

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.	111
CHAPTER	
I. THE "HOME GUARD" ANSWERS THE CALL.	1
II. BAPTISM OF A REGIMENT.	13
III. WINTER QUARTERS	30
IV. MUD, MARCHING, MISERY, MAYHEM.	43
V. GREEN APPLES, GREEN CORN	61
VI. DESOLATION AT HIGH TIDE.	84
VII. A HORSE FOR COLONEL TERRY.	99
VIII. "SHOVED TO THE FRONT".	109
IX. SOLDIERS TO THE END.	119
X. EPILOGUE	132
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY	135
VITA.	146

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CHAPTER I

THE HOME GUARD ANSWERS THE CALL

John Brown was dead wrong. In his tormented mind, seizure of the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry would stir a Negro armed insurrection. As he mounted the gallows, armed men were indeed rising throughout the South. However, they were not slaves.

At Lynchburg, a small tobacco city in Virginia's Piedmont, the news from Harper's Ferry brought forth an immediate response. Writing in the city's newspaper, "Curtius" saw in the attack an unmistakable threat to Southern security. To him, Brown's raid was a warning of future harm. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed," the unknown writer stated; "you have been warned, but where are your arms?" Only a militia could face the irrepressible conflict¹ foretold by the "bloody reality of Harper's Ferry." The next day, in an article directed "to the mechanics of Lynchburg," the same writer begged for the creation of an artillery company.² "Curtius's" last appeal was addressed to the young men of the city. Reviewing Lynchburg's patriotic response in years past, he recalled how public apathy, scoffer's

¹ Lynchburg Daily Virginian, Oct. 25, 1859. Hereafter cited as Lynchburg Virginian.

² Ibid., Oct. 26, 1859.

ridicule and civic non-support had forced the youth to regret and then abandon their military duties so that a militia unit that had proudly served the city finally ceased to exist.³ "We are in the midst of exciting times which require every man to do his duty," wrote the author. The young men should return to "the soldiering trade" and offer themselves to form a "rifle corps." Should they do so, "Curtius" promised unqualified support and admiration from Lynchburg's leaders and public alike.⁴

On November 1, 1859, determined to establish a unit, a group of prominent citizens held an organizational meeting. Four days previously, a wild, statewide rumor reported an abolitionist force headed toward Charleston to effect the deliverance of John Brown. Maurice S. Langhorne and Kirkwood Otey had immediately telegraphed an offer to Governor Henry Wise to raise 100 Lynchburg men to help in repelling the expected attack.⁵ While the Governor had declined their offer--since the rescue had failed, the city was sufficiently aroused to make a positive move. The meeting, attended by Langhorne and Otey,

³ For an outline of Lynchburg's military contribution from before Bacon's Rebellion through World War I, see Edley Craighill, "Lynchburg's Petit Military Argosy," a 1939 manuscript in the Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg, Va.

⁴ Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 27, 1859.

⁵ Ibid., Oct. 28, 1859.

considered a constitution and bylaws, selection of drill leaders, means to arm a company, designation of a name for the troop, procurement of a drill area and recruiting methods. Calling their troop the "Home Guard," the men agreed to meet a week later.⁶ The committee to obtain a drill area secured the use of Martin's Warehouse where, on Friday, November 4, an initial drill took place. By this time, about sixty men had volunteered for the "company of foot."⁷

The next meeting, held November 8, 1859, saw the selection of officers and adoption of a constitution. By a unanimous vote, Samuel Garland, Jr., became temporary commander and Kirkwood Otey orderly sergeant, pending State action regarding the organization. The new commander posted a drill schedule and accepted nine new recruits. After contributing their dues and initiation fees, members voted to become light infantry armed with percussion muskets and dressed in the United States infantry uniform, substituting a cap for the Hungarian hat.

Samuel Garland, Jr., the new captain, was a thirty-year-old, socially prominent lawyer and a member of the city council.⁸

⁶ Lynchburg Virginian, Nov. 3, 1859.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., Oct. 29, 1859, listed Garland as a member of city council. Susan L. Blackford, in Memoir (Madison Heights, Va., 1959), 12, told of Garland's playing host to Rufus King. See also Susan L. Blackford (comp.), Letters From Lee's Army (New York, 1947), 3. Hereafter cited as Blackford, Letters.

Having attended Randolph-Macon College and Virginia Military Institute, Garland received his law degree from the University of Virginia. He taught as a law lecturer at Lynchburg College in his spare time.⁹ Kirkwood Otey, also a V. M. I. alumnus and one year older than his captain, was a banker who had served in the Virginia National Guard.¹⁰ Garland had an infant son; Otey did not marry until 1862.

Members of the "Home Guard" bought their own uniforms, initially ordered from Philadelphia. They soon cancelled the contract in order to permit local tailors to make the uniforms from Virginia materials.¹¹ Guardsmen stored their uniforms at home with their Springfield muskets, there being no armory in Lynchburg. Garland's law office served as company headquarters.¹² A later muster roll revealed the "Home Guard" to be a city unit: 37 members were merchants, 15 were clerks. In addition, the company contained 10 students, 6 farmers,

⁹ Rosa F. Yancey, Lynchburg and Its Neighbors (Richmond, 1935), 96-98. Hereafter cited as Yancey, Lynchburg. See also "201 File for Samuel Garland, Jr.," Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va.

¹⁰ "201 File for Kirkwood Otey," V. M. I. See also Records of the 11th Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, Virginia State Archives. Hereafter cited as 11th Virginia Records.

¹¹ Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 8, 1859.

¹² Charles M. Blackford, Jr., et al., Annals of the Lynchburg Home Guard (Lynchburg, 1891), 16-17. Hereafter cited as Blackford, Annals.

4 tobacconists, 3 lawyers, 2 bankers, plus an auctioneer, printer, machinist, musician, silversmith, carpenter, druggist, teacher and doctor. Ranging in age from eighteen to thirty-nine, 26 of the 106 men were not yet twenty-one; 79 were twenty-five years or less. Only 9 men were older than thirty.¹³

Having solved the legal problems involved, the "Home Guard, on November 21, 1859, elected its officers. Samuel Garland became Captain; Kirkwood Otey, First Lieutenant. Second, Third and Fourth Lieutenants, sergeants and corporals, plus a secretary, treasurer, surgeon and armorer completed the officers of the unit. By then the Guard numbered seventy men.¹⁴

Bi-weekly drill for the new company proved effective as the city's newspaper noted the "fine appearance and soldierly bearing" of the "Home Guard" during their first public show on December 23, when they exchanged greetings with the "Wythe Greys," enroute home from duty at the execution of John Brown.¹⁵ Lynchburg next saw its troops in late January, 1860, at the "Home Guard's" first public drill. The paper pronounced the Guardsmen "exceedingly handsome" in their uniforms and boasted that they were an "honor to the city."¹⁶ Becoming

¹³ 11th Virginia Records.

¹⁴ Lynchburg Virginian, Nov. 23, 1859.

¹⁵ Ibid., Dec. 23, 1859.

¹⁶ Ibid., Jan. 25, 1860.

an integral part of Lynchburg's civic life, the Guard participated in a military demonstration to celebrate George Washington's Birthday, a Flag presentation, visits to other cities, and even the winning of a \$100 prize for a contest of military drill.¹⁷ Yet the future for this group was ominous. In the following five years, the 100 men-- and their replacements--would suffer 117 casualties and participate in the bloodiest battles in American history.¹⁸ The "Home Guard" became Company G, 11th Regiment, Virginia Volunteers, Kemper's (later Terry's) Brigade, Pickett's Division, Longstreet's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia. It would fight four long, agonizing years, from Manassas to Appomattox, and write an enduring history with its blood.

During this same time, sister companies to the "Home Guard" had their origins. On January 23, 1860, the "Rifle Greys" of Lynchburg elected Maurice Langhorne as Captain and uniformed itself with local materials sewed at home. During December 1859, the "Fincastle Rifles" of Botetourt County completed its organization. Early in 1860, the "Clifton Greys" of Pigeon Run (now Gladys in Campbell County) formed and elected Adam Clements, a thirty-four-year-old farmer from Mount

¹⁷ Lynchburg Virginian, Feb. 22; Mar. 26, 31; Apr. 13; Oct. 27, 1860; Diary of William M. Blackford, entry of Dec. 9, 1859, Blackford Papers, University of Virginia. Hereafter cited as Blackford Diary.

¹⁸ Record of the Lynchburg Home Guard (Lynchburg, 1877), 10.

Zion as its commander. Another Campbell County company called itself the "Southern Guards." Captain Robert C. Saunders was its commander. With the exception of nine men, the "Southern Guards" were farmers. Their youngest member was eighteen; their oldest, forty-two. Lynchburg College mustered a unit called the "Lynchburg Rifles." Eusebius Fowlkes, a physician and graduate of Virginia Military Institute, recruited and captained a Montgomery County unit known as the "Preston Guards." Also from Lynchburg came the "Jeff Davis Guard," commanded by twenty-year-old J. Risque Hutter, who had served as a V. M. I. cadet captain at the execution of John Brown. Fauquier and Culpeper Counties contributed men to form the "Rough and Ready Rifles" under James H. Jameson. The "Valley Regulators" from Botetourt and Rockbridge Counties selected Albert A. Yeatman as their leader.¹⁹

Captain Langhorne's "Rifle Greys" ranged in ages from sixteen to fifty. Langhorne was thirty-eight, a former militia officer and tobacco processor.²⁰ His unit drew flintlock rifles provided by the

¹⁹ 11th Virginia Records. See also Lew A. Wallace, Jr., A Guide to Virginia Military Organizations, 1861-1865 (Richmond, 1964), 120-21. Hereafter cited as Wallace, Guide. For details regarding the origins of the "Clifton Greys," see William H. Morgan, Personal Reminiscences of the War of 1861-5 (Lynchburg, 1911), 15-32. Hereafter cited as Morgan, Reminiscences. The Lynchburg Virginian of Dec. 3, 1859; Jan. 24, 1860; and Apr. 22, 1861, reported the creation of the "Rifle Greys" and the "Lynchburg Rifles." Captain Hutter's biography is in "201 File for J. Risque Hutter," V. M. I.; Captain Fowlkes, in "201 File for Eusebius Fowlkes," V. M. I.

²⁰ 11th Virginia Records.

Commonwealth of Virginia when the legislature voted funds for the new troops.²¹ In addition, the city council voted funds for equipment, and Lynchburg citizenry contributed toward a special military collection.²² The "Rifle Greys" had participated often with the "Home Guard" in many of Lynchburg's public affairs.

The "Lynchburg Rifles" contained faculty and students of Lynchburg College. Captain James E. Blankenship, mathematics professor and member of the military department of the college, had graduated at the head of his class at Virginia Military Institute.²³ This company was unusual in that it contained many married men.²⁴

The national events which "Curtius" had foreseen in John Brown's raid continued their inexorable progress toward disunity. In the election of 1860, Samuel Garland campaigned for Breckenridge, yet saw the Lynchburg voters favor Bell by a two-to-one margin. At the town meeting called to select delegates for the state convention that would consider secession, Garland spoke for the Union. The city voted almost three-to-one in favor of retaining union with the United States.²⁵ Yet Lincoln's call for troops, and Virginia's negative

²¹ W. Asbury Christian, Lynchburg and Its People (Lynchburg, 1967), 181. Hereafter cited as Christian, Lynchburg.

²² Ibid., 194.

²³ "201 File for James E. Blankenship," V. M. I.

²⁴ Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 22, 1861.

²⁵ Christian, Lynchburg, 187-88, 190-91. Lynchburg cast 969 votes for Bell, 487 for Breckenridge, and 132 for Douglas. The city voted 1000-370 to remain in the Union.

reply, settled all doubts. Virginia joined the Confederacy.

The excitement of events tumbling over each other quickly reached Lynchburg. "War! War!! War!!!" screamed an April 17, 1861, headline. That same day, Capt. Garland published a list of those materials each man in his company should procure and pack:

two stout blankets
 two woolen under-shirts, very heavy
 two pair thick cotton drawers
 four pair woolen socks
 two pair stout shoes or boots
 three towels
 four handkerchiefs, silk comb, brush and
 toothbrush, stout linen thread, needles, wax,
 buttons, pins and thimble in a small bag
 knife, fork and spoon
 one canvas bedcover per two men
 one day's cooked rations in a tin box or
 knapsack

The company would supply tin plates, cups and other camp equipment.

Orders required the Guards to leave their dress caps behind and hold themselves ready to answer any call.²⁶

On Monday, April 22, at 4 p. m., a telegraphic order directed the soldiers to report for duty in Richmond. Representatives of the "Home Guard" and "Rifle Greys" quickly summoned all members. Riding eighteen miles, a mounted servant reached Capt. Saunders's home in order to deliver the same message for the "Southern Guard." Men flocked to the photography shop, posing for photographs to leave with their loved ones.

²⁶ Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 16-19, 1861. Langhorne's "Rifle Greys" received a similar alert.

Signs appeared on numerous office doors and display windows: "Closed: Enlisted in the Army." Women who were sewing tents for the "Home Guard" worked feverishly to complete their projects before departure time.²⁷

About 8:30 the next morning, the "Home Guard" and the "Rifle Greys" formed in their drill areas, marched first to a muster point and then to the railroad depot, where local pastors preached sermons and pronounced blessings. The farewells left scarcely a dry eye at the station. The men mounted boxcars--no passenger cars were available--and, since the day was the warmest of the season, they kicked or knocked planks from the sides of the cars for visibility and ventilation. Slowly the train moved from the station.²⁸

The new soldiers had much to realize about military travel. They learned quickly from an incident that occurred enroute to Richmond. Private C. F. Barnes fell asleep during the trip, released his hold and fell from the freight car. His haversack cushioned his fall. When other Guardsmen began searching for him, Barnes was seen running unhurt toward the still-moving train. With the private safely stowed, the journey ended at sundown at Richmond. Colonel Jubal Early met the train and ordered Garland to billet his troops in the defunct Central Hotel. There they slept on bare floors. The next morning, April 24,

²⁷ Blackford Diary, Apr. 22, 1861; Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 23, 1861.

²⁸ Blackford Diary, Apr. 23, 1861; Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 24, 1861.

1861, the men took their oath and joined the Confederate service.²⁹

In mid-afternoon of the day the "Home Guard" and "Rifle Greys" departed Lynchburg, the "Southern Guard" marched into the city. Having received the message at midnight on April 22, Capt. Saunders had spent the night notifying his troops to muster the following morning for the march into town. They arrived hot, dusty and bedraggled; yet, to one spectator, they were a "fine looking, stalwart set of men" who numbered more than 100, half of whom seemed to be over six feet tall.³⁰ As the "Southern Guard" went into quarters at Lynchburg, an appeal went out to townswomen for help in sewing fifty needed uniforms. These troops, prophesied the Lynchburg Daily Virginian, would proudly serve the motto sewn on their lapels: "Give me Liberty, or give me Death."³¹

Within a few days, the Lynchburg units at Richmond moved to the Hermitage Fairgrounds where, under the direction of V. M. I. cadets, they continued military drill. At the same time, companies began

²⁹ William P. Holland, "Recollections of a Private," Lynchburg News, Nov. 1, 1959. These recollections appeared serially, Nov. 1, 1959-Dec. 13, 1960. Hereafter cited as Holland, "Recollections." The report of Barnes' fall appeared in the Lynchburg Virginian, May 1, 1861. Richmond's accommodations were mentioned in the Richmond Daily Dispatch, Apr. 2, 1861.

³⁰ Blackford Diary, Apr. 23-24, 1861.

³¹ Lynchburg Virginian, Apr. 24, 1861.

merging into regiments and battalions. Following his promotion to Major, Samuel Garland became a battalion commander.³² Not completely satisfied with this assignment, some men felt Garland seemed to be too much the scholar rather than soldier. A few would have preferred Capt. Langhorne of the "Rifle Greys" as battalion commander.³³ Shortly thereafter, Garland became a Colonel--with even more demand that he prove himself as a soldier.³⁴

³² Lynchburg Virginian, May 8, 1861; Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 1, 1959.

³³ Yancey, Lynchburg, 70-71.

³⁴ 11th Virginia Records. Garland's promotion received confirmation by Virginia's Constitutional Convention on June 15, 1861.

CHAPTER II

BAPTISM OF A REGIMENT

Military duty holds a strange fascination for most men. No one who has marched to a regimental band can ever completely ignore the beat of martial music. No one who has stood in ranks with thousands of trained, healthy soldiers can forget that overwhelming sense of unconquerable maleness. No one who has worn a tailored uniform can deny the resulting feeling of pride. Perhaps it is well that war can sometimes be so captivating--for it is also certain to be hideously ugly. The soldier knows the boring monotony that dulls his brain, the humiliating assignments that tarnish his pride, the savage inhumanity that sears his soul. The fitted uniform lies in a locker while he practices endlessly the simple steps of drill--repeating over and over, learning and overlearning until he must repress all thought or rebel. He finds honor and patriotism to be poor companions on a mission, or during picket duty when he is lonely and insecure. If he fights, he becomes much like the physicist described by J. Robert Oppenheimer:

In some sort of crude sense which no vulgarity, no humor, no over-statement can quite extinguish, [They] have known sin; and this is a knowledge which they cannot lose.¹

¹ John Bartlett (comp.), Familiar Quotations by John Bartlett (Boston, 1955), 922.

The men of the Lynchburg "Home Guard" had thrilled to a march down the main street of an admiring hometown; they had strutted, posed and banqueted; they had danced at dress balls. They had experienced the glory of war. Soon, they would be called upon to pay the costs and it would be a frightful toll.

The units forming and training at Richmond soon were to exchange the parade for the battleground. Already the new Confederate government had begun to plan its defense. To Col. Phillip St. George Cocke went orders for the establishment of a line of operations, first in Alexandria and later at Culpeper Court House. Authorized to call up troops and organize regiments, Cocke solicited and received units recruited from eleven counties, including Campbell County.² Robert E. Lee instructed Cocke, on May 6, 1861, to "post at Manassas Gap Junction a force sufficient to defend that point. . . ."³ Cocke, in need of troops for this additional mission, sought permission to use the Lynchburg companies already called to the colors.⁴ Lee's response was to dispatch Col. Samuel Garland's Battalion designated specifically for the Manassas job.⁵

² U. S. War Dept. (comp.), War of the Rebellion; A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. II, 776-77, 785. Hereafter cited as Official Records; all references will be to Ser. I.

³ Ibid., 806.

⁴ Ibid., 816-17.

⁵ Ibid., 821-22, 824.

Boarding a train on May 12, the battalion rode to Culpeper and arrived after dark. Garland disembarked alone, received his assignment, and returned to the train, which continued its trip. Most of the men, lulled by the sound and motion of the train, fell into hypnotic sleep. Awakened the next morning, they found themselves resting in a siding that they soon discovered to be Manassas Junction.⁶ The five-company battalion numbered 490 men when it arrived at its new post.⁷ At Manassas Junction, they moved into Camp Pickens, established by South Carolina troops and named after Governor Francis W. Pickens.⁸ No sooner had Garland arrived than he began accepting men to elevate his battalion to regiment status.⁹ At the same time, Col. George H. Terrett, formerly a United States Marine, took command of the Virginia regiments at the rail junction.¹⁰ Terrett's Fourth Brigade also contained Alexandria units, which withdrew under his command when

⁶ Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 1, 1959.

⁷ Official Records, II, 841. The battalion initially consisted of the "Home Guard" and "Rifle Greys" from Lynchburg, plus, in this writer's opinion, the "Southern Guards" from Campbell County and the "Fincastle Rifles" from Botetourt County. A 490-man battalion would appear to be five, not four, companies as stated in ibid.

⁸ David E. Johnston, The Story of a Confederate Boy in The Civil War (Portland, Ore., 1914), 46. Hereafter cited as Johnston, Confederate Boy.

⁹ Official Records, II, 826-27, 845.

¹⁰ Ibid., 845, 944. Terrett, born in 1807 in Fairfax, Va., received his commission from the Corps in 1830 and served with distinction in both the Seminole and the Mexican Wars.

Union forces moved across the Potomac.¹¹ Additionally, a regiment formed of Richmond companies reported to Terrett.¹² Within the Brigade, the Richmond units became the 1st Regiment; the Alexandria troops, the 17th; and Garland's Battalion grew into the 11th Regiment, Virginia Volunteers.¹³

With the formation of a regimental organization, the companies officially forfeited their colorful titles and became lettered units. Thus, the 11th Regiment consisted of the following:

<u>Company</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Captain</u>
A	"Rifle Greys"	Maurice S. Langhorne
B	"Southern Guards"	Robert C. Saunders
C	"Clifton Greys"	Adam Clements
D	"Fincastle Rifles"	Robert K. Thompson
E	"Lynchburg Rifles"	James E. Blankenship
F	"Preston Guards"	Eusebius Fowlkes
G	"Home Guard"	Kirkwood Otey
H	"Jeff Davis Guards"	J. Risque Hutter
I	"Rough and Ready Rifles"	James H. Jameson
K	"Valley Regulators"	Albert A. Yeatman

Regimental officers included Col. Samuel Garland, Lt. Col. David Funsten, and Maj. Carter H. Harrison.¹⁴ A small but excellent band

¹¹ George Wise, History of the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry, CSA (Baltimore, 1870), 11-17. Hereafter cited as Wise, 17th Virginia. Richard B. Buck to mother, May 19, 1861, letters of Richard Bayle Buck, University of Virginia. Hereafter cited as Buck Letters.

¹² Official Records, II, 826-27.

¹³ Ibid., LI, pt. 2, 123.

¹⁴ 11th Virginia Records. Because the letters "I" and "J" often looked alike, regiments did not use "J" as a company designator. Colonel Funsten was 42 and from Alexandria; Harrison enlisted from Lancaster County.

completed the organization.¹⁵ By mid-July, all units had reported for duty under Col. Garland.

Garland quickly demonstrated that he was as able on the drill field as in court or classroom. Relying on his V. M. I. training, he undertook to mold the various companies into a single tactical unit. The men drilled on both company and regimental levels. Soon, individual soldiers and, later, the entire camp became aware of Garland's skill. "Ours and the First [Regiment] are considered the best drilled in the state and we can beat them all hollow," bragged Pvt. Charles F. Barnes, who had earlier fallen from the train.¹⁶ Private William P. Holland swelled with pride when an inspecting officer marked Garland's men as the "best posted of any in the Army." Credit for this achievement, wrote Holland, belonged to the "finest drill officer in the Army."¹⁷

Life at Camp Pickens proved to be more demanding than merely

¹⁵ Morgan, Reminiscences, 93; 11th Virginia Records. G. Rich Lyman led the 8-man regimental band.

¹⁶ Charles F. Barnes to mother, June 27, 1861, Barnes Manuscripts, University of Virginia. Hereafter cited as Barnes MSS. In addition to Garland, Maj. Harrison and Capts. Otey, Hutter, Blankenship, Huston, Fowlkes and Pvt. (later Capt.) Ward had attended V. M. I.

¹⁷ Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 1, 1959.

drill. The men erected their own tent city on a level space northwest of the village and established a camp routine. They formed small groups (of four to eight) who messed together and shared the cooking chores. The company cooks issued the food while in camp but were responsible for combat meals. Initially many groups employed Negro cooks or servants, but later sent these men home when rations became scarce. The troops carried their own cooking materials of sheet iron. Scavenging battlefields, they would procure better ovens and skillets. Cast iron cookware led to better bread.¹⁸ Camp rations were supplemented by whatever individual soldiers or a group could gather on their own. Obtaining a pass, Pvt. Richard B. Buck celebrated July 4, 1861, by hiking a few miles away from camp and picking cherries. "I tell you they were nice," he reported.¹⁹ Other men bought or begged foods from neighboring farms. By early July, if they had received cash from home, the troops paid for provisions with newly introduced Confederate money. If currency was unavailable, they traded issue beef and pork for fresh vegetables or dairy products.²⁰

¹⁸ Morgan, Reminiscences, 31-32.

¹⁹ Richard Buck to mother, July 4, 1861, Buck Letters.

²⁰ Blackford Diary, July 3, 1861. See also Alexander Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank (New York, 1904), 73.

While at Manassas, Col. Garland experienced a personal tragedy. On June 12, he learned that his wife Eliza was dying.²¹ Taking immediate leave, Garland arrived in Lynchburg--only to find his wife dead.²²

The Regiment, without its commander, sampled a first taste of war on June 18, when four companies performed an armed reconnaissance near Alexandria.²³ The force rode north to the railhead, then marched four miles to destroy a bridge and abutment. Private Barnes, who took part in the mission, sensed more excitement. "Matters are evidently drawing to a focus," he wrote, "something important is evidently up . . . I must stop now, as I have to clean my gun."²⁴

Picket and patrol duties kept the recruits occupied. The proud men of the 11th Virginia had little respect for their enemy and experienced no doubts as to who was the better soldier.²⁵ In addition to pickets and patrols, the men mastered the art of digging by creating breastworks and helping to install seige guns that would

²¹ Charles F. Barnes to mother, June 12, 1861, Barnes MSS.

²² Lynchburg Virginian, June 13, 1861.

²³ Charles F. Barnes to mother, June 18, 1861, Barnes MSS. Companies A, B, D and G performed this assignment.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., June 12, 1861.

command the south side of the railroad. While using improper tools at this duty, they were chided by South Carolina troops. "If you all seceded when South Carolina did," they heard, "you'd have the proper equipment."²⁶

Camp life had a marked effect on impressionable Southerners. To the man who saw his neighbors only at church, muster or on holidays, the large numbers were fascinating. Yet crowded camps exacted a price. Garland's sick report for June, 1861, listed 347 patients, and 1 death from pneumonia. Of the sick, 109 suffered from dysentery, 59 from diarrhea. The report listed regimental strength at 45 officers and 811 enlisted men. Conditions became so bad that Army Headquarters ordered fresh water delivered into camp by rail in order to combat pollution.²⁷

On July 2, the 11th Virginia received a new brigade commander. General James Longstreet, an Alabamian, was a U. S. Army veteran of the Mexican War.²⁸ Longstreet quickly made his mark on the Brigade through unrelenting drill and other assignments that kept all hands

²⁶ Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 1, 1959.

²⁷ 11th Virginia Records. The water cars are described in Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 47-48.

²⁸ Douglas S. Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command (New York, 1942), I, 45. Hereafter cited as Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants. A soldier's view of Longstreet's appointment appeared in Lynchburg Virginian, July 15, 1861.

constantly busy. The soldiers learned to form ranks, fire weapons, conduct patrols, stand guard and man a skirmish line.

On July 17, 1861, while on a scouting mission seeking signs of Federal movements on a ford southwest of camp, a patrol from Company G heard the approach of a horse and identified the rider as Lt. J. Lawrence Meem, the regimental adjutant. Meem gathered the squad together and ordered them to report immediately to a crossing on Bull Run. He could remember only that the ford's name began with "B" and that it was a family name. Someone supplied the name-- Blackburn's Ford--and the troops rapidly moved to that point.²⁹

Meanwhile, at Camp Pickens, the 11th Virginia mustered, broke camp and marched to the same ford. Deploying the Fourth Brigade by placing the 17th Regiment to the left of the crossing and the 1st Virginia to the right, Longstreet installed Garland's unit in reserve behind the other two. The 11th Virginia took a position on high ground directly south of the ford. The men dug shallow trenches with their bayonets and settled down on their arms for an uneasy night.³⁰

²⁹ Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 1, 1959.

³⁰ Ibid.; Morgan, Reminiscences, 51-52. See also Edward P. Reeve, "Civil War Reminiscences of Captain Edward Payson Reeve, 1861-1865," unpagged typescript in the Edward Payson Reeve Collection in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. Hereafter cited as Reeve, "Reminiscences." The best account of the battle is Lt. Meem's telegraph report to his hometown newspaper. See Lynchburg Virginian, July 24, 1861.

Near sundown the fidgety men received their first shock of war. Scattered riflefire came from upstream; then Gen. Longstreet's riderless horse bounded into view. Longstreet appeared shortly thereafter and explained that he had worn a blue coat and received fire from some Louisiana troops who mistook him for a Federal officer. With approaching darkness, the men again attempted to settle down along the banks of Bull Run. The night was hot; soldiers hung their canteens filled with stream water on the branches of the trees to cool.³¹

July 18, 1861, dawned quietly, and the morning passed without unusual incident. Elements of Company A moved across the stream as skirmishers, while Company G troops moved upstream to patrol the unmanned space between brigades. At midday, a blueclad officer rode into the midst of the men of Company A. On asking directions to Gen. Irvin McDowell's headquarters, he learned that he had entered the Confederate lines. The officer was shot when he attempted to wheel his horse and make his escape. Southern outpost units saw increasing signs of Federal forces, thus fell back to their own lines south of Bull Run. Federal infantrymen, followed by artillery, made their appearance as a Union force moved toward the stream's edge.³²

³¹ Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 8, 1959.

³² Morgan, Reminiscences, 52-55; Official Records, II, 442.

A momentary silence followed; then a Union cannon boomed and was promptly answered by Confederate guns. Muskets joined the battle and added to the crescendo of sound. Crouched with his regiment overlooking the artillery duel, Sgt. William H. Morgan found it to be almost deafening.³³ The forces north of the run held the better position as the north bank of Bull Run, at Blackburn's Ford, rose immediately to a high bluff cut only by the road from the stream crossing. On the south, the bank was low; the fields behind were level and rose slightly to the area where the 11th Virginia lay. This advantage in position enabled the Federal artillery to force the Confederate cannon from the area. As they did so, columns of blueclad soldiers moved into position preparatory to storming the ford. Their attack faltered under the hail of Southern musket balls. A second and third attack rose and subsided. During the second attack, Gen. Longstreet rode to Garland and ordered the 11th Virginia to send two companies in a counterassault. Garland selected Maj. Harrison to lead Companies E and H. The counterattack broke the Federal advance. Northern troops began to disengage. They soon fell back to the ground north of the ford. After the last infantryman had departed, the artillery fire continued, then fell silent as, this time, the Confederate battery proved itself. The counterforce from the 11th Virginia retired to the

³³ Morgan, Reminiscences, 52-55. See also Official Records, II, 442.

south bank.³⁴ With the battle ended, Longstreet called the 1st and 17th Virginia from their lines and sent the 11th Regiment to hold the stream's edge. All hands settled down for another sleepless night.

The battle at Blackburn's Ford cost Longstreet 69 casualties, including 20 killed. Union losses were eighty-three. Major Harrison, who led the attack, was a significant loss. The men first heard that Garland had fallen but later found him alive. "It was the better man," Garland sighed.³⁵ Ascribing the light casualties bluecoat misjudgment, Sgt. Morgan found the woods behind and above the Confederate positions to be badly scarred. He reasoned that the Northern infantrymen had fired high because of their elevated position above the stream. Another casualty, caused by battle fatigue, resulted in the loss of Capt. Blankenship, Company E's commander, who rose from his sickbed to lead his troop--only to break and flee under fire.³⁶

³⁴ Longstreet's official report is in Official Records, II, 461. See also Morgan, Reminiscences, 55-59.

³⁵ For the report by the Union forces engaged, see Official Records, II, 312-14. See also ibid., II, 461-63; Morgan, Reminiscences, 56.

³⁶ Ibid., 61-62. Blankenship retained the regard of the men who twice wrote to his Appomattox home and asked that he return. When they received no reply, the men held an unofficial election and selected Christopher V. Winfree as the new captain. During the initial stages of the war, military laws had not developed; the Army accepted Winfree's election and permitted Blankenship to resign. Blankenship taught school in Virginia for the remainder of the war. See "201 File for James E. Blankenship," V. M. I.

Blankenship notwithstanding, the 11th Virginia felt proud of its baptism. Four companies had taken an active part in the battle; two units had participated in one of the initial charges of the war.³⁷

As with all soldiers, exaggeration slipped into the letters written home. "I have made some very narrow escapes indeed," wrote Pvt. Buck, whose unit had been stationed downstream from the ford. "I have had the bullets, grape, canister and shells to fall around me like hail and not the least injured yet."³⁸ Sergeant Morgan reported a Negro servant who provided some humor. When the shelling began, he broke and ran through the camp to Bristow Station. "Dem big balls," he stated, "come flying over me saying 'whar is you?' and I lit out in a hurry."³⁹

Friday, July 19, passed quietly, and the next day the Brigade moved forward again into the lines along Bull Run. The evening of July 20 passed quietly, but a cannon shot far to the west of Blackburn's Ford announced dawn of the next day. The sound of an answering artillery piece brought forth another boom; then a rising chorus of salvos filled the air. The action was a distance upstream, but men who heard the lower murmur of musketfire knew that a major battle was underway. All day gunfire shook the ground, yet no one

³⁷ Blackford, Letters, 25.

³⁸ Richard B. Buck to mother, July 24, 1861, Buck Letters.

³⁹ Morgan, Reminiscences, 63.

could tell how the fighting was progressing.

Early that morning, elements of the 11th Virginia had crossed Bull Run and taken positions as skirmishers. These men soon came under Federal artillery fire and were compelled to withdraw. Most of the men saw no Union soldiers until late in the day. Surprisingly, many who had slept poorly for three nights dozed throughout that first major land battle of the Civil War.⁴⁰

Upstream the battle raged with only the sounds reaching Garland's huddled men. They expected to mount an attack of their own either in support of the Confederate defense or to silence the artillery firing into their ranks. The salvos changed in tempo and intensity, reaching peaks followed by near silence wherein the troops could distinguish individual shots. Men who had been shocked at the fury of the battle three days earlier were convinced that no one could survive this day's gunfire.⁴¹

Toward sundown, the shooting slowed, then ceased. In the silence that followed, men could hear a strange sound. A savage, high-pitched yell spread eastward, punctuated by cries of "Victory! Victory!" Each detachment along Bull Run rose and passed the shout to their eastern neighbor: "Victory! Victory!" Louder and louder,

⁴⁰ Morgan, Reminiscences, 72.

⁴¹ Ibid., 72-73.

breaking as an ocean wave down the valley came the cries, "Victory! Victory!" Intermingled with these shouts rang the strange sound of the "Rebel Yell," born in the success of Manassas and adopted by the Confederate army. The forces at Blackburn's Ford soon saw fleeing bluecoats and knew who had won. Repeating the cry of "Victory!," they passed the news to the Confederate forces on their right.⁴²

At sunset Longstreet moved his regiments over Bull Run in pursuit. Across the stream, the Confederates moved through a hastily abandoned Federal camp but, under strict orders from Col. Garland, continued the chase rather than scavenge souvenirs. After nightfall, the pursuit became confused and tangled. The Brigade soon returned to its position at Blackburn's Ford and settled down for the night.⁴³

The 11th Virginia was not the only unit to listen and worry during the Battle of First Manassas. Gunfire sounded distinctly on the hills surrounding Lynchburg. The townspeople knew a battle was being fought, and farm folk drifted into town toward the telegraph office to await news. Mrs. Robert Saunders, whose husband led Company B,

⁴² Morgan, Reminiscences, 75-77; Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 8, 1959.

⁴³ Official Records, II, 543-44. See also Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 15, 1959; Morgan, Reminiscences, 77.

stood all day listening to the sound, then drove her wagon into Lynchburg to learn the outcome. The favorable news that arrived on Monday morning revealed that the Lynchburg units of the 11th Regiment were unhurt.⁴⁴

On July 22, in a pouring rain, the Virginians left their rifle pits, crossed the run and fulfilled their orders to clean up the battlefield, salvage Federal materials and collect any Union stragglers. Officers warned their troops to avoid the enemy foods, as they might be poisoned. Utilization of water from Bull Run was prohibited because of pollution created by corpses that had dammed the stream near Stone Bridge. Private Holland picked up an excellent overcoat, as well as some Federal stragglers. As he returned to the lines, he discussed his catch with Lt. John G. Meem. Holland called Meem by first name, since both were friends of long standing. The Federal prisoners were amazed: "We can hardly speak to our officers at all."⁴⁵

Deploying on either side of the Warrenton Turnpike, the Virginians worked their way from the Stone Bridge into Centreville, then returned to camp. The day was dark, drizzly and miserable. At nightfall the men huddled atop a hill on the pike south of Stone

⁴⁴ Blackford, Letters, 69.

⁴⁵ Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 15, 1959; Morgan, Reminiscences, 77.

Bridge. That evening marked five days without dry clothes and warm meals.⁴⁶

July 23 found the 11th Virginia completing its assigned mission. The men collected materials--selecting weapons, cartridge boxes, haversacks, canteens, knapsacks, oil cloths and blankets for themselves. "The Yankees supplied Lee's Army with such things," Sgt. Morgan observed, "leaving them laying around loose on almost every battlefield."⁴⁷ Up to this time, the Virginians had depended upon homemade equipment and converted flintlocks; now they were outfitted with the best.

At nightfall on July 23, the 11th Virginia returned to Camp Pickens after seven days of living out of their packs. William Blackford, up from Lynchburg to visit his sons at camp, witnessed their return. "I never saw men so knocked up," he wrote in his diary. "Footsore and weary, they hailed their camp--miserable as it was--as a second home."⁴⁸ The Virginians had fought two battles, both unimpeachable victories. They had been successfully tested in the fire of battle. They were no longer militia units on parade ground. The 11th Virginia was now a regiment composed of experienced soldiers.

⁴⁶ Richard B. Buck to mother, July 24, 1861, Buck Letters.

⁴⁷ Morgan, Reminiscences, 80-83.

⁴⁸ Blackford Diary, July 23, 1861.

CHAPTER III

WINTER QUARTERS

The 11th Virginia did not long enjoy its "second home" in Camp Pickens. Early on July 24, the day following their return from battle, the troops began a leisurely ten-mile march to Centreville. The next day they surveyed, erected and ditched a new tent city. Adjusting quickly to their old routine, the soldiers returned to drill and military instruction.¹ All was not dull, however. Mrs. Charles M. Blackford, visiting her husband, a member of Longstreet's Brigade, found the camp to be very interesting. Susan Blackford was well known in Lynchburg, and the soldiers arranged several minstrel shows for her entertainment. She even attended a few dinner parties while at camp. Her stay was short-lived, for on August 11 orders arrived transferring Longstreet's troops to a new post at Fairfax Court House.²

The march to Fairfax became a nightmare. The day proved to be the hottest of the year; the pace was forced, and many men,

¹ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 70.

² Susan L. Blackford (comp.), Memoirs of Life In and Out of the Army in Virginia During the War Between The States (Lynchburg, 1894), I, 73-74. Hereafter cited as Blackford, Memoirs of Life.

stricken by the heat and sun, collapsed along the way.³ Upon reaching Fairfax, the men built Camp Harrison in a low, flat area north of town. The site was ill-chosen; rains brought a series of diseases to the Virginians. Measles initially weakened the men; later, more serious illnesses followed. The August sick report for the 11th Virginia listed 373 men of the 897-man regiment as sick. Five men had died. Typhoid killed 4 men and prostrated 104 others. In that same hot month, 32 men contracted colds and 1 died from pneumonia.⁴

Happier news, in the form of pay call, visited Camp Harrison. Assembling to collect their first military pay, the men proudly counted the sum of \$44 for four months' duty.⁵ Much of the newly acquired cash soon found its way to the sutler's tent, that "licensed highway-man" who sold, Pvt. Alexander Hunter swore, "stale pie, mouldy cake, vinegar cider, canned fruit, fly-blown molasses and other useless articles."⁶

Despite the threat of disease, most members of the 11th Virginia enjoyed their stay at Camp Harrison. Departing camp at intervals, the

³ Morgan, Reminiscences, 86; Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 15, 1959; Reeve, "Reminiscences."

⁴ Morgan, Reminiscences, 86. See also 11th Virginia Records. On Sept. 1, 1861, the 17th Virginia, a sister regiment, listed 101 sick or wounded. See Wise, 17th Virginia, 37.

⁵ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 71. Hunter drew a private's pay of \$11 per month. Corporals received \$13; sergeants, \$21. See 11th Virginia Records.

⁶ Ibid.

regiments would move forward for three-to-five day periods of picket and patrol. The companies would occupy a series of hills approaching Falls Church.⁷ The hills--Munson's, Mason's and Upton's--were a "no man's land" and changed hands, often with amusing courtesy, several times per week.⁸ Soldiers learned to recognize and later even converse with their enemies. In some areas, the men mingled freely and discussed their commanders.⁹ In other cases, gunfire was exchanged. The Southerners soon tired of this sport, as they found that Federal rifles were longer-range weapons than the smoothbores still carried by many Virginians. The grayclad troops had to move in closer before they could trade shots with Northern soldiers.¹⁰ From the opposite sides of the hills, "Rebs" and "Yanks" spent some time constructing rifle pits and gun emplacements.

From their vantage points on the hills, the Virginians could see Washington and the unfinished dome of the Capitol. At times they were close enough to hear trains arriving at the Washington station.¹¹ At

⁷ Reeve, "Reminiscences;" Morgan, Reminiscences, 87.

⁸ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 78.

⁹ Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean, entry of Sept. 15, 1861, University of Virginia Library. Hereafter cited as Kean Diary. Kean, a private in Co. G, 11th Va., later became head of the Confederate Bureau of War. His diary has been published under the title, Inside the Confederate Government; The Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean, Head of the Bureau of War, ed. by Edward Younger (New York, 1957). See also Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 24, 1861.

¹⁰ Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 22, 1959.

¹¹ Richard Buck to father, Sept. 3, 1861, Buck Letters.

other times they watched the Washington (La.) Artillery fire at a Federal balloon sent aloft to observe Confederate movements.¹² While on patrol, the men frequently visited neighboring farms and enjoyed homecooked meals.¹³

In August and September, Falls Church was a particularly pleasant assignment. The duty lasted for four or five days and required only company-strength units. As a result, picket was a vacation from the discipline, drill and inspections of the Brigade camp. The men read, slept, wrote letters, played cards and stood only an occasional watch. The days were warm; the nights, comfortable.¹⁴ In September, when autumn rains began, the adventure decreased in pleasure.¹⁵ As the weather turned colder, the men became more uncomfortable. "I am bitterly cold every morning by daybreak, even now when this weather is just becoming frosty," Pvt. Kean confided to his diary. "When the thermometer is at zero, I shall perish outright."¹⁶ In Lynchburg, meanwhile, women were busily sewing winter uniforms for Company A.¹⁷

¹² Morgan, Reminiscences, 87; Charles T. Loehr, War History of the Old First Virginia Infantry Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia (Richmond, 1884), 14. Hereafter cited as Loehr, 1st Virginia.

¹³ Morgan, Reminiscences, 90.

¹⁴ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 71-72.

¹⁵ Richard Buck to mother, Sept. 16, 1861, Buck Letters.

¹⁶ Kean Diary, Oct. 15, 1861.

¹⁷ Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 16, 1861.

Tragedy again touched Col. Garland, commander of the 11th Virginia. In mid-August, his young son died. Susan Blackford stated that the child never smiled again after his mother's death.¹⁸

When they returned from picket duty to Camp Harrison at Fairfax, the soldiers suffered the tedious monotony of drill, often performed poorly as leaders forgot their commands. Private Hunter, in a sister regiment to the 11th Virginia, worried as the Brigade stumbled hopelessly into a hollow square on the drill field. What would be the results, he fretted, if they attempted execution under fire? Poor performance by one company often threw the entire Brigade out of alignment.¹⁹ Yet drill need not always be monotony. Occasionally, while maneuvering, the companies would encounter a rabbit. Throwing discipline to the wind, soldiers scattered and gave chase in all directions. Even the proudest companies were known to break ranks and join in the pursuit, all crying "Old Hare!" as they sought the rabbit.²⁰ The Virginians

¹⁸ Blackford, Memoirs of Life, I, 74; Blackford, Letters, 40.

¹⁹ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 79. Sergeant Richard Buck memorized and recited a portion of Hardee's Tactics each night after parade; see Richard Buck to father, Sept. 19, 1861, Buck Letters.

²⁰ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 77-80.

enjoyed another trick which they practiced as often as possible. When ordered to charge, they would outrun their officers, change directions, and speedily return to camp.

After drill, the men participated in schoolboy sports: marbles, follow-the-leader, football and cards. Draw poker was so great an attraction a soldier would gamble away his pay and sign an "O. P." ("Order on the Paymaster") to cover his debts.²¹

During this time, the 11th Virginia considered re-enlistment. Company G, the "Home Guard," applied for transfer to the artillery-- much to Col. Garland's disappointment.²² Other units discussed consolidation into a cavalry troop.²³ Within the Regiment, Capt. Langhorne of Company A became Major to fill Harrison's place; G. Woodville Latham moved into Langhorne's rank as company commander.²⁴

In the third week of October, Longstreet's Brigade returned to Centreville to prepare for winter quarters.²⁵ The regiments constructed reasonably weatherproof housing by doubling their tent walls,

²¹ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 75.

²² Kean Diary, Sept. 24, 1861.

²³ Richard Buck to Walter Buck, Jan. 25, 1862, Buck Letters.

²⁴ Lynchburg Virginian, Aug. 27 and Sept. 24, 1861.

²⁵ Reeve, "Reminiscences;" Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 97; Loehr, 1st Virginia, 14; Morgan, Reminiscences, 92; Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 29, 1959; Kean Diary, Oct. 19, 1861.

adding floors of broken plank fence rails, trenching the tent and adding a stove or fireplace vented through the roof by the use of a chimney of flour barrels. Some men built log cabins.²⁶

Winter quarters offered a comfortable life. Food was plentiful. The normal ration for each Confederate soldier consisted of one pound of flour or crackers and one-half pound of meat--normally fatback. At Centreville, the men could ignore issued rations and trade with the farmers who daily visited camp. Each regiment usually hung a beef carcass in camp each day so that everyone had fresh meat to eat or exchange.²⁷ In addition to rations and trade foods, the Lynchburg units received packages from their hometown Soldiers Relief Society. Throughout the war, the Society supported John B. Tilden as he carried packages and mail between Lynchburg and the various army camps.

As the Brigade moved into its new quarters, it received a new commander. Brigadier Gen. Longstreet learned of his promotion to Major General. The Virginians who held the Alabamian in high regard were sorry to see him depart to division command.²⁹ Brigadier Gen.

²⁶ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 97; Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 29, 1959; Loehr, 1st Virginia, 15.

²⁷ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 73-74.

²⁸ Christian, Lynchburg, 209.

²⁹ Longstreet's promotion is in Official Records, V, 892; his division assignment in ibid, 896-97. See Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 80; and Kean Diary, Oct. 14, 1861, for soldier reaction to Longstreet's departure. See also Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 16, 1861.

Charles Clark became Brigade commander for three weeks, and was followed by Brigadier Gen. Richard C. Ewell.³⁰ At this time, the 11th Virginia contained 877 men, arranged as follows:

1 colonel
 1 lieutenant colonel
 1 major
 1 adjutant
 1 surgeon
 1 assistant surgeon
 3 quartermasters
 10 captains
 9 first lieutenants
 10 second lieutenants
 9 brevet second lieutenants
 1 sergeant major
 1 quartermaster sergeant
 1 chief musician
 43 sergeants
 47 corporals
 3 musicians
 3 blacksmiths
 731 privates 31

Despite this strength, Col. Garland found it difficult to muster his troops. At the end of October, he urged the sheriff in Lynchburg to collect those soldiers overstaying sickleaves or furloughs. In addition, a newspaper appeal warned the delinquents to report "forthwith" to the sheriff.³² While at Centreville, the men in camp had enjoyed

³⁰ Official Records, II, pt. 2, 349, 368. Ewell's assignment is in Wise, 17th Virginia, 46.

³¹ 11th Virginia Records, Strength Return for Oct., 1861.

³² Lynchburg Virginian, Oct. 30, 1861.

the privilege of one- and two-day passes, as well as an occasional thirty-day furlough.³³

On October 30, 1861, Governor John Letcher presented State flags to each Virginia regiment. The Governor made a presentation speech, to which each commander responded. The presentation was marred by several inebriated soldiers, who fired their weapons in an unscheduled salute. A few officers, flustered before the Governor, created further embarrassment by giving the wrong commands to their ranks.³⁴

Winter quarters did not mark an end to picket or patrol duties. The units traveled from Centreville toward Falls Church and Alexandria on many patrols. Picket assignments became increasingly unpleasant as the nights turned colder. Officers forbade fires; since fraternization had stopped, a campfire often invited artillery fire. Tents offered little protection from the driving rains and penetrating winds.³⁵

General James E. B. Stuart was in command of all outposts.³⁶

³³ Wise, 17th Virginia, 47, 53-54.

³⁴ Kean Diary, Oct. 31, 1861. The ceremony, without reference to the salute or the officers who "made asses of themselves," was reported in Lynchburg Virginian, Nov. 5, 1861 and Morgan, Reminiscences, 94.

³⁵ Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 29, 1959. Kean Diary, Dec. 8, 1861, reported a man "arrested for having a fire at his picket station."

³⁶ Official Records, LI, pt. 2, 349.

Units assigned to picket duty reported to Stuart when they moved forward. Some men were concerned that the infantrymen would be hurt by Stuart's ever-active attempt to call attention to himself.³⁷

On December 20, 1861, under Stuart, the 11th Virginia saw sharp action. The Battle of Dranesville began as a chance encounter. Stuart's command--the 11th Virginia, 10th Alabama, 6th South Carolina and 1st Kentucky Regiments, plus 150 cavalry troops and 1 artillery battery--were moving north toward Dranesville on a foraging mission. The force acted as escort to an enormous wagon train sent from Centreville to gather feed for the animals.

As they approached Dranesville, the Southerners met a Union force moving east. Skirmishers exchanged fire, then companies engaged until the entire mass was involved. Stuart sent word to Garland to place two companies on each side of the road and move forward against the Federal troops. Private Holland, in Company G on the left of the road, peered ahead at the massed ranks of the enemy and decided that the "whole world looked blue." The Federal force raised a cheer and started forward. Holland felt an arm on his shoulder and turned to see Stuart beside him. "Stand your ground. Die!" Stuart roared to his troops. A fierce battle ensued. The artillery battery moved into the center of the road in order to have a clear shot at the enemy.

³⁷ Kean Diary, Sept. 15 and 18, 1861.

"We've got artillery, too" yelled the blueclad soldiers as they gave way to a battery of Federal guns which moved forward and unlimbered. The enemy cannon blasted the Confederate lines with telling effect. The 10th Alabama, ahead of the Virginians, broke and fled through the ranks of the 11th Regiment. Colonel Garland learned that all staff officers in the Alabama unit had fallen. He located the senior Alabama company commander and instructed him to reform his regiment behind the Virginians. In that formation, the Confederate force withheld the Federal attacks until the forage wagons could be withdrawn to safety. Both forces engaged in several encounters, yet they remained reasonably static.³⁸

Aware that he was greatly outnumbered, Stuart, after two hours of fighting, ordered a withdrawal. He had suffered 43 men killed, 143 wounded and 8 missing, of which the 11th Virginia lost 6 dead and 15 wounded. Stuart's report noted that only 27 of the 43 men died on the field. The remaining sixteen later succumbed to wounds.³⁹

Private Phillip H. Franklin, also of Company G, wrote home that he "was there and it was the hottest place I have ever been in yet . . . their balls flew so thick that the pine leaves fell like

³⁸ Holland, "Recollections," Nov. 29, 1959.

³⁹ Official Records, V, 493-94. The Federal forces are covered in ibid., 473-89. The Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 23, 1861, carried an account of the fight.

rain that they cut off."⁴⁰ The men reasoned that they had fought well but had been let down by Stuart.⁴¹

The battle was fought during a bitter cold spell. Many wounded suffered because of the chill. The bodies of those killed in action were frozen stiff by the time they arrived in camp. On December 23, a storm of snow, rain and sleet so buffeted the camp that the 17th Virginia's commander issued a ration of whiskey to his battered troops.⁴²

Once Dranesville had become a memory, the men experienced a reasonably pleasant winter. Several groups abandoned their tents and moved into cabins; food was plentiful; duties became light; short leaves were available; and mail arrived from home.⁴³ By January, 1862, many units had taken advantage of the bounty and furloughs granted to those who re-enlisted for the duration.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Phillip Franklin to Henry R. Franklin, Jan. 3, 1862, Franklin Papers, Virginia Historical Society. Hereafter cited as Franklin Papers.

⁴¹ Ibid. Franklin, who felt that "the 11th did herself a great deal of credit," did not blame Stuart. Kean Diary, Dec. 21, 1861, and Blackford, Life in Virginia, I, 117, 119, 121, disapproved of Stuart's role.

⁴² Wise, 17th Virginia, 42, 49.

⁴³ Reeve, "Reminiscences;" Richard Buck to mother, Dec. 15, 1861, expressed disappointment that some men were so cold that they even worked on their cabins on Sunday.

⁴⁴ Official Records, V, 1016-17, contains the Confederate Army General Order outlining the re-enlistment law.

One problem that plagued all in camp was the procurement of enough firewood.⁴⁵ In January and February, constant rains made wagon movements almost impossible and seriously threatened efforts of the men to gather enough wood to keep warm.⁴⁶

By March, 1862, the constant cold diminished, although the rains continued. On March 1, as the Spring thaw spread, Richard Buck informed his father that he was "still in the dark as to what move is anticipated."⁴⁷ Already the baggage had been sent to the rear. All hands knew that something was afoot. On March 5, William Blackford noted in his diary that all cars and engines of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad had been withdrawn from civilian service.⁴⁸ The Army was preparing to move again. The men were not sure where, yet they were certain that more battles lay ahead.

⁴⁵ Kean Diary, Nov. 19, 1861.

⁴⁶ Richard Buck to father, Feb. 6, 1862, Buck Letters.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Mar. 1, 1862.

⁴⁸ Blackford Diary, Mar. 5, 1862.

CHAPTER IV

MUD, MARCHING, MISERY, MAYHEM

Throughout the war, the men of the 11th Regiment would look back on the winter of 1861-1862 as their most pleasant period. Food, furloughs and leisure were ample; duty was light; and the enemy was always near enough to keep a man alert. To some, the winter provided "a new experience, more like a frolic than the stern realities of war."¹ On March 8, 1862, that new experience ended as the 11th Virginia broke camp and began to move south.

Despite several warnings and practice starts, the troops found themselves unprepared. Men attempted to crowd all their comfort items into haversacks, valises or carpetbags--only to abandon them after the march began. The Regiment used camp materials to create Quaker or dummy cannons, stuffed scarecrows to man the false guns and worked noisily to project the idea of aggressive intentions.² Limited by lack of wagons, units burned equipment, material and food that did not

¹ Reeve, "Reminiscences."

² Morgan, Reminiscences, 95; Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 99-100.

have to be carried.³ With spring rains, even empty wagons floundered; overloads could mean complete loss of vehicle and cargo.

Not unexpectedly, the march began poorly. Artillery and cavalry churned already muddy roads, wagons mired, infantrymen wallowed in the resulting muck. The Brigade slogged two and one-half miles the first day. Lacking exercise, overloaded, carrying hand luggage, the men were delighted to leave the congested roads and find shelter in a woods. The next day, after crossing Bull Run at Stone Bridge, the force bivouacked at Gainesville; on the following evening it arrived in Warrenton. Overwhelmingly weary and discouraged, the men began to discard suitcases and to reduce loads in their backpacks. Farm folks, alert to their opportunity, stood at the roadside to reap gains from soldiers' losses. Reaching the Blue Ridge Mountains on the fourth day, the regiments traveled sixteen, sometimes seventeen, miles per day so that March 12 found them through Washington and Sperryville into Waterloo, where they spent the night. Exhaustion had overtaken many men, causing them to straggle from ranks. On March 14, in a drenching rain, the Brigade reached Hazel Run; on the 16th, it passed through Culpeper and turned toward Orange. On March 18, slipping and swearing, sometimes in mud two feet deep, the panting force

³ Wise, 17th Virginia, 54.

arrived at Orange, where weary and exhausted men collapsed for a three-day rest. On March 22, with the streets a "perfect swamp," the troops marched from Orange and moved one mile beyond where they camped for two weeks at a Dr. Taylor's farm.⁴ The rains had been heavy, and the men suffered from sickness, fatigue and exposure.⁵

Conditions grew worse. On April 3, the Brigade embarked on a night march via Vidiersville and Macedonia Church. They arrived on the 6th at Louisa. Having faced rain, snow and hail for the last two days, the beaten soldiers found themselves at the end of their tether. One veteran of the march described this leg as one of the "most disagreeable marches of the campaign." The route had been cross-country into the face of the storm. The troops had arrived "wet as rats, covered with mud."⁶ Private Hunter found the mud extraordinary: "real Louisa County mud, a dark red loam, as hard to get rid of as if it had been tar and turpentine."⁷ At this critical moment, the new Brigade commander, Brig. Gen. A. Powell Hill, made a favorable first impression by digging into his own pocket to buy a barrel of whiskey for issue to all hands. The rain continued, yet the men rested the

⁴ Reeve, "Reminiscences."

⁵ Wise, 17th Virginia, 54.

⁶ Reeve, "Reminiscences."

⁷ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 101.

following day in somewhat higher spirits.⁸

While on the march, the 11th Virginia experienced several changes in leadership. Hill became head of the newly designated First Brigade. His promotion may have resulted from a recommendation by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston. The letter also indicated that Col. Garland, commander of the 11th Regiment, was qualified for flag rank and "fully competent to command" a brigade.⁹ Within the Regiment, companies conducted elections for officers who would lead following the reorganization scheduled to take place as enlistments expired. Conscription brought in new recruits and enlarged the size of companies. These replacement troops were married and older than the original members.¹⁰

After the troops departed Louisa County, the pace quickened with the news concerning action near Yorktown. On April 8, the Brigade headed for Richmond. On the 16th, after a four-day delay to permit their wagons to catch up, the Virginians marched through their capital singing "The Girl I Left Behind Me." They boarded ships and steamed

⁸ Reeve, "Reminiscences." Lochr, 1st Virginia, 17, and Wise, 17th Virginia, 56, mention the ration of grog.

⁹ Official Records, V, 1058, contains Johnston's letter. Ibid., LI 514-15 covers Hill's assignment. Ewell was promoted to major general and a higher command.

¹⁰ Morgan, Reminiscences, 96, recounted the election within Co. C.

down the James River to King's Mill.¹¹ By the 18th, they were in the lines at Yorktown.

The rain continued, "not a rushing driving rain, but a ceaseless, persistent, business-like rain that gave no promise of letting up." The Yorktown trenches permitted a man no place to lie down or build a fire. To Pvt. Hunter, life offered "no fire, no comfort, no hope." Following an all-night watch, breakfast meant only three "soggy crackers" washed down in "dirty water."¹² Adding to the rain, artillery shells and snipers' bullets ripped the trenches. The constant downpour created much insecurity to the exposed infantryman, who could never be certain his musket would fire. Men would upend their weapons to find the barrel filled with water.¹³ The enemy was close enough so that he could shell at will; the sounds and results of his engineering were very evident.

Hill's orders required that he work to improve the Confederate defenses. The trenches resembled ditches. Hill's men began draining all water in order to provide planking for a dry footing.¹⁴ After a

¹¹ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 103-04.

¹² Ibid., 104-05.

¹³ Ibid., 105.

¹⁴ Official Records, II, pt. 2, 543.

time in the trenches, the Virginians relinquished work to another brigade and moved to the rear for dry clothes and hot meals. The soldiers used the old abandoned winter quarters of Maj. Gen. John B. Magruder. The 17th Virginia Infantry received an extra bonus in the reserve area when their commander authorized another whiskey issue.¹⁵ On April 26, while in reserve, the army underwent a re-organization that changed officers within companies but did not affect the regimental staff.¹⁶

On the last day of April, the 11th Virginia stood at 750 men. The number, however, was deceptive. A later report showed 889 men in the Regiment, yet listed only 415 as "present for duty."¹⁷

Rain, cold and trench life weakened the Yorktown forces. Private Hunter, himself a victim, estimated that one-fourth of his regiment had succumbed to colds. His "hospital" consisted of a tent set far behind the Confederate lines. The tent held four men who lay on a

¹⁵ Hunter, Johanny Reb and Billy Yank, 107.

¹⁶ Lochr, 1st Virginia, 106. Hunter, Johanny Reb and Billy Yank, 111, expressed one soldier's disapproval of the election results.

¹⁷ Official Records, XI, pt. 3, 479-84, 614-15.

blanket spread upon the ground without pillow or cover. Yet, Hunter noted, they were fairly dry.¹⁸

At Yorktown, the Brigade witnessed its first and only "drumming out." When two convicted deserters had served out their sentence, the Brigade drew up in a line at open ranks. Following a solemn reading of the findings of the court-martial, the men, escorted by a guard, drummer and fifer, entered the field. To the tune of "The Rogue's March," the men, heads shaven, marched and countermarched the length of the Brigade, then returned to the center of the ranks, where they were dismissed. The men looked silly with their shaved heads, "but no one smiled," observed a witness.¹⁹

On the evening of May 3, 1862, Hill's Brigade began its retreat from Yorktown. Not surprisingly, it was raining, and the roads were "truly deplorable."²⁰ Sludging through the mud, the men could hear the demolition of Confederate munitions and artillery covering the withdrawal. Horses and mules were literally buried in the mud and "allowed to perish on the spot."²¹ In another bog, the infantrymen came upon a mired artillery piece and caisson. The men, ordered to

¹⁸ Hunter, Johanny Reb and Billy Yank, 112. See also Morgan, Reminiscences, 98.

¹⁹ Hunter, Johanny Reb and Billy Yank, 122-23.

²⁰ Wise, 17th Virginia, 57.

²¹ Morgan, Reminiscences, 100.

help push the gun free, were relieved by Gen. Hill, who blasted the cannoneers: "Damn you, you expect infantry to do everything. Get to work yourselves!" When they finally quit for the night, the soldiers huddled in fence corners or erected crude shelters by using their packs stacked upon fence rails.²²

On March 4, the weary troops trudged into Williamsburg, where they settled for the day in cold misery near the Insane Asylum. As the wagons had become hopelessly bogged, no rations were available.

Monday, May 5, was another day of steady rain. In a field near the 11th Virginia, Pvt. William R. Smith awoke early, cooked some coffee and bacon, then sat down to eat his meager meal. Firing began beyond Williamsburg toward Yorktown. Soon came the call to fall into ranks.²³ Once formed, Hill's Brigade returned to town, marched through west to east, turned south across some fields and formed a battle line in a deep hollow. As they passed through Williamsburg, each man dropped his pack on the lawn of one of the homes in town. Once in battle position, the soldiers could see that they were on the extreme right of the Confederate line. They appeared to be in reserve.²⁴ Fort Magruder lay to the Brigade's left. The

²² Holland, "Recollections," Dec. 13, 1959.

²³ Diary of William Randolph Smith, 17th Va. Regiment, entry for May 5, 1862, University of Virginia Library. Smith died at Frayser's Farm. George S. Pickett, Smith's messmate, found the diary and made additional entries. Hereafter cited as Smith-Pickett Diary.

²⁴ Morgan, Reminiscences, 103.

regiments had been under sporadic artillery fire since emerging from Williamsburg.

At mid-morning, orders arrived for the Virginians to move due south to meet an advancing Federal body. The Brigade formed a line of battle with the 1st, 7th and 11th Virginia Regiments in front and the 17th Virginia in reserve. The formation was a close column, men spaced at half-arm's length. Once formed, the Brigade crossed an open field toward a pine forest. There the men halted and loaded their weapons.²⁵

With the 11th Virginia formed, Lt. William Morgan of Company C found himself standing near Col. James L. Kemper of the 7th Virginia. Weapons loaded, both awaited orders just as a line of men appeared in a cleared spot within the pines. Although the line was 100 yards away, Morgan could see brass buttons shining on blue uniforms. Kemper called Gen. Hill's attention to the group. Hill scanned the line through his field glasses. "Yes, they're Yankees," he called. "Give it to them!" The regiments delivered a volley into the woods, most of the soldiers firing blindly.²⁶

Soon came the command to charge. The soldiers, miserable in the rain and awed by the dark forest, hesitated. Hill moved in front of the 11th Regiment, pistol in hand, signaled his Brigade to follow, and

²⁵ Smith-Pickett Diary, May 5, 1862.

²⁶ Morgan, Reminiscences, 103-04.

stepped into the trees. The whole line moved over a fence and down a slight slope through the woods. It came under heavy musket fire from troops concealed by the trees. Morgan could hear the "sip, sip" of rifle balls cutting through the branches. Men began to fall. The line hesitated, then slowed as Virginians knelt to steady their aim. Still no enemy appeared. By now the Brigade, which entered the forest as a unit, had dissolved into regimental sections. Somewhere in the forest a shout sounded: "They're running!" and the gray infantry line rose in pursuit. The chase lasted 700-800 yards, with no bluejackets in sight except for the wounded lying on the ground. The woods gave way to a clearing; at this spot a small Federal force had taken refuge behind some felled timber for a last-ditch stand. The Virginians fell back to the shelter of the forest and returned the Union fire. Morgan saw Col. Garland, his arm in a sling. Garland ordered a charge, but Capt. Adam Clements of Company C asked for an opportunity to concentrate his muskets on the log fort with the hope of softening the defenses. Garland consented and the company of Southern riflemen poured their fire into the logs until they perceived a slackening of Federal return fire. Without command, the men rose and charged the fort, thirty yards into the clearing. The Federals scattered. Some ran and were shot; others hid and were captured; many fell, dead or wounded in the exchange of fire. Gathering their prisoners, the 11th Virginia returned to the shelter of the forest,

where they remained for the rest of the day.²⁷

After dark, the units reformed, made contact with groups on either side, and withdrew from the forest. Returning to Williamsburg to retrieve their packs, the men marched out of town, turned off the road into a muddy field and slept until daybreak. The night was no less wretched than the day had been. Everyone was wet; fires were impossible. Yet the men rolled up in their blankets and slept from exhaustion.²⁸

On May 6, they awoke, stiff and unrefreshed, under orders to continue the retreat toward Richmond. As they marched, the soldiers reviewed the previous day's battle. Everyone knew that they had achieved another victory; they also knew that the cost had been high. Hill's Brigade lost 67 killed, 245 wounded and 14 missing. Of this total, the 11th Virginia, with 26 killed, 105 wounded and 3 missing, had made the greatest sacrifice.²⁹ The official reports heaped praise upon both Hill's Brigade and his individual regiments. Hill reported that his forces had fought for seven hours, often expending their entire ammunition allowance, and then searching the field for enemy ordnance. He boasted of taking 160 prisoners, 8 artillery pieces and

²⁷ Morgan, Reminiscences, 104-09. Company C lost 4 men killed, plus "many" injured in the described action.

²⁸ Smith-Pickett Diary, May 5, 1862.

²⁹ Official Records, XI, 569. The Lynchburg Virginian, May 9, 1862, quoting a telegram from Adj. J. L. Meem, listed the killed, wounded and missing by name for each company.

7 stands of colors. Colonel Garland received special mention for his leadership and courage in continuing to direct fire despite his wound.³⁰ Lieutenant Morgan overheard Cols. Garland and Kemper discuss Garland's wound. Kemper was envious and congratulated the 11th Virginia Commander. "Yes," replied Garland, "I always wanted an honorable wound in this war."³¹ The troops did regret that the retreat required all Confederate wounded who were unable to move be left behind on the fields or in town.

Official reports failed to mention that the soldiers often found their weapons wet and useless. On occasion they hastily grabbed an enemy rifle, with the hope that it would fire. Even then, accuracy became impossible as wet powder refused to fire.³²

The retreat from Williamsburg degenerated into a punishing stumble along almost impassable roads. Wagons had disappeared; men trudged along without food. Late on May 6, the Brigade reached Bushes Mill. By the 8th they had found their wagons, eaten a full meal and advanced to Long Bridge over the Chickahominy River. On

³⁰ Official Records, XI, 575-79, contains Hill's Report. J. E. B. Stuart's report, in ibid., 571, speaks of the "heroic courage and fighting tactics of the Eleventh. . . ." Garland's wound resulted from a rifle ball passing through the flesh of his left shoulder.

³¹ Morgan, Reminiscences, 114.

³² Southern Historical Society Papers, XXI (1893), 104. Hereafter cited as SHSP.

May 9, the Brigade was within twenty miles of Richmond. Private Smith's shoes gave out on May 15 as the Brigade came within sight of the Confederate capital, four miles away.³³ On June 2, the soldiers entered camp near Darbytown. The Union forces followed, yet did not press the Confederate rear. From Darbytown, and the next week from their camp on the Mechanicsville turnpike, the Regiment took turns standing picket duty and monitoring the Federal advance.

At Darbytown, Col. James L. Kemper, of the 7th Virginia, became Brigade commander with A. P. Hill's promotion to major general. Garland received a promotion to brigadier and departed to command his own brigade. David Funsten, second in command to Garland, became colonel and assumed leadership of the 11th Virginia. Major Langhorne moved up to regimental executive officer and Capt. Adam Clements of Company C became the new major.³⁴

Richmond lay close enough to camp to become an irresistible lure to the men of Hill's (soon-to-be-called Kemper's) Brigade. Most of the 1st Virginia were from the Capital City, and the entire brigade sought methods to visit town. So many men were successful

³³ Smith-Pickett Diary, May 15, 1862.

³⁴ Official Records, XI, pt. 3, 543, 569, 574. See also Lynchburg Virginian, May 28, 1862.

that the Brigade departed for the Battle of Seven Pines with the 1st Virginia reduced to skeleton size.

The afternoon of May 30 had seen a storm buffet the area with lightning and winds, then settle into a drenching downpour that lasted until well after dark. Near midnight the long roll of the drums called the troop into ranks. Once aligned, each man held out his cartridge box and received sixty rounds of ammunition. Next the commissary sergeant, aided by lantern light, issued three days' rations. The men broke ranks, cooked and packed their food, and made a final check of firearms before returning to their blankets. Before dawn, in a slight drizzle, another long roll announced that the march would soon begin. The move commenced early, yet soon lagged as high water rendered creek crossings virtually impossible. Fords rose breast high, the men wading with cartridge box, rifle and haversack held overhead. Still only five miles from Richmond, the Virginians halted and sprawled along the road. Many sat on stones or fence rails to avoid the mud and water. Another short hike brought the troops to a field where an attempt to light fires was soon abandoned. The soldiers ate their bacon and bread cold.

At midday the men had moved only two additional miles. Yet by this time the ranks of the 1st Virginia had begun to return to

normal. Men slipped into place after a quick hike from Richmond; some brought friends or younger brothers.³⁵ The 1st Virginia had been so small at dawn that the men had merged with the 7th Regiment. As the ranks swelled, the 1st Virginia resumed its own organization.³⁶ Little additional movement occurred until late in the afternoon, despite steady musketry that commenced shortly after noon.

Between 4 and 5 p. m., the Brigade advanced in support of units already engaged in battle. The regiments formed in column with the 11th Virginia at the head. The command to load rang out and to William Morgan, now captain of Company C, the noise of "ramrods rattling down musket barrels sounded like clods falling on a coffin lid."³⁷

The column came under heavy fire as it moved one mile east on the Williamsburg Road. The men emerged from a wooded stretch of road and turned right. Ahead lay a Federal camp fronted by unmanned breastworks. The camp appeared to be deserted. The entire Brigade,

³⁵ Hunter, Johmny Reb and Billy Yank, 127-32.

³⁶ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 23-24.

³⁷ Morgan, Reminiscences, 121.

still in column, plowed through the mud about the breastworks and drove straight into the enemy camp. As the Virginians penetrated the tent area, they met a murderous fire from the woods beyond the camp. Smoke and haze obscured the Federal infantrymen. The awkwardness of the closed ranks prevented the Virginians from returning the fire. The Southern column slowed, then faltered under the punishing volleys. Men desperately sought cover in the level, tent-filled compound. Rifle balls tore through the campground. Without--perhaps despite--orders, the grayclad troops fell back and regrouped behind the breastworks built by Federal troops. The campsite, erected in a farm courtyard, became a jumbled scene of confusion, mud and death. The rain had stopped, yet mud puddles reached depths of three feet. Wounded men died, drowning as they slipped below the surface of the yard. Crouched in the ditches behind the breastworks, soldiers could feel bodies in the mud beneath their feet. The carnage appalled men experienced in war. Private Hunter, cowering in the ditch, watched a friend raise his head over the breastworks, saw a red spot appear on the man's forehead, and caught him as he fell dead.³⁸ Men in the Brigade, standing waist deep in mud, cringed another hour before rallying behind a Confederate flank attack. The Virginians charged

³⁸ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 137.

and cleared the woods beyond the camp. The spent soldiers remained in the woods until nightfall. As the battle diminished, the men withdrew for the night to a forest a few miles to the rear.

The day had been bloody: in five minutes, as the Confederates rushed among the Federal tents, the 17th Virginia had lost seventy-five men.³⁹ The intense firing three times had shattered the flag staffs.⁴⁰ The 11th Virginia lost 29 killed and 127 wounded.⁴¹ Colonel Funsten and Lt. Col. Langhorne suffered injuries that forced both to inactive duty. Captain Fowlkes died at the head of Company F. A return submitted ten days after the battle listed regimental strength at 38 officers and 913 enlisted men. The report further stated that, in the past two months, 74 men had succumbed--12 from disease--and 230 had been wounded in action since the Virginians arrived at Yorktown.⁴²

³⁹ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 137.

⁴⁰ Wise, 17th Virginia, 71.

⁴¹ Lynchburg Virginian, June 4, 1862. Adjutant Meem died at Seven Pines. John W. Daniel, the new adjutant, sent the telegraphic report. Ibid., June 14, 1862, carried an exciting account of the wounding of Lt. Col. Langhorne by the man who carried Langhorne from the field.

⁴² 11th Virginia Records, Strength Return for June 10, 1862.

On Sunday, June 1, the men lingered over their breakfast while trying to piece together individual events of their battle. Many bitter complaints were made about the mad rush against an entrenched enemy while in a tight column. The soldiers held Kemper to blame for the useless waste.⁴³ After breakfast the Brigade, expecting a Federal attack, returned to the Federal tent city in the farmyard. Sporadic firing occurred throughout the day, but Kemper's men saw no action. After sundown, the Virginians moved to the rear and slept in an open field. Men dismantled fences in order to lie on the rails above the mud. On June 2, the soldiers returned to camp on the outskirts of Richmond.⁴⁴

⁴³ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 147-48.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 152.

CHAPTER V

GREEN APPLES, GREEN CORN

In the weeks following Seven Pines, the 11th Virginia relaxed at camp, rehashed past events, and recuperated from the physical and emotional damage of the battle. The soldiers, stunned by the savagery they had endured, found it easy to accept the monotony of the rear area as they unwound from the tensions of their fight.

Simple tasks took on a special significance. Private Hunter described the ceremony of breakfast. To him and his messmate, the morning meal became an event of great enjoyment over which they lingered. First, each group would start its fire. The men would then reach into their pack, unwrap and slice a strip of bacon, place their cracker or hardtack near the fire to warm, and, using their ramrod as a spit, hold the bacon in the fire. When it ignited, they held the dripping bacon over their toasting cracker, letting the cracker absorb the grease. At the same time, one member of the group would fill tins with water. "Coffee," brewed from roasted rye or parched corn, boiled ten minutes. By the time the coffee was ready, the bacon had cooked and the hardtack was toasted. The men then sat down to enjoy their meal. For those with a sweet tooth,

sorghum molasses could be used to sweeten the coffee or cracker. As an alternative to coffee, soldiers brewed sassafras tea. After breakfast, if time permitted, men filled their briar pipes from special tobacco bags made by loved ones at home and smoked while finishing their coffee.¹ For the man who could afford extras, the sutler sold coffee for \$1.50 per pound, and sugar for \$1.00 per pound. Butter cost \$1.25 per pound, and eggs were \$1.00 per dozen. Writing paper was 5¢ per sheet, as were envelopes.²

By mid-June, 1862, the Regiment's tents were too hot for daylight use. The camp attracted insects so that flies made sleep almost impossible outdoors. The men drilled occasionally, wrote letters, played cards and exchanged camp gossip. Stuart's ride around McClellan, and Jackson's Valley Campaign, were subjects for much prideful talk.³ Camp life was not completely free of war; companies on picket duty maintained contact with the Federal force.⁴

¹ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 146-47. While "Johnny Reb" had to drink ersatz coffee, his tobacco was real. "Billy Yank" smoked "a vile compound of chickory, cabbage and sumac leaves." Ibid., 244.

² Smith-Pickett Diary, June 10, 1862. Unless men bought extras, nearly all meals were cooked from the same ingredients.

³ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 160, 163.

⁴ Smith-Pickett Diary, June 18, 1862. Smith reported a heavy skirmish in which 50-60 casualties occurred.

On Wednesday, June 25, 1862, the Regiment's peaceful interlude ended just after dinner when the long roll called the men into ranks. Sergeants distributed issues of ammunition and food, then instructed everyone to leave all extra clothes in their knapsacks at camp and carry only light marching gear. In a short time the Brigade was underway, marching counterclockwise through the Richmond suburbs. Late at night the men halted in a field on the Mechanicsville turnpike, three miles from the capital, where they ate a hasty supper and slept. On Thursday, instead of the hurried pace of the previous night, the Virginians leisurely moved toward Mechanicsville. At Meadow Bridge, crossing the Chickahominy, the ranks split to permit horsemen to pass. One rider was Gen. Lee on "Traveler." Near Company C, Lee asked the identity of the unit.

"The Eleventh Virginia," a dozen voices roared.⁵

A short distance beyond the river, the Brigade rested in a pine wood. The day was hot; men stretched their blankets overhead for shade, then lay and fanned themselves with their tin plates. As the afternoon lengthened, a signal gun sounded, followed by the thunder of battle. The action occurred a few miles to the east but did not

⁵ Morgan, Reminiscences, 134-35.

involve Kemper's men. They remained in the shade trying to plot the battle by interpreting the sounds that continued until after sunset.⁶

Having experienced a forced night march, then a day of inactivity, the men on June 27 were irritated to find themselves roused before dawn. They were hurried toward the sound of the previous day's battle, then halted, unexplainedly, on a causeway traversing the Chickahominy Swamp. The men lined the edges of the road and, as it was still dark, went back to sleep. Awakened again, they ate a cold breakfast of hard crackers, raw bacon and swamp water.

Another signal gun sounded. Kemper called his Brigade to order and marched them through Mechanicsville. The town lay in a ruined heap; its people were busy tending hundreds of wounded men. Outside Mechanicsville, the men remained on reserve alert for the greater portion of the day. Ahead, the battle moved eastward as Gen. D. H. Hill's Division assailed the Federal lines. Kemper and his men trailed behind the battle. Though within enemy artillery range, the Virginians did not come under any concentrated fire. In mid-afternoon they halted as a rumor swept the ranks that the new battle sounds to

⁶ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 166-68.

the north of Hill represented Stonewall Jackson, who had just arrived from the Shenandoah Valley and was hitting the Federal flank. The news spread "like an electric flash."⁷

About 6 p. m. that evening, as the troops were brewing evening coffee, intense musket fire broke out a half-mile ahead. The Brigade unstacked arms, fell into ranks and stood at the ready. Occasional stray bullets whistling through the air caused the men to crouch and eventually lie down in ranks. In the fading light of sunset, they finally reformed for a rapid march toward the encounter. The troops reached the field after dark only to find that Gen. John B. Hood's troops had already secured the objective. In the last charge, the Virginians had sped past Gaines's Mill, after which the battle--another Confederate victory--was named. By starlight, the Brigade moved another 100 yards into a woods, where it bivouacked for the night. Some men slept while others searched the field for plunder. Many replaced worn blankets, haversacks or oilcloths. A few exchanged rifles.⁸

⁷ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 168-70.

⁸ Morgan, Reminiscences, 135-36. See also Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 170-73 and Wise, 17th Virginia, 72-75. Army officials became concerned about men carrying different caliber weapons. The Adjutant General ordered division commanders to insure that all troops within their units were capable of using the same cartridges in order to avoid a "supply disaster." Official Records, XI, pt. 3, 640-41.

On the following day Kemper's Brigade continued in reserve. The men passed their time writing letters, seeking news and scavenging the area just taken from the Union forces. On June 29, they recrossed the Chickahominy at Grapevine Bridge, built of pontoons by the U. S. Army. Kemper continued to follow the bluecoated army, although never close enough to engage.⁹

On Monday, June 30, still trailing the battle on dusty roads, Kemper's Brigade finally caught up and fought at Frayser's Farm. At 4 p. m., near the mansion, the Brigade formed a line of battle on the extreme right of the Confederate line. The 11th Virginia charged from a position in the center of the Brigade battle line. Captain Kirkwood Otey, former commander of the "Home Guard," led the Regiment.¹⁰ The force rushed through a sometimes swampy underbrush that broke the symmetry of the formation and created confusion. The assault overran its objective, a Federal battery, but the confusion of the swamp and underbrush caused units to the left to become disoriented. Kemper's men were in possession of the Union guns. By penetrating the enemy line, they had become subject to fire from all directions. The Virginians, unable to defend themselves in

⁹ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 175. See also Wise, 17th Virginia, 76.

¹⁰ Kemper's report is in Official Records, XI, pt. 3, 763-68. Adam Clements, appointed to Major before Seven Pines, had traveled to Campbell County to obtain a horse required for regimental staff assignment. Company commanders marched and fought on foot. See Morgan, Reminiscences, 119. In the absence of regimental field officers, the senior company commander led the regiment.

their exposed position, withdrew initially in order, then in a chaotic rout that required hard work on the part of the officers to stem.¹¹

Later, when the Regiment returned to the rear, it counted 9 dead, 50 wounded and 31 men missing.¹² Brigade losses were 44 killed, 205 wounded and 165 missing.

One of the most unusual stories of Frayser's Farm, and of the Civil War, lies in the pages of Pvt. William Randolph Smith's diary. His entry for June 25 told of the long roll and issue of rations. He noted that there had been heavy cannon fire, and he surmised that there was "something afoot."¹³ The next entry ran in a different script. "This day a week ago, poor Ran wrote for the last time in his diary not thinking it would be his last."¹⁴ The diary continued to tell the story of how Smith had spent the night of June 25 chatting with his friends before marching away to battle. At camp, George S. Pickett heard of the battle sounds during the Seven Days' battle and sought his friend. He searched the Frayser's Farm field until he located Smith's body. Pickett afterward continued his friend's diary.

¹¹ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 179-90.

¹² Official Records, XI, pt. 2, 973-84. See also Lynchburg Virginian July 3, 1862, for a list of casualties showing name, company and extent of injuries.

¹³ Smith-Pickett Diary, June 26, 1862.

¹⁴ Ibid., July 2, 1862.

In Lynchburg, William Blackford noted that Company G, the "Home Guard," had been in action for one year, during which time they had lost 13 killed and approximately 40 wounded. Blackford remembered that some had called the Guard a "band box" company: fit for show but not service. He reasoned that the men had now proved the incorrectness of such a classification.¹⁵

On July 1, Kemper led his Brigade in pursuit of the retreating Federal forces. The Virginians were stationed on the right of the grayclad lines and saw no action. At the battle of Malvern Hill, they remained in reserve. After several days' delay in the vicinity of Harrison Bend, the men again returned to their Darbytown camp.¹⁶

Camp life lasted more than a month, during which time units rebuilt and retrained. Heat and nearby swamps combined to cause much illness and many deaths.¹⁷ On August 10, Gen. Kemper received orders to "proceed without delay" via the Central Railroad to Gordonsville.¹⁸

¹⁵ Blackford Diary, Aug. 1, 1862.

¹⁶ Wise, 17th Virginia, 90.

¹⁷ Johnston, Confederate Boy, 119.

¹⁸ Official Records, XI, pt. 3, 675. The orders are dated Aug. 13, 1862, yet several sources indicate that the Brigade arrived on Aug. 10 in a "soaking rain." For example, see Wise, 17th Virginia, 92.

On August 16, the Regiment departed on a twelve-day march to Thoroughfare Gap.¹⁹ The march became hot, dusty and hungry. The men, with dustcoated hair, eyebrows and beards, received no food rations as wagons fell far behind the march. Forced to improvise, the soldiers lived on green corn and green apples, picked from fields and orchards along the route. Using a reinforced cotton sheet as shelter, they had thrown away the hated Sibley tent to sleep outdoors in summer for the rest of the war.²⁰ Colonel Corse led Kemper's Brigade, as Kemper had temporarily taken charge of the Division. Major Clements rode at the head of the 11th Virginia.

On August 28, with artillery thundering ahead, the force marched into Thoroughfare Gap and proceeded unhurriedly along the railroad toward the east. Despite the obvious engagement, the men halted short of combat. The next day was hot, sultry, quiet and foodless. The men had been without rations for several days. When the Brigade formed before a cornfield, scores of men slipped from ranks to gather

¹⁹ Wise, 17th Virginia, 92-94. The Brigade witnessed an artillery fight on Aug. 23 near Brandy Station and sustained an occasional artillery round at their Waterloo camp.

²⁰ John Dooley, John Dooley, Confederate Soldier; His War Diary, ed. by Joseph T. Durkin (Washington, 1945), 6-15. Hereafter cited as Dooley, John Dooley. A Georgetown University student, Dooley remained with the 1st Virginia from Gordonsville until his capture at Gettysburg. For an excellent description of the varieties of green corn and green apple menus, plus details of Confederate dress and equipment during this campaign, see Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 238-41. Hunter elaborated this material for an article in SESP, XXXI (1903), 37. Hereafter cited as Hunter, "Antietam."

food. To the practiced ear of the infantry, the main struggle lay to their left. They seemed to be outflanking the Federal force. Several veterans recognized the field as the scene of the Manassas battle of July, 1861, and they found themselves facing the Chain House, about which were ranged several artillery pieces heavily protected by infantry.

The order to assemble came about 4 p. m. Men dropped their blanket rolls, checked cartridge boxes, and loaded rifles. "Skirmishers out," caused those infantrymen to move forward. Firing began with the advance of the skirmishers. "Forward! Guide to the colors! March!" sounded the order to proceed. The ranks crossed a plateau without cheering; the only sound in the lines came from steady footsteps and rattling metal articles. As the regiments crossed a fence, the first artillery shell exploded in their front. The Federal batteries, about one-half mile away, constituted the objective of the Confederate assault.

The lines held in military order almost to the Chain House, from where Federal infantrymen rose from behind a stone fence and delivered a volley at point-blank range. Breaking ranks, the Confederates returned the musketry. After a ten-minute firefight, the Southerners drove back the Union forces. The bluecoats retreated into

an oncoming Federal counterattack that hit the Virginians with increased fury near Chinn House. The Brigade successfully resisted and, with reinforcements, secured the day's victory. Kemper's Brigade, assured of its objective, watched the battle rage in other parts of the field. When the entire Union line broke, the Confederates followed in pursuit until nightfall.²¹ Private Edgar Warfield spent part of the night scavenging for new shoes.²²

The Battle of Second Manassas had been severe. Private Hunter fired all sixty of his cartridges. His shoulder turned black and blue from the recoil of his rifle, and his face was coated with carbon from the powder smoke. Many men, finding their muskets fouled after about thirty shots, turned to the Enfields lying on the ground.²³ The 11th Virginia sustained a loss of 9 killed and 55 wounded.²⁴ Colonel Corse's report spoke well of the Regiment and its commander.²⁵

²¹ Dooley, John Dooley, 20-24. See also Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 246-55.

²² Edgar Warfield, A Confederate Soldier's Memoirs (Richmond, 1936), 108. Hereafter cited as Warfield, Memoirs. Warfield served in the 17th Virginia from Alexandria to Appomattox. Barefooted at Manassas, he searched unsuccessfully for shoes and finally conceded that "others in a similar state were ahead of me." Ibid.

²³ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 255.

²⁴ Official Records, LI, pt. 1, 134. See also ibid., XII, pt. 3, 560-62.

²⁵ Ibid., XII, pt. 2, 625-27.

The next day the pursuit continued as the Virginians crossed Bull Run at Sudley Mills Road and headed toward Fairfax. They ate well that evening, thanks to food left in abandoned Federal haversacks and camps.

Rain drenched the soldiers on September 1 as they arrived at Chantilly too late to participate in that battle. "Our ammunition was wet, anyway," Pvt. Hunter recalled. Still hungry, the men marched north through Dranesville, passed Leesburg, and spent the night of September 5 near Big Springs. The next morning they crossed the Potomac by stripping to the skin and hanging pack and clothes on their fixed bayonets. Since they were now in "Yankee" territory, the soldiers fired their rifles to insure reloading with dry powder.²⁶ Prior to crossing the river, Gen. Lee ordered all sick and barefooted Southerners to report to Winchester rather than proceed northward. A number of soldiers observed that many men, throwing away their shoes so as to qualify as "barefooted," used the order as an excuse to avoid the campaign into Maryland.²⁷ An additional loss of troops

²⁶ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 266-73. See also Wise, 17th Virginia, 105-08.

²⁷ Johnston, Confederate Boy, 131, and Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 274, reported misuse of the order. Hunter estimated that the "Barefoot Order" cost Lee 10,000 men.

resulted from lack of rations. Stragglers foraging for food often lost track of their outfit. The steady diet of green corn and green apples led to diarrhea and rendered scores of men unfit for duty. Lice, which troubled men throughout the war, were particularly bothersome during the Maryland invasion, since the soldiers brought no extra clothes and lived the entire time without change. Boiling the clothes and swimming while dressed seemed to have no effect upon the vermin.²⁸

The Southerners were disappointed and frustrated by the cold reception they received at Frederick, Md.; yet they enjoyed making purchases in the better stocked stores. They considered it a silent endorsement of the Southern cause that merchants accepted Confederate money. On September 11, in Hagerstown, the Virginians were surprised to find themselves treated as guests. However, the next day the menu returned to green corn and green apples when the men moved into camp beyond town.²⁹

On Sunday, September 14, the 11th Regiment marched to hold the gaps through South Mountain so as to permit the Confederate wagons to escape Federal pursuit and to allow Jackson time to finish the occupation of Harper's Ferry. The order to march reached camp at

²⁸ Hunter, "Antietam," 38.

²⁹ Wise, 17th Virginia, 110-11. Warfield, Memoirs, 109, reported that, on Sept. 6, 1862, the commissary issued him his first food ration that month: two smoked herrings captured from a Federal sutler.

5 a. m. Kemper's Brigade turned back through Hagerstown to the mountain. Near 4 p. m., it came under Federal fire. The route of march in the battle area was such that the regiments moved into position at an angle to the Union lines, thus permitting an enfilading fire. The command to move forward led the grayclad units into a cornfield. As they prepared to enter the struggle, the men of the 11th Regiment learned that Samuel Garland had died a few miles away while leading his North Carolina Brigade. With "gloomy feelings," the Virginians continued their advance.³⁰

The men reached their objective point barely in time to prepare for the Federal force moving toward them. The Southerners fought a delaying action. They gave ground slowly to avoid being overwhelmed. As darkness approached, the line buckled. The Virginians momentarily broke for the rear, then rallied. Kemper entered combat while Federal forces ranged over the high ground above him. As a result, the battle momentum pushed downhill. Constant Southern effort and will managed to slow the enemy gains. After dark the battle stopped. The men remained in their position all night. Toward morning they withdrew.

At the battle of South Mountain the Confederates concluded that they had fought a successful delaying action. True, they had been

³⁰ Dooley, John Dooley, 34-35.

pushed back, but by such an overwhelming force that they felt no dishonor in their inability to slow the Union tide. If the men complained, it was to question why they had not been ordered into position before the Federal army reached South Mountain.³¹ Stragglers, the "Barefoot Order," and the forced night march made it impossible to enumerate casualties, but the most significant loss may have been that of Maj. Adam Clements, commander of the 11th Virginia, who never returned to his unit after falling wounded at Boonsboro.³²

On September 15, Kemper's Brigade, keeping ahead of Union cavalry pickets, alternately marched and napped along the Harper's Ferry road. It soon rejoined the main body of Lee's Army near Sharpsburg, Md. The next day, as Longstreet moved the units about the town's outskirts, the men felt that they were countermarching to create an impression of great numbers. Federal artillery kept up an all-day barrage, yet most shells passed harmlessly overhead into town. Toward evening, the Brigade moved to the southeast side

³¹ Dooley, John Dooley, 32. See also Robert V. Johnson and C. C. Buel (eds.), Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (New York, 1884-1887), II, 559-81. Hereafter cited as Battles and Leaders.

³² There is confusion as to whether Clements fell at Boonsboro or Sharpsburg. This writer believes that his wound occurred on Sept. 14 at Boonsboro and that Capt. Robert M. Mitchell of Co. A led the 11th Va. at Antietam. See Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 24, 1862.

of Sharpsburg, where they slept with their weapons ready.³³

Before dawn on Wednesday, September 17, artillery fire greeted the uncomfortable soldiers. The 11th Virginia, reduced to approximately eighty-five men, participated in further countermarching before settling about noon to a position behind a fence on the reverse slope of a hill.³⁴ The Virginians lay facing the southernmost bridge over Antietam Creek, at the extreme right of the Confederate line. In front of the Virginians lay the remainder of Gen. David R. Jones' Division, which included Kemper's regiments. Kemper had returned to command his brigade. Colonel Corse resumed command of his own regiment. Captain Robert M. Mitchell led the 11th Virginia. The forward brigades lined the bank of the creek with Gen. Robert A. Toombs' Georgia brigade being responsible for the security of the bridge.

The Federal artillery fire first concentrated on the far left of

³³ Johnston, Confederate Boy, 147-49.

³⁴ The estimated strength of Kemper's Brigade lay between 200-300. The 1st Va. had 8 officers and 9 enlisted men. Dooley, John Dooley, 45. Colonel Corse reported 9 officers and 24 men for the 17th Va. Official Records, XIX, pt. 1, 904-05. Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, placed the strength of the 17th Va. at 7 officers and 41 men. The 11th Va. estimate appeared in Johnston, Confederate Boy, 147. All figures appear to be estimates made after the campaign.

the position of the 11th Virginia. By noon, an immense effort had taken place; the principal action occupied the center wings of both armies. Virginians crouched behind the hill could see the artillery barrage that preceded the Federal assault. They thrilled to the sight of the Union lines advancing, then crumbling and retreating in the face of Confederate fire. By early afternoon it was apparent that the emphasis was shifting toward the area of the 11th Virginia.

The hill before the men obstructed the view of what is now called Burnside's Bridge. In mid-afternoon, the sounds of cannon and musketry reached their ears from directly in front of them. About 3 p. m., they became aware of the outcome when Toombs' men came running over the crest. Commanding officers rallied their troops in a field behind the fence where the 11th Virginia and its sister regiments lay.

For a while, silence reigned; then individual voices could be heard from beyond the hill. The voices were obviously Union officers forming and aligning a Federal battle line. The drumbeat started amid commands. Virginians, behind the fence, realized that they had become cramped in their positions. They stretched nervously. Alexander Hunter lay and listened to the sounds of orders, drums and marching feet. The first sight of the enemy was the top of their flag staffs, then the flags, followed by the tops of blue battle

caps, and next "a line of the fiercest eyes man ever looked upon," as the Northern men reached the summit of the hill.³⁵

The Federal line fired first; the range was short, yet they fired high. Kemper's men then fired, resting their barrels upon the second fence rail. The effect proved deadly as the blue line broke and ducked back behind the hill. Virginians reloaded feverishly, for the enemy remained so close that rallying orders carried distinctly. The men could hear reinforcements arrive and tensed as the charge command sounded behind the crest. Over the hill came the cheering bluecoats, firing at will and no longer in straight lines. The 1st and 11th Virginia held out as long as they could but, flanked and overwhelmed, they broke for the rear. Running back, petrified with fear, John Dooley found himself half turning for fear he would receive a disgraceful shot in the back.³⁶ The Federal force stopped at the fence line previously held by the 11th Virginia. The interlude permitted the retreating troops to catch their breath, then reform near Toombs' men. After a pause, the Federal army resumed its advance. Outnumbered Confederates gave way slowly when sounds of battle broke out on the right, an area considered unmanned. General A. P. Hill had arrived from Harper's Ferry. Hill's assault routed the Union

³⁵ Hunter, "Antietam," 40-41.

³⁶ Dooley, John Dooley, 44-47.

attackers. The Virginians joined in pushing the bluecoats back to their former position. That night they slept proudly on their old line.³⁷ Scattered sniper firing occupied the next day. The Virginians were infuriated that some of their men received injuries while tending wounded bluecoats.³⁸ At nightfall, orders alerted everyone to withdrawal. The men napped until 11 p. m., then folded their blankets and slipped back through Sharpsburg to begin the retreat from Maryland. They marched all night September 18 and crossed the Potomac about 7 a. m. the next morning.³⁹

The depleted ranks of the retreating 11th Virginia Infantry revealed the cost of the battles in Maryland. Of the men who began the Boonsboro fight, 3 were dead and 38 had fallen wounded in the battles. Kemper's Brigade reported a total of 144 casualties: 15 killed, 102 wounded and 27 missing.⁴⁰

The route from Maryland was through Martinsburg, where the Virginians rested for several days before moving to the vicinity of

³⁷ Federal troops captured Pvt. Alexander Hunter when they overran his position.

³⁸ Dooley, John Dooley, 50.

³⁹ Ibid., 50-51.

⁴⁰ Battles and Leaders, II, 601. Hunter reported 35 casualties out of 46 men in the 17th Va. Corse listed 31 casualties out of 33 men for the same unit in Official Records, XIX, pt. 1, 904-05. The 11th Virginia Records (Virginia State Library) indicate Corp. Samuel P. Shindle commanded Co. K at Antietam following the loss of all company officers. See also Lynchburg Virginian, Sept. 24, 1862.

Bunker Hill for a period of several weeks. The Bunker Hill camp revived the old familiar routines: drill, instruction, picket duty and recruiting.

During this period, Kemper's Brigade became part of a division commanded by Gen. George E. Pickett. The new general had served with distinction until wounded at Gaines's Mill. Once recovered, he reported to his old brigade at Martinsville but soon received promotion and a division at Bunker Hill. In October, 1862, Pickett's Division contained 9,000 men.

At Bunker Hill, Pvt. Dooley witnessed punishments decreed by courts-martial. Dooley noted that some men served their sentence in the guardhouse, while others underwent bucking or gagging as their punishment. Bucking forced the prisoner to sit in a doubled-up position, hands on his knees, while a long stick was inserted horizontally between his knees and his elbows. This forced position soon became extremely painful.

Gagging occurred when a bound prisoner stood with a bayonet in his mouth, both ends of the bayonet tied behind his head. For lesser punishment, a stick could take the place of the bayonet.

Another sentence required the culprit to march about camp wearing nothing but a "shirt" made by cutting arm holes in a

bottomless flour barrel.⁴¹

Late in October, Pickett's new Division received marching orders and, on October 31, departed their Bunker Hill camp. They hiked up the Valley, past Strasburg and over the Blue Ridge to Culpeper, where they went into camp. On November 19, the men left Culpeper and, on the 25th, arrived at Fredericksburg. They began construction of log cabins destined to be winter quarters.⁴²

Countermoves by the enemy cancelled work on winter quarters. The Federal army arrived on the north bank of the Rappahannock opposite Fredericksburg and spread along the river for miles, their camps barely visible across the river. Each army sent men to watch the other. While on picket duty, Virginians met Northerners to swap tobacco, coffee and newspapers. The Confederate camp proudly repeated the story that when Union Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside asked Lee to surrender Fredericksburg, he was told to "Come and take it." Lee prepared for Burnside's forces by moving south to a series of hills that ran parallel to the river at a distance of one-half to one mile.⁴³ General Jackson took command of the right wing; Longstreet,

⁴¹ Dooley, John Dooley, 73-74. The punishments Dooley reported were inflicted for cowardly actions during the Maryland Campaign.

⁴² Morgan, Reminiscences, 142-43. Wise, 17th Virginia, 120-23, contains the itinerary of the move from Bunker Hill to Fredericksburg.

⁴³ Dooley, John Dooley, 77.

the left. By December 11, Federal preparations convinced all that Burnside soon planned to cross the Rappahannock on pontoon bridges. On December 12, while the enemy was moving over the bridges, Kemper's Brigade made several moves along the line and finally settled into a reserve position behind the Confederate center.

On the morning of December 13, the Federal units completed their crossing under cover of a heavy fog. The mist lifted about 10 a. m. to reveal a bluecoated army aligned and ready to attack.

Kemper's Brigade did not participate in the fighting at the Battle of Fredericksburg. The men waited in reserve, witnessing the entire conflict from a position high in the rear of the Confederate line. Toward evening, the regiments responded to a call for reinforcements at Mayre's Hill; but by the time they stepped into the lines, the battle had ended. The following day the men awaited a new attack that never came.⁴⁴ The Virginians were confident that they possessed an opportunity to destroy the Army of the Potomac. They were bitter when no command to attack arrived.⁴⁵ At dawn on

⁴⁴ Reeve, "Reminiscences." See also Morgan, Reminiscences, 146-53, and Holland, "Recollections," Dec. 27, 1959, for soldiers' reports of the Fredericksburg action. Pickett's Division suffered 46 wounded. Of these, the 11th Va. reported 13 wounded. Official Records, XXI, 559-62.

⁴⁵ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 319. See also Wise, 17th Virginia, 130.

December 16, the Southerners learned that the Federal divisions had retired to the north bank of the river. The next day the Virginians withdrew from the lines and departed for winter quarters.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Morgan, Reminiscences, 153.

CHAPTER VI

DESOLATION AT HIGH TIDE

The winter of 1862-1863 began pleasantly enough. The 11th Virginia settled into its quarters near the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad; packages and visitors arrived from home, and furloughs were available to all.¹ In mid-December, however, a long rain created misery as it preceded a longer freeze. The weather turned so cold that commanders suspended drill. Soldiers cowered near the fires in their shelters. Following the inevitable thaw, wagons mired and rations became scarce. Christmas found the Virginians depressed, as it was "pretty hard to make Christmas dinner from one pound of fat pork, six crackers and one-quarter pound of dried apples." Yet Christmas dinner they had, topped by apple dumplings with sorghum molasses. Sobriety reigned during the holiday--owing more to financial than to moral causes.²

The new year was not a month old when the 11th Virginia saw action and drew blood. In late January, following a severe snow-storm, a sentry of the 17th Virginia discovered an entire brigade

¹ Reeve, "Reminiscences."

² Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 326-28.

converging on his post. When he demanded identification, he was overwhelmed by skirmishers and tossed into a snowbank. The "enemy" brigade proved to be Toombs' Georgians. The entire force, armed with snowballs, charged the Virginians. The 17th Regiment called on Gen. Pickett for support. A pitched battle lasted until the Virginians were forced to surrender. Montgomery Corse, now a general commanding his own brigade, called for a fight to the death, but he was overpowered, dumped in a snowpile and sat upon until he acknowledged defeat. Several bloody noses resulted from the fray.³

The snowball fight may have seemed a prelude to more serious action as the Brigade, in late January, marched in the rain toward Chancellorsville to meet a rumored enemy crossing. The rain turned to an overnight, eight-inch snowfall. "The suffering was fearful," one Virginian recalled. The soldiers, having outmarched their mired wagons, slept rolled in their blankets and Union oilcloths taken from previous battlefields. When the attack did not materialize, the cold, wet and exhausted men returned to Guiney's Station.⁴

Clothing problems were ever-present. Men in camp lacked shoes. The commissary attempted to provide a solution by distributing cowhides

³ Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, 329-30. See also Morgan, Reminiscences, 153-54; Loehr, 1st Virginia, 33.

⁴ Warfield, Memoirs, 140. See also Sam'l _____ to cousin, Jan. 27, 1863, John Oakey Papers, Manuscript Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University. The unidentified Sam'l was a member of Co. G, 11th Va.

stripped from the ration beef, but the resulting moccasins proved to be poor substitutes.⁵ Turning to the homefront for help, Maj. Kirkwood Otey, commanding the 11th Virginia, sent an officer to the Lynchburg area to beg for clothes for the Regiment.⁶

Pickett's Division departed camp in mid-February, when the "mud [was] deepest, the sky dullest, weather gloomiest." The Brigade marched to Richmond, where for several weeks it performed escort and picket duties. Some men were fortunate enough to visit parts of Virginia undamaged by war. They enjoyed the splendid Southhampton hams--"the finest I ever ate," noted Capt. Morgan.⁷

Passing through Richmond, Kemper's Brigade became the object of an enthusiastic welcome, perhaps because the 1st Virginia considered the capital as its hometown. Townspeople lining the route of march offered food and drink to the passing soldiers. Officers of the Brigade received special attention in the form of liquid refreshment. The overenthusiastic officers succumbed to the compliment and, as a result, Gen. Pickett placed four of his regimental commanders

⁵ Morgan, Reminiscences, 144. See also Holland, "Recollections," Jan. 3, 1960.

⁶ Morgan, Reminiscences, 144. The Lynchburg Virginian, Feb. 16, 1863, contains a letter from Capt. Morgan expressing appreciation for the contributions.

⁷ Morgan, Reminiscences, 157.

(including Maj. Kirkwood Otey) under arrest.⁸

Upon return to camp, the Brigade assembled to witness a whipping inflicted upon a member of the 24th Virginia for cowardice at Sharpsburg. The culprit's court-martial sentence ordered thirty-nine lashes and a dishonorable discharge. The man, stripped to the waist, underwent his punishment tied to a pole fifty yards in front of the Brigade, drawn up in a line. The ordeal became so horrible that the executioner, himself a prisoner who earned his release by this act, broke down and wept.⁹

On March 21, 1863, the 11th Virginia boarded railroad boxcars at Petersburg and journeyed to Goldsboro, N. C. The weather was still cold, and it could have been a more uncomfortable trip had not the men piled the dirt of their cars into the center of the floors and built pine log fires atop the piles. The passengers in the cars arrived warm but "well smoked."¹⁰

Departing Goldsboro the next day, the Virginians moved to

⁸ Blackford, Letters, 169. Blackford begged Pickett to release Otey from arrest so that he could lead the 11th Va. at Gettysburg. Otey stood trial after Gettysburg and pleaded guilty to drunkenness. He was sentenced to be cashiered, but the sentence was not carried out because of Otey's heroic conduct on July 3, 1863. Otey's court-martial plea and sentence are in "201 File for Kirkwood Otey," V. M. I.

⁹ Dooley, John Dooley, 83.

¹⁰ Morgan, Reminiscences, 157.

Kinston, disembarked in the afternoon and established camp south of the Neuse River. From Kinston the regiments took part in an armed reconnaissance against New Bern. Some firing took place, but the 11th Virginia was not engaged. The units remained near New Bern. The last days of March, 1863, found the Virginians performing picket duty and patrols.¹¹

On April 4, back at Kinston, Kemper's Brigade received orders to return to Virginia. The men boarded another train and traveled via Goldsboro and Weldon to Franklin Station, Va. After five days' rest at Franklin, the regiments marched to Suffolk, where they engaged in skirmishes with Federal troops occupying that town. The Confederate soldiers decided that their mission at Suffolk was to pin down the Union forces while other Southern troops gathered supplies. At the same time, the Union Army of the Potomac began to move; the Virginians reasoned that they were keeping the Northerners at Suffolk from joining Gen. Joseph Hooker.¹²

On May 3, the 11th Virginia withdrew from the outskirts of Suffolk and, in a series of hard, hot and punishing hikes, moved to join Gen. Lee. On May 9, the troops passed through Petersburg before

¹¹ Morgan, Reminiscences, 157-58. See also Reeve, "Reminiscences."

¹² Morgan, Reminiscences, 159-60; Reeve, "Reminiscences."

proceeding to Taylorsville, in Hanover County, where they went into camp.

On June 8, Kemper's Brigade again was on the move. After a week's delay in Culpeper, the Virginians donned light marching packs and, carrying three days' rations, started north. By June 24, at Winchester, the soldiers learned of their destination. On the following day, they crossed the Potomac and headed for Pennsylvania. On June 26, acting as rear guard, Pickett's Division settled in the Chambersburg area. Lee had moved the main army east toward Harrisburg and York. John Dooley, now a lieutenant, found the Pennsylvanians to be sullen people. In his diary he expressed shock that, up North, well-dressed girls sometimes went barefooted.¹³

The 11th Virginia busied itself destroying the railroad facilities at Chambersburg until the night of July 1, when Gen. John D. Imboden's cavalry took the rear guard. At 2 a. m. on July 2, Pickett's Division began a forced night march toward Gettysburg, where a battle had begun. The route was rough and covered twenty-three miles; yet, unlike Maryland a year earlier, the men were in superb shape, well disciplined and under complete control.¹⁴ Halting at 2 p. m., the hot

¹³ Dooley, John Dooley, 95-98. See also Reeve, "Reminiscences;" Loehr, 1st Virginia, 34-35. Official Records, XXVII, pt. 3, 1091, contains the official itinerary for June 15-July 24, 1863. Corse's Brigade of Pickett's Division did not go to Pennsylvania.

¹⁴ Dooley, John Dooley, 97.

and parched Virginians bivouacked near a stone bridge three miles west of Gettysburg on the Cashtown turnpike. Cannon rumbling at Gettysburg warned the soldiers that the previous day's battle still continued at an intense rate. In their small forest camp to the right of the turnpike, Virginians tensed in anticipation of the command that would send them into combat. General Pickett rode ahead and learned that his troops were not needed and that he should rest them.¹⁵ Gradually the men relaxed, prepared their evening meal and stretched out to sleep.

Before dawn on July 3, 1863, Pickett moved his brigades onto the Gettysburg field. Kemper's regiments led the march; Gen. Richard B. Garnett's Brigade followed, with Gen. Lewis A. Armistead's Brigade in the rear. The Division numbered 4,481 riflemen as it crossed the fields and moved southeasterly through a valley to the Confederate lines on Seminary Ridge. The men halted in the rays of the rising sun, loaded their weapons and underwent inspection. The hill ahead of them--Seminary Ridge--concealed their formation from enemy eyes. Inspection completed, the men nervously awaited the next order.

¹⁵ Walter Harrison, Pickett's Men: A Fragment of War History (New York, 1870), 87-88. Harrison was a member of Pickett's staff.

Bright and clear weather promised another hot day.¹⁶ The idle Virginians found that they were situated in an orchard, and within a short time the regiments were pelting each other with green apples. The mock battle stopped as orders arrived sending the regiments beyond the crest of Seminary Ridge to a fence, which they dismantled. The orders commanded Pickett to have his force lie down in battle formation at this new position. An artillery barrage was scheduled, after which he was to assault the Federal lines, about half a mile away.¹⁷ The bluecoated infantry were visible behind their artillery on another rise paralleling the Confederate line. Fifteen men from each regiment moved ahead as skirmishers. Kemper's Brigade took the right flank position, with Garnett to his left. Armistead, planning to move to Garnett's left once the assault got underway, formed in the rear because of the limited division front. By 7 a. m., the Virginians, now in full view of the enemy, took their places and lay down.¹⁸ Despite two days of bitter fighting, the battlefield remained relatively calm. A North Carolina Brigade under Cadmus M. Wilcox formed on Kemper's right; Henry Heth's Division, commanded by James J. Pettigrew, stood to Garnett's left. The attack plan called for Wilcox, Pettigrew and

¹⁶ Harrison, Pickett's Men, 90, 93.

¹⁷ Dooley, John Dooley, 101-03.

¹⁸ Harrison, Pickett's Men, 90-91. See also Loehr, 1st Virginia, 33.

Gen. Issac Trimble (leading Pender's Division) to charge behind Pickett, then pass through Pickett's Division and attack the enemy secondary line.¹⁹ In front of Kemper, an artillery battery stood ready to fire. The 11th Virginia's post was on the right flank of Pickett's Division.²⁰

At 10 a. m., Charles M. Blackford was seated at Longstreet's headquarters writing to his wife, Susan. "As I write under the shade of a tree, a terrible cannonading is going on. Gen. Longstreet is a little to my right, awaiting orders. This will be a great day in history." While Blackford could not see well enough to understand what was occurring, he supposed that "our lines under the cannonading are preparing to charge." At that point he broke off his letter.²¹

By this time the sun had begun to bother the Virginians lying in the fields. They began wiggling toward trees, seeking shade. The heavy artillery fire reported by Blackford did not concentrate upon Pickett's men.

At 1 p. m., a single signal gun opened a new artillery bombard-

¹⁹ Harrison, Pickett's Men, 91.

²⁰ SHSP, XXXII (1904), 189, contains a report of the battle by Capt. John Holmes Smith of Co. G. Smith was senior captain in the Regiment and, although wounded, became regimental commander before the end of the day. Hereafter cited as Smith, "Gettysburg."

²¹ Blackford, Letters, 188.

ment. Federal cannon, massed in the objective area of Pickett's Division, answered the challenge. Many Virginians fell victim to cannon fire during the two-hour battle of the big guns. Their exposed position placed them in the impact area of all rounds which overshot the Confederate batteries in the forefront of Pickett's infantrymen. Under what was by then a boiling sun, the soldiers cringed in the open field as Federal fire raked the forward cannon and the infantry line. Company G lost 10 men killed or wounded in the artillery duel. Other units suffered proportionately.

Near 3 p. m., men noticed perceptible slackening in the Union cannon fire. As the bombardment slowed, Gen. Pickett rode to each Brigade and passed orders to move out. "Remember Old Virginia!" he exclaimed as he departed.²²

As the order reached the reclining men, they began rising to their feet. Many were shocked to see the number of soldiers still on their stomachs: some casualties of artillery fire, some suffering sunstrokes, others simply too scared to stand.²³ In the stillness following the deafening cannon fire, the Virginians dressed ranks and

²² SHSP, XXXIV (1906), 328-331, is the account by Col. Joseph C. Mayo, who led the 3rd Va. of Kemper's Brigade. Mayo was captured in the charge.

²³ Dooley, John Dooley, 105. Dooley was wounded and captured in this engagement.

checked weapons, then started forward slowly without the customary cheering.²⁴

The gray line marched the first 300 yards in silence. The stilled Federal cannon hesitated, then boomed into full voice. Gaps tore into the moving soldiers; men lost step as they shifted positions to maintain a straight and solid rank. Union fire from Round Top on the Confederate right ripped holes in the flanks of the advancing line.

At midfield, confusion increased. The objective area assigned to Pickett's men lay to their left. The Brigade, dressing to the left, marched in an oblique toward the enemy. This maneuver forced the units on the right to walk almost parallel to the Federal line. In so doing, they came under extremely heavy fire. The 11th Virginia, as the Regiment furthestmost to the right, took many casualties. Otey fell; Maj. J. R. Hutter, formerly of Company H, took command and continued the charge. The route led into a valley between the two lines, then upward toward the Federal positions. In the valley a fence broke the lines. Men lost precious time in climbing and reforming on the other side. The enemy artillery raked the Virginians

²⁴ Reeve, "Reminiscences." Captain Reeve was wounded, yet returned to the Southern lines.

as they attempted to perform the difficult oblique maneuver under fire. The 11th Regiment colors fell several times before Adj. H. V. Harris himself took them.

As the Confederate formation neared the Union lines, bluecoated infantrymen opened fire. As though it were a signal, the Virginians screamed the Rebel Yell and broke into a run. Thirty yards from the first line of the Union cannon, the Regiment stopped, fired its muskets and dashed for the guns. The Southerners overran the first line, drove the enemy back and captured several prisoners and artillery pieces. The 11th Virginia hit the Federal line, not at the stone wall, but a spot where the breastworks were made of logs placed before trenches. The Regiment streamed into the abandoned enemy pits. Major Hutter disappeared, the victim of musketry; John Holmes Smith, captain of Company G and senior company commander, took charge. Smith estimated that 300 men of the 11th Regiment had reached the Union line.

Elated at his Regiment's success, Smith turned to watch the Confederate reinforcements coming to hit the deeper Federal reserves. Except for the dead and wounded of Pickett's force, the field behind him was empty. Smith hurriedly sent a courier back to Seminary Ridge to report his success and ask for support while he (Smith) prepared

his battered troops to repel the inevitable counterattack.

The huddled Virginians waited twenty minutes and prayed for assistance that never arrived. Captain Robert W. Douthat of Company F crouched with Smith. He attempted to plan a next move while tending the regimental commander's leg wound. A Federal column had formed and was bearing down on the isolated Virginians. Douthat began firing any muskets he could locate. With the enemy counterassault seventy-five yards away, Smith informed Douthat of his decision to retreat. "It's time to get away from here," Douthat shouted to the remnants of the Regiment. All began running to the rear.²⁵

The long journey back to Seminary Ridge proved more costly than the attack. Federal artillery and infantry, under no other attack, moved into range and concentrated their fire on the fleeing Confederates. Men lost direction and scattered to all points leading to their own lines. Once within their lines, most men assembled in the area behind Seminary Ridge where they had halted at daybreak--that morning a lifetime ago. In shocked little groups, they asked about friends, retold their experiences and repeatedly inquired why they had not received support. General Pickett rode among the men

²⁵ Smith, "Gettysburg," 190-93.

and talked to various groups. Lee appeared and told Pickett where to place his Division in order to be ready for the expected counterattack. "General Lee," Pickett said sadly, "I have no division now."

Lee looked around thoughtfully at the broken ranks. "Come, General Pickett," he stated, "this has been my fight and upon my shoulders rests the blame. The men and officers of your command have written the name of Virginia as high today as it has ever been written before."²⁶

Lee turned to Gen. Kemper, being carried from the field, and asked Kemper how he felt. In what he thought was his dying wish, the Brigade commander begged Lee to "do full justice to this division for its work today." Lee gave his promise.²⁷

The beaten and dejected men began to count members. Behind Seminary Ridge, some 300-400 men remained of the 4,500 who had formed at dawn.²⁸ Along the entire line, Virginians were wandering about aimlessly--having missed the division area in the blind stampede. So many wounded had gone to seek aid that the division hospital station was flooded.²⁹ The official casualty figures told a sad

²⁶ SHSP, XXXI (1903), 234. Robert Bright, a member of Pickett's staff, acted as liaison to Kemper's Brigade during the charge.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 36-37. Sergeant Loehr was a skirmisher of the 1st Va. He survived the charge unscathed.

²⁹ Reeve, "Reminiscences." Reeve, slightly wounded, took a deep drink of whiskey and set out for the hospital in Cashtown.

tale: Pickett's Division suffered 1,366 losses; Kemper's Brigade, 466 casualties. Within the Brigade, the 11th Virginia lost 12 killed and 97 wounded. Only the 24th Regiment, with 128 casualties, exceeded the 11th's toll.³⁰

On July 4, the remnants of Pickett's Division reformed for duty. General Lee, having decided to withdraw, assigned Pickett provost guard duty over 6,500 Union prisoners captured in the Pennsylvania campaign. The Division, hurt by the non-combat assignment, nevertheless escorted its charges to Williamsport, where the Federals were delivered to Gen. Imboden's cavalry.³¹ On July 10, the Virginians crossed the Potomac in a driving rain and headed for the Shenandoah Valley. On July 20, after driving Federal pickets out of Chester Gap, the Virginians crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains and arrived five days later at Culpeper. Two weeks later, the men went into summer camp at Mountain Run.³²

³⁰ Official Records, XXVII, pt. 2, 329-34. C. M. Blackford visited the 11th Va. following its retreat and stated that the "Home Guard" (Co. G) lost 6 killed and 5 wounded. Blackford, Letters, 188.

³¹ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 39. See also Harrison, Pickett's Men, 106; Reeve, "Reminiscences."

³² Reeve, "Reminiscences."

CHAPTER VII

A HORSE FOR COLONEL TERRY

Gettysburg exacted a fearful toll.¹ It required many weeks of summer camp to rebuild the 11th Virginia. Conscripts arrived while a new training program was underway. Men who were sick or wounded in Pennsylvania began to return to the ranks. With units filled, commanders drilled at company level to build toward regimental maneuvers. In late summer, the whole army conducted several reviews. Columns of regiments, brigades and divisions were drawn up in large open fields for inspection by General Lee.²

The Pennsylvania campaign had depleted the officer corps. Men moved up to fill gaps in the commissioned ranks. To replace the wounded Kemper, Col. William Richard Terry shifted over from the 24th Virginia. Within the 11th Virginia, lieutenants became company commanders and filled vacancies resulting from injury or capture during Pickett's Charge. Captain Robert W. Douthat, who had aided

¹ Reeve, "Reminiscences." Reeve felt that "our Division never recovered from the blow we received here."

² Morgan, Reminiscences, 170.

John H. Smith at Gettysburg's "high water mark," served as commanding officer of the regiment while awaiting Kirkwood Otey's return.³

The opposing armies spent a reasonably quiet summer camping on opposite sides of the Rapidan River. Toward autumn, Lee moved behind the Rappahannock so that, by October 1, the 11th Virginia had returned to the area near Taylorsville in Hanover County.

Changes took place in the higher ranks. From Taylorsville, Gen. Longstreet departed for Tennessee with the divisions of John B. Hood and Lafayette McLaws. George E. Pickett became commanding general of the District of North Carolina, which extended from the Cape Fear River in North Carolina to the Blackwater River in Virginia.⁴ Pickett's Brigades were assigned to various organizations. In October, Kemper's Brigade (the name would gradually change), under Col. Terry, was assigned to Gen. Arnold Elzey's Department of Richmond.⁵

Summer camp gradually changed into winter quarters as the days

³ Official Records, XXIX, pt. 2, 783. Late in the war, the Confederate government made provision for the retirement of officers permanently disabled. Until that time, many officers continued to be carried on the rolls of their regiment long after they had become unfit for duty. Thus, Col. Funsten, Lt. Col. Langhorne and Maj. Clements and Hutter filled the senior ranks of the 11th Va., despite their permanent disabilities. Otey and Capt. Smith recovered from their wounds and returned to duty; Hutter would later rejoin the Regiment.

⁴ Harrison, Pickett's Men, 110.

⁵ Official Records, XXIX, pt. 2, 783.

shortened and the nights became colder. Some members of the 11th Virginia began work on log cabins--"dog houses," they called them-- while others reinforced their canvas tents and cut chimney holes in the roofs.⁶ Except for two short marches to Richmond, the men remained near Taylorsville, drilling, guarding the railroad bridges, and standing picket at the fords of the North Anna River.⁷

On January 8, 1864, the 11th Virginia Infantry Regiment was again on the move. From Taylorsville, the men traveled by railroad to Weldon, N. C. After three days' stay, they continued the trip and on January 14 arrived at Goldsboro, where they camped on their 1863 campground.⁸ Edward C. Barnes wrote home that the railroad journey had been "a delightful little trip" in that the weather remained beautiful while everyone seemed happy and ate well.⁹

At daybreak on January 30 the drum roll roused the Virginians from their blankets and alerted them to a march. The men knew only

⁶ Morgan, Reminiscences, 173.

⁷ Reeve, "Reminiscences."

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Edward C. (Ned) Barnes to mother, Feb. 9, 1864, Barnes MSS. Ned Barnes was the younger brother of Charles Barnes, who fell from his train. Ned, a member of Co. G, 11th Va., was assigned to duty as a clerk in Brigade Headquarters.

that they were moving out. Rumors of different destinations and purposes--foraging, reconnaissance or attack--swept the camp. New Bern presented itself as the most likely objective. By the time the march was underway, the consensus agreed that since they carried four days' rations, a "reconnaissance in force" was being mounted against New Bern.

Terry's Brigade, two additional infantry brigades, assisted by artillery and cavalry--all under Gen. Seth M. Barton--marched for two days. Rising at 1 a. m. on February 1, the men reached by daybreak a point within five miles of New Bern, where, in the inevitable cornfield, they prepared for battle.¹⁰ General Pickett, with an additional force of three infantry brigades, supported by artillery and cavalry, had embarked to approach the town from another direction.

The 11th Virginia remained in battle position all day, without seeing any action. Private Ned Barnes, sleeping soundly, awakened after midnight to hear the word pass that the Brigade would attack New Bern at daybreak. The awakening occurred at 3 a. m. Barnes noted, yet he "did not sleep anymore."¹¹

¹⁰ Edward C. (Ned) Barnes to mother, Feb. 9, 1864, Barnes MSS.

¹¹ Ibid.

February 2 dawned with no attack. The Virginians waited throughout the day and, on February 3, began a withdrawal. To the soldiers of the 11th Regiment, the absence of battle validated their supposition concerning a reconnaissance in force.¹²

The units returned to camp at Kinston but remained there only two days. During that time, Gen. Pickett court-martialed and carried out the execution of several North Carolina soldiers his force had captured near New Bern. The condemned men were Confederate absentees who had joined a Union regiment, the 2nd Loyal North Carolina. The Confederate deserters, caught in blue uniforms, were identified by grayclad soldiers with whom they had previously served.¹³

On February 5, the Regiment traveled to Goldsboro to their old camp grounds. At this camp another execution took place. The convicted man, a deserter from the 7th Virginia, was tied blindfolded to a stake with the Brigade drawn up on three sides enclosing the man. Two men from each company of the 7th Regiment formed the firing squad, which stood in two ranks. The squad had turned muskets over to the regimental ordnance sergeant. The firearms were returned, half of them loaded with balls and half carrying powder only. The band

¹² Edward C. (Ned) Barnes to mother, Feb. 9, 1864, Barnes MSS.

¹³ Harrison, Pickett's Men, 113. See also Lochr, 1st Virginia, 41.

played the Death March before the chaplain spoke briefly to the condemned man and stepped aside. On command, the squad fired and riddled the man with a half-dozen bullets. When the smoke cleared, the dead man hung helplessly from the stake.¹⁴

Two days later, all units hiked into Kinston, where they remained for the rest of the month. Boarding trains on March 4, the regiments moved by way of Goldsboro to Wilmington, N. C., where, on March 5, they embarked on ships which took them to the mouth of the Cape Fear River. At Smithville, opposite Fort Fisher, the 11th Regiment established camp. For the greater part of March, the men lived at the seashore. They watched blockade runners maneuver, assisted Confederate shore batteries to fire at Federal blockade ships, and enjoyed their unusual assignment. The camp menu took a decided change for the better, as men abandoned salt port to enjoy oysters, crabs and other fresh sea delicacies. "We could have stayed all war," observed Sgt. Loehr.¹⁵ The Virginians did manage to remain until March 24, when they marched into Smithfield, reboarded a ship, returned to Wilmington and, in ten inches of snow, mounted a train

¹⁴ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 41-42. Morgan, Reminiscences, 157, reported similar executions at Goldsboro in Mar., 1863. The reports appear to be so much alike that this writer believes Morgan missed the date by one year, since Loehr claimed the execution to be the first in the Brigade.

¹⁵ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 42. See also unidentified soldier to cousin, Mar. 11, 1864, Oakey Papers, Duke University; Morgan, Reminiscences, 179.

for their Goldsboro camp. A week later, a three-day march took the units to Tarboro where, on April 1, the men spent two weeks in camp across the Tar River from town. On April 15, Gen. Robert F. Hoke assumed command as Pickett returned to his headquarters.

On April 15, under Hoke, Terry's Brigade was part of a force that began another march. By April 17, the force was investing the town of Plymouth, which, held by a Federal force, lay on the south side of the Roanoke River before it enters Albemarle Sound. The town, an important Union supply depot, depended upon several surrounding forts for protection. Terry's regiment deployed against Fort Grey, about two and one-half miles upriver from Plymouth. In their initial moves on April 17, the Virginians received fire from Federal gunboats patrolling the Roanoke River. Despite this fire, and some musketry from the Fort, the Virginians suffered no casualties.

On April 18, Col. Otey ordered Companies G and C to move as skirmishers against the upriver fort. Captain Morgan of Company C led the advance. The Federal strong point lay on a slight knoll surrounded by a swamp. Morgan's orders required that he move through the swamp before dawn and deploy his companies so that their sharpshooting would force the Federal artillerymen to keep their heads down, thus permitting Confederate cannons to destroy the redoubt.

In the darkness, Morgan's men began wading into the swamp. First light found the Virginians on dry land beyond the mire. The Virginians easily pushed back the Federal pickets at swamp's edge and advanced within musket range. The Confederates were still 400 yards short of the breastworks when Federal cannon opened on Morgan's ranks. On the smooth, gently sloping ground, the skirmishers could find no shelter; yet they fell to the ground in their positions, while hoping the Confederate artillery would ease their dilemma by diverting the fire. On this occasion, the Southern guns failed. Their shells overshot the stronghold or exploded harmlessly in the air. Morgan held out as long as he could before ordering a withdrawal. He lost six killed plus "many" wounded.¹⁶

The 11th Virginia remained upriver from Plymouth all day and held the area west of the town. On April 19, Terry's Brigade--without the 11th Regiment--joined Gens. Hoke and Matt W. Ransom in an assault upon the east (or downriver) flank of Plymouth. The first attacks failed but, on April 20, the eastern forts fell as the Southern force moved upriver into Plymouth. Driving south from town, the Confederates forced the surrender of the central fort. All fighting ceased with this surrender, and the 11th Virginia occupied Fort Grey.¹⁷

¹⁶ Morgan, Reminiscences, 180-84. See also Ned Barnes to Charles Barnes, Apr. 30, 1864, Barnes MSS.

¹⁷ Ibid.

In his elation, Gen. Hoke permitted the victorious graycoats to plunder the Federal stores. The men enjoyed an orgy of foods not seen in years. Private Judson Davidson of Company A found fruit preserves and apple butter. "We had a very good time after fighting so long," he wrote home, and he signed his letter "your living son."¹⁸

Private Holland saw men re-outfitting themselves with clothes.¹⁹ Confederate soldiers emptied their haversacks to refill them with foods and new clothes. Large mirrors were smashed to provide small shaving mirrors for soldiers who had just gained possession of razors.²⁰ Colonel Terry appropriated a new horse which served him until the Battle of Five Forks.²¹ The men were satisfied that they had fought a brilliant campaign, which they proudly credited to Gen. Hoke.²²

Following Plymouth, the 11th Virginia drew provost duty and marched 2,500 Federal prisoners to Tarboro. The Virginians, happy

¹⁸ "Road Home Was Rough for Pvt. Jud Davidson," Lynchburg News, Oct. 25, 1959.

¹⁹ Holland, "Recollections," Jan. 24, 1960.

²⁰ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 44.

²¹ Holland, "Recollections," Jan. 24, 1960.

²² Reeve, "Reminiscences." The C. S. Congress approved a joint resolution of thanks to Gen. Hoke for his "brilliant victory." Official Records, XXXVIII, 305.

and confident, enjoyed an opportunity to chat with their charges. As the day progressed, the well-dressed prisoners began to divest themselves of their overcoats. By agreement within prisoner ranks, each man who abandoned his coat rendered it useless before he dropped it in the road. The Federal troops ripped sleeves, cut sections away and tore linings free. This procedure provoked the Southern troops, most of whom had no winter clothes. They complained to Col. Terry, who notified all prisoners that if he learned of another destroyed garment, he would strip all Federal overcoats from the captured men. The destruction ceased.²³

At Tarboro, the 11th Virginia delivered its captives and then rejoined Hoke as he moved against Washington, N. C. On April 25, Washington fell when Federal troops evacuated the town before Hoke's arrival. Hoke next advanced upon New Bern and, by May 2, was preparing for another assault on that town. Before he could proceed, Hoke received orders to abandon his camp and return his force to Virginia. On May 6, with the 11th Virginia acting as rear guard, the Confederate troops again retired from New Bern without a decisive fight.²⁴

²³ Holland, "Recollections," Jan. 24, 1960.

²⁴ Morgan, Reminiscences, 191-92.

CHAPTER VIII

"SHOVED TO THE FRONT"

Robert E. Lee's summons to the troops in North Carolina was no false alarm. As the 11th Regiment prepared to attack New Bern, Gen. U. S. Grant crossed the Rapidan and moved south. The battle of the Wilderness had ended when Hoke's force began its return to Kinston. On May 9, as Grant moved toward Spotsylvania, the Virginians boarded railroad cars for their journey north to their native state. The trip ended on the morning of May 10 at Jarrett's Station south of Petersburg. With a railroad bridge and tracks destroyed, the train could not proceed farther. However, the Virginians disembarked, marched eleven miles to Stony Creek, boarded another train and continued toward Petersburg. On arrival, the soldiers received a hearty welcome from the citizens and were fed by the town's women "as best they could."¹

While traveling north, Terry's Brigade passed into the command of Maj. Gen. Robert Ransom, Jr., who, in turn, reported to Gen. Pierre G. T. Beauregard.² Kirkwood Otey commanded the 11th Virginia.

¹ Lochr, 1st Virginia, 45. See also Morgan, Reminiscences, 193.

² Official Records, XXXVI, pt. 2, 207-10, 1004, 1016. Robert Ransom was the younger brother of Matt Ransom, whose brigade worked with Terry's at Plymouth.

Departing Dunlop's on May 11, the Virginians marched toward Richmond and bivouacked that night in battle formation at Port Walthall Junction along the turnpike. The next morning they continued their march in a drenching rain and reached the "Halfway House." The rain masked a surprise attack that hit the column's flank and rear. Major Gen. Benjamin F. Butler had moved his Union Army of the James from the Bermuda Hundred area and threatened Richmond. Terry's men received fire from Federal patrols in advance of Butler's main force. The Virginians formed for battle, dispersed the bluecoats and proceeded toward their destination.

After dark on May 12, the soldiers trudged past Drewry's Bluff and camped at Brock Rock race course. For the next two days, the Virginians countermarched through the Drewry's Bluff lines, "showing the flag" to create an impression of well-manned trenches.³

On May 15, as ordnance sergeants issued the 11th Virginia soldiers an extra ammunition allowance, Col. Otey summoned his company commanders. He briefed his captain on the attack near Petersburg by Butler and of Gen. Beauregard's plan. Beauregard ordered the Southern troops to start at dusk that evening for their attack jump-off positions, to sleep in those positions and, at dawn the next morning,

³ Reeve, "Reminiscences." See also Loehr, 1st Virginia, 46; Morgan, Reminiscences, 193-95.

to advance into battle.

The Virginians moved to a point near Drewry's Bluff, at the extreme left of the Confederate lines. Once in position, the men lay down in a thick pine forest and tried to sleep.⁴ Their line, near Kingsland Creek, faced east to where Ben Butler had moved from Bermuda Hundred. General Archibald Gracie's Alabama Brigade was on the left of Ransom's Division, and William G. Lewis's North Carolina troops were on the right. Fifty yards behind Gracie and Lewis, in a second line, lay the brigades of Terry and Birkett D. Fry.⁵

The advance began at 4:45 a. m. amidst a dense fog that reduced visibility to fifteen yards. Immediate skirmish contact began as Gracie's troops, ahead of Terry's Brigade, disappeared into the fog. The skirmish fire grew into general musketry, with artillery soon joining the combat.⁶ Terry's Brigade deployed in a line that placed the 24th Virginia on the right with the 11th, 1st and 7th Regiments extending toward the left. Shortly after the battle began, Gracie called for help. An officer from his command approached the 24th Virginia line and shouted: "Hurry up, boys, they are tearing us all to

⁴ Morgan, Reminiscences, 196. Captain Morgan was surprised that Otey would reveal Beauregard's plan. Apparently company commanders were not normally privy to such information. See also Loehr, 1st Virginia, 46.

⁵ Official Records, XXXVI, pt. 2, 212.

⁶ Ibid. See also Loehr, 1st Virginia, 46; Morgan, Reminiscences, 196.

pieces."⁷

Soldiers from the Alabama units began streaming back through the second line formed by the Virginians. Gracie appeared and attempted to rally his men. Turning to Terry, Gracie requested immediate assistance. "General Terry, send me a regiment down there to take the place of one of mine that has run away." Terry ordered the 24th and 11th Regiments to move forward.⁸

In following Gracie's initial advance, the Virginia regiments had reached the crest of a hill. The ensuing charge at double time began downhill with a wild rebel yell. The rush carried the regiments to the foot of the rise, where they came under severe fire from enemy breastworks barely discernible in the smoke and fog. The Virginians sought cover and, kneeling or standing, returned the fire. The battle waged hot for about an hour.⁹

Suddenly there occurred a perceptible slackening of Federal fire. The command rang out to cease fire. Sending his other two regiments in a flanking attack, Terry had forced the surrender of the

⁷ SHSP, XXXVII (1909), 179-83, contains a summary of the 11th Va. at Drewry's Bluff by John W. Sumpter. The editor's introduction identified Sumpter as a captain in Co. G. This writer feels Sumpter, a resident of Christiansburg, may have been in Co. F, which came from Montgomery County. See also Lochr, 1st Virginia, 47.

⁸ Morgan, Reminiscences, 198-200.

⁹ Ibid., 200-01. Modern readers unfamiliar with black powder cannot appreciate the amount of smoke caused by musket fire.

surrounded Federal troops. An entire brigade had been captured, including its commanding general.¹⁰

Terry's victorious soldiers spent the rest of the morning collecting prisoners and booty. On their right, the battle continued to rage, yet all effective resistance had ended in Ransom's area. The Federal prisoners were marched to a landing near Drewry's Bluff for transfer by boat to Libby Prison. Battle sounds indicated that the Confederate attack had achieved impressive success along the entire line.¹¹ Also impressive was the cost. The 11th Virginia lost 15 killed and 94 wounded in the one-hour battle.¹² Kirkwood Otey suffered a permanently disabling wound.¹³

Until the following day, the Virginians held their position in the woods they had captured. On May 17, in pursuit of the retreating Federal force, they reached Howell House. The next two days were spent near Clay House. On the afternoon of May 19, Terry's Brigade left for Richmond. On May 20 the Capital City roared a tremendous

¹⁰ Morgan, Reminiscences, 201-03. For a description of the flanking attack, see Reeve, "Reminiscences;" Loehr, 1st Virginia, 47-48.

¹¹ Morgan, Reminiscences, 203-05. Both Morgan and Loehr felt that the soldiers were robbed of total victory because Gen. William H. C. Whiting had fallen victim to an overindulgence in liquor. See Loehr, 1st Virginia, 48.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ "201 File for Kirkwood Otey," V. M. I.

welcome as the Brigade, proudly carrying the Union flags captured at Drewry's Bluff, marched through the city.¹⁴

The Virginians could not stay to enjoy the fruits of their victory. Grant continued to hammer at Lee's army, which needed aid. Delivering their captured trophies to the Confederate War Department, Terry's Brigade hurried to the train station to join Robert E. Lee.¹⁵

At the Broad Street Station, men scrambled aboard Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad flatcars with little semblance of order. When the cars were crowded with men, the train departed, leaving those remaining to catch another train. The first train contained mostly soldiers from the 7th Virginia, as well as seven companies of the 11th Regiment, totaling perhaps 450 men. As had happened during the Seven Pines battle, the 1st Virginia had taken advantage of their proximity to home to slip out of formation. Major George F. Norton of the 1st Virginia, senior officer aboard the train, commanded very few of his own troops. Departing Richmond about 2 p. m., the train arrived at 9 p. m. at Milford Station in Caroline

¹⁴ Morgan, Reminiscences, 206. See also Loehr, 1st Virginia, 49.

¹⁵ Morgan, Reminiscences, 206. See also SHSP, XXVI (1898), 110, which is an account of Milford Station by Sgt. Loehr. Hereafter cited as Loehr, "Milford Station." Official Records, XXXVI, pt. 3, 799, contains Terry's orders to join Lee.

¹⁶ Loehr, "Milford Station." Cos. G, D and K did not catch the first train. See Lynchburg Virginian, May 26, 1864.

County. The soldiers disembarked, cooked supper and settled down for the night.¹⁶

Early on May 21, Confederate cavalry pickets reported advancing Federal horsemen in what appeared to be a mounted raid toward the Milford Station complex. Major Norton deployed his forces in an effort to stop the foray. The 11th Virginia's companies held a reserve position in the deployment.

The initial Union force moved up a hill north of the railroad station across the Mattaponi River. From an uphill position, the Federal troops began firing at a range of about 600 yards. Norton turned to Capt. Robert M. Mitchell, senior officer of the 11th Virginia, and ordered him to "take that hill and hold it at all hazard." Mitchell formed his companies, crossed the railroad bridge and, moving up the hill, drove back the enemy without an exchange of fire.

Atop the hill, Mitchell's men, while preparing for a counter-attack, sought to evaluate the Federal strength. They were dumbfounded to discover that they had driven back skirmishers, not a cavalry force. From their vantage point, the Virginians looked down on thousands of bluecoated cavalymen surrounding their position.

Warned by their pickets, the Federal cavalry dismounted for an infantry assault against Mitchell's force. A battle of less than an hour ensued. The men of the 11th Regiment fought Indian style from behind trees. By the time the company commanders had judged their

position untenable and had ordered a retreat, the Federal force was too strong to permit an organized breakthrough. Some men escaped-- Capt. Mitchell, for one--but the remainder surrendered when the Federals charged. Seventy-five men of the 11th Virginia became prisoners of war.¹⁷ As they traveled to imprisonment, the men found some comfort in the conviction that their sacrifice may have given Lee time to reach Hanover and to prepare for the battle of Cold Harbor.¹⁸

Those troops of Terry's Brigade who missed the first train were not involved in the Milford Station battle. Their train traveled to Hanover Junction, about twelve miles south of the battle site. At Hanover, Gen. Pickett again took command. Upon arrival in the area of Lee's army, Pickett's Division was "shoved to the front," to contest Grant's crossing of the North Anna River.¹⁹

On May 23, Pickett moved toward Andersonville. The 11th Virginia remained near Andersonville until May 28, when it marched to Hanover. There, when the wagon train finally caught up, the men ate their first

¹⁷ Morgan, Reminiscences, 209-12. Morgan was captured at Milford Station and confined in Old Capital Prison. General A. T. A. Torbert's report listed 6 officers and 66 enlisted prisoners, of which all but one were from the 11th Va. Official Records, XXXVI, pt. 3, 48-50. See also Loehr, "Milford Station."

¹⁸ Morgan, Reminiscences, 216. See also Loehr, 1st Virginia, 50; Harrison, Pickett's Men, 127.

¹⁹ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 51; Harrison, Pickett's Men, 128.

hot meal in days. On May 30, the Virginians moved into front line trenches to the northwest of Cold Harbor and deployed pickets.

On June 1, Federal forces launched a heavy attack to the right of Pickett's position. The fighting on the right continued for two days without seriously affecting the Virginians, who manned their trenches in expectation of combat.²⁰

The battle of Cold Harbor ended as Grant again moved east and south, leaving Pickett's Division without having participated in the action except for skirmishes and patrols. Pickett, with the remnants of the 11th Virginia within his ranks, followed the Union army to the banks of the James River. Forging via a pontoon bridge, the pursuit continued across the James. Heavy firing took place, but again Terry's Brigade was not involved.²¹

On June 17, south of the James, Pickett's men proceeded along the Richmond-Petersburg turnpike. Approaching a wooded stretch of road near Walthall Junction, the column was surprised to receive fire on its flank. The musketry came from a system of old trenches

²⁰ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 51; Harrison, Pickett's Men, 128. See also Reeve, "Reminiscences."

²¹ Reeve, "Reminiscences." See also Loehr, 1st Virginia, 52. SHSP, VII (1879), 503-12, is the official diary of Gen. Anderson's Corps for the period June 1-Oct. 18, 1864. The movements from June 1 until Pickett was detached (June 18, 1864) are most useful.

erected by Beauregard, but abandoned by him when his troops moved south to defend Petersburg. Federal soldiers of Gen. Ben Butler had filed into the old Confederate trenches and executed the ambush. Pickett ordered his brigades to change formation and charge the Federal force. The Virginians moved swiftly and captured the first line of trenches before dark.²²

The Southern troops held the first trench line until well into the next day. Near 4 p. m. on June 18, after exchanging fire all day, the Confederates rushed the Federal lines and drove the blueclad soldiers from all the old works near the Clay House. The assault was an overwhelming success, despite a belated order from Gen. Lee cancelling the attack as being potentially too dangerous. Lee followed up the victory with a letter warmly praising Pickett's Division for its excellent attack. In addition, the army commander ordered Pickett to remain in the area of his victory so as to hold Butler at bay. As a result, the 11th Virginia occupied a position facing Bermuda Hundred for the rest of the summer.²³

²² Reeve, "Reminiscences." See also Harrison, Pickett's Men, 129-30; Loehr, 1st Virginia, 52-53.

²³ Reeve, "Reminiscences." See also Harrison, Pickett's Men, 130; Johnston, Confederate Boy, 272.

CHAPTER IX

SOLDIERS TO THE END

The Bermuda Hundred lines quickly became a quiet backwash as the tide of battle swept south and battered Petersburg. Elements of Pickett's Division shifted continuously, yet remained within the area from Drewry's Bluff to Swift Creek, north of Petersburg.¹ The 11th Virginia spent its time improving trenches and standing picket to insure that the Federal Army of the James did not move from the area between the James and Appomattox Rivers.

In late June, recognizing the excellent capability of William R. Terry, the Confederate high command promoted him to brigadier and gave him official command of his brigade.² Terry's Brigade had suffered heavy casualties since leaving North Carolina. The 11th Virginia lost several companies at Milford Station in addition to several killed and injured in the Drewry's Bluff and Clay House battles. The 1st Virginia was so small--battalion size--that it required only one field officer.³ The report for Company G of the

¹ Johnston, Confederate Boy, 272. See also Harrison, Pickett's Men, 131.

² Official Records, XL, pt. 2, 694.

³ Blackford, Memoirs of Life, II, 254.

11th Regiment listed only 1 officer and 23 men present for duty. John H. Smith commanded the Regiment.⁴ His troops soon acclimated themselves to the easy life and established a camp complete with log cabins, flower-bordered walks and grass lawns.⁵

On August 16, the 1st, 11th and 19th Regiments moved north of the James, into the area near Chafin's Farm, and entered a series of lines held by the Richmond Militia. The day following their arrival, Gen. Lee inspected the new deployment. Lee voiced his confidence when he learned who held the lines. "All right, I know these men, and they will do their duty."⁶

The next day, relieving Ambrose R. Wright's Georgians, the Virginians occupied trenches near Fussell's Mills, where they spent the day digging and the night standing guard--all in the rain.

The dawn of August 19 revealed Federal pickets not far ahead. To the amazement of the militia forces, the Virginians immediately

⁴ Strength return for Co. G, 11th Virginia Records. See also Official Records, XLII, pt. 2, 1168. This writer could not ascertain seniority among captains within the 11th Va., but feels that Robert M. Mitchell's date of rank to be Apr. 26, 1862 (date of his election), while J. H. Smith and Robert Douthat's captaincies dated from May 23, 1862 (date of Otey's promotion), and May 31, 1862 (date of Fowlkes' death), respectively. When Mitchell was wounded at Milford Station, Smith assumed command.

⁵ Blackford, Memoirs of Life, II, 254.

⁶ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 53.

set out to meet their enemies. "Don't fire," they shouted, "we're Pickett's Division," as if to infer that any shooting would lead to disaster. They then established meeting points to exchange newspapers, coffee and tobacco. The friendships were short-lived, however, as on August 20 the three regiments again returned to the Bermuda Hundred lines.⁷

Desertions began to plague the Southern ranks. On September 5, a Federal report listed a man from the 11th Virginia as having "come over" to the Northern lines.⁸ On October 18, a soldier of the 7th Virginia was executed behind the Brigade quarters. Sergeant Loehr reported that "all six balls had gone through the center of his breast and entered the stake to which he was tied, cutting the stake in half."⁹ One member of Company G complained that the many desertions--some by "excellent soldiers"--had seriously impaired the Regiment's combat efficiency. The unit was so reduced by absences and sickness that men had to stand picket duty every third night as well as hold the trenches between picket tours. This same Company G

⁷ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 53-54.

⁸ Official Records, XLII, pt. 2, 699.

⁹ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 54.

soldier noted one acquaintance listed in the newspaper as "captured" and scorned that "it was as plain a case of desertion as anyone ever saw." He had chased an escapee the previous night while on picket duty. The idea of capturing a messmate for execution did not set well, yet the capture could mean a furlough for the picket. The soldier's letter reflected the ambivalence of his feelings as he wrote: "I don't want to catch them, but I will do it for a furlough, if I can."¹⁰

The Bermuda Hundred lines offered many opportunities for opposing soldiers to fraternize. Such meetings proceeded pleasantly until late November, 1864, when a Negro regiment moved into the Federal lines opposite the Virginians. The trading and fraternization ceased immediately; sniping continued until the enemy commanders replaced the black troops.¹¹

As winter deepened, Terry's Brigade moved to the extreme left of the Confederate lines near Howlett House where, on January 22, 1865, the men witnessed an unsuccessful assault upon Richmond by Federal gunboats.¹²

¹⁰ Unidentified soldier to cousin, Oct. 10, 1864, Thomas F. Kelley Papers, Duke University. The letter is headed "Camp of Co. G, 11th Va.," and is signed "Samuel."

¹¹ Loehr, 1st Virginia, 54. For an insight into the Confederate soldier's view of black troops, see Holland, "Recollections," Jan. 24, 1960.

¹² Ibid.

By this time, the soldiers were feeling the effect of food shortages. The normal 1864 ration, which had been "one-quarter pound rancid bacon plus a little meal," now shrunk to a fraction of that amount.¹³ Yet the Lynchburg Soldiers' Relief Society functioned steadily as James B. Tilden continued his trips to the lines with gifts from Lynchburg families.¹⁴ Food had become expensive at home and on the warfront. In January, 1865, a small loaf of bread cost two dollars.¹⁵

During the winter many new and old faces appeared in the 11th Regiment ranks. Captain Mitchell returned to take command of the Regiment; conscripts filled out depleted companies so that Pickett's Division of four brigades (those of Corse, George H. Steuart, Eppa Hunton and Terry) had a total strength of 6,372 men.¹⁶

Desertions continued, however. One escapee reported to his Union captors that the officers in Terry's Brigade were holding meetings in which they forced the men to vote for continuing the struggle. The deserter claimed that, with his officers watching, he could vote only for war.¹⁷

¹³ Warfield, Memoirs, 202-03.

¹⁴ Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 11, 1864.

¹⁵ Johnston, Confederate Boy, 301.

¹⁶ Official Records, XLII, pt. 3, 1362; XLVI, pt. 2, 1180, 1268.

¹⁷ Ibid., XLVI, pt. 2, 299, 581; pt. 3, 1332.

Despite amiable relations with Federal troops opposite them, the Virginians did experience some dangers. John Conley of the 11th Virginia lost a leg from a shell explosion. He had been using the missile as an "and-iron" in his cabin.¹⁸

As winter relaxed its hold on Virginia, Pickett's Division again shifted position. On March 5, Gen. William Mahone's Division filed into the Bermuda Hundred line in relief of Pickett's troops. The Virginians moved toward Chester Station in a two-day downpour of rain. On March 8, the entire Division passed in a Grand Review; the following day, the men began a series of driving hikes intended to meet and repulse a cavalry raid by Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. The marches were fruitless as Sheridan turned east before reaching Richmond. This attempt to catch and fight mounted men exhausted the Virginians. By March 18, Pickett had returned to the Richmond lines.¹⁹

The Brigade broke camp near Nine Mile Road on March 25 and marched to Richmond, where it boarded trains to Dunlop's Station. The men remained there until March 29, when they crossed the Appomattox River by pontoon bridge and boarded a train on the South-

¹⁸ Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 31, 1865.

¹⁹ Reeve, "Reminiscences." See also Harrison, Pickett's Men, 131; Loehr, 1st Virginia, 57-58; Johnston, Confederate Boy, 305.

side Railroad for Sutherland Station. The battles about Petersburg were moving to a climax. Lee ordered Pickett to the Confederate right flank.²⁰

With rain constantly falling, the Virginians disembarked at the station and marched over Hatcher's Run to the extreme right of Lee's lines. The streams were flooded, the roads almost impassable, when, at daylight on March 30, the 11th Virginia arrived at its destination.²¹ General Steuart was in temporary command of Pickett's Division; Lt. Col. J. R. Hutter, released by the Northern authorities, had returned to assume command of the 11th Virginia.²² Although the soldiers experienced occasional brushes with Federal skirmishers in the rain, no serious engagements occurred.²³

General Lee rode to his right flank and outlined his plan for Pickett's troops. He ordered Pickett to lead an attack that would drive across Chamberlayne's Creek toward Dinwiddie Court House. Pickett would be reinforced by the brigades of William H. Wallace

²⁰ Reeve, "Reminiscences." See also Lochr, 1st Virginia, 58; Harrison, Pickett's Men, 135.

²¹ Harrison, Pickett's Men, 135.

²² Hutter credited Sen. Simon Cameron of Pa. as having "influenced" his exchange, which occurred Jan. 27, 1865. See letter of J. R. Hutter to Superintendent, V. M. I., Nov. 17, 1903, in "201 File for J. Risque Hutter," V. M. I.

²³ Johnston, Confederate Boy, 309.

and Matt W. Ransom. General Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry troops were to lend Pickett additional strength. Other units along the Confederate line to the east would make coordinated attacks.²⁴ Terry's Brigade moved to the assault jump-off point, a road junction called Five Forks. By sunset on March 30, the men were prepared and ready to go.²⁵

March 31 dawned clear and beautiful. The men of the 11th Virginia rose in good spirits after the rain.²⁶ Terry's Brigade led the march along the road to Dinwiddie Court House. The 24th Virginia headed the marching column with the 11th Regiment in second place. As the columns approached Chamberlayne's Creek, a cavalry picket rode back to report that the stream crossing was held by the enemy. Halting his brigade, Terry ordered the 24th Virginia to disperse the bluecoats. Hutter, commanding the 11th Regiment, received orders to hold back any Confederate force that might confuse the battle by entering the area, and to be prepared to go to the aid of the advance regiment.²⁷

²⁴ Harrison, Pickett's Men, 135-36.

²⁵ Johnston, Confederate Boy, 309-10.

²⁶ SHSP, XXXV (1907), 357-62, is Hutter's account of the engagements for Mar. 31 and Apr. 1, 1865. Hereafter cited as Hutter, "Five Forks."

²⁷ Ibid. Hutter identified the stream as Hutter's Run, but it appears more likely to have been Chamberlayne's Creek. See Harrison, Pickett's Men, 137.

As the 24th Regiment moved into battle, Hutter took his post short of the stream. Very shortly thereafter, a courier informed the colonel that he should hurry across the ford to assist Terry's forces. Ordering his companies to start entering the stream, Hutter rode ahead to Gen. Terry for specific instructions. Terry directed Hutter to bring his troops across in column, then to march by the right flank into an attack against the woods lining the west side of the road. The 11th Virginia filed south across the stream, each man pivoting to the right and charging into the woods. The Federal forces offered little resistance and withdrew, leaving seventeen horses. Hutter heard that Gen. Terry had lost his mount and offered his commander a new horse-- only to learn that Terry had broken a leg when his horse fell.²⁸

Colonel Joseph Mayo of the 3rd Virginia took command of the Brigade.

Mayo ordered the Virginians to continue in pursuit. The chase lasted until dark. At Dinwiddie Court House the Confederates halted until midnight, when orders arrived for the Virginians to return to Five Forks over a different route. The men reached their destination after dawn, then began erecting breastworks at the road junction. Lee directed Pickett to hold the Five Forks junction at all costs in order to prevent Federal seizure of the Southside Railroad, three miles to

²⁸ Hutter, "Five Forks." See also Official Records, XLVI, pt. 3, 1371.

the north.²⁹

Pickett stationed his force facing south along White Oak Road, which ran west to east. Terry's Brigade held the position to the right of the fork, with Corse's Brigade on its right and Steuart's on its left. Matt Ransom's troops were behind Steuart. The men felled trees and dug trenches so that by noon, April 1, they had thrown up hasty, yet substantial, breastworks. By this time, they had been without sleep for forty hours.³⁰

The noise of battle sounded in the east to the left of the 11th Virginia. "All sorts of rumors were afloat" regarding the firing, Hutter observed.³¹ Pickett was not present, and the brigade commanders were reluctant to move independently without their division commander's approval. Hutter sent Company B forward as Brigade pickets while the Virginians attempted to sleep. The firing on the left grew louder. In a short while, musketry began in the woods where Company B had its outposts. Hutter rode forward from the breastworks to check on his company. When a messenger reported all to be well, he returned to the lines. Yet the picket firing suddenly

²⁹ Harrison, Pickett's Men, 138; Hutter, "Five Forks."

³⁰ Hutter, "Five Forks."

³¹ Ibid.

accelerated to a climax, then became still. A soldier from Company B dashed back to the line and informed all that his unit had been captured.

At about the same time, Col. Mayo ordered the 11th Virginia to move by the left flank to reinforce Ransom's forces, which were being driven back. Hutter marched his Regiment a quarter-mile eastward and reported to Ransom. The North Carolinian pointed north to the Confederate rear and directed Hutter to meet a Federal attack which was threatening to engulf the gray line. The Virginians moved northward only to find a great Federal force advancing upon them. Hutter sent three couriers to the brigade commanders to warn of the danger to their rear, then moved forward into battle.

The regimental attack bogged down almost immediately as the Federal line extended beyond both Confederate flanks. Completely surrounded, Hutter attempted to disengage but was unable to fight free, although one company managed to escape. As he backed toward the Confederate lines, Hutter became aware that Union cavalry had cut between his force and the remainder of Pickett's Division. Just released from a Northern prison, Hutter had no taste for another capture. He mounted his horse and attempted to escape. When he realized it was useless, he rode back to his colors and ordered his men to surrender. The great body of the 11th Virginia fell into

Northern hands. "We had fought our last battle," Hutter stated.³²

Despite a wound, Pvt. Jud Davidson managed to escape. As he lay in the middle of a road, a Federal cavalry unit bore down upon him. An officer riding at the head of the column halted the horsemen and ordered someone to lift Davidson to the side of the road. Propped against a tree, Davidson asked the name of his savior.

"Never mind, Johnny Reb," the officer shouted, "just do the same for a Yank in trouble."

The cavalry galloped on.³³

During the night of April 1, remnants of Pickett's Division re-organized near the Southside Railroad. Early the next morning, the men moved west along the Appomattox River and reached Amelia Court House, where they paused briefly at nightfall before heading toward Farmville. On April 4, the Virginians joined Gen. Richard S. Ewell's retreating command. By April 5, the weary, hungry, stumbling men halted near Saylor's Creek.³⁴ They had eaten nothing but parched corn for two days. Their animals had received less. All had been

³² Hutter, "Five Forks." The only casualty figures available show that Co. G lost 3 killed, 3 wounded and 17 captured in this fight. See Blackford, Annals, 111.

³³ "Road Home Was Rough for Pvt. Jud Davidson," Lynchburg News, Oct. 25, 1959.

³⁴ Reeve, "Reminiscences." See also Johnston, Confederate Boy, 323-25.

without sleep and under constant harrassment and fire, as the relentless Grant pressed for victory.

On April 6, at Sayler's Creek, Pickett fought a rear guard action to permit Lee's escape. The task was hopeless, yet the Confederate forces held out until nightfall when, surrounded and cut off, outnumbered and overwhelmed, hungry and worn, they surrendered.³⁵

Even then, some men managed to fight their way clear. Private Holland of Company G had been away from the main force foraging for Pickett's animals. He returned to learn that his Regiment had been wiped out.³⁶ Holland, plus 27 men and 1 officer, were the total strength of the unit when it surrendered at Appomattox.³⁷ The 11th Infantry Regiment, Virginia Volunteers, was no more.

³⁵ The only available casualty figures for Sayler's Creek lists 1 killed, 5 captured (including Capt. J. H. Smith) in Co. G. See Blackford, Annals, III.

³⁶ Holland, "Recollections," Feb. 7, 1960.

³⁷ SESP, XV (1887), 5-6, 70, 87, is the parole list. One officer, Lt. L. Nofsinger of Co. D, was paroled. Of the men, 6 were from Co. C, 5 from E, 4 each from K and B, 3 from G, 2 from F and I, and 1 from D.

CHAPTER X

EPILOGUE

This study, in depth, of a Civil War unit is a mere one regiment wide. It is, therefore, difficult to evaluate the history of the 11th Virginia Regiment. Much of what could be added would be obvious platitudes or insignificances. Yet, some valid facts do emerge.

The men of the 11th Regiment did not fight for slavery or to protect the "Southern way of life." Their actions stemmed from a fear that Northern fanatics--personified by John Brown--were bent on exterminating them. The issue was not preservation, but existence. The fact that the Virginians fought so fiercely may well be that they considered themselves literally fighting for their lives.

The Southerner was more of an outdoors man, more familiar with the field and rifle than his enemy. Yet, he was also a loner who had difficulty adapting to the conditions of crowded ranks. Medical reports list an unusually high incidence of diseases and deaths.

Scholarly Samuel Garland was not too schoolish for his command. Before his death at Boonsboro, he was one of the most promising

brigadiers in the Confederacy. Yet his total "military" experience was that provided by the Virginia Military Institute.

This institution provided the 11th Virginia with most of its senior officers. It would appear that V. M. I. served the Confederate State of Virginia fully as well--if not better--than West Point served any single Northern state.

The men of the 11th Regiment were human. They straggled, looted, damned their officers and ignored orders whenever the opportunity arose. They were also soldiers. When they defended, as at Blackburn's Ford, they held well. When they charged with reasonable support, as at Williamsburg and Second Manassas, they were irresistible. In the surprise encounter, as at Dranesville, they held their own. When they failed, as they did at Frayser's Farm, Antietam, Gettysburg and Five Forks, it was because of overwhelming odds.

The 11th Virginia Regiment enjoyed a good reputation among its sister regiments. This writer found no criticism directed against its ranks. Indeed, the men of the 11th Regiment felt that they had performed well. They brought that feeling home when they returned from the war. Today, 110 years following the formation of the "Home Guard," Lynchburg knows and boasts of its Regiment.

Therefore, the inexperienced student attempting to write an epitaph for the 11th Virginia may well be undertaking the impossible.

One man within the ranks has already done better than this writer.

To the question of why they fought and how they saw themselves,

Capt. Morgan observed:

The Eleventh . . . won an enviable reputation, it was well officered, well drilled and not excelled by any regiment in the First Brigade . . . this brigade was not surpassed by any division in Longstreet's Corps; Longstreet's Corps was equal to any corps in the Army of Northern Virginia, and the world never saw a better army than the Army of Northern Virginia.¹

¹ Morgan, Reminiscences, 49.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

In considering this essay, the reader is asked to keep three points in mind. First, the nature of study in the field of unit histories is such that no writer can claim to produce a conclusive bibliography for a Virginia Civil War regiment. Each history lies in constant danger of obsolescence because of the rich trove of unrevealed letters, diaries and material still stored in attics or family scrapbooks. This writer can claim only that he investigated all logical sources relative to the 11th Virginia.

Secondly, the viewpoint the writer attempted was that of a microview--an infantryman's view--of the Civil War. Hence, he approached the vast library of Civil War books with the intent of appraising only those volumes that affected the 11th Virginia Regiment.

Thirdly, when the writer could find no 11th Regiment source to describe the movement or status of the Virginians, he chose extant material on sister regiments. The inherent danger exists that, in a 3,000-man brigade, each regiment might fight an entirely different engagement spread over a complex battlefield. The danger

lessens as, at Antietam for instance, 350 men constituted the Brigade. The writer attempted to insure that the action described did affect the 11th Virginia.

Manuscripts

The most vital manuscript collection for the 11th Virginia is the Confederate Records in the Virginia State Archives in Richmond. Company and regiment strength returns, payrolls, sick reports and descriptive muster rolls all provided basic material for this study.

Three diaries proved to be most helpful in the first half of this paper. William M. Blackford had been the editor of a Lynchburg newspaper before the war. Of five sons in the Confederate Army, one served in the 11th Virginia. Blackford helped form the "Home Guard," visited his sons at camp and confided his views in a diary that is now deposited at the University of Virginia.

Robert G. H. Kean, a prominent Lynchburg citizen, also assisted in the creation of the "Home Guard" and later rose to become head of the Confederate Bureau of War. His diary, spanning the period directly following First Manassas until the spring of 1862, provides excellent insights into camp life and personal feelings. Kean's diary is also at the University of Virginia.

The Smith-Pickett Diary is actually two series of entries: those of William Randolph Smith from his arrival, in 1861, at Manassas until his death at Frayser's Farm; and those of George S. Pickett from the period following Antietam until the winter following Fredericksburg. The Pickett entries are particularly informative for weather and menus. Smith and Pickett were in Company F of the 17th Virginia. The Smith-Pickett diary is at the University of Virginia.

Charles F. Barnes' letters tell of picket duty and camp life during the period before Blackburn's Ford. His brother, Edward C. Barnes, joined Company G and wrote three outstanding letters describing the private's reaction to Pickett's Charge, the deployment against New Bern and the investment of Plymouth. The Barnes Family Manuscripts are at the University of Virginia.

Richard B. Buck wrote about twenty-five letters between March, 1861, and March, 1862. The typescript of those letters is at the University of Virginia.

The Franklin Papers in the Virginia Historical Society contain an excellent letter describing the engagement at Dranesville.

At the Perkins Library of Duke University, the John Oakey Papers and the Thomas F. Kelley Papers contain a series of letters

from an unidentified member of Company G, 11th Virginia. The few letters include reports of camp life and picket duty following Seven Pines and Fredericksburg, as well as Smithfield, N. C., and Bermuda Hundred camps.

James Lawson Kemper commanded the brigade to which the 11th Regiment belonged. Kemper's papers are at the University of Virginia but contain very little material bearing on his regiments.

The Virginia Military Institute maintains a series of "201 Files" of its former students. The files contain much biographical information, as well as some letters from alumni regarding their wartime activities. Samuel Garland, Kirkwood Otey, J. R. Hutter, Eusebius Fowlkes, James E. Blankenship, Carter H. Harrison and John C. Ward all attended V. M. I.

Edward Payson Reeve wrote a memoir of his service in the 1st Virginia. His typewritten "Civil War Reminiscences of Captain Edward Payson Reeve, 1861-1865" is an excellent source and is in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina.

Two general typescript histories make minor reference to the 11th Virginia. "Lynchburg's Petit Military Argosy" by Edley Craighill (Lynchburg, 1939), identifies and describes the military

units of that city from militia units in the time of Bacon's Rebellion to World War I. It makes mere mention of the 11th Regiment. J. T. Oakey's "The Story of Old Lynchburg College," prepared for Lynchburg's Sesqui-Centennial in 1936, refers briefly to Capt. Blankenship's "Lynchburg Rifles" of the 11th Virginia.

Primary Sources

The basic published source for any history of the Civil War is the U. S. War Dept. (comp.), War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1880-1901), 128 vols. The Official Records are subject to error and exaggeration, yet are indispensable to any study of Civil War military history.

Three other, excellent studies throw light on the 11th Virginia. William H. Morgan, Personal Reminiscences of the War of 1861-5 (Lynchburg, 1911), tells the Regiment's story through the eyes of the commanding officer of Company C. At times understandably emotional, at other times reflecting its late publication, Morgan's book nevertheless gives an intimate picture of the men and events of the 11th Regiment.

William Preston Holland served in Company G from the Lynchburg departure until Appomattox. His memoirs, "Recollections of a Private,"

ran serially in the Lynchburg News from November 1, 1959, through February 7, 1960. When he could not recall a battle or event, Holland indicated so; yet when he did recount an incident, it was told with a truthful freshness. Holland was present at many battles which William Morgan missed.

The Lynchburg Daily Virginian was published throughout the war. Space declined as the war continued, and the newspaper carried less and less material on the 11th Regiment. During the first years, however, many stories of the Regiment appeared. Battle reports gave the names and extent of wounds for the companies of the Regiment.

The Blackford family (previously mentioned) provided several books containing glimpses of the 11th Regiment. Susan Leigh Blackford compiled much of the family war letters in Memoirs of Life In and Out of the Army in Virginia During the War Between The States (2 vols., Lynchburg, 1894), which had a very limited distribution. The letters were reduced to one volume and republished as Letters From Lee's Army (New York, 1947). William W. Blackford, War Years With Jeb Stuart (New York, 1945), and Launcelot M. Blackford, Mine Eyes Have Seen The Glory (Cambridge, 1945), relate visits by the Blackford brothers to 11th Regiment camps. Charles M. Blackford, Jr. headed a committee which wrote the Annals of the Lynchburg Home Guard (Lynchburg, 1891), an account of Company G. The anonymous Record of

the Lynchburg Home Guard (Lynchburg, 1877), may have been written by members of the same group.

"Road Home Was Rough for Pvt. Jud Davidson" appeared in the Lynchburg News on October 25, 1959, and is a delightful letter from Davidson telling of the fall of Plymouth, N. C., and of Davidson's privations in the retreat from Petersburg during 1865.

In the absence of primary sources from within the 11th Regiment, the writer used material from men in sister regiments. Outstanding in this area was Alexander Hunter, Johnny Reb and Billy Yank (New York, 1905). Hunter, a private in the 17th Regiment drew a vivid portrait of the men, events and scenery that filled the war years. Charles T. Loehr, War History of the Old First Virginia Infantry Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia (Richmond, 1884), is a short but excellent unit history. Next in value was John Dooley, John Dooley, Confederate Soldier; His War Journal (Washington, 1945), edited by Joseph T. Durkin. Dooley was with the 1st Virginia from Antietam until Gettysburg. Dooley was both perceptive and expressive.

The 17th Virginia received additional coverage by George Wise, History of the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry, CSA (Baltimore, 1870), and Edgar Warfield, A Confederate Soldier's Memoirs (Richmond, 1936). Both authors served from the formation of their companies; their books are excellent sources for the period until just prior to Fredericksburg. Wise's book is by far the better as Warfield wrote late in life and

used long quotes from both Wise and the Official Records.

Another sister regiment, the 7th Virginia, is treated by David E. Johnston, The Story of a Confederate Boy in The Civil War (Portland, Ore., 1914). Douglas S. Freeman spoke well of the book, yet this writer found Hunter, Wise and Loehr to be far more useful.

Beyond the brigade's regiments, few books proved of great value. Walter Harrison, Pickett's Men: A Fragment of War History (New York, 1870), contained a solid account of the movements of Pickett's Division by its Adjutant General. Robert V. Johnson and C. C. Buel (eds.), Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (4 vols., New York, 1884-1887), gave insights into the battle of South Mountain and the retreat to Appomattox.

The Southern Historical Society Papers provided excellent accounts of specific actions, written by the men who were involved. Without additional comment, the following articles are cited as worthy of reading by anyone interested in the 11th Regiment:

- Robert A. Bright, "Pickett's Charge," XXXI (1903).
 B. D. Fry, "Pettigrew's Charge at Gettysburg," VII (1879).
 J. R. Hutter, "The Eleventh at Five Forks," XXXV (1907).
 Alexander Hunter, "Battle of Antietam," XXXI (1903).
 C. F. James, "The Battle of Sailor's Creek," XXIV (1896).
 Charles T. Loehr, "The First Virginia Infantry in the Peninsula Campaign," XXI (1893).
 _____, "The 'Old First' Virginia at Gettysburg," XXXII (1904).
 _____, "The Battle of Milford Station," XXVI (1898).
 Lafayette McLaws, "Gettysburg," VII (1879).

Joseph Mayo, "Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg," XXXIV (1906).
 John H. Smith, "The Battle of Gettysburg," XXXII (1904).
 John W. Sumpter, "Fighting That Was Close by Us," XXXVII (1909).
 Issac R. Trimble, "The Battle . . . of Gettysburg," XXVI (1898).
 C. M. Wilcox, "Report of . . . the Battle of Gettysburg,"
 VII (1879).

Additional primary material contained minor references to the 11th Regiment, yet served to validate the diaries and memoirs. Of those books, the following were of slight value: William M. Owen, In Camp and Battle With The Washington Artillery of New Orleans (Boston, 1885); James Longstreet, From Manassas To Appomattox (Bloomington, Ind., 1960), edited by James I. Robertson, Jr.; Jubal A. Early, War Memoirs (Bloomington, 1960), edited by Frank E. Vandiver; Alfred Roman, The Military Operations of General Beauregard (2 vols., New York, 1884); and G. Moxley Sorrel, Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer (New York, 1905).

Secondary Material

Douglas S. Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants; A Study in Command (3 vols., New York, 1942-44), must top any list of references used to study units in the Army of Northern Virginia. Particular attention should be given to Freeman's excellent footnotes and the bibliographic material at the end of Volume III. Lew A. Wallace, Jr., A Guide To Virginia Military Organizations 1861-1865 (Richmond, 1964) is an

error-filled compilation of units, commanders, nicknames and muster dates for all Virginia units.

Ezra J. Warner, Generals in Gray; Lives of Confederate Commanders (Baton Rouge, 1959), gives biographical sketches of all 425 Confederate generals. Vincent J. Esposito (ed.), The West Point Atlas of American Wars; Volume I, 1669-1900 (New York, 1959), assisted this writer to locate the units and visualize their maneuvers.

Charles D. Walker, Biographical Sketches of the Graduates and Elèves of the Virginia Military Institute Who Fell During The War between The States (Philadelphia, 1875), and the anonymous Register of Former Cadets (Lexington, Va., 1957), contained helpful material concerning V. M. I. men in the 11th Regiment. The Commandant of the United States Marine Corps provided a three-page biography of Col. George Terrett.

The following city and county histories give data on the 11th Regiment but duplicate information available in primary sources: W. Asbury Christian, Lynchburg and Its People (Lynchburg, 1967); R. H. Early, Campbell Chronicles and Family Sketches (Lynchburg, 1927); Lynchburg, Va., Soldiers of Virginia Who Fought in Her Defense in the War Between The States 1861-1865; Muster Rolls, Troops of Cavalry, Companies of Artillery and Companies of Infantry, Organized, Recruited or Enlisted, in Whole or in Part, in the City of Lynchburg During The

War Between The States (Lynchburg, 1907); Oren F. Morton, A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia (Staunton, Va., 1920); Emily G. Ramey and John K. Gott, The Years of Anguish; Fauquier County, Virginia, 1861-1865 (Warrenton, Va., 1965); Lynchburg Sesqui-Centennial Assoc., Inc., The Saga of a City; Lynchburg, Virginia, 1786-1936 (Lynchburg, 1936); and Rosa F. Yancey, Lynchburg and Its Neighbors (Richmond, 1935).

James I. Robertson, Jr., The Stonewall Brigade (Baton Rouge, 1963), was the model for a scholarly approach to a Civil War socio-military history.

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THE 11TH VIRGINIA INFANTRY REGIMENT, C.S.A.

Robert Thomas Bell

Abstract

This thesis is a socio-military history of a Confederate infantry regiment. Formed principally of Lynchburg City and Campbell County men, the Regiment fought in the Civil War as part of Kemper's Brigade, Pickett's Division, Longstreet's Corps, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.

Through diaries, letters, memoirs and contemporary newspapers, the writer has traced the Regiment from its inception as individual companies formed in reaction to John Brown's Raid until its surrender at Appomattox. The entire effort focuses, whenever possible, upon the officers and men of the Regiment. Thus, little attention is paid to grand strategy or national politics. Instead, drum rolls call the Regiment into formation for marches to unknown fields. The men fight in battles that later give the fields a place in history: First Manassas, Seven Pines, Frayser's Farm, Second Manassas, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Suffolk, Gettysburg, Plymouth, Drewry's Bluff, Cold Harbor, Bermuda Hundred, Five Forks and Sayler's Creek. Even in battle, the emphasis remains on the

Regiment. Success or failure is measured by how the men felt they had performed, rather than whether or not the army achieved victory.

The final result for the men of the 11th Virginia was defeat and surrender; yet, having suffered incredible hardship and having faced overwhelming odds, they emerged as rather heroic individuals. The thesis treats neither victory nor defeat, but men who gave their best for a cause in which they had complete faith.