Hampton's victory prevented the Union attempt to cut the Virginia Central. The Federal effort to disrupt Confederate communication in central Virginia now depended solely on Hunter.

On June 11, reports reached Lynchburg that Union troops had destroyed the Arrington depot. That news, coupled with

¹¹Lynchburg Virginian, June 21, 1864; I. G. Bradwell, "Cold Harbor, Lynchburg, Valley Campaign, etc., 1864," Confederate Veteran, XXVIII (1920), 139; Blackford, Battle of Lynchburg, 16.

the information of Lexington's capture, indicated that Lynchburg was Hunter's next objective. Waves of excitement and apprehension began to roll through the city.¹²

On the following day, Gen. Nicholls mobilized a small defense force composed of home militia and recruits from the hospitals. Nicholls moved all convalescents capable of holding a gun to Camp Nicholls outside the city. Because of Duffie's thrust in the Amherst area, Nicholls assumed that a Federal attack would come from that direction. He stationed the militia on Amherst Heights, a high rise across the James River from Lynchburg. Citizens flocked to the city's defense. They ranged in age from fifteen-year-old E. C. Hamner to eighty-one-year-old Mike O'Connel. Returning from their Tye River engagement, Douthat's Botetourt unit joined Nicholls' force. Nicholls then dispatched scouts to reconnoiter the Union position. He next requested more troops from Richmond, and he complained that a lack of soldiers might compell him to relinquish his strong positions. Yet Nicholls vowed to do the best he could.¹³

While Nicholls awaited an attack on Amherst Heights, Hunter recalled Duffie's expedition to Lexington. Duffie was only five miles north of Amherst Court House when he

¹²Lynchburg Virginian, June 13, 1864: Confederate Veteran, XXX (1922), 373.

¹³Lynchburg Virginian, June 21, 1864; Blackford, Battle of Lynchburg, 51-52; OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 760.

received Hunter's orders. Altering his course, Duffie proceeded toward Lexington. At Piney River, he encountered Imboden's cavalry brigade, which had been pursuing the Federals since Waynesboro. Duffie sidestepped the Confederate position and then moved unmolested up the river to Whites Gap.¹⁴

On the morning of June 13, Duffie and his cavalry division arrived in Lexington. He had captured over 100 Confederates and 300 horses. Despite his prizes, Duffie's expedition proved a failure since he had only destroyed five miles of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. The Confederates repaired this damage within two days.¹⁵

Hunter planned to move from Lexington on June 13, but postponed the advance for twenty-four hours. This delay in Lexington was fatal, for it gave Lynchburg time to gather reinforcements. Hunter's reasons for the extended stay in Lexington were to replenish ammunition and to reunite with Duffie. However, these explanations are hollow. Hunter had captured several canal boats full of ammunition as well as other supplies in Lexington, but he did not use his prizes. He ordered the boats blown up with their cargo.¹⁶

¹⁴Ibid., 140.

¹⁵GAR War Papers, I, 131; Blackford, Battle of Lynchburg, 16.

¹⁶Diary of William Patterson, entry of June 12, 1864, Patterson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. Cited hereafter as Patterson diary.

As for rejoining Duffie, no need existed for Duffie to return to Lexington. The original plan for Hunter to connect with Duffie at Liberty would have served Hunter's plan better, for it would have allowed Duffie to complete his raid. In short, Hunter's delay in Lexington served no purpose other than providing rest for his troops.

In the meantime, Hunter had ordered Averell's troops to move from Lexington and secure the bridge over the James River at Buchanan. As Averell left Lexington, McCausland attempted to slow his advance. The Confederates reached the bridge before Averell and prepared to burn it. Union cavalry forded the James a mile up river, and McCausland retreated as Averell's columns entered Buchanan.¹⁷

After receiving news that Hunter had seized both Staunton and Lexington, Gen. Robert E. Lee ordered Gen. Jubal Early and the Second Corps to the Valley. On the evening of June 12, Early received instructions to move to Charlottesville and thence into the Valley so as to attack Hunter's rear. Once Early had finished with Hunter, he was to proceed toward Washington to relieve some of the pressure on Lee at Richmond.¹⁸

¹⁷Iron Worker, XXIV (1960), 28; SHSP, XXVII (1899), 181.

¹⁸Jubal A. Early, A Memoir of the Last Year of the War for Independence in the Confederate States of America (Lynchburg, 1867), 40.

Early and his Second Corps, numbering approximately 8,000 muskets, marched from the lines around Richmond.

The corps had been on active duty for forty days. Constant exposure to the weather and enemy fire had left the men low in spirits and poor in health.¹⁹

On June 14, as Early moved toward Charlottesville, Hunter led his army from Lexington. Hot, dry weather on the twenty-five-mile march noticeably fatigued the soldiers. The Federals arrived in Buchanan at dusk. There a courier from Averell delivered a three-day-old Lynchburg newspaper to Hunter. The paper mentioned that Sheridan was moving on Charlottesville, whereupon Hunter exclaimed: "This is the information we have waited for for some days."²⁰

As Hunter marched eastward, Lynchburg citizens became convinced that the Union army was descending upon their town. The residents, aware of the inadequacy of Nicholls' force, waited apprehensively for reinforcements. The closest Confederate force of significant strength was Gen. Breckinridge's division en route from Richmond to the Valley. When he reached Rockfish Gap, Breckinridge learned of Hunter's eastward thrust. Deducing that Lynchburg was

¹⁹Ibid., 40-41.

²⁰Patterson's diary, June 14, 1864; Iron Worker, XXIV (1960), 28.

Hunter's objective, Breckinridge hurried southward instead of crossing the mountains.²¹

Early on June 15, Breckinridge reached Lynchburg. His troops descended Amherst Heights, crossed Ninth Street Bridge, moved up to Main Street, then over to Fifth. As the soldiers marched out Fifth Street toward the fair-grounds west of the city, residents rushed to the street to cheer them. One young lady tore off the broad-brimmed Confederate hat she was wearing and threw it to a hatless and unshod soldier. One witness described the scene by stating that "it was a reassuring sight, and never were a lot of bronzed and dirty looking veterans, many of them barefooted, more heartily welcomed." Breckinridge himself was in poor condition when he arrived in Lynchburg. He was temporarily crippled by an injury received two weeks earlier at the battle of Cold Harbor. However, command of Lynchburg's defenses fell into his hands.²²

As Breckinridge reached Lynchburg, Hunter was moving his force from Buchanan toward the Peaks of Otter. The narrow roads forced the army to move slowly. Deep valleys usually fell to one side of the road. Several Federal

²¹SHSP, VII (1879), 318.

²²Milton W. Humphreys. A History of the Lynchburg Campaign, (Charlottesville, 1924), 56; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, June 16, 1864, Blackford Memoirs; Blackford, Battle of Lynchburg, 50.

wagons tumbled into the ravines. McCausland also helped delay the Union advance with fallen trees across the road. As a result, the Federal rear guard did not pass the Peaks until long after dark.²³

The bluecoats bivouacked at Fancy Farm, only a few miles from Liberty. Here Averell's detachment of scouts reported to Hunter. The scouts had left Lexington two days earlier and had circled around the east side of Lynchburg. Their intelligence indicated that only a few thousand invalid soldiers and local militia defended Lynchburg. Yet Hunter now received intelligence from Gen. Crook that presented just the opposite picture. Crook informed Hunter that all of the Confederate forces in western Virginia were concentrating in Lynchburg under Gens. Breckinridge and Richard S. Ewell. These conflicting reports meant but one thing to Hunter: the Confederate army knew of his plan to take Lynchburg and he must move on the city as quickly as possible.²⁴

On the morning of June 16, when Early arrived in Charlottesville, he received from Breckinridge a telegram stating that Hunter was twenty miles from Lynchburg in Bedford County. Early requested Breckinridge to send all trains on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad to

²³Lynch, The Civil War Diary, 77; Patterson diary, June 14, 1864.

²⁴OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 98 and 147.

Charlottesville. "If you can hold out till morning and the railroad does not fail," Early wired, "all will be well."²⁵

Now confined to his bed, Breckinridge transferred command of the troops to Gen. Vaughan. Breckinridge feared that the citizens in Lynchburg would panic as Hunter approached. Some residents were already fleeing from the Union advance. Breckinridge tried to avoid any panic because it would hamper defensive maneuvers. He instructed Vaughan to stress that Hunter was advancing slowly, and that Early would be in Lynchburg the next day.²⁶

For Hunter's army, the morning of June 16 dawned hot and dusty. With water scarce, many soldiers fell along the wayside as the Federals advanced on Lynchburg. After the army passed through Liberty, Hunter divided his force into three parts. Duffie moved the First Cavalry Division along the Forest Road. Crook's Second Infantry Division moved over the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, tearing up track as they marched. Averell led the advance on the Salem Turnpike toward Lynchburg. The First Infantry Division, the

²⁵Early, Memoir, 41; OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 763.

²⁶Ibid., 765; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, June 16, 1864, Blackford Memoirs; J. C. Featherston, "General Jubal Anderson Early," Confederate Veteran, XXVI (1918), 431.

reserve artillery and the wagon train proceed in that order.²⁷

Averell pushed McCausland aside as he advanced on Lynchburg. McCausland then resolved to make a stand at New London. At this point, Imboden and 2,000 Southern cavalrymen reinforced McCausland. Imboden had arrived in Lynchburg with Breckinridge and was ordered to join McCausland. The combined Confederate force stopped Averell in a small skirmish. However, at nightfall, Gen. Sullivan's First Infantry Division advanced to attack McCausland. The Confederates then fell back and pitched camp.²⁸

As Hunter stopped near New London on the evening of June 16, he obtained a report from a woman informant that Lynchburg was not heavily defended. The fortifications on the west side of town were nothing more than shallow rifle pits, and only sick and wounded soldiers were guarding Lynchburg. This intelligence verified the earlier report from Averell's scouts. Hunter decided to move on Lynchburg before any Confederate reinforcements could arrive.²⁹

In Lynchburg, Breckinridge discovered Gens. Daniel Harvey Hill and Harry Thompson Hays convalescing in the

²⁷Patterson diary, June 16, 1864; OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 98.

²⁸Ibid., 147 and 158.

²⁹Iron Worker, XXIV (1960), 28; OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 645.

general hospitals. Breckinridge, incapacitated by wounds, asked them to plan defenses for the city. Deciding that Hunter would attack from the west, the two generals constructed redoubts and trenches along College Hill at the western edge of the city. They concentrated their defenses on College Hill, yet soldiers and citizens also rimmed the hilltops surrounding the city. Scores of civilians helped construct the works. By the morning of June 17, Lynchburg was as ready as it could be. The whole city anxiously peered westward and northward. To the west were Hunter's Federals; to the north lay hope in the anticipated arrival of Early's Confederates.³⁰

As morning dawned in Charlottesville, the train Early had anxiously awaited chugged to a halt at the depot. Early decided that Gen. Stephen D. Ramseur's division and one brigade of Gen. John D. Gordon's division were to board the train. Early ordered Gen. Robert E. Rodes' division and the rest of Gordon's division to move along the tracks and to meet the train on its return. At 7:30 a. m., Early telegraphed Breckinridge that he would arrive in Lynchburg shortly after noon. The poor condition of the rails made the sixty-mile trip from Charlottesville to Lynchburg a five-hour journey.³¹

³⁰Early, Memoir, 43; Lynchburg Virginian, June 21, 1864.

³¹Early, Memoir, 42; Blackford, Battle of Lynchburg, 19.

On the same morning, McCausland met Hunter advancing along the Salem Turnpike. The Southerners retreated several miles before the Union advance, then made a strong stand eight miles from Lynchburg. Near 10 a. m., Averell struck McCausland's forces on Samuel Miller's farm. McCausland soon withdrew. Federal troops ransacked Miller's home, threatened his life and devoured a forty-five-year-old barrel of French brandy.³²

Hunter was now only a few hours from Lynchburg. Being assured that the city was weakly defended, he believed that Lynchburg was his for the taking. Unknown to Hunter, Early's men were at that moment arriving in Lynchburg. About 1 p. m., locomotive smoke could be seen far down the track. When the train came into full view, citizens saw Confederate soldiers hanging on the tops and sides of cars. Townspeople went wild with joy. Ladies distributed hot food to soldiers as they rushed to meet the fast approaching enemy.³³

Around 3:00 that afternoon, McCausland left Imboden to check Duffie's advance on Forest Road. Imboden decided to make a stand near the Quaker Church, about four miles west of Lynchburg. Averell came into contact with Imboden first and was forced back. Crook brought up two infantry brigades, the Third Brigade on the left of the Salem Turnpike

³²Lynchburg News, June 28, 1959.

³³SHSP, XXVII (1899), 189; John V. Horner and P. B. Winfree (eds.) The Saga of a City (Lynchburg, 1936), 82.

and the Second Brigade on the right. This combined Union thrust forced Imboden's withdrawal.³⁴

Early arrived at the fighting in time to see Imboden retiring. Two brigades of Ramseur's division assumed a defensive position two miles from the city. Imboden fell back to this line. The combined forces of Imboden and Ramseur, with two artillery pieces, were able to stop the Union advance. When Early's troops moved into battle, their begrizzled general snarled: "No buttermilk rangers after you now, damn you!"³⁵

Hunter had sent Duffie's division on the Forest Road into Lynchburg. After burning the Forest Depot, Duffie pushed forward and encountered McCausland's cavalry. Because of the dense woods and narrow road, cavalrymen on both sides were forced to dismount. McCausland's men handled themselves so well that Duffie initially thought he was fighting an infantry unit. After two hours of combat, Duffie's superior numbers managed to drive McCausland back. The Federals then bivouacked at Clay's Mill, five miles from Lynchburg. As night fell, the fighting around Lynchburg ceased except for occasional exchanges between pickets.³⁶

³⁴OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 147.

³⁵Edward M. Daniel (comp.) Speeches and Orations of John Worwick Daniel (Lynchburg), 1911), 541; Early, Memoir, 43; Confederate Veteran, XXVI (1918), 431.

³⁶SHSP, XXVII (1899), 190; OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 141.

When the Union army went into camp, Hunter made his headquarters at Sandusky House. This was the home of Maj. George C. Hutter, a U. S. Army paymaster prior to the war. Hutter had resigned when Virginia seceded, and he did not join the Confederate service because of advanced age. Hunter had known Hutter before the war and treated him courteously during his stay at Sandusky. At supper, Hunter and his staff boasted to Hutter that they would be in Lynchburg the next day. Hutter observed that such a job would be difficult. Lynchburg citizens would resist and, as a last resort, would move to the Amherst Heights and shell Hunter in the city. Hunter cynically observed that by doing so, the citizens would merely help him destroy the city.³⁷

General Hunter's main force bivouacked that night on ground west of Quaker Church and the slopes west of Burton Creek. The Northerners were so exhausted by the march over the mountains to Lynchburg that during the day over 300 soldiers had fallen out of the ranks because of the heat.³⁸

³⁷E. A. Watson, "When Hutter's House was Hunter's House," Iron Worker, X (1947), 1; Lynchburg Virginian, June 21, 1864.

³⁸Edley Craighill, "Lynchburg Virginia, in the War Between the States," Iron Worker, XXIV (1960), 9; Notebook of Samuel W. Compton, Duke University, 137. Cited hereafter as Compton Notebook.

Late in the evening, Hunter learned that Lynchburg had been reinforced. His scouts reported that all Confederate forces from the Valley and West Virginia were in Lynchburg under Breckinridge's command. They estimated this force at 12,500 men and were certain that they were well-organized and supplied. Hunter decided to reconnoiter personally the Lynchburg defenses. He discovered strong redoubts on each side of the Salem Turnpike, with rifle pits flanking the redoubts. Confederate forces could be seen extending and strengthening the lines. Throughout the night Union forces could hear Confederates working on the earthworks.³⁹

In Lynchburg, citizens jammed Church Street while waiting news of the day's engagement. Fear, excitement and confusion alternately swept the crowd. Although Confederate authorities asked citizens to take refuge in cellars, most residents were too excited to remain underground. One local woman observed: "Our people, of course, were very excited, but, on the whole, behaved very well, and with more coolness than I had anticipated."⁴⁰

Early had made his headquarters at the home of his brother, William H. Early, near the Washington Hotel.

³⁹OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 99; Patterson diary, June 17, 1864.

⁴⁰Lynchburg News, June 14, 1959; Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, June 21, 1864, Blackford Papers, Duke University.

From local citizens he gained information about the roads and terrain of the area. The first priority now was to strengthen his defensive line for the expected Federal attack the next morning.⁴¹

Two lines were constructed. The strongest centered at a redoubt on the Salem Turnpike about two and a half miles from the city. It became known as Fort Early. The line moved northwest from the turnpike to Forest Road and terminated on the farm of Seth Halsey near Blackwater Creek. From Fort Early the line extended southeastward to a redoubt at Campbell Court House Road.

The second line of defense were earthworks that Gens. Hill and Hays had constructed prior to Early's arrival. Breckinridge's infantry moved into the works to the right of Fort Early. Gen. Gabriel C. Wharton's brigade formed the right wing of the line. McCausland protected Wharton's flank and formed the extreme right of the line. Early placed the main body of his troops to the left of Fort Early. Cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, who had left Lexington with McCausland, were placed in Spring Hill Cemetery about a quarter of a mile in the rear of the front line. Two guns of Breckinridge's command under charge of Lieut. Carter Berkeley, and some guns belonging to Maj. Floyd King's battalion, moved into

⁴¹Lynchburg News, June 14, 1959.

Fort Early. Two guns of Botetourt Artillery were placed in the Forest Road redoubt to protect the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad bridge over Ivy Creek. The other four guns of the battery moved to a position in the Old Methodist Cemetery. This burial ground formed the right anchor of Early's second line of defense.⁴²

With only part of his Second Corps at hand, Early worried about Hunter's superior numbers. The Confederate general devised a plan to make Hunter think he was being reinforced. Obtaining a switch engine and some cars from the Southside Railroad, Early ordered the empty train out of the city. When the train had moved far enough from Lynchburg, it would reverse its course and return to the city amid cheers and shouts. Early hoped that this would give the impression of extra troops moving into Lynchburg. The plan proved a success. General Sullivan told a number of his staff that he "heard the railroad trains coming and going all night, also cheering and military music which indicated arrival of troops in the town."⁴³

⁴²Humphreys, Lynchburg Campaign, 63-64; Iron Worker, XXIV (1960), 9; Blackford, Battle of Lynchburg, 21; Lynchburg News, Apr. 13, 1924; Hilda L. Forsburg Davis. "The Battle of Lynchburg," News of Interest to the Daughters of the Virginia Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, (Richmond, 1952), 2.

⁴³Lynchburg News, Oct. 15, 1961; Iron Worker XXIV (1960), 9, 30; GAR War Papers, I, 134.

June 18 dawned over Lynchburg revealing an unnatural sight: approximately 16,000 Confederates facing close to 19,000 Federal troops. As Early braced for attack, surgeons in the hospitals received orders not to leave their posts for the next three days. Officials expected great numbers of wounded in the hospitals.⁴⁴

That morning Federal pickets pushed forward to the tollgate on the Salem Turnpike, within half a mile of Fort Early, as Hunter prepared to test Early's strength. Around 11 a. m., Gen. Henry DuPont, the Federal chief of artillery, began a heavy bombardment of the Confederate positions. DuPont had at least twenty-six guns facing Early's line. Early had less than twenty cannon. As the Confederate batteries answered DuPont's guns, their aim was unusually accurate and caused extensive damage to the Union batteries. DuPont wrote that the marksmanship of the Confederate batteries was superior to any he had encountered for some time.⁴⁵

Hunter then shifted Crook and his Third Brigade to the right in hopes of turning the Confederate left flank. After marching four miles, Crook found such a flanking

⁴⁴Letters and Orders Book, June 18, 1864.

⁴⁵Lynchburg Virginian, June 21, 1864; Henry DuPont, The Campaign of 1864 in the Valley of Virginia and The Expedition to Lynchburg (New York, 1925), 76.

movement impractical and returned to his original position. Near 1 p. m., while Crook was moving back to the main line, Early launched an attack against Hunter's center. The assault was so violent and sudden that it overwhelmed the Union soldiers. Sullivan's First Infantry Division began to break. Crook, returning with his brigade, ordered his troops to aid Sullivan. Meeting the combined force of Crook and Sullivan, the Confederates grudgingly returned to their fortifications. The Union soldiers counterattacked against the Confederate line, only to be met with a storm of grapeshot and canister.⁴⁶

Around 3 p. m., Sullivan and Crook again advanced on Early's center. This attack broke part of the Confederate line and pushed Early's men some 300 yards back to Fishing Creek. Yet the Union soldiers soon came under heavy fire and retreated to their lines. This Union assault was the last infantry engagement on the Salem Turnpike. However, Duffie and McCausland were locked in combat on the Forest Road.⁴⁷

That morning Duffie had left his encampment at Clay's Mill and proceeded along Forest Road. At 9:00, Duffie encountered artillery fire from Halsey's farm. When Duffie's division moved against this threat, McCausland decided to

⁴⁶Iron Worker, XXIV (1960), 31.

⁴⁷Lynchburg News, June 21, 1959.

retire to works just beyond Blackwater Creek. There strong fortifications gave McCausland an enviable position, since any attacker would have to cross a low valley about a quarter-mile long.⁴⁸

Duffie started in pursuit of McCausland. The First Cavalry Division split into three columns, one brigade moving on the Forest Road with a brigade on either side. Duffie pushed forward to within half a mile of McCausland's fortifications. There he encountered Blackwater Creek, with its high banks and swampy approaches. McCausland's guns covered the Forest Road, which contained the only bridge across the creek. Confederate artillery opened on Duffie, but superior Union artillery temporarily silenced McCausland's guns.⁴⁹

The Federal general then ordered a charge on the Forest Road bridge. Duffie's men were repulsed by Confederate infantry concealed beyond the bridge. McCausland's guns zeroed in on the Union attackers and did considerable damage. Occasional artillery fire continued until 5 p. m., when McCausland launched an attack of his own. Confederate artillery and small arms fire drove Duffie's skirmishers back across Blackwater Creek. Confederate cavalry tried to flank Duffie's left. Duffie

⁴⁸Lynchburg Virginian, June 21, 1864.

⁴⁹OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 142.

managed to hold his line. An attack followed on Duffie's right; but after this short struggle, Duffie again held his position.⁵⁰

Around this time, Duffie reported seeing reinforcements coming from Lynchburg. These troops were the remaining elements of Early's Second Corps. Rodes's division and the rest of Gordon's division had left North Garden depot below Charlottesville around 10:00 that morning. Since Lynchburg was Rodes's hometown, he was particularly anxious to get to its defense. The trains carrying the troops arrived in mid-afternoon, and the soldiers quickly moved to the two fronts as the day came to a close.⁵¹

While Confederate troops were successfully holding back Union advances, a number of civilians were contributing to the city's defense. The men of the city occupied the fortifications atop College Hill, thereby freeing capable soldiers to man the front lines. Some women were busily cooking rations for the men in the lines or rolling bandages for the wounded.⁵²

At Hunter's Sandusky House headquarters, the dinner mood represented a marked contrast to the previous evening.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Diary of L. L. Polk, June 18, 1864, Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

⁵²Susan Blackford to Charles Blackford, June 21, 1864, Blackford Papers, Duke; Blackford, Battle of Lynchburg, 56.

Hunter's aides ate in silence, whereas on the night before they had boasted of taking their next meal in Lynchburg. After supper, Hunter and his staff moved to Maj. Hutter's parlor to hold a council of war. Hunter had obtained reliable intelligence that Early now had the entire Second Corps in Lynchburg. When the staff concluded that it was best to retreat, plans for the withdrawal were quickly formulated.⁵³

All Federal supply and baggage trains began moving on the Salem Turnpike. Sullivan, Crook and Averell were ordered on the road as soon as darkness fell. They would leave a few pickets until all troops had been withdrawn. Hunter ordered Duffie to remain in position until otherwise directed. By 10 p. m., having received no orders, Duffie became nervous. On his own initiative, therefore, he directed the First Cavalry Division to fall back. A Union soldier preparing for retreat sarcastically remarked: "A rebel band struck up 'Get out of the Wilderness' and we got."⁵⁴

With his corps now concentrated in Lynchburg, Early felt prepared to launch a strong attack against Hunter. After midnight, Early learned that the Federal army was

⁵³ Lynchburg Virginian, June 21-22, 1864.

⁵⁴ OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 100, 143; Compton Notebook, 139.

in motion. Early was unsure whether Hunter was retreating or planning an attack on Lynchburg from some other point. By 4 a. m. on June 19, Early concluded that Hunter was retreating. The Confederates thereupon began an immediate pursuit. The Second Corps moved west along the Salem Turnpike. Early directed McCausland to advance along the Forest Road, but McCausland mistakenly took the road to Lexington.⁵⁵

By daylight on June 19, the Union army had reached the outskirts of Liberty. Duffie joined Hunter about four miles outside the town and selected a campground to give the troops a needed rest. In late afternoon, Early overtook the Federal rear guard. Ramseur's division then drove Hunter's forces through Liberty. Early continued to press Hunter past Salem, where the Federal forces successfully escaped to safety in the West Virginia mountains.⁵⁶

Casualties in the battle of Lynchburg were relatively light. Hunter lost no more than 250 killed, wounded and captured. Confederate dead were considerably less than Hunter's but wounded mounted up in the Lynchburg hospitals, exceeding over 1,000 from the two days' fighting alone. Hunter left only the seriously wounded in Lynchburg as he

⁵⁵Diary of Cary Whitaker, June 19, 1864, Whitaker Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

⁵⁶OR, XXXVII, Pt. 1, 143.

used ninety ambulances to remove those soldiers who could be transported.⁵⁷

John Jay Terrell, an assistant surgeon in one of the hospitals, toured the battlefield on the day after the engagement. He encountered a dead Union soldier at the tollgate on the Salem Turnpike. This marked the farthest advance of Hunter's army. Not far from the tollgate was the home of Abraham Planks. There Mrs. Lizzie Planks, who had remained in her home during the fighting, was nursing more than a dozen wounded Federal soldiers. Dr. Terrell saw many Union dead at Dr. William Owen's farm near Sandusky House. This had been the center of Hunter's line. Terrell also found a Union hospital in Maj. Hutter's barn, where over eighty-five Union soldiers and one Confederate soldier were being treated. Terrell felt that only five of the soldiers had any chance of recovery. Scores of amputated limbs lay outside the barn. One pile was four feet high--gruesome testimony to the hard labor of Union surgeons.⁵⁸

After it became known that Hunter had retreated, the immediate feeling in Lynchburg was revenge. One Confederate soldier wrote to his mother that Hunter and his men were

⁵⁷Humphreys, Lynchburg Campaign, 69; Lynchburg Virginian, June 22, 1864.

⁵⁸Lynchburg News, June 21 and 28, 1959.

outlaws and should be hanged upon capture. The Lynchburg Virginian, in its first issue following the battle, called the Union army "fiends," "demoniac foe," "armed marauders" and "infuriated wretches."⁵⁹ Yet Confederate forces had saved the city from physical destruction, and the citizens rejoiced in that knowledge.

⁵⁹L. M. Blackford to Mrs. William M. Blackford, June 24, 1864, Blackford Papers, U. Va.; Lynchburg Virginian, June 21, 1864.

CHAPTER VI
THE FINAL CURTAIN

As Gen. Early pursued Hunter into the mountains, Lynchburg breathed a sigh of relief. Saved from potential destruction, citizens now turned their efforts to burying the dead and healing the wounded. The battle of Lynchburg claimed five Confederate soldiers killed in action. However, many of the men wounded in the fighting later died so that by the end of June, Diuguid Funeral Home had buried 143 men. The hospitals filled quickly as the wounded entered the city. Tents housed the overflow in the hospital yards as approximately 2,650 Confederate soldiers and over 100 Northern prisoners entered the hospitals. Dr. Owen ordered all prisoners in need of medical attention to General Hospital No. 3. These prisoners, in addition to the Confederate wounded, pushed the total number of patients listed in Lynchburg hospitals to over 4,300 men.¹

To soldiers who saved their city from destruction, citizen groups passed resolutions of gratitude. The city council singled out important individuals in the defense

¹Diuguid's Book (unmarked), June 1864, 142-152; "Weekly Reports," June 1864.

of the city. Council gave special recognition to Gen. McCausland in the form of a sword and a pair of silver spurs costing \$3,000. Lynchburg was well aware that McCausland's success in delaying Hunter was crucial in the fight to save the city.²

With battling soldiers gone, some people ventured out to the battlefield to view the destruction. Unfortunately, a servant belonging to Seth Halsey was examining an unexploded shell when it discharged in his hands, causing the loss of both hands and an arm. Local authorities warned citizens to stay clear of such objects. Another unfortunate result of the battle was the loss of communication westward. Union forces had destroyed much of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad along with the telegraph. Two months passed before the city began receiving news from the west.³

As Early continued his push down the Valley toward Washington, he sent hundreds of Federal prisoners to Lynchburg. Massie's tobacco factory accommodated the overload. Relief came when the Confederate government ordered all prisoners capable of moving to be transferred from Richmond and Lynchburg to Camp Andersonville at

²Christian, Lynchburg and Its People, 227-28.

³Lynchburg Virginian, June 23, Aug. 3, 1864.

Sumter, Ga. Nicholls took command of transporting the prisoners southward. After completing the move, Nicholls requested leave of his Lynchburg post and transfer to the Trans-Mississippi Department. The War Department agreed, and Gen. Raleigh Edward Colston assumed command at Lynchburg.⁴

On September 19, Early encountered sharp fighting and heavy losses at Winchester. News of the battle reached the city the following day, and many citizens prayed for the savior of Lynchburg. Soon 1,000 new wounded poured into the city as local residents learned of the loss of one of Lynchburg's finest sons, Gen. Robert Emmett Rodes. This native Lynchburger had left the state before the war began and formed an Alabama regiment. Now he returned to be buried in the ground on which he had played as a child.⁵

The Rodes family set the funeral for September 23, and all businesses were closed during the procession. The funeral march included a military escort, the Masonic fraternity, relatives and city officials. The procession formed on Main Street and marched to the family residence on Harrison Street between Tenth and Eleventh. From that

⁴Ibid., July 19, Oct. 18, 1864; Diuguid's Book (unmarked), Oct. 1, 1864, 167; OR, Ser. II, VII, 423.

⁵Somerville Diary, Sept. 19, 1864.

point ballbearers took Rodes's body to the Presbyterian cemetery, where a final tribute was paid to the general.⁶

As summer drew to a close, inflation continued its steady rise. When the government again depreciated the currency, prices rose out of control. Shoes that had been \$10 per pair the previous year now sold for \$130 a pair. The Lynchburg Gas Company doubled its rates by charging \$50 per 1,000 cubic feet. Many people simply cut off their gas in response. Machinists on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad called a strike for a fifty-percent increase in wages. Authorities jailed the strikers, who agreed to return to work only when they were promised food at government prices. Physicians who practiced privately doubled their fees. Many people were not able to pay in cash and bartered for goods and services. Foodstuffs became the new currency.⁷

As inflation grew, so did government conscriptions. The Confederacy suffered a severe shortage of manpower, and the government now drew on all its reserves. This included widening the age span for men eligible for the draft. Boys of seventeen years were forced into the army,

⁶Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 23, 1864; Christian, Lynchburg and Its People, 229.

⁷Somerville diary, Sept. 6, 1864; Lynchburg Virginian, July 12, Aug. 15, Sept. 29, 1864.

and many younger ones volunteered. This new conscription drastically disrupted society in Lynchburg. The government drafted many of the city's bankers along with four court magistrates. Local militia lost men who left for the trenches of Richmond and Petersburg. The city artillery unit, established expressly for home defense, was mustered into Confederate service. The James River and Kanawha Canal lost its carpenters. Needed repairs forced temporary closings on the canal. With only two operators left at the gas company, officials grew panicky when enrolling officers literally dragged those two men into the service. Government offices, hospitals, railroad depots, telegraph and printing offices promptly lost their gas lights. If Gen. Colston had not retrieved the two men, all gas services to the city would have ceased. The enrolling officers even threatened to conscript George Diuguid. Lynchburg, with over 20,000 civilians and soldiers, would then have been forced to function without an undertaker.⁸

Lynchburg's male citizens were not the only people conscripted. Government officials continued to impress slaves to work on fortifications. In August, Colston called for 100 blacks to report for duty. Another 193 were summoned the following month. As a result, by the

⁸Ibid., Sept. 19 and 29, Oct. 1, 8 and 13, Nov. 4, 1864.

end of October, Colston had constructed fortification lines that commanded every pass and ravine approaching Lynchburg. Meanwhile, the Confederate government continued impressing slaves. The army removed 261 slaves to work as cooks and laborers. This action adversely affected the slave trade in Lynchburg.⁹

With inflation rising and winter coming, food became more difficult to obtain. Again, the poor were hit the hardest. Lynchburg, as in the past, tried to help her less fortunate. Local markets sold rice at government-quoted prices of sixty cents a pound, considerably less than the market value. One local resident proposed to be one of 100 men to give \$500 for the poor. This was an admirable gesture, but also a safe one. Since few people could raise \$500, the plan failed. The city did establish a soup house for the poor. City council promised that the free soup would be rich enough to sustain life without any other food.¹⁰

As privation faced many, two large fires struck Lynchburg's business district. On October 20, flames destroyed a government wagon factory on Lynch Street. The blaze burned machinery and stores of lumber stretching almost a city block. Two months later, a fire of similar

⁹Ibid., Aug. 20, Oct. 10, 17 and 25, 1864.

¹⁰Ibid., Oct. 6, Dec. 2, 1864.

proportions erupted at the corner of Sixth and Main streets. Before the blaze could be contained, eight houses were destroyed in addition to Armistead's tobacco factory. Citizens gave donations for the homeless to Mrs. Ambrose Page, who distributed the gifts to the families.¹¹

Christmas, 1864, came, but few in the hill city could find joy in the season. Many families could think only of loved ones in the trenches around Petersburg. One local lady wrote: "These are indeed sad times, gloom seems to overshadow the land and many are ready to give up the ship."¹²

Some Lynchburg citizens attempted to make the season as enjoyable as possible for sons in the field. Coordinators from all over Virginia planned a New Year's dinner for Gen. Lee's army at Richmond and Petersburg. Lynchburg gave its wholehearted support to the vast undertaking. Regrettably, the men were so numerous and the food stores so little that most soldiers received nothing more than a piece of bread and a small slice of pork.¹³

¹¹Ibid., Oct. 21, Dec. 19 and 21, 1864.

¹²Anne Powell Garland to Ann Eliza Roberts, Jan. 1, 1865, Roberts Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

¹³Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 9, 1865.

When news reached Lynchburg of the soldiers' disappointment at their New Year's dinner, civic morale hit a low point. Shortages, uncontrolled inflation and death all added to a downtrodden public spirit. The Lynchburg Virginian tried to bolster public morale with patriotic editorials. One citizen suggested forming a war meeting to revive martial spirit in the city. Some people accepted the idea and made plans for such a gathering. Not until the last day of February did the meeting get underway, yet it was a huge success. The newspaper billed it as the largest meeting ever convened in Lynchburg. Citizens packed Dudley Hall to capacity. The meeting lasted past midnight, with citizens resolving to send a large contribution to Lee's army.¹⁴

Unfortunately, the aroused war spirit did not slow down inflation. Only six months after a 100% increase in fees, the Lynchburg Gas Company raised rates again. Gas costing \$25 per 1,000 feet in January, 1864, now sold for \$65 per 1,000 feet. This increase in cost of a service on which many people depended drew loud public outcries. In response, the Lynchburg Gas Company published returns for the previous year which showed a \$5,946 loss. Prices soared everywhere. Flour was up to \$700 a barrel, butter

¹⁴Ibid., Jan. 10, Feb. 11, Mar. 2, 1865.

\$15 a pound, coffee \$50 a pound, liquor \$300 a gallon, wood \$50 a cord, sugar \$20 a pound and bacon \$12 a pound. Money was becoming so worthless that when a thief broke into a shop on Main Street to steal foodstuffs, he crammed a dollar bill in the keyhole to prevent light from escaping.¹⁵

Lynchburg ladies formed the Union Benevolent Society to help the poor cope with inflation. The ladies canvassed the city to raise money for food and clothing. The cost of piece goods and ready-made clothing had increased with other prices. With a yard of grey cloth costing \$150, a young Lynchburg girl wrote in her diary: "I do wish this war would stop & people could get food & clothes without so much trouble."¹⁶

On March 1, 1865, Lynchburg received reports that Union cavalry commander Philip H. Sheridan was northeast of Lynchburg in Nelson County with a large force. The city prepared for battle once again. This time, however, no reinforcements were in sight. General Colston urgently called on Lee for more men. Lee responded negatively. Captain Frederick Colston, who visited Lynchburg during

¹⁵Ibid., Jan. 10 and 13, Feb. 15, 1865; Diary of Janet Cleland, entry of May 8, 1865, Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg.

¹⁶Lynchburg Virginian, Mar. 17, 1865; Cleland diary, Mar. 2, 1865.

Sheridan's movements, found the city in a state of near panic. Luckily the threat passed as Sheridan moved on to Petersburg.¹⁷

With the Confederacy now dying, Lynchburg citizens exhibited constant anxiety which they occasionally cloaked with frivolous activities. Men carried guns with them as they left their homes in expectation of Northern raiding parties at any moment. Some men fired at any stranger they suspected of being an infiltrator. One such man mistook Joseph H. Teaford of the 14th Virginia Cavalry for the enemy as he was relieving himself in the woods near the city. Teaford came out both wounded and humiliated. However, some people chose to spend their time frolicking in the warm spring days. Trustees at Spring Hill Cemetery constantly complained of young couples who were entering the cemetery on pleasure excursions and not respecting the sacred ground.¹⁸

As the war clouds grew heavier to the east, the city lost its remaining newspaper. On March 24, the Lynchburg Virginian ceased publication. Rumors spread among the citizens that Richmond was being evacuated. Lynchburg lived in horrible suspense as news came that Lee was

¹⁷Diary of Mary Early, entry of Mar. 3, 1865, Virginia Historical Society; Confederate Veteran, XIX (1911), 23.

¹⁸Lynchburg Virginian, Mar. 16 and 22, 1865.

abandoning his position and moving westward. The worst of fears was confirmed when on April 6, by way of the canal, state legislators and officials with state records arrived in Lynchburg. The city had been chosen to become the state capital during Richmond's occupation. Lieutenant Colonel William LeRoy Browne, commander of the Richmond arsenal, transported all stores that could be moved to Lynchburg, excluding those sent to Lee's army. Munitions and machinery moved by canal. Governor William Smith chose not to follow President Davis southward but to remain in the state. State Auditor Jonathan Bennett arrived in the new capital without enough treasury notes to pay the cost of transportation. He requested that Lynchburg citizens lend him the money. Private citizens and banks responded immediately with \$55,400.¹⁹

Lynchburg's excitement heightened with each passing day of that fateful week in April. On April 6, Colston reinforced his crumbling defenses by drawing manpower from the hospitals. He chose a convalescing officer, Col. George A. Martin, to command 600 furloughed troops in the city. Martin boastingly replied: "This means that I am to have

¹⁹"Lynchburg, Capital of Virginia," Lynchburg Historical Society Museum Papers, III (1965), 1-2; Confederate Veteran, XII (1904), 23.

another brush with these Blue Coats. Nothing can afford me more pleasure."²⁰

The same day, Gen. John D. Imboden arrived with his cavalry brigade from Staunton. Colston stationed these troops at the fairgrounds to act as a reserve unit. Martin reviewed the city's defenses and commented that this would be the Confederacy's last stand. He felt that the expected confrontation would become listed among such great battles as Thermopylae and the Alamo.²¹

Palm Sunday dawned in Lynchburg with citizens unaware that the once-mighty Army of Northern Virginia was engaged in its final battle only thirty miles away at Appomattox Court House. Colston, who had been sending Gen. Lee urgent requests for military aid, received a dispatch from the great general. Surrender the city, Lee stated, for he could do nothing. Some of the local ladies gathered on their porches as though the day was as normal as any other. Two ladies even invited an officer hurrying to the defenses to stop and have dinner.²²

²⁰George A. Martin, "Memoir of the Demise of the Confederacy," typescript at Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg, Apr. 6-7, 1865.

²¹Confederate Veteran, XXXII (1925), 86; Martin, "Memoir," Apr. 8, 1865.

²²Cleland diary, Apr. 14, 1865; Martin, "Memoir," Apr. 9, 1865.

That evening, Col. Munford and the 2nd Virginia Cavalry reached Lynchburg. Assured of Lee's surrender, Munford ordered his regiment to disband the next morning. The mustering out took place at the fairgrounds--where, four years ago, the regiment came into being.

With news of Lee's capitulation, Colston ordered a strong wagon with four horses to take the city's safe out of town to avoid capture. As the news spread among the ranks, the soldiers' reactions in Lynchburg ranged from laughter and relief that the war was over to sadness and tears for a lost cause. A few soldiers went beserk, placed straw under cassions and lit them, thereby placing themselves and others in danger. Many of the soldiers, not being from Lynchburg, abandoned the city's defenses. That evening riots and pillaging erupted. Raids for food were made on all stores. Lynchburg citizens sadly watched their once-great city sacked by crazed people who had no future.²³

On the morning of April 10, soldiers and civilians began leaving the city en masse. Military stores that could not be moved were destroyed. The hospitals permitted all men able to move to leave. It was heart-rending to hear the pleadings and sobs of soldiers still confined to their beds. The state government dissolved as Gov. Smith left

²³Confederate Veteran, XXXVII (1930), 326; Martin, "Memoir," Apr. 9, 1865; Somerville diary, Apr. 10, 1865.

for Danville to meet with President Davis. State legislators departed in all directions in hopes of avoiding capture. A surgeon who remained in the city described the exodus as one of men and horses starved, fatigued and frightened, moving out of the city. This day, he wrote, is the "saddest & most heart sickening of the whole of this terrible war."²⁴

With defenses abandoned, Lynchburg helplessly awaited her fate. Rumors spread that a large Federal force planned to destroy the city for revenge. These fears were unfounded. Three days after Lee's surrender, Mayor Branch handed over his city to Federal Gen. Ranald S. Mackenzie, who accepted it peacefully. During the city's military occupation, civil law returned. Northerners did not pillage and rape, as many had feared, but maintained law and order. Residents called their behavior remarkable with no boasting or hurrahing. The soldiers never entered homes unless invited, and they only entered businesses to destroy all liquor. The latter practice was to keep their own soldiers from becoming drunk and disorderly. The only complaint of the citizens was the threatening attitude of some newly-freed blacks. Even on this point, the occupational troops kept black resentment within verbal

²⁴Ibid.; "Lynchburg, Capital of Virginia," Lynchburg Historical Society Museum Papers, III (1965), 2.

bounds and quickly suppressed any violence. Union troops remained in the hill city until Sunday, April 17, when the bulk of the soldiers departed.²⁵

Suffering continued in Lynchburg's hospitals after the surrender. General James Dearing of Campbell County lay dying in the Ladies Relief Hospital having been wounded in the fighting near Farmville. General Mackenzie, a classmate of Dearing at West Point, did not require him to take the oath of allegiance demanded of all other Southern soldiers. On April 22, Dearing died a Confederate, true to his cause. Before the military hospitals closed two months later, twenty-four more soldiers had perished.²⁶

A cruel civil war had ended, taking with it the flower of Lynchburg's youth. 1,206 local men went into the Confederate service, a large proportion of those did not return. Diuguid's records listed 2,924 soldiers as having died in the Lynchburg hospitals. These soldiers that did return to Lynchburg found their slaves gone, businesses destroyed and the city's financial structure virtually nonexistent. The tobacco market, the foundation of Lynchburg's business community, was severely depressed and appeared to be beyond recovery. Many manufacturing

²⁵Somerville diary, Apr. 11 and 17, 1865; Cleland diary, Apr. 11 and 14, 1865.

²⁶Christian, Lynchburg and Its People, 238; Diuguid's Book (unmarked), Apr.-June 1865, 173-75.

institutions had closed due to loss of a market and worn-out equipment. Deane's foundry, as well as others, had produced war materials throughout the conflict and most of their machinery was beyond repair. Citizens of Lynchburg who had survived four years of war had lost both men and money. Yet the city, strong as the will of the people, would survive the years of Reconstruction and live on to become one of Virginia's thriving metropolitan areas.

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George Graham Morris was born July 17, 1953, in Lynchburg, Virginia. Educated in the Lynchburg public school system, he graduated from E. C. Glass High School in 1971 and then entered the University of Virginia. In May, 1975, he was awarded a B. A. degree in history.

During the summers of 1973-1975, Mr. Morris actively pursued his interest in American history as a Park Interpreter at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park. In September, 1975, he entered Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University to pursue a Master of Arts degree in American history. Presently he is teaching in the Lynchburg public school system.

George G. Morris

CONFEDERATE LYNCHBURG, 1861-1865

by

George Graham Morris

(ABSTRACT)

In 1860, Lynchburg was a thriving tobacco town. The "golden leaf" had stimulated the economy and made the city financially sound. When civil war erupted, Lynchburg cast her fate with Virginia and the Confederacy. Mobilization began at a rapid rate. Men flocked to the ranks, industries geared to war production and women began making clothing for the soldiers.

Located on three railroad lines and a canal, Lynchburg became an important transportation link for the Confederacy. Soldiers poured into the city during the first year of war. The city established two camps accommodating over 10,000 soldiers. A military hospital came into being shortly thereafter. As the war progressed, sick and wounded men poured into Lynchburg in such a stream that three general military hospitals and three independent hospitals were ultimately established. The general hospitals were divided into divisions and extended even into various tobacco factories.

Lynchburg constantly faced inflation and scarcity during the war. Sometimes action from local authorities aided the problem, but many times Lynchburg citizens lived in fear of privation. With the city full of transit soldiers, crime became an almost insurmountable problem.

The end finally came on April 12, 1865, when Mayor Branch surrendered the city to Federal troops.