

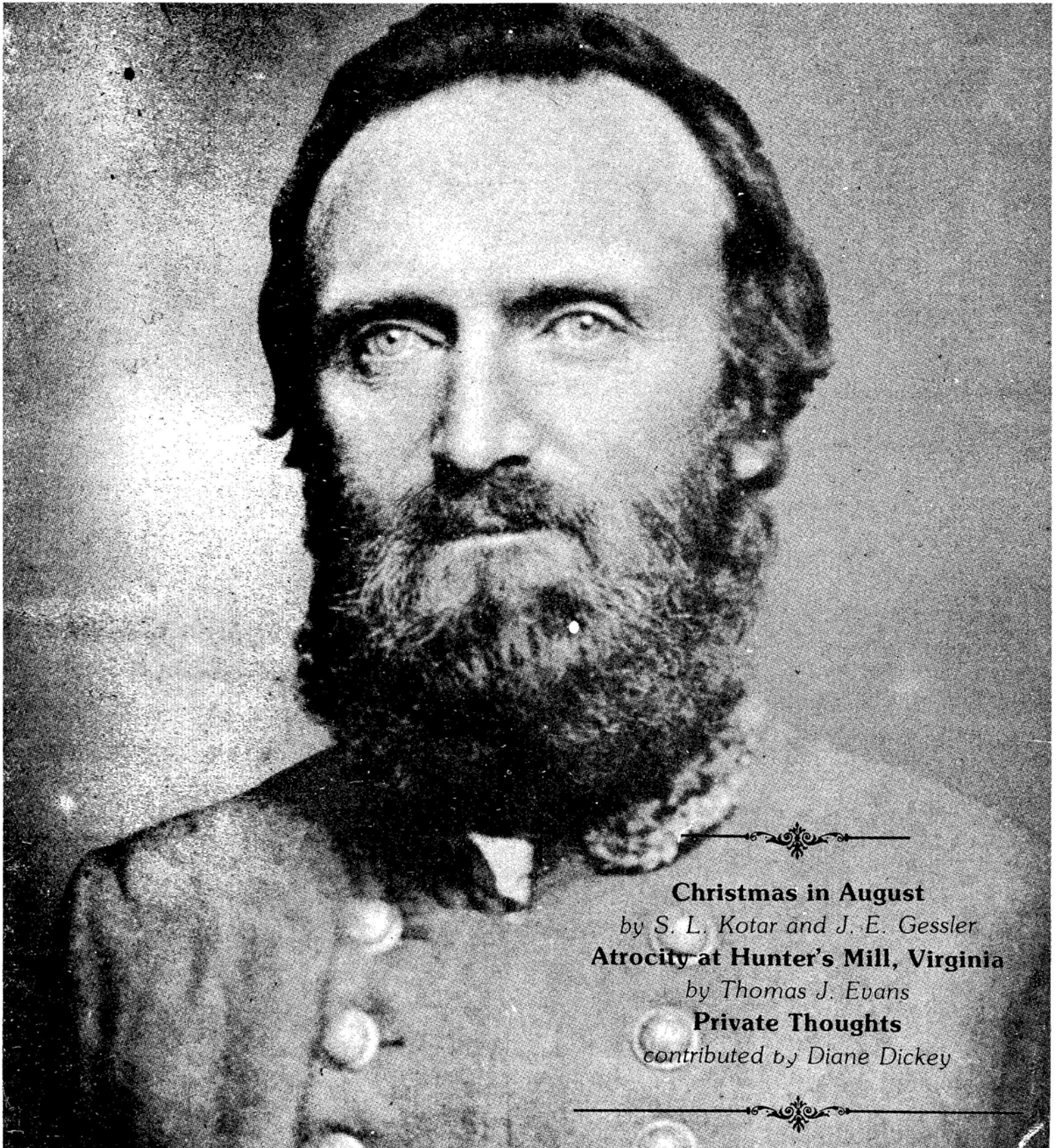


# THE KEPI

OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1984

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*"A New Concept in Civil War Reporting"*



——  
**Christmas in August**


by S. L. Kotar and J. E. Gessler

**Atrocity at Hunter's Mill, Virginia**


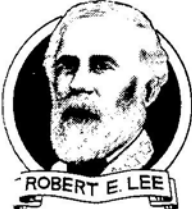
by Thomas J. Evans

**Private Thoughts**

contributed by Diane Dickey

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### ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover: Gen. T. J. Jackson, vintage image by Meiley, of Lexington, Va. From the authors' private collection. "The Rebel Stonewall Jackson," p. 5 from *Harper's Weekly*, August 30, 1862.  
 R. S. Garnett, p. 8 from *Stonewall In The Valley*.  
 Francis H. Smith, p. 17 from *100 Years at V.M.I.*  
 William Gilham, p. 19 from *100 Years at V.M.I.*  
 R. E. Colston, p. 20 from *100 Years at V.M.I.*  
 Rev. John D. Read, p. 29, Courtesy of Dr. Clarence R. Hartman, Falls Church Historical Collection by H. Douglas.  
 Rev. Hiram W. Read, Courtesy of Betty Danielson.  
 J. D. Read gravestone, p. 32. Courtesy of the author.  
 Back Cover: "The Situation In Virginia," from *The New York Tribune*, August 11, 1862.

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### Exploding bullets! Explosive article!

The Gardiner explosive musket shell was a gruesome engine of death — an "infernal machine" of war that brutally killed and maimed Federals and Confederates alike.

110,000 of these deadly shells were purchased by the Federal government — 75,000 remained unused at the end of the war. Of the bullets issued to Union troops, thousands have been unaccounted for—

#### UNTIL NOW!

In 1984, Thomas J. Evans and John M. Morton made a startling discovery at a little-known skirmish site in Virginia.

Read about this exciting find in the February-March 1985 issue of THE KEPI!

## GENERALLY SPEAKING

Three years ago, when we first began putting ideas together for THE KEPI, it was our intention to write several major articles a year for it. Once we had the first several issues out, however, we realized this was going to be impossible. There was always something more urgent demanding our time, or a new article we just received that had to get in the next issue.... Writing that feature was pushed further and further back on the schedule, until more than a year had passed, and we finally realized it was time to "make time." We didn't take as much as we wanted, but we did get "Christmas in August" done, along with two accompanying pieces, TIMELINE and "Missing in Action." These three articles were something we had promised ourselves, and we are proud to present them to you.

"Christmas In August" was originally planned to cover Major General T.J. "Stonewall" Jackson's daring raid around the enemy's rear, in August 1862. Once we started it, though, it became obvious that the story could not be picked up in the middle: explaining how it came about was as important as describing the raid itself. This explanation necessarily centered around Jackson and his relationship with R.E. Lee.

It was alleged that Jackson had not done well during the Seven Days: the period that followed would see "Stonewall" on trial. Everyone, it seemed, was keeping an eye on that quiet man from the Valley, about whom, few really knew. The correspondence from Lee to Jackson during this period was anywhere from blunt, to accusatory, to degrading. On August 27, Lee wrote: "Do not let your troops run down if it can possibly be avoided by attention to their wants, and comforts & c., by their respective commanders. This will require your personal attention...." Lenoir Chambers, in his two volume biography, *Stonewall Jackson*, wrote on page 101: "What Lee had in mind is not clear. Jackson...had no name for mistreatment or hardship in normal circumstances." Lee's *meaning* is not unclear — the reason *why* he wrote that to Jackson is. This is one of the several points explored in the article, that we feel will shed new light on both men and the circumstances surrounding August 27th — one of the most unique days in Confederate history.

TIMELINE chronologically follows Jackson's advance on Cedar Run, the Confederate concentration, and their aborted attempts to

catch the Union army in a vulnerable position.

"Missing in Action" is a study of Francis Henney Smith and William Gilham, two of Jackson's colleagues at the Virginia Military Institute prior on the war. Both men were summoned to Richmond to assume important roles as the state prepared for civil war. Bright futures seemed to be before them — but their early promise faded into near obscurity by the end of the war. Their careers are traced in an unusual look at VMI's other officers.

Tom Evans continues his excellent series for THE KEPI with "Atrocity at Hunter's Mill, Virginia," a look at the dangers and consequences of spying along the Virginia/Maryland border. It isn't often a minister is accused of being a spy, and there is little information on the men and women who risked their lives intelligence-gathering for "their cause." This article explores both, in a fascinating look at the life of the Reverend Read.

We are introducing a new KEPI feature in this issue: PRIVATE THOUGHTS. In our renewal survey, many expressed an interest in reading more about the common soldier in the Civil War. In response (*Continued on page 25.*)

### GENERAL ORDERS

No. 9

by Command of the Editors-in-General

Headquarters of THE KEPI

1st October 1984

They strongly opposed secession, and when their state broke away from the Union, they threw their lot in with the Federal cause. They secretly planned an audacious campaign to burn bridges and were promised an army to help them. They wanted to rid their land of Confederates and form a new state. They were not Virginians, but Tennesseans, and unlike their fellow dissidents, they were unsuccessful in creating the state of East Tennessee. "A Fire Bell at Night" vividly depicts the desperate situation these pro-Unionists found themselves in, as promises went unkept, and they were left "hanging."

Sue Mundy was a Confederate guerrilla whose name might have been lost in the annals of history, except for one thing: no one knew whether Sue Mundy was a man or a woman. If a man, then he was just another rebel who happened to be related to Col. John S. Mosby's wife; but if a woman, she was not only a thorn in the Federal's side, she was a political embarrassment. Find out the secret, and see Mundy's photograph for yourself in the December/January issue of THE KEPI.

Read how a Congressional Medal of Honor winner lost his rifle to Col. Mosby — while bathing; search for Pvt. Thompkins and follow the life of John Householder of the 2nd Ohio in PRIVATE THOUGHTS. FAMILY BIBLE concludes with birthdays from December and January; included is an additional bibliography.

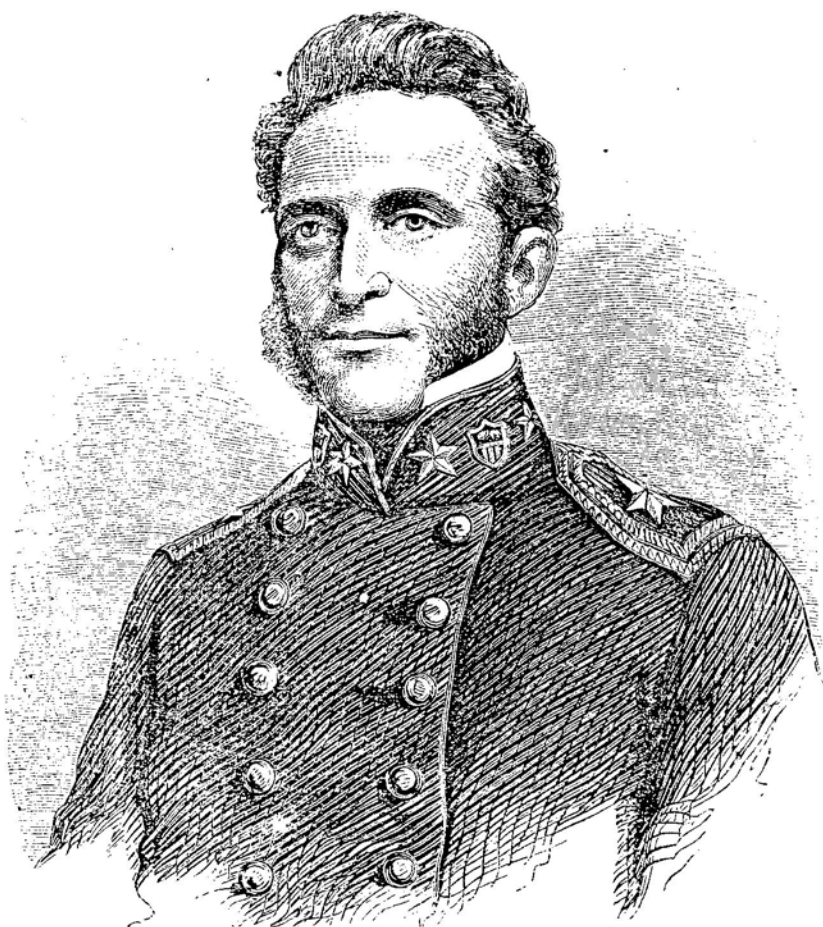
# Christmas in August

by  
S. L. Kotar and J. E. Gessler

*"If the army is to move with efficiency, rigorous measures must reduce this luxury of transportation. Can anyone believe that Jackson's troops regularly receive 20 carloads of oats per day, or that they move with 23 wagons to each regiment of 600 strong, or that they have two sets of tents to a company?"*

M.C. Meigs  
Quartermaster-General,  
Union Army  
August 18, 1862

It was obvious to everyone, even the high command of the Union army, that General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson was something special. After his promotion in October, 1861, to a major generalcy and his assignment to the Valley District of Virginia, Jackson left the main body of Confederates under Gen. Johnston and started forming what would become the immortal Valley Army. Bringing with him only one aide, Lt. Alexander (Sandie) Pendleton, he forged militia and recruits into solid fighting units. He managed to pry from Johnston his old brigade, and with these troops, he planned and carried out an audacious winter campaign. In the spring of 1862, pressed back from his winter headquarters in Winchester, Va., by the superior number of enemy, he withdrew up the Shenandoah Valley. Constantly alert to the possibilities of surprising the Union forces, he seized an opportunity on March 23, and attacked them at a nondescript place called Kearns-town. Although retiring from the field after a very strenuous contest, Jackson had long range goals in mind when he declared the contest a victory for the Confederates. He



*"The Rebel Stonewall Jackson"*

had achieved his purpose directed to him by his superiors - keep Federal forces from leaving the Valley, so they could not reinforce those ready to make a move on Richmond. In the subsequent weeks, he would more than succeed in this difficult assignment. He would march his men up and down the Valley in a series of innovative tactics that would mystify his opponents.

After the Seven Days Battles (June 26-July 2), architected by the new Confederate commander, Gen. Robert E. Lee, there was a lull in the bloody head-on clashes between his

troops and those of Gen. George B. McClellan. Jackson's beleaguered but triumphant Confederates were pulled back around the capital on July 2, amid rumors that Gen. John Pope had taken command of the Federal troops around Washington, under the ominous title "Army of Virginia." The speculation in Richmond was that Pope would reorganize and concentrate his troops for a united march on Gordonsville. From there, the path would be open to the Virginia Central Railroad, control of which could effectively cut communications with the Shenandoah

Valley, placing Richmond in a vulnerable position.

On July 13, the little army that had seen constant activity since evacuating Winchester, received orders to proceed "to Louisa Court House, and if practicable, Gordonsville, there to oppose the reported advance of the enemy from the direction of Orange Court-House."<sup>1</sup> Gen. Richard S. Ewell's Division, which had fought side by side with Jackson's troops, were to accompany them. Thus, the 11,000<sup>2</sup> "foot cavalry" marched out to face the 49,500<sup>3</sup> troops of the man Abraham Lincoln had brought east to achieve victories.

As was his custom, Jackson rode in advance of his troops, seeking information on the enemy's position and looking for an opportunity to strike. At Charlottesville, wild rumors circulated everywhere about the advance of Federal troops.<sup>4</sup> It was learned, however, that the enemy had not yet advanced to Gordonsville, so the troops were rushed forward, arriving there July 19.

By late July, Jackson had determined Pope's numbers were far superior to his, and wrote to Lee requesting reinforcements. Lee's answer of the 23rd states his belief that McClellan was "Being reinforced to the extent of the means of his government,"<sup>5</sup> and that he presumed Pope's responsibility was to guard the approaches to Washington. By the 25th, however, he offered the troops of Gen. A.P. Hill, if Jackson would consent to take them, along with their major general, who was currently under arrest.<sup>6</sup> Jackson notified Lee the next day he would take them if they could be spared, and promised their addition would enable him to take aggressive measures.<sup>7</sup>

He was as good as his word. On August 7, Jackson received news that Pope's advance had become separated from the main body during its move toward Culpeper Court-House. Seizing the opportu-

## **"Banks is in front of me and he is always ready to fight - and he generally gets whipped."**

nity to attack these troops while strung out, orders to move were quickly given.

After crossing the Rapidan, the army heard many stories from civilians about the atrocities committed by Pope's army under the auspices of his order to subsist off the land. Many fine homes were destroyed and the people made to suffer from the loss of their livestock and stores.<sup>8</sup>

Excessive heat and entanglement of troops slowed progress, but by evening, Jackson was in anticipation of a battle next day, even taking a moments release from the tension by remarking that "Banks is in front of me and he is always ready to fight - and he generally gets whipped."

His prediction proved accurate, for the next day, August 9, his forces and those of Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks clashed at Cedar Mountain, resulting in a Union withdrawal after dark to Culpeper. Because of the possibility that Banks had been heavily reinforced there, pursuit was inadvisable, so Jackson initiated the next best thing - he ordered his cartographer, Jedediah Hotchkiss, to "at once make as many maps as he could of the region from where we are on to the Potomac."<sup>9</sup> All contingencies had to be planned for.

By August 13, Lee's attention had been drawn from McClellan on the coast toward Pope at Culpeper Court-House. Most indications were that Pope would make the next major offensive against the Confederate capital, so Gen. James Longstreet was sent to reinforce Jackson. They were transported by the Virginia Central Railroad to Gordonsville, while Hood and Whiting's brigades were ordered to proceed by the Fredericksburg rail-

road to Hanover Junction. These troops, it was hoped, could counter any move Burnside might make from Fredericksburg to the vital supply line of the VCRR. Lee himself remained behind.

Longstreet arrived at Gordonsville the same day, and Jackson immediately reported to him, tendering him command, as Longstreet was the senior officer. Henry Kyd Douglas, "Stonewall's" ADC, wrote in later years that Longstreet declined the overall command because he expected Lee to arrive shortly, and because Jackson knew the immediate field better than he.<sup>10</sup> In any case, the two generals discussed the military possibilities, and by 6 PM that evening, Longstreet wrote to their commander, suggesting two possible movements for his approval. He also stressed the point that Lee should come himself: Jackson did not agree with his projected moves, and "Old Pete" wished to press his case in person.

The two armies that met in Gordonsville that fine warm day had not yet come to think of themselves as a united body. Jackson's troops were the Valley Army, proud victors from the Shenandoah Campaign. They were Stonewall's men, and proud of it, invincible and ready to follow him anywhere. Longstreet's troops were the veterans of the Battle of Seven Pines and the Seven Days. They were openly bitter and resentful against Jackson, called him rude, arrogant, beastly and predicted "a month uncontrolled and he would destroy himself and all under him. They felt they had done more than their share of the fighting around Richmond, and believed Jackson and his troops had never faced the best the Union had to offer: their amazing

triumphs in the Valley were achieved against inferior soldiers and commanders.

To some extent, their feelings of mistrust and suspicion were shared by the Confederate high command. In August of 1862, Jackson was still the unknown factor. Despite popular opinion and the increasing amount of laudatory comments that found their way into the press, "Old Jack's" position was not clear. Neither Davis nor Lee knew him personally. When Jackson had been introduced to the president at a strategy conference in July of 1862, he chose to salute him rather than shake his hand, as the others had done.<sup>11</sup> He was not interested in cordiality, and saw his own role as a military commander only. His first known experiences with Lee were hardly less formal on either man's part. In 1854, while a professor at VMI, Jackson had written to Lee, then Superintendent of West Point, for a recommendation, as he was seeking a new teaching position. It is not known whether the two met briefly during the Mexican War, but by 1861 they were virtual strangers to one another. War took them in opposite directions, and although they corresponded during the Valley Campaign, it could not be said they knew each other's minds. The first time they met during the Civil War was at a strategy conference immediately preceding the Seven Days Battles. Since Jackson had ridden 14 hours to attend this meeting, it is likely his hot and dusty appearance did not favorably influence his commander.

He didn't even share the comradeship of brother officers, such as Longstreet and Ewell, who had just resigned from the U.S. Army at the outbreak of hostilities. He was, even in August, 1862, an outsider with nagging questions surrounding him: he had performed well in the Valley as an independent, but could he act in concert with others? He praised God for his victories, but behind it, was he too ambitious? Was he

brilliant, or was it true that he was just a second rater from the Valley? The Seven Days Battles around Richmond only accentuated these questions. The Confederate army had not worked well together, and most of the unofficial blame for it had fallen on Jackson. Officially, nothing was said, but it was evident Lee was keeping an eye on him, and had preconceived suspicions. After receiving complaints from Jackson in late July about his cavalry commander, Gen. Beverly Robertson, Lee had forwarded the letter to Davis for his "private perusal,"<sup>12</sup> and remarked to "Stonewall" on July 31 that Jackson expected too much from Robertson; in fact, Lee

rapher, calls this "frankness";<sup>17</sup> to a major general, it must have seemed insulting and frustrating to have his judgement so completely and suddenly disregarded.) Of additional importance pertaining to Lee's frame of mind was his communication of July 27 to Jackson, in which he told Jackson he would be reinforced by A.P. Hill. Lee added: "Do not let your troops run down it if can possibly be avoided by attention to their wants, comforts & c., by their respective commanders. This will require your personal attention; also consideration and preparation in your movements...A.P. Hill, you will, I think, find a good officer, with whom you can consult,

## In August of 1862, Jackson was still the unknown factor.

suggested that Robertson may have been readying his men for service, and preparing undisciplined men was no trifling undertaking. He did inquire, however, if there was anyone Jackson would prefer to lead his cavalry.<sup>13</sup> A week later, when Jackson met with Robertson and asked where the enemy was, the latter replied: "I really do not know." This caused Jackson to turn as "black as a thundercloud,"<sup>14</sup> prompting him to take Lee up on his offer to suggest a replacement. On August 7, he wrote, recommending "Grumble" Jones replace Robertson.<sup>15</sup> Lee responded on the 8th that he would see the Secretary of War, but "without knowing any of the circumstances attending it except as related by you, I fear the judgement passed upon him may be hasty. Neither am I sufficiently informed of the qualities of Col. W.E. Jones, though having for him a high esteem, to say whether he is better qualified."<sup>16</sup> (On July 31, Lee asked for Jackson's opinion, and on August 8, a mere eight days later, he told him his opinion was not sufficient. D. S. Freeman, Lee's biog-

and by advising with your division commanders as to your personal movements much trouble will be saved in arranging details, as they can act more intelligently."<sup>18</sup> The first part of advice Lee gave is somewhat startling in light of the fact that of all the high-ranking officers during the war, there were few, if any, who paid more "personal attention" to the needs of his men than Jackson. These admonitions may have been put in Lee's mind by Brig. Gen. R.S. Garnett. Garnett, who was a personal acquaintance of Lee's, had been in Richmond since July 11,<sup>19</sup> attempting to have his court-martial case brought to trial. Having been relieved of duty by Jackson for his actions at Kearns-town, Garnett had written a lengthy defense and submitted it to the War Department, where it had been received June 30.<sup>20</sup> Since Lee was already involved in Garnett's case, having had material previously forwarded to him by the Adjutant and Inspector General, Samuel Cooper,<sup>21</sup> it is likely he received Garnett's defense, if not from the War Dept., than from Garnett's



Gen. R. S. Garnett

wealthy and influential relative (also a personal acquaintance of Lee's), R.M.T. Hunter. Since Garnett was in the capital, he would have found a sympathetic ear.<sup>22</sup> The brigadier's military record also contained a complaint lodged against him by Jackson for his disobedience of orders in January 1862. Garnett had deliberately countermanded his superior's orders to move his men out because he wanted to give them additional time to cook their rations. From this record, or from Garnett himself, Lee could have heard firsthand stories about Jackson's "running his troops down," and his "lack of personal attention" to their wants and needs. Garnett was a man with a grudge, and he blamed Jackson for making "covert attacks" against him. These, he wrote bitterly "are inconsistent with honor and justice, and should arouse grave doubts as to the motives and truthfulness of these secret allegations."<sup>23</sup> Here is a basis for Lee's sudden "frankness" when discussing Robertson, his denigrating order concerning his troops and his further suggestion to consult with his division commanders. Garnett had repeatedly complained his

problems at Kearntown stemmed from the fact Jackson had not consulted with him;<sup>24</sup> with this fresh in his mind, Lee, who was in accord with Garnett, and who had never heard Jackson's side, wished to see the situation was not repeated.\* Whatever the reason, it is evident there were unanswered questions about Jackson that caused Lee to use care in dealing with him, and according to Gen. Jeb Stuart, "Gen. Lee came to us at Gordonsville with rather a low estimate of Jackson's ability."

It is no wonder then that Jackson considered the Battle of Cedar Run his greatest victory.<sup>26</sup> It proved to him that he could fight whatever Lincoln had to throw at him. He had beaten a portion of John Pope's new army, and he had done it by maneuvering the largest command he had ever taken into battle. It was enough of a clear-cut victory that he could put behind him the Seven Days Battles and proclaim that God had "blessed our arms with another victory."<sup>27</sup> In a personal sense, it was his bravery and powers of leadership that turned the tide of battle. He had ridden into the confusion on the east, drew his saber and literally turned men on the verge of rout into triumphant victors.<sup>28</sup>

When Longstreet arrived at Gordonsville on August 13, he was well aware of Jackson's new laurels. His immediate formation of battle plans and repeated requests for Lee to join him suggest that "Old Pete" wanted to be the main influence on the commanding general in any subsequent strategies. That he had Lee's ear is evidenced by the reply he received the following day: "I had arranged to leave in the cars to-morrow at 4 o'clock to join you. Let me know where I shall find you. I should like if convenient to see Jackson, too."<sup>29</sup> If Lee was contemplating a council of war, he was notifying Longstreet

Jackson's presence was not mandatory.

Lee arrived August 15 and assumed command of the army. Jackson reported to him immediately and presented his intelligence reports, estimating Pope had between 45,000-50,000 men, and also provided him with accurate maps of the area. It was necessary during this high level session to decide when and how to attack Pope. The Union commander had placed himself in a vulnerable position between the Rapidan and Rappahannock rivers. If the cavalry, under Gen. Jeb Stuart, were able to destroy the Rappahannock Station Bridge, Pope would lose his avenue of retreat over the river and would be cut off. A rapid move on the part of the Confederates across the Rapidan would trap the Federals in this unfavorable position. Speed was of the essence, however, because at any moment Pope might realize the precarious position he was in and pull back across the Rappahannock.

Jackson advocated crossing the Rapidan on the 16th and giving battle on the 17th. Longstreet protested that his commissary was disorganized, and needed time to supply his troops. Jackson quickly offered enough hard bread for the march, but Longstreet remained skeptical that he could be ready to move by the morrow. Lee sided with Longstreet, and brought up the fact that the cavalry, who were essential to the plan, were not concentrated. The final decision was to approach the fords of the Rapidan on the 17th and attack the enemy on the 18th. In the evening, Jackson's troops moved out along the southern side of Clark's Mountain, and the afternoon of the following day, Confederates witnessed the enemy marching away from Crooked Run church. Later that night, Stuart left for Verdierville, where he expected to unite with Fitz Lee and proceed to

\* For further details on the Battle of Kearntown, the charges Jackson brought against Garnett, and his subsequent trial, see THE KEPI, Vol. I, No. 1, "The Battle Behind Kearntown," by S. L. Kotar and J. E. Gessler. Lee eventually dismissed the charges against Garnett, and he was reinstated to command.



destroy the bridge in Pope's rear. Instead, August 18 saw Fitz Lee telegraph R.E. Lee that his horses would not be in serviceable condition until the 19th. This, added to the fact that Longstreet's commissary had not provided enough bread for his troops, and Anderson's Division, arriving from Richmond, was not in place, caused Lee to postpone the general advance, first until the 19th, and then the 20th. The myriad delays cost the Confederates their chance, for on the 19th, Pope withdrew his army behind the Rappahannock. Lee attempted to follow, but found all fords to the river skillfully blocked by Pope's men. This forced the Confederates, with Jackson in the lead, to move from ford to ford, hoping to find an unguarded crossing. Futile attempts to force a passing of the river occupied Lee until Sunday, August 24. At that point, a strategy conference was called between the commanding general, Jackson, Stuart and Longstreet.

These four notables met in a tiny place called Jeffersonton. Set back from the river so as to be out of range of the enemy's guns, the town was serving as Jackson's headquarters when Lee rode up to confer with him. Jackson began the day out of humor because his quartermasters and commissaries had not gotten

## **"Jackson - for him - was very much excited..."**

provisions up, and his men were hungry.<sup>30</sup> His mood changed, however, as a council of war was arranged. A table was placed almost in the middle of an empty field. Lee sat at the table with a map spread; Longstreet sat at his right, Stuart on his left, and Jackson stood opposite him. A group of staff officers waited on an adjacent knoll — only the highest-ranking of the Confederacy's officers would attend.<sup>31</sup>

Dr. Hunter McGuire, Jackson's Medical Director, reported on what

he witnessed: "Jackson was so reticent that it was only by accident that we ever found out what he proposed to do... The day before we started to march round Pope's army I saw Lee and Jackson conferring together. Jackson — for him — was very much excited, drawing with the toe of his boot a map in the sand, and gesticulating in a more earnest way than he was in the habit of doing. Gen. Lee was simply listening, and after Jackson had got through, he nodded his head as if acceding to some proposal."<sup>32</sup> The plan was a daring one, similar to the strategies "Stonewall" had planned and perfected in the Valley: he would take his command, cross the Rappahannock above Waterloo Bridge and march in rear of Pope's army. He would then attempt to cut the Federal communications by destroying the Orange and Alexandria Railroad and the bridge at Bristoe Station, 4 miles below Manassas Junction. Destruction of this critical span would make quick repair and reopening of the line impossible. Papers Gen. Stuart had captured from Pope revealed that two of McClellan's Corps, the 3rd and 5th, along with Reynold's Pennsylvania Reserves, were within two days march from a union with Pope. Other troops, including 7,000 from the Kanawha region of

Virginia were within a five-day march. Combined, these 130,000 men would be all but unbeatable. But if Pope behaved like his predecessors in the Shenandoah Valley — retreating to protect Washington once he discovered Confederates in his rear — he would be moving away from McClellan's forces at Fredericksburg. This would then allow Lee and Longstreet time to rejoin Jackson and attack the large Federal armies separately. The potential was great, but so were the risks.

Traditional military strategies would not allow for the division of a numerically inferior army in the face of an enemy. But Jackson was not a traditionalist. He believed that the only way a weaker power could overcome a stronger was by avoiding the tremendous bloodlettings of head-on battles. Attack had to be swift, unexpected and to advantage, with alacrity and audacity the watchwords. Never do what the enemy expects, defeat him in small skirmishes, and by doing so, create a sense of superiority and faith in your own soldiers that will carry them beyond endurance, if need be. "Old Jack's" men had supreme confidence in him and in themselves — that was his ultimate weapon.

To be successful, the plan had to be carried out rapidly and secretly. If word that the army had divided reached the Union commander, he would be in a position to move between them, and turn the tables. While the Confederates had no reserves to summon in an emergency, Pope could attack one, then turn on the other, or wait for McClellan. Each Federal army could then attack half of Lee's. The chances were great.

The details of the plan were left open. Everything would have to depend on the moment. The key to getting behind the enemy was Thoroughfare Gap. If this was heavily guarded, progress could be delayed and the plan discovered. If it was undefended, then the Confederates could hope for success.

Jackson was eager to start at once, and, in fact, informed his staff officer, H.K. Douglas, after the meeting, "I will be moving within an hour."<sup>33</sup> Delays had already cost the Confederacy much — he wanted no more wasted time. Wagons were ordered up and his troops were concentrated around Jeffersonton. Rations for three days were issued until late at night, and men were forced to cook until early hours.

If Jackson was eager to move out, there were those who had doubts

about the advisability of so daring a move. In Hotchkiss' diary, he included Jeb Stuart's account of the strategic conference, in which "He said Gen. Jackson was entitled to all the credit for the movement round the enemy and Gen. Lee had, very reluctantly, consented to it. He spoke of the great results it had..."<sup>34</sup> Hotchkiss added that Lee had inquired of Stuart "if he did not think it was very hazardous for Gen. Jackson to attempt to go round the enemy when we crossed the Rappahannock in August." Apparently, he did not, for the plan was put in motion and orders issued. Jackson was to move at dawn, "with the utmost promptitude, without knapsacks,"<sup>35</sup> carrying with him only ordnance trains, ambulances and a herd of cattle. A.P. Hill would continue his artillery duel with the Federals on the other side of the river until dark, then Longstreet's men would replace him, freeing Hill to join Jackson. Stuart would guard Waterloo Bridge until relieved, then follow and support Jackson.

Amid the sound of heavy cannonading that afternoon which kept the men "in an uncomfortable frame of mind,"<sup>36</sup> preparations hurried on. Hotchkiss sketched a map of the area for Longstreet,<sup>37</sup> while Jackson called for his engineer, Capt. J.K. Boswell, and ordered him to select "the most direct and covered route to Manassas."<sup>38</sup> Later that night, the General tried to sleep, but was unable because of the disturbances made by the troops getting ready to march.<sup>39</sup>

Monday, August 25, began cool, but soon turned very warm.<sup>40</sup> The troops were on the move early, some leaving behind half-baked bread.<sup>41</sup> They marched beyond Amissville eastward to a private ford called Henson's. Amid the lush vegetation of this valley, the "foot cavalry" crossed the tributary of the Rappahannock, Hedgeman's River, unmolested by the enemy. Some waded thigh deep in the cold water,<sup>42</sup> others reported crossing on

a "poor but adequate bridge."<sup>43</sup> The horse cavalry was sent out in advance to scout for bluecoats and picket every converging road until the army had passed. As the morning progressed, orders were issued, and in Jackson-like fashion, guides were posted at each intersection to mark the route.<sup>44</sup> Boswell went with Ewell's van to guide the way. And everywhere was the General, riding

## **In a moment, they forgot their weariness and cheered him.**

from one unit to the next, keeping the column closed with his customary "Close up, men, close up." Rations were soon eaten and soldiers slipped out of ranks to raid the outlying fields for apples. To make the march easier for them, Boswell had fence rails taken down, making short cuts through fields, as well as keeping the men under cover.

The fact that a significant portion of Confederate troops had moved out that morning was known to the Yankees. As early as 7:15 AM, a Federal signal station at Waterloo Bridge spotted men with regimental colors moving along the river. Details were sent at 8:45, 9:30, 10:30 and 11:00, indicating a well closed-up column from Jeffersonton to the vicinity of Flint Hill, some 15 miles. By noon, John Pope had informed Gen. Halleck in Washington that 20,000 men were on the march. Pope interpreted this to mean the van of Lee's army was moving into the Shenandoah Valley. Since that movement appeared to be no immediate threat to him, Pope did not act on the information, further than alerting Gen. McDowell.<sup>45</sup> The rebels were allowed to continue unmolested.

While on the march, Jackson sent two of his officers ahead with a squad of cavalry to alert the people of their coming, and have them send provisions to his men. They responded by sending flour and

meat, which Jackson acknowledged by saying the citizens had done good service that day.

The Black Horse cavalry, under Capt. Robert Randolph, and a company of 2nd Va. Cavalry, under Capt. W.W. Tobbs, went ahead through Orlean, Thumb Run Church and Salem. No enemy was seen, and the march continued unopposed.

Late in the afternoon, a mile from Salem, Gen. Jackson dismounted and climbed atop a large stone by the roadside. He removed his cap and, bareheaded, paused to watch the sun set behind the mountains. Weary of body, indefatigable of spirit, the man who carried the fate of the Confederate army on his shoulders was seen standing alone, cap in hand, by his men. In a moment, they forgot their weariness, and cheered him. "Old Jack," the general who symbolized their pride, courage and determination, made a swift, friendly gesture to silence them - not for him must they alert the enemy. Word went quickly through the ranks: obediently they passed in silence. But they would not let the moment go. They raised their caps in silent praise, creating a sublime moment for all who witnessed it. Jackson, proud and pleased, remarked with depth of feeling, "Who could not conquer with troops such as those?"<sup>46</sup>

Ewell's Division was stopped a mile south of Salem, and got a chance to rest that night. The remainder of the men, however, had to be brought up and did not get into bivouac until late. Those who had eaten their rations and were not fortunate enough to have received handouts along the way went to sleep hungry. The Confederates had covered twenty-five miles by hard marching, and Jackson was pleased.

When the citizens came to complain that "Stonewall" was abandoning them to the enemy, that concern (unnecessary as it was) may have pleased him, too. It could do no harm if that report reached Pope's ears.<sup>47</sup> By this time, manipulating information later received by the enemy was his forte, and this scene was reminiscent of one several months ago, when he had citizens and soldiers alike believing they were off for Richmond, when they actually headed the opposite way.

The order of March for Tuesday, August 26, was the same as the preceding day — Ewell, Hill, Taliaferro. Jackson sent the 2nd Va. Cavalry ahead to scout Thorougfare Gap. This critical passageway, through which the Manassas Gap Railroad passed to the Shenandoah Valley, was the crux of the move around Pope. Tense moments were spent that morning waiting for word from the cavalry. When it came, "Stonewall" must have sent a prayer heavenward - the pass was clear! Pope was paying no attention to them: prospects for success increased.

Deviating from his usual march regime of ten minute halts per hour, the commanding general allowed his troops to march at will. They straggled along the roadsides and the graded railroad beds, yet maintained a steady pace and kept good time. Their own eagerness grew with each step, for they soon surmised they were maneuvering around the back of the enemy. It was history in the making and Jackson was at the helm.

By midafternoon, Gen. Stuart and the cavalry joined them as the troops approached Gainesville. Jeb's watchful eyes now gave Jackson the security he needed; he allowed the soldiers to march slower, with greater intervals between units. At this time, he also had to make a decision on the route to take. The main road from Warrenton to Alexandria crossed Bull Run at Stone Bridge, but did not lead directly to

the railroad bridge. To reach that, the shortest route was from Gainesville to Bristoe Station, 4 miles below Manassas Junction. Orders were given and the men were turned toward this objective. Footsore, hungry and tired, these veterans sensed something important was happening, and their primary concern was that they would "be up" when the excitement started.<sup>48</sup>

As the gray army advanced, citizens came up and informed the officers only a small contingent of Federals held Bristoe. Col. Munford's cavalry, supported by Forno's Brigade, were given the honor of sending the Yankees running. At about sunset, a charge was made upon the small station, and the lounging Union cavalymen were chased off. This brought the rest of the Southern army up, and as they approached, the sound of cars was heard from the direction of Warrenton Junction. Hay's Brigade of Louisianans and North Carolinans smelled "booty," and frantically threw wooden sills across the track in hopes of derailing the train. As the iron horse came on, the infantry fired a volley of shots, but neither that nor the obstructions could stop it. It steamed on, out of the grasp of the excited rebels. Their disappointed spirits were lifted, however, when they discovered they had arrived at the hour when Federal supply trains ran from Manassas or Alexandria to Pope's front and back. In the hope of having another chance, the men found a derailing switch, and the 21st North Carolina lined up to give the crew a volley as soon as the switch was hit. The plan worked perfectly, and the excited troops had the intense satisfaction of seeing an enemy train plunge down an embankment. Sparks flew high into the darkness, lighting the way down, as they ran toward the wreck below. What met their eyes struck the humor of these grizzled soldiers - the locomotive was named "President," and through the picture of Abraham Lincoln on the steam

dome, a Confederate bullet had passed.

They had barely enough time to savor this victory when the sound of another approaching train caught their attention. This one hit the preceding train: the result was a tremendous crash. Metal and wood twisted out of shape and the curious soldiers found the interiors to be fitted with wooden benches for troop transport. Inside, they also found a civilian, who had sustained a broken ankle in the crash. When informed his captors were "Stonewall" Jackson's boys, he expressed an eagerness to see the famous general. Jackson was busy talking to an engineer when he was pointed out. The Unionist took one look at his dusty uniform and cap pulled low over his face, and exclaimed, "Oh, my God! Put me down!"<sup>49</sup> "Old Jack's" men roared with laughter. They knew pomp and circumstance did not make a general.

What Jackson was trying to determine was whether the cars and locomotives could be salvaged for Confederate use. He summoned Boswell and ordered him to move the trains across Bull Run. Gen. Trimble assigned the 15th Alabama to assist in this task, but it proved impossible.<sup>50</sup> The engines were too badly damaged to be worth the effort to secure them. The General was regretful at the loss, well aware of how valuable the trains he had brought down the Valley turnpike in the spring had become, but there was no hope for it now. He quickly ordered the bridge over the Run burned, then turned his attention to a gathering of local residents. These excited patriots quickly told him of huge Federal stockpiles 7 miles up the railroad at Manassas Junction. There, they explained, Pope kept the supplies for his entire army. Warehouses and carloads of freight were ripe for the taking. They reported very few soldiers were left to guard the treasure, Pope having no suspicions the supplies could be in any possible danger. It was a

challenge "the wagon hunter" could not resist. But there were factors that had to be weighed. A fourth train had come upon the wreck of the two derailed by the rebels, but had escaped by backing up along the track the way it had come. The alarm might already be given that the Federal army was in danger from the rear, and soldiers put on the march to counter the threat. Since their presence was known, time became a critical factor. There was also the question of which troops to send the extra miles to Manassas. Many of the men were not up yet, and those that were, were tired, having made a grueling two-day march. Some were already asleep where they had fallen, and the Stonewall Brigade, traditionally the one Jackson sought out for difficult assignments, was the rear unit.

The problem was solved when Gen. Trimble heard of the proposed move. He immediately volunteered his men and Jackson accepted the offer. After briefly explaining the situation as reported to him, as well as the risks involved, Jackson watched the 21st Georgia, under Major Thomas G. Glover, and the 21st North Carolina, under Lt. Col. Saunders Fulton (about 500 men),<sup>51</sup> march out. After these men had gone, Gen. Stuart rejoined the main body at Bristoe. Jackson, feeling Trimble would have greater success with the aid of the cavalry, ordered Stuart to move on Manassas and assist the infantry in its capture. The cavalry, sensing the excitement, rode quickly to the Federal supply depot, where the contest for possession was taking place.

A regiment had been put on either side of the tracks, advancing through the darkness in secrecy. Then, as they reached the long lines of boxcars, the ingenious rebels began shouting, resulting in such a din that the defenders thought the enemy was charging in great hordes. Firing their batteries wild in the ensuing panic, they allowed at least one gun to be taken by the rushing

attackers before it could be reloaded.

In the dark of the night, the Confederates lost touch with each other as they shifted from one position to another; their banter revealed as much pride as accomplishment: "Halloo, Georgia, where are you?" "Here, North Carolina. We have taken a battery!" "So have we!"<sup>52</sup>

Both regiments did capture Federal batteries, each one containing four field pieces, horses, equipment and ammunition, as well as 300 prisoners. To Jackson, the general and artilleryman, this was a great addition for his army, but for the foot soldier, the fun was just beginning.

For their reward in marching the additional 7 miles from Bristoe to Manassas, Trimble's men became the first to explore the Federal treasure trove. To be sure, guards were immediately posted around the warehouses, but they didn't keep out the cavalry or their companions. For his part, Gen. Trimble sent Jackson a message, briefly describing his success at taking Manassas and the guns he had captured. Jackson, in turn, relayed this information to Lee, adding that he had broken up the Orange and Alexandria Railroad and captured three trains of cars and prisoners. This reached him at Orleans, where Longstreet's men, having left their encampment on the Rappahannock that afternoon, had marched to.

Wednesday, August 27, 1862, Jackson was up early. No time was to be wasted, and he was eager to see for himself what the reports had only hinted at. Orders were given for the Stonewall Brigade to advance in support of Trimble; Poague's battery was also sent. Following them were A.P. Hill's troops and the remainder of Taliaferro's men. Gen. Ewell was left with three brigades to hold back the expected Federal advance until salvage work was concluded at Manassas. He was then to fall back on the main body, which would be

all the troops Jackson had at his command should the enemy press him in force.

Jackson rode ahead of the column and reached the site of Trimble's victory by daylight. There before him lay what must have seemed like the stockpiles for a million men. Warehouses were filled with luxurious foodstuffs and liquors. Along the train sidings were row upon row of cars, each packed with something to fire the imagination of a Confederate soldier: immense quantities of ammunition, upward of 200 new issue tents, medical supplies of morphine and chloroform, brandy and military equipment, including blue Union uniforms. Trimble had placed guards around buildings and trains, but they could not stop the masses. Passing through town to a position further out, troops from the Stonewall Brigade broke ranks and pushed their way through a circle of guards to grab anything they could get their hands on. Finally driven off, they went in droves to the outlying buildings looking for booty. Barefoot, half-starved and in tatters, these long-suffering Confederates had found a dream come true. But for the moment, it would have to wait. "Old Jack" knew there was business to attend to first. A pesky Federal battery had been firing at them, so Poague was sent to silence it. Behind him went the rest of the troops, leaving only Gregg's men. Jackson himself was soon in advance of the army, following the road that ran along the tracks from Manassas toward Bull Run. This was familiar territory to him - the area had witnessed the first great battle of the war. He and his men had become immortal here; but in his mind now were the consuming responsibilities of a new campaign and new dangers.

About a mile ahead of him, he saw what he took to be the gleam of bayonets in the sun. A prolonged look couldn't confirm his suspicion, so members of his staff were summoned. It didn't take long, how-

ever, for the moving object of their attention to clarify itself: marching straight toward them, in perfect order, completely unaware of the waiting Confederates, was a column of Union soldiers. Carpenter's battery was rapidly brought up and Hill's men positioned so as to command the Federal left flank. As the untested New Jersey brigade, under Gen. George W. Taylor, approached, Carpenter's battery fired - prematurely, the infantry thought - bringing on a general artillery sweep of the field. The rookies kept marching, unknowingly advancing where no veteran unit would, making a perfect target for the rebel batteries. Sweeping the front and right, the Confederates then moved to better ground and shorter range, changing to canister for better effect. Still, the undaunted New Jersey men came on into the face of certain death, in a brilliant display of bravery. Gen. Taylor cheered them on, begging his men not to let this be a second Bull Run disaster for the Union forces.

## **"Stonewall" waved a handkerchief at them and shouted for their surrender.**

He realized all too clearly the danger his raw troops were in, but he was determined to face the enemy bravely. That he did, at the cost of his own life and many of his soldiers. Even Jackson, the great warrior who had encouraged his men on other battlefields to shoot the brave ones so the others would run, could not stand by and watch an enemy be decimated. In a sublime act of mercy and personal courage, he rode to the front and halted his artillery fire. In front of those guns, as if to shield the enemy with his own body, "Stonewall" waved a handkerchief at them and shouted for their surrender. On a day that his army had captured John Pope's entire base of supplies, there need by no additional loss of honor. In reply,

however, a Federal marksman took aim and fired. The bullet missed Jackson by inches, and was a good enough answer. He turned and gave the order to resume firing. They responded with vigor, and in a short time the ranks of the New Jersey brigade were completely broken. The men turned to run in panic and were pursued by the cheering Confederates back over the railroad bridge to the train they had just debarked from. The bridge was destroyed, the cars burned and 300 prisoners taken. One hundred thirty-five Union men were killed or wounded, among them Gen. Taylor, of whom Jackson wrote respectfully in his official report, by saying his army fought "with great spirit and determination and under a leader worthy of a better cause."<sup>53</sup>

By 11:00 AM, the unequal contest was over and Hill's men were sent back to Manassas. The infantry felt the entire Union brigade would have been wiped out had not the artillery under Carpenter, fired prematurely.

The feeling prevailing in the ranks was that no serious attempt had been made to fly the black flag that day. Jackson, who was reported to have wondered about the benefits of a "no quarter" policy<sup>54</sup> demonstrated his personal beliefs this day in actions which spoke louder than words. In a situation where mercy to the enemy would not affect the outcome of battle, it was practiced. It was an acknowledgement of respect, both for bravery and for life that caused "Stonewall" to stay the sword of death; an action that would be remembered by both the blue and the gray when they wept at his graveside.

At Manassas, pandemonium and paradise awaited the returning rebels. Trimble, who had worked so

hard during the night and early morning to protect the supplies, was furious at the conduct of the arriving troops. Nothing was left untouched in the quest for liquor and comestibles. Gen. Taliaferro, assuming command while Jackson was seeing to the enemy, had taken charge of supplies, and was furiously stuffing any vehicle on wheels with the irreplaceable items. A discovery here, a new find there, and more room was sought to pack his treasures. At the same time, he liberally dispensed items to the troops so that they could consume what he couldn't take. Like small children turned loose under a Christmas tree, the seasoned veterans tore covers from boxes, ripped open bags, and stove in barrel heads. Every sort of luxury dreamed of by a starving soldier was there for the taking. Cakes, candy, caramels, French mustard and all types of sutlers' stores were sampled, passed around and stuffed into pockets for future use. Staples such as flour, salt port, bacon and corned beef were passed over by the men, but not by their thrifty commander. Jackson had commandeered the large Federal bakery and put his prisoners to work baking fresh bread for his troops. In the midst of plenty, the lean days ahead could not be overlooked. Sutlers' stores and essential items for the well-dressed Union soldier, such as fine linen handkerchiefs, were gleefully swept up by the men. New drawers were converted into sacks to carry away coffee and sugar, while saddles and cavalry boots were treated with disdain.

What caught "Stonewall's" eye were two long rows of freight cars, each half a mile in length. Some of those valuable trains were filled with ordnance, and a find that must have made his heart catch - two newly developed 3" bronze rifled guns. These must not be overlooked, nor their companions, either, the long rows of pyramid-like piles of shot and shell carefully laid out along the track.

Over other railroad cars men scrambled, looking for that one very special item - spirits. Morphine and chloroform were thrown away in the mad frenzy for whiskey or brandy.<sup>55</sup> Distraught surgeons begged, threatened and finally sought help from the one person who could save them. They got what they wanted - a guard to disperse the men and orders from Jackson that all liquor not needed by the medical department be dumped on the ground. Men dropped to their stomachs to lap up the precious fluid, while others, raiding officers' store rooms, discovered cases of Rhine wine. Corks were popped and everyone's health was toasted, es-

## John Pope earned for himself this day the sobriquet "Commissary General."

pecially, it may be presumed, John Pope's, the Union leader who had earned for himself this day the sobriquet "Commissary General." Pope supplanted another Union general, Nathaniel P. Banks, who had been the first Federal so honored for his donations (albeit unwilling) to the Confederate diet.

Fires sprang up everywhere, as delicacies were cooked, sampled and traded. So much was consumed or wasted that when Jackson summoned the artillerists back from their advanced position, all they got was canned goods. There was much hard feeling over that, and a general resentment toward the cavalry, who, it was claimed, carried great quantities away on their horses.

Jackson had intended to transport all the supplies he could away with him, but when he received word that Ewell was being hard pressed by Gen. Hooker, it was clear time was running out. All attempts at holding the men away from the foodstuffs were abandoned and "Old Jack" watched his boys enjoy themselves. The only stipulations he

issued were that they should fill their haversacks with four days rations, they should not dress themselves in the plentiful array of Union uniforms and they should not interfere with the bakery that the prisoners were working. With these reservations, every man could take what he wanted. For a short time before they would be called back to the realities of war, it was indeed Christmas in August, good will to all, as "Stonewall" played Saint Nicholas.

Generals Stuart and Early skillfully withdrew from Bristoe, where they had been left as a rear-guard to hold back the advance of the Union Army. Pope had suddenly realized

the troops in their rear were far more than Stuart's pesky cavalry, and Hooker had been sent to stop them. He could make no dent in the strong front the retreating Confederates put up, however. It was past dusk when Ewell arrived at Manassas and the men turned loose. The party was almost over, but they were issued meat, fresh bread, coffee and whatever else they could pick up. Orders were soon given to move out, and a unique and magnificent day drew to a close as a torch was put to all that was left behind. The fire lit up the heavens for miles around, a fiery testimonial to a quiet man's victory.

Within twenty-four hours, Jackson's troops were fighting again, this time Gen. McDowell's Corps of Hatch, Gibbons, Doubleday and Patrick's brigades. The successes of the day before were put aside for more immediate concerns, but they would never be forgotten. Those who were there that glorious summer day would, over many a campfire, recount the stories of "Old Jack" and his handkerchief, of sut-

lers' supplies and Rhine wine. For one short day, there had been plenty of everything; and through the bitter cold of winters, to the bitter road of defeat, these men would keep those memories alive, and perhaps the memories kept them alive. If that were so, it would have made "Stonewall" very proud.

### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (OR)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), Series I, Vol. XII, Part 3, p. 915.

<sup>2</sup> William Allen, *The Army of Northern Virginia in 1861* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1892), p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> *IBID*, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> Archie P. McDonald, Editor, *Make Me A Map Of the Valley* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1973), p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> *OR*, XII, Part 3, p. 916.

<sup>6</sup> *IBID*, p. 917.

<sup>7</sup> *IBID*, p. 918.

<sup>8</sup> *Make Me A Map*, p. 66.

<sup>9</sup> *IBID*, p. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode With Stonewall* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), p. 129.

<sup>11</sup> *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint Co., 1977), pp. 304-5.

<sup>12</sup> Douglas S. Freeman, *Lee's Dispatches* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), pp. 42-3.

<sup>13</sup> *IBID*.

<sup>14</sup> Lenoir Chambers, *Stonewall Jackson* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1959), Vol. II, p. 106.

<sup>15</sup> *OR*, XII, Part 3, p. 926.

<sup>16</sup> *IBID*.

<sup>17</sup> Douglas S. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), Vol. II, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> *OR*, XII, Part 3, pp. 918-9.

<sup>19</sup> *R.B. Garnett MSS*, Confederate Museum, Richmond: July 12 letter Garnett to Gen. S. Cooper.

<sup>20</sup> *IBID*, Garnett's defense, written June 20, 1862.

<sup>21</sup> *IBID*, letter of Cooper to Lee, May 6, 1862. Cooper enclosed a letter from Garnett and a copy of the charges.

<sup>22</sup> *IBID*, reply of Lee to Cooper, May 6, 1862.

<sup>23</sup> *IBID*, Garnett's defense.

<sup>24</sup> *IBID*.

<sup>25</sup> *Make Me A Map*, p. 118.

<sup>26</sup> R.L. Dabney, *Life And Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson* (New York: Blelock & Co., 1866), p. 505.

<sup>27</sup> *IBID*.

(Continued on page 25.)

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## **TIMELINE**

The summer of 1862 had been a bloody one. The Seven Days Battles around Richmond cost thousands of lives and finalized nothing. McClellan had withdrawn to the James with his huge army, and in the northern part of Virginia, a new Union commander, Gen. John Pope, was preparing his Army of Virginia for a new move "on to Richmond." To counter this threat, Gen. Robert E. Lee sent the Army of the Valley, under Major-General T.J. Jackson, northward. Advancing on Gordonsville on July 19, Jackson, who also commanded A.P. Hill's Light Division, immediately looked for an opportunity to meet this new threat. His chance came on August 7, when he learned from spies that only part of Pope's army had concentrated at Culpeper. Moving rapidly, Jackson's Corps clashed with Pope's army on August 9, resulting in a victory for the Confederates at Cedar Mountain.

With the threat of Pope's possible reinforcement by Burnside and the rumors that McClellan would be withdrawn from the James to eventually unite with Pope, the immediate danger to the Confederates appeared to be on the Rappahannock. With the prospect of concentrating Lee's army with that of Jackson's and attacking Pope before he could be further strengthened, Lee gave orders for Longstreet's Corps to move north.

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### **August 11, 1862**

#### **Confederate**

Gen. Jackson issues a proclamation to his troops praising God for their victory near Cedar Run, and mourns the loss of Brig. Gen. Winder. Generals Stuart and Early arrange a truce with Generals Roberts, Hartsuff and Crawford so the Federals can remove their

wounded from the field and bury their dead.

#### **Union**

King's Division of 10,000 men join Pope. They march from Fredericksburg, where Pope had called for them on the 8th after hearing of a Confederate forward movement. Included are two of Burnside's best batteries and the Harris Light Cavalry. His troops at Falmouth are prepared to advance at six hours notice. Troops of Gen. Cox are summoned from West Virginia to reinforce Pope.

### **August 12**

#### **Confederate**

Gen. R. E. Lee writes Jackson: "The country owes you and your brave officers and soldiers a deep debt of gratitude."

#### **Union**

Pope informs Halleck that the enemy has retreated under cover of night toward Orange Court-House. Halleck, in turn, warns him to "beware of a snare. Feigned retreats are secesh tactics." Burnside is ordered to leave a minimum number of troops to protect Aquina and send the remainder to Pope.

### **August 13**

#### **Confederate**

Lee orders Gen. Longstreet and his command to proceed by cars on the Virginia Central Railroad to Gordonsville. Longstreet arrives, and by 6 PM notifies Lee of two possible advance routes. Rumors abound that Burnside has either left, or is preparing to leave Fredericksburg to attack Jackson or go after the supply line of the VCRR.

#### **Union**

Burnside reports Reno's command of 12 regiments and four batteries near Rappahannock Station; troops arriving at Aquina Creek. Pope is ordered not to advance his force across the Rapidan. Cox prepares to move his troops toward Gen. Pope.

### **August 14**

#### **Confederate**

Lee writes Longstreet that he

has directed Stuart to prepare to sweep around the enemy's rear, cut his communications, and burn the bridge over the Rappahannock so Pope cannot use it for retreat. Whatever moves they plan should be executed as quickly as possible. Deserters from Burnside report that he has 12,000 troops, and he's received 21 regiments after his arrival from Aquina Creek.

#### **Union**

Pope reports the enemy has retreated beyond Gordonsville and complains about the "wretched and ineffecient" management of the railroad from Washington to Culpeper. Burnside is ordered to report to Halleck.

### **August 15**

#### **Confederate**

Gen. Lee arrives at Gordonsville and assumes command of the army. In conference, Longstreet advocates making a move on their left. Jackson suggests crossing the Rapidan on the 16th and giving battle on the 17th, before Pope realizes the dangerous position he is in, and withdraws behind the Rappahannock. When Longstreet protests that his commissary is disorganized and he will need more time, Jackson offers to supply bread so there will be no delay. Lee determines the cavalry is not concentrated, so he puts off the prepared attack until the 18th.

Two citizens escape from Culpeper Court-House, and report Federal strength at 92,000 men. They report only supplies, not troops, are arriving by rail.

#### **Union**

Reno and McDowell are ordered to communicate with each other, their Corps being only 2½ miles apart. Reports indicate Jackson is 5 miles beyond Orange Court-House, on the road to Gordonsville.

### **August 16**

#### **Confederate**

Jackson continues the move begun yesterday by marching his Corps along the southern slope of

Clark's Mountain, six miles from Orange Court-House, in anticipation of a Confederate offensive. Cavalry moves in the vicinity of Davenport's Bridge on the North Anna.

#### **Union**

108 vessels move along the James in less than 24 hours as McClellan withdraws his entire army northward. It thus becomes a race to see whether the Confederates can attack the Union forces at Culpeper before they are heavily reinforced. Halleck warns Pope again not to cross the Rapidan and thinks it would be better if the army were in rear of the Rappahannock. Cox reports he will be at Parkersburg on the 20th with 5,000 infantry. Negroes report large reinforcements have been sent to Jackson.

#### **August 17**

##### **Confederate**

After conferring with Lee, Stuart and a handful of his staff ride to Verdiersville, where they await the arrival of the cavalry under Fitz Lee.

##### **Union**

Pope reports a large force moving to reinforce Jackson, and anticipates the enemy will form a junction near the Rapidan at Germanna Mills or Ely's Ford, and interpose itself between his forces and those landing at Aquina Creek. McClellan's forces will all have crossed the Chickahominy by nightfall.

#### **August 18**

##### **Confederate**

Due to a misunderstanding, Fitz Lee's men do not join Stuart, resulting in a lost opportunity to assail the Federals, as well as endangering Stuart's life when Federal cavalry enter the town in the early morning. Toward evening, lookouts report Pope is breaking camp.

##### **Union**

Halleck warns that the enemy has intentions of attacking Pope before McClellan's troops are up.

Pope acknowledges an enemy advance toward him and begins a withdrawal toward Culpeper and out of the Confederate trap that was being set for him. Halleck orders the fords well secured. McClellan reports his troops at Williamsburg.

#### **August 19**

##### **Confederate**

Lee issues orders for the army to cross the Rapidan, Jackson's forces being on the left and Longstreet's on the right wing. At a signal station, Lee witnesses the end phase of the Federal withdrawal out of their camp. Orders are re-issued for the troops to move on the 20th instead of the 19th, due in part to the poor condition of cavalry horses.

##### **Union**

Pope completes his withdrawal over the bridge of the Rappahannock, resulting in a lost opportunity for the Confederates. The withdrawal is efficient and well-planned. McClellan promises to hurry his troops to Pope's aid.

#### **August 20**

##### **Confederate**

The two Corps under Jackson and Longstreet move along the Rappahannock River, attempting to locate a crossable ford. The cavalry skirmishes with the enemy at Brandy Station.

##### **Union**

Troops are skillfully placed at all the bridges and fords, making it impossible for the Confederates to cross the river. This forces Lee to go further and further north, thus giving Pope a clear path to the virtually unguarded city of Richmond. Pope informs Halleck his force is 45,000, independent of Burnside, and states his plan to hold the Rappahannock until McClellan joins him.

#### **August 21**

##### **Confederate**

The day is spent attempting to cross the river. Heavy cannonading on both sides as the Federals defend their positions and hold

back the Confederates. Lee informs Davis that it appears Burnside, Stevens and King have gone toward Fredericksburg, while Pope, Banks and Sigel have moved toward Winchester.

##### **Union**

The troops defending the crossings shadow the movements of the enemy, successfully holding them back. Burnside reports 6,000 troops landed at Aquina yesterday, and double may land this day.

#### **August 22**

##### **Confederate**

Stuart takes 1,500 men and 2 pieces of artillery, crosses the river and reaches Warrenton, where there is no sign of the enemy. He pushes on to Catlett Station, where he hopes to destroy the railroad bridge. His men are unable to blow the bridge, but find Pope's headquarters, where they capture a large number of officers, public property and Pope's personal belongings. Jackson pushes across Early's brigade at Warrenton Sulphur Springs, but a heavy storm breaks out, stranding them on the northern side.

##### **Union**

As Trimble's men move up river, Federal cavalry succeed in getting between them and attack his wagon train. When the head of Longstreet's column arrives, the cavalry are driven off, losing over 100 men and a brigadier general; Gen. Sigel's artillery fire has little effect.

Halleck reports Cox's troops from W. Virginia arriving in Washington, and will be sent to Pope.

#### **August 23**

##### **Confederate**

Jackson succeeds in bringing Early's men back across the river after constructing a rickety bridge. Stuart proudly displays Pope's uniform coat, and proposes to exchange it for his hat and plume, which he lost to the Federals at Verdiersville.

*(Continued on page 18.)*



# "MISSING IN ACTION"

by  
S. L. Kotar and J. E. Gessler

On April 21, 1861, Major T. J. Jackson of the Virginia Military Institute, marched the Corps of Cadets from their barracks at Lexington, Virginia, past the Mess Hall, down to the bridge and across the North branch of the James River.<sup>1</sup> As senior officer present, "Old Jack" was to lead the group of approximately 180 cadets to Richmond, where they would be housed in barracks at the Fair Grounds and employed in training recruits for service in the Confederate army. The march was successfully completed the night of April 22, as Jackson brought them safely to their new quarters, and turned them over to other VMI officers. The following day, under the command of Major William Gilham, the natty Corps of Cadets were reviewed by Governor John Letcher. Jackson, whose association with the Institute went back ten years to early 1851, when he had been recommended for a professorship by D. H. Hill of Washington College, had no duties assigned him by any ranking VMI personnel. Aside from answering an occasional question asked by an eager citizen-turned-soldier, Major Jackson had nothing to do in the capital but apply for a military position in the service of Virginia. His own peers, those professor/officers from VMI who had arrived ahead of or with him, were all assigned to tasks with the cadets and/or recruits. Surprisingly, they found no use for the man who had been a hero in the Mexican War. Major Robert E. Withers describes his first meeting with Jackson during this period of uncertainty.

"He was not then the recipient of any special attention, was very quiet and reticent, having little to say to any one. Being without any regular quarters, I invited him one night at bed time to share my blankets, as he appeared to have none of his own, an invitation which he promptly accepted. I spread a blanket on the floor, we took our saddles for pillows, covered with another blanket and passed a rather uncomfortable night, at least I found it so, and since that time I have never willingly slept on a plank floor — I always found the ground much more comfortable...."<sup>2</sup>

It would not be long before this self-reliant man would make his mark. But what of his peers, the self-important VMI professors who had no place for him? The two prominent officers who outranked him were Colonel Smith and Major Gilham, both of whom had gone to Richmond before either Jackson or the Corps of Cadets. (In fact, the order calling out the Corps made no mention of Jackson; he assumed their command by right of seniority.<sup>3</sup>) In April 1861, it appeared they were well on their way to becoming important men in the Virginia service, and then, presumably, the Confederate military. Who were these in-



Francis H. Smith

dividuals, and what happened to them while Jackson was making history?

## FRANCIS HENNEY SMITH

Francis Henney Smith had been Superintendent of VMI since the first cadets arrived in 1839. He was a graduate of West Point, ranking 5th in the class of 1833. He had served as Assistant Professor of Geography, History and Ethics at the USMA, and resigned May 1, 1836, with the rank of second lieutenant. He then became professor of mathematics at Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia, and left that position after two years to join VMI.<sup>4</sup> The author of several text books, "Old Specs" was considered so rusty in military drill that,

in its first year of operation, a VMI cadet was appointed to handle that aspect of education at the Institute.<sup>5</sup> The rank of "Colonel" was bestowed on Smith, which provided him with a commission, but conferred no rank in the militia.<sup>6</sup>

In 1859, Smith was assigned the superintendence of John Brown's execution, which brought him statewide recognition, and in January 1860, with the passage of the Munitions Act, he was assigned by Gov. Letcher to a commission to upgrade the Virginia military. Throughout this year, the commission reviewed the militia, their arms and armaments, traveled to various foundries and purchased various types of munitions. On April 18, 1862, he left for Richmond, where Letcher appointed him to his "Council of Three," to aid and advise him as war approached. Two months later, on June 19, the Council was dissolved: Virginia had entered the Confederacy. The government was moved to Richmond, and the volunteers now came under the supervision of the CSA. There was no immediate offer tendered Smith, so the next day he submitted a proposition through another VMI professor, William Gilham, under which the Institute professors (presumably excluding Jackson, who was already a colonel in the Confederate service and in command of a brigade) would command a Cadet Battalion, adding, "if I cannot find a place in which I can render better service, I am willing to go into the field in command of the battalion of cadets."<sup>7</sup> The Corps of Cadets promptly rejected the offer, preferring to "select from their own body, officers, and attach themselves to what regiment we deem proper...."<sup>8</sup> "Old Specs" was not their idea of a field officer. Smith returned to Lexington, where VMI had suspended operations until fall. After meeting with the Board of Visitors, and winding up affairs (which included the marriage of his daughter Fanny), he left July 20 for Staunton. He was now a colonel in the 9th Virginia

Regiment, Heavy Artillery, and assigned to Craney Island, commanding the defenses of Norfolk harbor. His duty in the field did not last long. By November 1861, he agreed to return to the comforts of wartime Lexington so VMI could be reopened on January 1 (the school had been closed since July). On December 18, he was relieved from Craney Island and given the brevet commission of major general "in order that the Institute might be reopened under his direction...Jackson had been promoted to the grade of major general, and this may have had something to do with the promotion of the superintendent."<sup>9</sup> (Smith claimed that Letcher had tendered him the rank of major general on April 19, but this was not recognized as the date of his promotion.)<sup>10</sup>

Aside from accompanying the Corps of Cadets on brief excursions, Smith was occupied with the operations of VMI. He was with the cadets near Balcony Falls when General Hunter entered Lexington and destroyed the Institute in June of 1864.<sup>11</sup> Upon returning, the cadets lived in buildings of Washington College, and those that could go home were ordered to do so on June 27.<sup>12</sup>

The fall term was scheduled to resume that September, but as accommodations had not been prepared, the date was repeatedly changed. In October, cadets began organizing in Richmond to man the trenches. Smith, under authority from the governor, fought Confederate authorities who wished to conscript the cadets for field-service, but the need for men was greater than the need for education. During their wartime experiences, the cadets were primarily under the direction of Colonel Scott Ship, a VMI alumnus.

In December 1864, attempts were made to resume military instruction at the Alms House, City of Richmond, and those on field-service were allowed to resume their studies. Smith returned to the duties of Superintendent, but his service here would be of short duration. Calls for

## **Union**

Pope feels Jackson has crossed the Rappahannock in force, and after Early's withdrawal, believes the Confederate general has given up hope of turning his flank.

## **August 24**

### **Confederate**

Generals Jackson, Stuart, Longstreet and Lee hold a conference to determine their course of action. It is determined that Jackson will take his command far around Pope's right, circle behind, and cut Federal communications with Washington. It is hoped this will cause Pope to retreat on Washington, thus moving him further away from reinforcements at Fredericksburg. Then Lee could bring up the rest of the army and attack Pope from the rear.

## **Union**

Two of McClellan's Corps, the 3rd and 5th, and Reynold's Pennsylvania Reserves, are reported to be within two days marching. The 2nd, 4th and 6th Corps, including 7,000 men from the Western Virginia-Kanawha region, could unite with Pope in five more days, swelling the ranks from 50,000 to 130,000. Confederate strength is currently 54,500, including cavalry and artillery. Reinforcements of D.H. Hill and McLaws will add 17,000.

McClellan arrives at Aquina Creek. Halleck wires him that he does not know where either Pope or the enemy force is.

## **August 25**

### **Confederate**

Jackson's troops move north, successfully crossing the Rappahannock at Hedgemen's River (Henson's Mill). Waterloo Bridge. The troops march 25 miles and encamp near Salem.

## **Union**

A signal station near Waterloo Bridge reports that by 7:15 AM troops are moving along the river. Reports continue past 11 AM that a large body of men and wagons are passing. By noon, Pope in-

forms Halleck in Washington 20,000 enemy are on the march and that McDowell has been alerted. Pope believes this indicates the van of Lee's army is going to the Shenandoah Valley.

### August 26

#### Confederate

Troops pass unmolested through critically important Thoroughfare Gap and pass Hay Market and Gainesville. Stuart and his cavalry join the army here. The main objective being the railroad bridge over the Run, troops march on Bristoe Station, 4 miles below Manassas Junction. At the station, cavalry and infantry cooperate, and spectacularly derail the oncoming trains. Local residents tell of huge piles of stores 7 miles up the tracks at Manassas Junction. Jackson sends Trimble, then Stuart, and they defeat the small force there. Immense supplies are captured.

#### Union

Pope believes the Southern movement behind him is only Stuart's cavalry. His own cavalry is overworked, at one period spending more than 83 consecutive hours in the saddle.

### August 27

#### Confederate

Jackson marches all but Ewell's brigades to Manassas Junction. There they find undreamed of stockpiles of foodstuffs, luxuries, medicine, liquor and military equipment. When Jackson realizes he cannot carry away this treasure, he lets his men loose, and they celebrate Christmas in August. When they are fired on by a lone battery, Jackson leads his troops toward Bull Run, where they encounter Gen. George Taylor's New Jersey Brigade, just debarked from the cars. The Federals are soon routed, and the Confederates, joined by Ewell's men, complete the evacuation of anything edible from Pope's supply base. Having destroyed the railroad bridge over Bull Run,

the cadets came as early as January 31, 1865, when General Ewell summoned them to help repel the enemy. They were held in readiness, but the governor felt they ought not be sent unless there was an extreme emergency.<sup>13</sup> Illness compelled Smith to return to Lexington in February, while acting Superintendent Preston advocated that the cadets be used as drillmasters for the organization of a Negro Corps. The war ended before any action on this was taken, however, and the remaining cadets entered the ranks as soldiers.

When VMI eventually reopened in Lexington October 16, 1865, Gen. Smith presided as Superintendent.

## WILLIAM GILHAM

William Gilham was born in Indiana, but laid claim to being a Virginian when it was to his advantage. His father had been one before moving his family west. Gilham was appointed to West Point from Indiana, and graduated in the class of 1840, ranking 5th.<sup>14</sup> He spent a brief period in Florida under Braxton Bragg, then was recalled to the USMA to act as an assistant professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy. He saw brief service in North Carolina and Texas, and in 1846, traveled with the 3rd Artillery, Army of Occupation, to Mexico, where he spent much time trying to obtain a professorship in any college. On July 3, 1846, he was appointed to VMI as a professor of Physical Sciences, commandant of cadets and instructor of tactics. By October 17, he had resigned from the army with the rank of first lieutenant,<sup>15</sup> and arrived in Lexington. In 1850, he took the chair of Chemistry, Geology and Mineralogy. During the pre-war years, he spent a great deal of time analyzing soils and manures. His work brought him statewide recognition, and in 1859, he was elected to the new Chair of Agriculture at VMI. This position never came about, however, and he continued as the professor of chemistry.



Col. William Gilham

Gilham was considered "the disciplinarian and the champion of military ideals of the Institute," and was "regarded by many as a veritable martinet."<sup>16</sup> The "individual interest was never allowed under the regime of Gilham,"<sup>17</sup> and he was "disliked by those who shirked their duty and felt the iron of his hand..."<sup>18</sup>

He participated in the execution of John Brown, commanding the VMI infantry detachment and later that year was "detailed on special duty to prepare a synoptical work for the instruction of the militia service." By December 1860, the book went to press, and an early review accurately predicted its future:

"The work is too elaborate and too costly and neither the State nor the officers will buy it."<sup>19</sup>

It was also early on "disregarded for cadet use" at VMI.<sup>20</sup>

Virginia passed the Ordinance of Secession April 17, 1861, and on April 20, Major Gilham was designated as officer in charge of the camp of instruction in the Central Fair Grounds, Richmond. He was ordered from Lexington to the capital, and left immediately. On April 23, it was he who led the Corps in review for the governor and in every way made himself conspicuous.



Col. R. E. Colston

Along with Smith and Colston (another VMI professor), Gilham drafted a list of recommendations, with rank designation for VMI graduates, and he himself was promoted to colonel. He undoubtedly felt this would be just the beginning of his military achievements, but as spring turned into summer and the recruits were assigned into the field, no further opportunities offered themselves. When Smith proposed to gallantly lead the cadets into battle with the VMI staff as his immediate subordinates, Gilham presumably went along with the suggestion. After their rejection, however, it appeared he would have to make it on his own.

Gilham received an appointment as colonel, 21st Virginia Infantry; Major Scott Ship and Adjutant William H. Morgan (Gilham's colleagues at VMI) were also appointed officers.<sup>21</sup> On July 17, the 21st received orders to take the cars to Staunton, leaving the following day. They reached that destination, then were ordered to move west. They marched in that direction, opposite the one which would have taken them to the first major battle of the war. General William Loring, the commanding officer, commented on the 21st that they were "a fine body of men, but not soldiers."<sup>22</sup>

General Robert E. Lee joined the troops in Pocahontas County, and

assumed command of the department there. When Lee left for operations on Sewell's Mountain, he took all the troops with him, except the 21st Virginia, the Irish Battalion, a battery of artillery and a company of cavalry, which were left under Gilham's command. They soon fell back to Middle Mountain and left there September 28.

Nothing of significance transpired, and in October 1861, when the VMI Board of Visitors polled the Institute's professors on their willingness to return to the sedentary life of a teacher, Gilham expressed his intent to give up the glory of a soldier's life and return to Lexington.<sup>23</sup> The new session was scheduled to begin January 1, 1862.<sup>24</sup>

Gilham and his regiment, part of Gen. Loring's command, were ordered from Staunton to join Jackson's Valley Army, and take part in his winter campaign. They reached Winchester on Christmas day, having covered the short distance in a series of slow marches. Once there, the Irish Battalion, the 21st and 42nd Va. regiments were formed into the Second Brigade, Jackson's Division, with Col. Gilham the ranking officer, having approximately 2200 men.<sup>25</sup>

The brigades that moved out January 1 were vastly different from each other. The First Brigade was composed of veterans who had experienced the horrors of war firsthand. Loring's men had seen little actual fighting, their war service being less than arduous. They led the advance and confronted a Union picket outside of Bath on January 3. The following day, the advance crawled along, their lack of discipline and experience showing. To hurry the advance, Colonel Baylor, of Jackson's staff, was sent to lead the cavalry into town with the commanding general himself close behind. He found Gilham's brigade going down the wrong road, redirected it, then later criticized the VMI professor on his pursuit of the retreating enemy. Jackson wrote:

"...he neither attacked them nor notified me of

Jackson directs his troops to a defensible position at Groveton to await Lee's arrival.

#### Union

Pope discovers it is not just Stuart's cavalry on a raid, but Jackson's entire army behind him. He breaks from the Rappahannock and moves north, planning to move on Gordonsville, thus putting himself between Jackson and his reinforcements. Toward evening, however, he determines Jackson will not evacuate Manassas Junction, but will take advantage of the fortifications there. Obsessed with bagging the whole crowd, he redirects his whole army to concentrate on Manassas.

#### August 28

##### Confederate

Jackson unites his troops at Groveton, and toward sunset determines to attack a large body of Federal infantry under Hatch, Gibbon, Doubleday and Patrick, who were marching down the Warrenton road toward Centerville. At point-blank range, both sides fight gallantly until 9 PM, when the Union forces withdraw. Gen. Ewell is wounded in the leg while leading a charge, which requires amputation and incapacitates him, keeping him from further combat until the following spring.

##### Union

Pope has three options: retreat to unite with McClellan and resume the offensive; withdraw into Washington, or move on Jackson. He determines on the latter course of action, and marches on Manassas. When he reaches it at noon, he discovers a smoldering ruin, and Jackson gone. Another column, marching straight for the Stone Bridge rather than southeast toward Manassas, are the ones attacked by the enemy. King's Division, Burnside's Corps, fight as stubbornly as their attackers, only withdrawing under cover of darkness. During the night, troops are interposed between the enemy and Washington.

## August 29

### Confederate/Union

Jackson directs his 18,000 troops to a defensive position behind an unfinished railroad line, waiting for Longstreet to come up. The Federals attack fiercely, pressing A.P. Hill on the left. Longstreet and Lee arrive, and form on the right of the Confederate line. They assess the situation from this point while the fight roars on the left. Toward evening, Jackson's men succeed in pushing the Union army back from the railroad cut to their original position, and the days fighting ends.

## August 30

### Confederate

At a headquarters conference, Lee suggests putting up a front, slipping across Bull Run and getting in Pope's rear; but Jackson, having concluded the enemy would offer a fight in the afternoon, returns to his command, where between 3 and 4 PM the enemy attacks his position. Artillery set up in the center of the line breaks up the Federal formation. They fall back on themselves, precipitating a general Confederate advance.

### Union

Pope reports losing not less than 8,000 men killed and wounded, but feels the enemy lost 2:1. Halleck writes 30,000 men are marching to Pope's aid. Banks reports Jackson was recognized by a spy at Gainesville with 30,000 men. Porter writes McClellan the whole army has been badly whipped. He adds that the chief of corps were disappointed they had to stay and fight and the troops would not fight with heart when they learned the wounded would be left to the enemy, as they cannot retain the field.

## August 31

### Confederate

After their victory at Second Manassas, the Confederates bury their dead and collect arms. Jackson's command, being nearest the exposed flank of the retreating

the cause of not doing so, nor even of his having overtaken the Federal forces, their artillery and infantry were permitted to escape."<sup>26</sup>

He would not forget this. In his reports, Jackson would criticize Loring harshly, and when time permitted, he preferred charges of "Neglect of Duty" against Gilham for his tardiness in his January 4 movement on Bath.

On January 9, Gilham and Ship had had enough of active campaigning and left for Lexington and the comforts of home. The troops presented the former with a fine horse,<sup>27</sup> which he would no doubt find useful, and they arrived at VMI on January 16. These "seasoned teachers" soon got the new session underway, unfortunately without the help of Colonel Preston, who had seen fit to stay with Gen. Jackson until the Romney expedition was completed. (Preston reported to VMI on February 1.<sup>28</sup>) Since Gilham resigned his position in the army, Jackson dropped the charges against him.

When Jackson called for the Corps of Cadets in April 1862, Gilham was left behind to "remain in charge of the Institution."<sup>29</sup> He remained at VMI during the war years, and was sent "to aid in providing every comfort for the cadets"<sup>30</sup> in the May 1864 campaign. He caught up with the Corps May 12, and followed them through the Battle of New Market, but "was usually not associated in the records of this campaign."<sup>31</sup> On May 20, Gilham was ordered to Lexington to collect clothes for the cadets,<sup>32</sup> and in October 1864, he made a "minute examination"<sup>33</sup> of the Alms House, Richmond, in anticipation of its use as cadet quarters.

After the war, when attempts were being made to reopen VMI, Gilham resigned his Chair of Chemistry, but maintained his claim to the inactive Chair of Agriculture "to see how things would develop." He had already decided, though, to move to

New York City and work as an analytical and agricultural chemist.<sup>34</sup> The "late unpleasantness" was quickly forgotten when the need for money became acute. He wrote to Smith, October 18, 1865:

"I had every reason to suppose that the proceeds of my tactics would be something handsome, and thus enable me to pay off my debts, but as I am getting nothing from that quarter, I am, I may say, practically without means."<sup>35</sup>

He never returned to teach at the Virginia Military Institute, although his honored name was carried on the faculty roster.

## THE FORTUNES OF TIME

Francis Henney Smith and William Gilham, both graduates of West Point Military Academy, were called to the service of Virginia at the dawn of civil war. They had every reason to suspect their careers would be glorious. Neither one could have suspected that the quiet man they smugly left behind would receive the laurels they would not. The name Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson has become legendary: the names of Smith and Gilham all but obscure. Jackson suffered privations both physical and mental, and died for his cause at the age of 39, having spent only a few days with his infant daughter before his death. Smith and Gilham spent the majority of the war in relative comfort and ease, in Lexington with their families. Smith's children were grown, and Gilham's eight children went east with him in 1865. Neither man was as much as wounded, and neither lived up to his expectations. All three started the war as colonels in the service of Virginia — one made history — two were lost in it. Some men march to a different drummer.

(Footnotes on page 35.)

enemy, is to follow, putting himself in their line of retreat. His proud troops move out and begin the chase over muddy roads.

#### Union

Pope's army destroys Stone Bridge, forcing his pursuers to follow by roundabout roads. 7,000 prisoners, 2,000 wounded and 20,000 small arms are left behind in the evacuation.

Toward afternoon, a shout warning of Federal cavalry startles Lee's horse, causing the General to fall and sprain his wrists. Halleck, believing Second Bull Run a Federal victory, writes Pope, blessing his noble army.

#### September 1

##### Confederate

Jackson's troops, starving and exhausted from continuous fighting at Second Manassas, march slowly after the retreating enemy. Toward afternoon, near the old Chantilly mansion, they encounter a defiant Federal rear guard. The column is deployed and a fierce contest ensues in the pouring rain. As darkness gathers, the Federals break off and continue on their way.

##### Union

Covering the rear guard of the army's retreat to Washington, Gen. I.I. Stevens' troops admirably meet the advancing enemy and hold them at bay until Stevens and Gen. Phil Kearny are killed while bravely leading their men. Loss of leadership and the fall of night dictate a withdrawal from the field. This is done, and they march unmolested. Kearny's body is brought to Jackson's headquarters, where many Confederates pass by to view their gallant enemy.

S.L. Kotar

J.E. Gessler



# FAMILY BIBLE

## Birthdays of Civil War Notables

by  
Paul Kallina

(N = North. S = South.)

### OCTOBER

- Oct. 1, 1808—Rep. Robert M. Jones, Choctaw Territory, Mississippi. (S)  
 Oct. 1, 1826—Benjamin B. Hotchkiss, ordnance inventor and manufacturer, Watertown, Connecticut. (N)  
 Oct. 1, 1832—Henry Clay Work, song writer, Middletown, Connecticut. (N)  
 Oct. 2, 1798—Gazaway, B. Lamar, banker and Blockade-runner, Richmond County, Georgia. (S)  
 Oct. 2, 1821—Gen. Alexander P. Stewart, Rogersville, Tennessee. (S)  
 Oct. 2, 1833—Fr. William Corby, Irish Brigade chaplain, Detroit, Michigan. (N)  
 Oct. 3, 1790—John Ross (Kooweskoowe), Cherokee chief, near Lookout Mountain, Tennessee. (S)  
 Oct. 3, 1823—Maj. Benjamin F. Stephenson, Wayne County, Illinois. (N)  
 Oct. 3, 1830—Col. Charles Marshall, Warrenton, Virginia. (S)  
 Oct. 3, 1839—Col. Charles Heywood, U.S.M.C., Waterville, Maine. (N)  
 Oct. 4, 1796—Capt. French Forrest, C.S.N., St. Mary's County, Maryland. (S)  
 Oct. 4, 1809—Gen. and Rep. Robert C. Schenck, Franklin, Ohio. (N)  
 Oct. 4, 1822—Gen. Rutherford B. Hayes, Delaware, Ohio. (N)  
 Oct. 4, 1824—Col. Lawrence M. Keitt, Orangeburg District, South Carolina. (S)  
 Oct. 5, 1804—Robert C. Parrott, ordnance inventor, Lee, New Hampshire. (N)  
 Oct. 5, 1830—Gen. Chester A. Arthur, Fairfield, Vermont. (N)  
 Oct. 6, 1809—John W. Griffiths, naval architect, New York City. (N)  
 Oct. 6, 1822—Commodore Benjamin F. Isherwood, engineer-in-chief of the navy, New York City. (N)  
 Oct. 6, 1846—Eng. George Westinghouse, U.S.N., Central Bridge, New York. (N)  
 Oct. 7, 1817—Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson, Belmont County, Ohio. (S)  
 Oct. 7, 1817—William Still, black leader, Shamony, New Jersey. (N)  
 Oct. 7, 1821—Gen. Richard H. Anderson, Hill Crest, Sumter County, South Carolina. (S)  
 Oct. 8, 1818—John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General (1861-1865), Sevier County, Tennessee. (S)  
 Oct. 8, 1826—Capt. William H. Parker, superintendent of Confederate Naval Academy (1864-1865), New York City. (S)  
 Oct. 8, 1838—Col. John Hay, Lincoln's private secretary, Salem, Indiana. (N)  
 Oct. 9, 1811—Rep. Warren Akin, Elbert County, Georgia. (S)  
 Oct. 9, 1813—John J. Pettus, governor of Mississippi (1859-1863), Wilson County, Tennessee. (S)  
 Oct. 11, 1821—Thomas C. Reynolds, governor of Missouri (1862-1865), Charleston, South Carolina. (S)

- Oct. 11, 1835—Hunter H. McGuire, Stonewall Jackson's Medical Director, Winchester, Virginia. (S)
- Oct. 11, 1841—Lt. Louis Kempff, U.S.N., Belleville, Illinois. (N)
- Oct. 12, 1813—Sen. Lyman Trumbull, Colchester, Connecticut. (N)
- Oct. 12, 1815—Gen. William J. Hardee, Camden County, Georgia. (S)
- Oct. 13, 1826—Gen. La Fayette C. Baker, Secret Service agent, Stafford, New York. (N)
- Oct. 14, 1814—Rep. Otho R. Singleton, Jessamine County, Kentucky. (S)
- Oct. 15, 1818—Gen. Irvin McDowell, Columbus, Ohio. (N)
- Oct. 15, 1836—Gen. Thomas L. Rosser, Campbell County, Virginia. (S)
- Oct. 16, 1806—William P. Fessenden, Secretary of the Treasury (1864-1865), Boscawen, New Hampshire. (N)
- Oct. 16, 1815—Col. Francis R. Lubbock, governor of Texas (1861-1863), Beaufort, South Carolina. (S)
- Oct. 16, 1816—Gen. William Preston, Louisville, Kentucky. (S)
- Oct. 16, 1819—Rep. Samuel A. Miller, Shenandoah County, Virginia. (S)
- Oct. 16, 1835—Gen. William R. Shafter, Galesburg, Michigan. (N)
- Oct. 17, 1818—Elizabeth L. "Crazy Bet" Van Lew, Union spy, Richmond, Virginia. (N)
- Oct. 18, 1818—Gen. Edward O.C. Ord, Cumberland, Maryland. (N)
- Oct. 18, 1822—Rep. Daniel C. de Jarnette, near Bowling Green, Virginia. (S)
- Oct. 19, 1810—Gen. Cassius M. Clay, Madison County, Kentucky. (N)
- Oct. 19, 1834—Gen. Francis C. Barlow, Brooklyn, New York. (N)
- Oct. 20, 1816—Sen. James W. Grimes, Deering, New Hampshire. (N)
- Oct. 20, 1820—Gen. Benjamin F. Cheatham, Nashville, Tennessee. (S)
- Oct. 20, 1822—Gen. Mansfield Lovell, Washington, D.C. (S)
- Oct. 20, 1825—Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, New York City. (N)
- Oct. 21, 1819—Commander Robert Townsend, Albany, New York. (N)
- Oct. 22, 1812—Colin J. McRae, financial agent in Europe, Sneedsboro, North Carolina. (S)
- Oct. 23, 1828—Gen. Turner Ashby, Rose Bank, Fauquier County, Virginia. (S)
- Oct. 23, 1831—Pvt. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Charleston, South Carolina. (S)
- Oct. 24, 1818—Rep. William W. Boyce, Charleston, South Carolina. (S)
- Oct. 25, 1837—Major Innes Randolph, "O, I'm a Good Old Rebel," Winchester, Virginia. (S)
- Oct. 26, 1804—Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, New Castle, Delaware. (N)
- Oct. 27, 1793—Eliphalet Remington, arms manufacturer, Suffield, Connecticut. (N)
- Oct. 27, 1800—Sen. Benjamin F. Wade, Feeding Hills, Massachusetts. (N)
- Oct. 27, 1823—Rep. William D. Simpson, Belfast, South Carolina. (S)
- Oct. 27, 1828—Gen. Jacob D. Cox, Montreal, Canada. (N)
- Oct. 27, 1837—Whitelaw Reid, war correspondent, Xenia, Ohio. (N)
- Oct. 29, 1815—Daniel D. Emmett, "Dixie's Land," Mt. Vernon, Ohio. (N)
- Oct. 29, 1824—Gen. Joseph H. Lewis, Glasgow, Kentucky. (S)
- Oct. 29, 1845—Lt. Charles F. Crisp, C.S. Army, Sheffield, England. (S)
- Oct. 30, 1822—Commander George Washington Rodgers, Brooklyn, New York. (N)
- Oct. 31, 1812—John Forsyth, mayor of Mobile (1860-1866) and newspaper editor, Augusta, Georgia. (S)
- Oct. 31, 1821—Commander Alexander C. Rhind, New York City. (N)

## ● SIGNALS ●



Dear Editors:

Thank you for sending me the sample issue I ordered. I find THE KEPI to be quite different from any other magazine I have seen in the past, and I wish to subscribe. Enclosed is \$18.00 for a one year subscription.

I am considering writing an article for your magazine; I would like to see the tone of your previous articles. Please send me the back issues as follows: Vol. I, #1-5; Vol. II, #1-3. (I enclose a check to cover the amount owed.)

Thank you, and I hope to be sending a piece soon.

C. Winfield  
Anaheim, CA

Dear Editors:

The feature article, "A Mission To President Lincoln," [August-September 1984] by Peter Harrington, was particularly enjoyable and enlightening. I am a McClellan scholar, and have been on the look-out for material covering his command in 1861. What especially pleased me about this article is that it was presented in its entirety. I prefer to see all of such articles, correspondence, etc., rather than have someone else take lines out of context, and so interpret history for me. I also found TIMELINE to be of interest in sorting out events as they happened.

I look forward to receiving my next issue of your fine publication.

Jon Lorentz  
Minneapolis, MN

Dear Editors:

I read your last issue [Vol. II, No. 4] cover to cover, and I was fascinated by every article. I felt as though I were back in time, reading these incidents as they were happening. Of special interest to me was the piece on the young Lincoln ["Lincoln's Playmate"], because I had visited the boyhood home of Lincoln, and now, having read Mr. Evans' story, I feel much closer to Lincoln. I feel as if I had watched a moment of his life—his private life, not public—and he has become much more real to me, no longer a distant legend.

Thank you for publishing a magazine which truly does make the 19th Century "come alive."

L. Cho  
Portland, OR

Dear Editors:

Enclosed is my check for \$18.00 to cover a years subscription to THE KEPI. I enjoyed the ½ year subscription I purchased from a special offer. It is most helpful to my research, since you include footnotes with each major article. The Concurrent Events also caught my fancy. To read what were late-breaking news events in the 1800's provides me with an insight I hadn't expected to find; comparing them with todays events, I realize how much, yet how little, times have changed. These little inserts are invaluable, especially to those who do not have a collection of period newspapers.

Much luck on your magazine.

William K. Long  
Paramus, NJ

Dear Editors:

Please send me the following back issues of THE KEPI: Volume I, Number 5, Volume II, Number 1. I am enclosing \$7.00 for the cost.

Thank You.

I am starting to really enjoy your magazine. Keep up the good work.

Stewart C. Yeakel  
Kanawha, IA

Oct. 31, 1831—Gen. Daniel Butterfield, Utica, New York. (N)

Oct. 31, 1835—Gen. Adelbert Ames, Rockland, Maine. (N)

## NOVEMBER

Nov. 1, 1809—Capt. Theodore P. Greene, U.S.N., Montreal, Canada. (N)

Nov. 1, 1835—Gen. Godfrey Weitzel, Cincinnati, Ohio. (N)

Nov. 2, 1810—Gen. Andrew A. Humphreys, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. (N)

Nov. 3, 1794—William Cullen Bryant, editor, *New York Evening Post*, Cummington, Massachusetts. (N)

Nov. 3, 1798—James M. Mason, commissioner to England (1862-1865), Georgetown, District of Columbia. (S)

Nov. 3, 1810—Charles C. Burleigh, abolitionist, Plainfield, Connecticut. (N)

Nov. 3, 1816—Gen. Jubal A. Early, Franklin County, Virginia. (S)

Nov. 3, 1817—Col. Harris Flanagin, governor of Arkansas (1862-1865), Roadstown, New Jersey. (S)

Nov. 3, 1830—Capt. John E. Cooke, C.S. Army, *Surry of Eagle's Nest*, Winchester, Virginia. (S)

Nov. 3, 1845—Pvt. Edward D. White, LaFourche Parish, Louisiana. (S)

Nov. 4, 1805—Rep. John A. Gilmer, Guilford County, North Carolina. (S)

Nov. 4, 1835—Gen. Lunsford L. Lomax, Newport, Rhode Island. (S)

Nov. 4, 1842—Commander William B. Cushing, Delafield, Wisconsin. (N)

Nov. 5, 1818—Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, Deerfield, New Hampshire. (N)

Nov. 5, 1826—Col. Edward W. Serrell, London, England. (N)

Nov. 5, 1832—Gen. William W. Averell, Cameron, New York. (N)

Nov. 6, 1821—Lt. John Wilkinson, C.S.N., Norfolk, Virginia. (S)

Nov. 7, 1797—Adm. Silas H. Stringham, Middletown, New York. (N)

Nov. 7, 1828—Leonard W. Volk, sculptor, Wellstown, New York. (N)

Nov. 7, 1837—Gen. George A. Forsyth, Muncy, Pennsylvania. (N)

Nov. 8, 1817—Gen. Claudius W. Sears, Peru, Massachusetts. (S)

Nov. 8, 1830—Gen. Oliver O. Howard, Leeds, Maine. (N)

Nov. 9, 1795—Capt. Josiah Tattnall, C.S.N., near Savannah, Georgia. (S)

Nov. 9, 1810—Thomas Bragg, Attorney General (1861-1862), Warrentown, North Carolina. (S)

Nov. 9, 1825—Gen. Ambrose P. Hill, Culpeper, Virginia. (S)

Nov. 9, 1833—Capt. Sally L. Tompkins, hospital administrator, Poplar Grove, Mathews County, Virginia. (S)

Nov. 10, 1827—Gen. Alfred H. Terry, Hartford, Connecticut. (N)

Nov. 10, 1830—Gen. Albert G. Jenkins, Cabell County, Virginia. (S)

Nov. 11, 1811—Gen. Ben McCulloch, Rutherford County, Tennessee. (S)

Nov. 12, 1797—Hannah P. Cox, abolitionist, Longwood, Chester County, Pennsylvania. (N)

Nov. 13, 1804—Gen. Theophilus H. Holmes, Sampson County, North Carolina. (S)

Nov. 13, 1809—Adm. John A.B. Dahlgren, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. (N)

Nov. 13, 1812—Sen. Edwin G. Reade, Mount Tirzah, North Carolina. (S)

Nov. 13, 1814—Gen. Joseph Hooker, Hadley, Massachusetts. (N)

Nov. 13, 1837—Col. Henry C. Merriam, Houlton, Maine. (N)

Nov. 14, 1819—Commander Christopher R.P. Rodgers, Brooklyn, New



York. (N)  
 Nov. 14, 1828—Gen. James B. McPherson, Sandusky County, Ohio. (N)  
 Nov. 15, 1797—Thurlow Weed, Republican politician, Greene County, New York. (N)  
 Nov. 15, 1836—Gen. Pierce M.B. Young, Spartansburg, South Carolina.  
 Nov. 17, 1809—Stephen S. Foster, abolitionist, Canterbury, New Hampshire. (N)  
 Nov. 18, 1824—Gen. Franz Sigel, Sinsheim, Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany. (N)  
 Nov. 19, 1802—Sen. Solomon Foot, Cornwall, Vermont. (N)  
 Nov. 19, 1811—Commodore John A. Winslow, Wilmington, North Carolina. (N)  
 Nov. 19, 1827—Gen. Isaac M. St. John, Augusta, Georgia. (S)  
 Nov. 19, 1831—Gen. James A. Garfield, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. (N)  
 Nov. 19, 1834—Col. Alexander R. Chisolm, Beaufort, South Carolina. (S)  
 Nov. 19, 1835—Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, Clermont, Fairfax County, Virginia. (S)  
 Nov. 19, 1839—Atticus G. Haygood, army chaplain, Watkinsville, Georgia. (S)  
 Nov. 20, 1802—Commodore James L. Lardner, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. (N)  
 Nov. 22, 1805—Gen. Benjamin Huger, Charleston, South Carolina. (S)  
 Nov. 22, 1806—Sen. Lafayette S. Foster, Franklin, Connecticut. (N)  
 Nov. 22, 1818—Gen. Samuel G. French, Gloucester County, New Jersey. (S)  
 Nov. 23, 1815—William Dennison, governor of Ohio (1860-1862) and Postmaster-General (1864-1866), Cincinnati, Ohio. (N)  
 Nov. 23, 1819—Gen. Benjamin M. Prentiss, Belleville, Virginia. (N)  
 Nov. 24, 1844—Ens. Charles V. Gridley, Logansport, Indiana. (N)  
 Nov. 25, 1823—Henry Wirz, superintendent of Andersonville Prison (1864-1865), Zurich, Switzerland. (S)  
 Nov. 26, 1792—Sarah Grimke, abolitionist, Charleston, South Carolina. (N)  
 Nov. 26, 1816—Gen. William H.T. Walker, Augusta, Georgia. (S)  
 Nov. 26, 1832—Surgeon Mary E. Walker, near Oswego, New York. (N)  
 Nov. 27, 1808—Gen. Hugh W. Mercer, Fredericksburg, Virginia. (S)  
 Nov. 27, 1815—Commander Enoch G. Parrott, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. (N)  
 Nov. 27, 1843—Col. William Ludlow, Islip, Long Island, New York. (N)  
 Nov. 28, 1809—Capt. Samuel Barron, C.S.N., Hampton, Virginia. (S)  
 Nov. 28, 1819—Rep. Robert R. Bridgers, Edgecombe County, North Carolina. (S)  
 Nov. 29, 1798—Hamilton R. Gamble, governor of Missouri (1861-1864), Winchester, Virginia. (N)  
 Nov. 29, 1811—Wendell Phillips, abolitionist, Boston, Massachusetts. (N)  
 Nov. 29, 1815—Gen. Stephen A. Hurlbut, Charleston, South Carolina. (N)  
 Nov. 29, 1824—Gen. Thomas E.G. Ransom, Norwich, Vermont. (N)  
 Nov. 29, 1832—Louisa May Alcott, *Hospital Sketches*, Germantown, Pennsylvania. (N)  
 Nov. 30, 1828—Maj. Jedediah Hotchkiss, cartographer, member of "Stonewall" Jackson's staff, Windsor, Broome County, New York. (S)

Dear Editors:

I have received my last issue of THE KEPI, and I am enclosing a check for \$18.00 for another years subscription, as well as the questionnaire and this note. I felt I must congratulate you on bringing "fresh air" into the Civil War field by your scholarly input via THE KEPI magazine. I particularly enjoy Military Review, TIMELINE, and those short articles about lesser known aspects of the war. I look forward to the article, "Christmas in August," which you said will appear in your next issue [October-November 1984], as stated in General Orders. I do not find that other magazines carry enough articles on Gen. Jackson, and I trust that your coverage of that period will be as enlightening as the rest of your articles.

I look forward to enjoying my second year with THE KEPI as much as my first. Good luck and much success!

Harold Lewis  
 Bennington, VT

(Continued from page 4.)

to this, PRIVATE THOUGHTS will be just that — a look at the men who fought in the ranks, through their letters and diaries. This installment concerns John A. Maxwell, 26th Indiana Volunteers. His three letters, the two photographs and this subsequent history were graciously supplied to THE KEPI by Diane Dickey, his great-granddaughter. *The Editors-in-General.*

(Continued from page 14.)

<sup>28</sup> William Poague, *Gunner With Stonewall Jackson*, Tenn.: McCowat - Mercer Press, 1957), p. 33.

<sup>29</sup> OR, VII, Part 3, pp. 929-30.

<sup>30</sup> *Make Me A Map*, p. 71.

<sup>31</sup> *I Rode With Stonewall*, pp. 132-3.

<sup>32</sup> Lieut.-Col. G.F.R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911), Vol. II, p. 128; letter of Dr. McGuire to author.

<sup>33</sup> *I Rode With Stonewall*, p. 133.

<sup>34</sup> *Make Me A Map*, p. 118.

<sup>35</sup> *Hotchkiss MS Diary*, pp. 74-5; OR, XII, Part 2, p. 678.

<sup>36</sup> Letter of Hugh White to his family.

<sup>37</sup> *Make Me A Map*, p. 71.

(Continued on page 35.)

# ATROCITY AT HUNTER'S MILL, VIRGINIA

Edited by:  
Thomas J. Evans

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The Reverend John D. Read, pastor of the Columbia Baptist Church, Falls Church, Virginia, was a Republican and an Abolitionist. These were two dangerous characteristics for anyone, even a minister, to possess while living in Virginia prior to and during the Civil War. Within his church, there was much dissension in the congregation and a bitterness against the Union and its sympathizers. When the war began, the Union Army invaded and occupied Northern Virginia, resulting in the extensive confiscation of crops,

timber and livestock. Times were hazardous and difficult for the Reverend Read, his wife and six children: they were forced to flee to Washington, D.C.

John D. Read had succeeded his brother, the Reverend Hiram W. Read, as minister at the Columbia Baptist Church. Hiram served as an army chaplain in the West prior to the war, and early recognized a conflict was forthcoming. He resigned his pastorate at Falls Church to accept a clerkship in the first Comptroller's Of-

fice of the Treasury Department in nearby Washington, D.C. This position offered him the opportunity to secure liberal leaves of absence to serve the Union Army soldiers in the field and in hospitals.

Concerned with the problems suffered by his brother, he wrote the following letter to Salmon P. Chase (Secretary of the Treasury under President Abraham Lincoln), with whom he was acquainted:

H.W. READ

(April 8/62 - Asks  
work for his brother)\*

\*Note added to letter at Treasury Department.

Washington City, D.C.  
April 8, 1862

Hon. S.P. Chase  
Dear Sir:

Will you do me the favor to consider the following brief statement of facts. My Brother, Mr. John D. Read, formerly of New York - has during the last twelve years resided near Falls Church, Fairfax Co., Va. but last Spring was driven thence by the Seccessionists because he was a Republican & Voted for Mr. Lincoln. By fleeing from his home to this city in the night he barely escaped assassination. His wife & Six children immediately followed - being obliged to leave almost everything, even their family Bible. In their distress, sickness soon visited them & suffering and destitution have been their constant attendents ever since. My Bro. had been sick nearly a year from the effects of a Sun-stroke before being driven from Va. During the past summer & autumn, he labored in the Navy Yard where he won the esteem of all who knew him, but the labor there proved too severe. He met with an accident while in the Yard & was taken up for dead. A long and dangerous illness followed, from which he has now so far recovered as to be able to do only light work.

His little farm in Va. is ruined, not a vestage of his buildings or fences remain - all having been used for fuel by our troops, and therefore he cannot occupy his former home. His crops of grain & hay were also used by the troops & he has never been able to obtain a cent for them.

The total loss of everything — & his continuous sickness & that of his family, have prevented him from sending his children to School — even Sunday School — their clothes were not suitable & some of them have been obliged to go without even shoes during the winter. And within the last few days, I have learned that they suffered for both food & clothing. I have tried to do what I could from my scanty means for them, but having others beside my own family to assist, could not do half what My Brother needed. And now, Sir, I make this statement to you with reluctance, but

with confidence — inasmuch as I remember your personal kindness to myself last Summer when you gave me a place in your Department. In view of the circumstances of my Brother, I beseech you to pity him & relieve him by giving him either a birth as Doorkeeper, Watchman or Messenger or would you direct his eldest daughter — a young woman of unexceptionable habits to be employed in cutting Treasury Notes -- or both. My brother and his wife are exemplary Christians.

He is a man of character, sober, honest, industrious, capable & every way trustworthy. He can bring to you the most satisfactory testimonials. His present necessities are very imperative. By relieving My Brother, by furnishing him employment for which he has sought in vain elsewhere, you will again demonstrate that you are a benefactor to the deserving, and God in Mercy will bless you —

With profound respect

I am Your Obt. Sevt.

Rev. H.W. Read — late Pastor

Baptist Church at Falls Church.

P.S. Both My Brother & myself have several times sought a personal interview with you but could not gain admittance to your office — hence the necessity of writing.

Please grant me the favor of a reply soon —

Yours etc.

H.W.R.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, no work resulted from this letter for the Reverend John D. Read or for his oldest daughter, Betsy. The Read family returned to Virginia, settling in the village of Falls Church as the Union Army further garrisoned the towns and established camps surrounding Washington, D.C. The bitter "border war" between those with allegiance to the Union or loyalty to the Confederacy began to take its toll throughout Northern Virginia. Falls Church is located approximately ten miles from the nation's capital; however the Union Army did not conquer this area of Virginia until the final days of the Civil War. They constructed numerous forts and picket posts, but Colonel John Singleton Mosby, the "Grey Ghost" of the Confederacy and his Partisan Rangers moved freely over the countryside, particularly during the hours of darkness. They continually harassed the Federal forces, raiding supply wagons, cutting communications lines and savagely attacking military outposts. "Mosby's Confederacy" was born, and he controlled much of Northern Virginia.

The Reverend John D. Read was a man of strong convictions. He was positive the cause of the Union was just. He was proud but worried when his oldest son, Henry, joined the Union Army, and was heartbroken

when his youngest daughter, Emma, was completely blinded from the accidental discharge of a gun. Read was aware he had access to important military information gained from wounded Confederate soldiers he visited in hospitals, and from the "grapevine" of the black people living throughout Fairfax County. Always interested in the plight of the blacks, he was held in great respect by the former slaves and received immediate news of any occurrence of interest in the area. Compassionate, worried and anxious to end the war, the Reverend John D. Read became a spy for the Union Army.

Mosby's Rangers soon observed an elderly black man making frequent trips to local Union Army encampments. He was halted one day, searched, and found to be carrying information relating to the movements of Confederate troops. Under threat of death, he revealed he was hired by the Reverend John D. Read to carry the message. Colonel Mosby was less than pleased with the incident, and sent word for the Reverend Read to confine his future activities to church business. No more blacks were intercepted by the Rangers. However, it was noted the Reverend Read became a frequent visitor to the various Union Army headquarters in the area. He ignored Mosby's warning, as evidenced by the

following message: "HDQRS. DEFENSE OF WASHINGTON, SOUTH OF POTOMAC.

August 10, 1863.

Lieut. Col. J.H. Taylor, Asst. Adjt. Gen., Hdqrs., Dept. of Washington:

It is reported that one of our cavalry pickets was fired on last night while on duty near Falls Church. A Mr. Reed, resident of that place, says he knows that Mosby's headquarters are only about 5 miles from Falls Church, where he had about 40 men. My cavalry force is not sufficient to send out a large enough party to verify this information and keep up the regular nightly patrols.

Very respectfully,  
G.A. De Russy  
Brigadier-General  
Commanding."<sup>2</sup>

This unfortunate dispatch identified the Reverend Read, also supplying his location. He had already been detected spying and was under surveillance by Mosby's men. He no longer had anonymity, the basic requirement for a successful spy.

Betsy Read, the oldest daughter in the family, shared her father's concern with the problems of former slaves, and established a school in Falls Church to educate them. She sought aid from Miss Emily Howland, a member of a well-to-do Quaker family from New York, who had once taught

at a school for black girls in the District of Columbia.<sup>3</sup> Genuinely con-

cerned with the problems encountered in running the school, the Reverend

Read wrote:

August 3, 1864, Falls Church Va.

Miss Howland

As my daughter is writing, perhaps it would not be out of place for me to write you a few lines. I am very glad to see some one take interest in the colored folks in this place. The color'd people here have never called on the government for anything and are industrious well behaved set as can be found in any community. It appears to be their misfortune that my daughter started a sabbath school among them (Now near one year since) as it appears to cut them from all the charitable societies. I have made a number of applications but have not been able to get any thing towards sustaining a school among them. One says apply to the government, another say you do not come under our society, another say we can not do anything as your daughter does not belong to any christian church, and yet another say you are a baptist, you had better apply to that denomination. All began to make excuse as in olden times.

When the school became to large for Betsy I then felt it my duty to try and help her, and another daughter has joined us, and had we room to accommodate more schollars, more would come in. We have been obliged to turn away on account of not having room. Between 50 and 60 have been present and you your self no that is more than could be accommodated comfortable. We have been obliged to have nearly one half of them stand up and shift then round. I believe that had we had room the school would now number double that it does. Our efforts has been and still will be to learn them to read, spell, and write cipher and so forth. It is true I have tride to explain the scripture that is read. But sectional matters have been left entirely alone. The school is making some progress as could be expected. Some of them write a verry good hand. They use slates. But paper, I think, would be preferrable, but as we have no room for desks, have to use slates. We have about twenty that read in the testament.

The day school was started by the earnest solicitation of Dr. Johnson. I told him that we were not able to do it, as we had been three times strip'd of every thing by this unholy rebellion, and that it would be necessary for betsy to earn something. He said that he would se that she was paid for one month as he had funds in his hands. At the expiration of a month he wished her to keep on. I told that she could not do it unless she was paid for it as I was taxd nearly every day by some of the col'd people to a greater or less degree — I think that the principal of the school from house to house was the best that could have been done at the time, as many of them were but Just started in house keeping, and the mode of house keeping was taught some what with the studdies. Still some could not be taught as they lived in localities that I thought was not prudent for my daughter to go. Here is a work for someboddy to do. The door is open. Men, wimmen, and children are anxious to learn. But as they are cut of from all help from the government and the charitable societies, it depends upon individual alone if any thing is done. The sabbath school we shall try to keep up untill some one else will take it up. Then we will willingly give it up. The day school, if kept up, must be Done by others. I hope you or some boddy else will take it as I believe these people should not be forgotten or neglected. But at the sum namd in your letter (if we understand it) ten dollars per month would not pay bord, say nothing about clothes. Shall have to decline the offer. But if a reasonable price, and she should be the choice, she can go in to it.

J.D. Read

My anxiety for this people must be my excuse for this long letter. Let us hear from you soon. And such things are just as necessary to them, in fact, it is part of the education that they need. As this general education must soon give out, they want instruction in cutting and making their own clothes. It is not necessary for me to mention as you are probably more acquainted with them and their wants than I am. I am Willing to put shoulder to the wheel and keep things rolling so far as I can. But as a direct tax, can do nothing, as it is as much as I can do to get Along these times with my own. It is as much as a bargain to get Along as we are over run with soldiers.

J.D. Read

PS Mrs Read had been verry sick but is now better so as to be about the house some. There is considerable sickness among the colord people and a number of deaths. The colord woman that livd in the house where we had the school dide of fever. We feel that in hur the colord people have met with a great loss. She was really a pious woman, and verry exemplary in all things, a patern of neatness. She was a field hand befor she came here, But being apt to learn, Became a gud house keeper. We feel hur loss deeply, but Gods will be done.

J.D. Read<sup>4</sup>

In addition to working with the school for former slaves, the Reverend Read was instrumental in establishing a Home Guard to protect Falls Church from guerilla raids, integrating local

black men into the organization. He also developed a system of horn signals to alert the Home Guard members and a nearby Federal picket post of any surprise attacks. On October 18, 1864,

a company of Mosby's Rangers conducted a surprise raid on Falls Church, and the following Union Army report relates the fate of the Reverend Read:

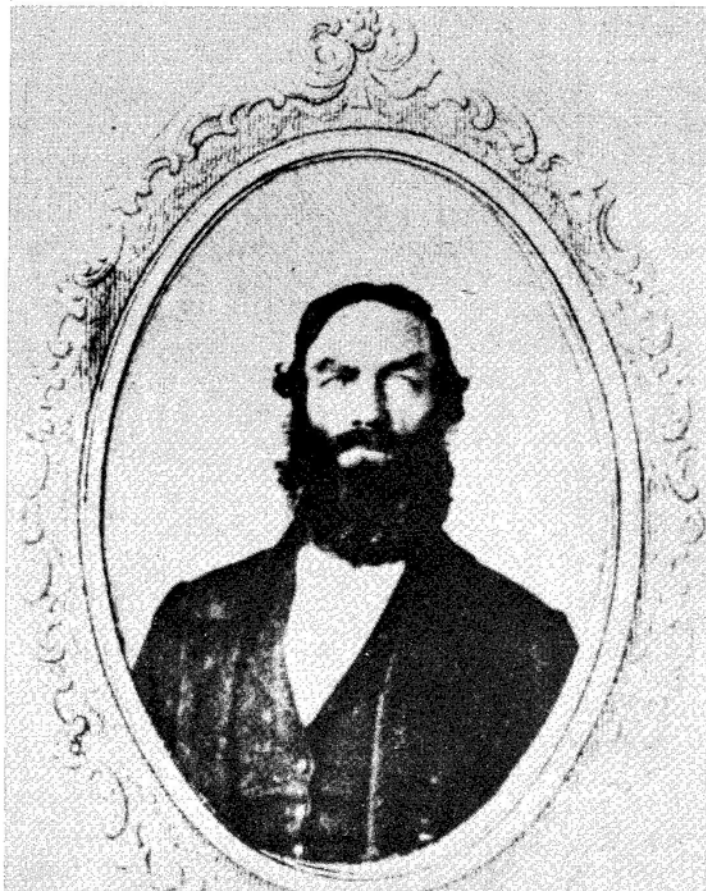
## HEADQUARTERS CAVALRY BRIGADE

Near Fort Buffalo, Va., October 19, 1864

Lieut. Col. J.H. Taylor  
Chief of Staff, and Assistant Adjutant-General.

COLONEL: I have the honor to inform you that as next senior officer to Col. H.M. Lazelle, the command of the force of cavalry here, has, on the receipt of his resignation devolved on me. The force of 400 men, mentioned in the report of October 17, left Annandale the same evening without making any demonstration at that point. One man who was on picketpost was taken prisoner while attempting to escape. About 2 a.m. on the morning of October 18, a force of Mosby's men estimated at 75, entered Falls Church village, halted at the church (brigade hospital), and after breaking open the barn of Mr. Sines, a citizen who lives opposite, and taking therefrom 5 valuable horses, passed up the Alexandria and Lewinsville pike towards Vienna. The post at the junction of the Lewinsville road with the pike, consisting of one Corporal and three men of the Sixteenth New York Cavalry, was captured, with one horse. A negro named Frank Brooks, belonging to the citizens home guard of the village, was shot dead while attempting to assist the picket in making defense. Mr. J.B. Reed, a citizen and a member of the same guard, with one of his negro employees, were taken prisoner at the same time. Mr. Reed was afterwards brutally murdered by the party who captured him, in a dense pine wood near Hunter's Mill, and his body has been found and brought into his house. An attempt to kill the negro taken with Mr. Reed was also made, and the rebels, supposing him dead, left him in the woods. He escaped afterwards, however, and has but a slight wound in the head, with the loss of an ear, blown off by a pistol shot. There is no doubt concerning the murder of Mr. Reed, as the surgeon, who has made an examination of the body, states that the skull at the base of the brain is blown to atoms, and the flesh about the wound is filled with powder, as if the pistol had been placed close to the head. The negro who escaped brings information that at or near Vienna, the force which visited Falls Church was joined by a reserve party of 100 or more men. The officer commanding at Annandale states that the party which visited him numbered 600 men. Everything has been quiet here since the attack.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
JOHN BIRDSALL  
Major Thirteenth New York  
Volunteer Cavalry<sup>5</sup>



*The Rev. John D. Read, shot at Hunter's Mill, Va., by Mosby's Rangers*

Mrs. Read was grief-stricken upon notification her captured husband had been taken twelve miles away and shot near Hunter's saw mill. She could not get a guard of either Union Army soldiers or Home Guard members to go with her to recover her husband's body, due to their fear of encountering Mosby's forces. While she was searching for help, a note arrived from Colonel Mosby giving Mrs. Read his personal guarantee of her safety while recovering the remains of the Reverend Read. Hiring an open wagon, the only vehicle available, she and her daughter, Lottie, drove to Fort Head at Tyson's Corner (where Read's body had recently been moved), and claimed her husband's remains. In later years, Lottie spoke of the long sad journey home, her mother sitting determinedly on the wagon seat, driving the horse, while she sat crying in the back, attending to the blanket covering her father's body. The war had ended for the Reverend Read. He was buried in the churchyard of the

Columbia Baptist Church.  
The tragic death of the Reverend

Read greatly discouraged his daughter,

Betsy, who wrote Emily Howland:

Falls Church Oct. 23, 1864

Miss E. Howland  
Dear Friend

I have before me three letters from you addressed to My Father. Who is no more in this world. Miss Howland, it is sad news to tell but My Dear Father has been shot, yes cruelly murdered by the Rebels. As to the school I had concluded to take, I do not now feel as though I wanted to have any thing to do with it. And as you say you have too Teachers allready engaged, one of them had better take the school for I do not want it now. Though I do not think it would be advisable at this present time for any one to commence a school that is a colord School, for at this time the Rebs are looking down on us. And I should not be surprised if they should come down here again tonight. As to the School at Halls Hill, I do not know any thing about it. I feel that the Colord folks have cost us enough for it seems to me that they have been the innocent Cause of this our great trouble.

Your friend in deep affliction

B.J. Read

PS I shall be glad to hear from you at any time.<sup>6</sup>

The strain that Northern sympathiz-  
ers living in Virginia endured is

presented in this letter written by a  
Falls Church neighbor of the Read

family, relating the incident:

Home Hill

Nov. 1, 1864

Dear Mother Bartlett,

Are you looking for a letter. If so here it is. I have been thinking of writing to you so much of late, that it has faredly haunted me, and now it is past. Gee, but I am determaind not to sleep untill, you are in a fair way to here from us. If you have read the papers you no doubt think the guerillas have got us, but they have not yet but I can't say they won't for they came pretty near the other night. I did not know one while but they would have the whole village, they came strong, they took Mr. Read a near neighbor and Colord man 7 miles from home and shot them, the most cold blooded affair that we have had here. As it happened the Colord man was not killed after the ruffins left he cralled off and got back to tell the horrid tale, Mr. R. Sister and daughter a girl of 14 years went alone for the body, found it and brought it home. They could not find but one man there that would help them put it into the waggon. It was a sorry sight I assure you may my eyes never witness another. But it is hard to tell what is in store for us. They took 4 horses from a barn across the road. It was a lovely night. I could see them as plain as though they had stood under my window. Johnnie took our horses from the barn and stood ready to excape with them should they come here. But firing the alarm and blowing a horn, started them off. We had 250 Cavl. in half a mile of us but they were so long in getting here that they were of no use. There were to many Copperheads, among them, afraid they should hurt there friends if they came in time to fire into them. They threaten to come again and burn us out and shoot every man in Falls Church. There are good many moveing away, but all we have is here and we shall stick by the Ship, as long as there is a stick left. John has not undressed and gone to bed for 6 weeks, he takes his blanket and curls down by some bush near where he can here what is astir. I wonder he stands it so well as he does. But it wears on him. He looks older some way 10 years since the war. I feel as though it would be the end of us if we don't get butchered if it lasts much longer. I had calculated to send for you this fall but think it is well I didn't for I fear you could never bear the excitement which I have become enured to. I was down to Elizas Sunday. They are quite well now. Freddie has been very sick. They are doing very well and are in a safer place then we are although they were so frightened that they packed up ready to start. Sister Emilys family are afflicted, her daughters have been sick since last July, neither one is able yet to go from there rooms. I sometimes fear they never will. Johnnie went north a week ago yesterday to go to school, so I feel safe about him as to the Rebs getting him. I have just heard from him. He is on the Hudson a little way from N. York City.

Address

Hudson River Institute  
Clarrack Columbia Co. N.Y.

Love to Mr. Sandersons family and all other friends, with love to yourself.

Emma G. Bartlett

P.S. Father & Mother are in Barre, somewhere. Ma. has not been home over a year. Pa came home and staid too or 3

days last spring. Last fall & winter they were west & in Byron last summer east. One colored man they killed on the spot. I dare not let such a letter stay in the house overnight for fear they might come and find it. It is now 11 o.c. — if they come tonight it will be between now and 3 o.c. in the morning. Enclose five dollars. Let me no it you get it and I will send more.<sup>7</sup>



*The Rev. Hiram W. Read; photographed by Alexander Gardner. (There is a picture of Abraham Lincoln sitting in the same chair.)*

A historian, writing about early Falls Church, recorded:

“There is an interesting sequel to the ‘Reed Affair.’ A number of years ago, before the First World War, Mack Crossman was visiting in Knoxville, Tennessee, and while there met a gentleman who told an interesting story. Learning that Mr. Crossman was from Falls Church, the gentleman told how he had been among the Group of Mosby’s men who shot J.B. Reed. He overlooked this as an incident of war, but said it was a constant source of regret to him that they had ‘killed the Negro’ with Reed, since the Negro was innocent. The gentleman was delighted to learn that the Negro had survived, (with the loss of an ear), and was content as a servant of the Crossman family in Falls Church!”<sup>9</sup>

The widow, Charlotte E. Read, continued to live in Falls Church following the war. In 1873, the estate of the Reverend Read was awarded a War Warrent in the amount of \$2,250 for damages to buildings and stores during the war.<sup>10</sup> Undoubtedly this was a great help to her. She died in 1886, and is buried in the family plot, her name appearing on the tombstone with her husband’s.

Henry Read, the oldest son, served in Company K, 189th New York Volunteers during the war. Upon discharge, he became a harness-maker in Oswego, New York, preferring not to return to Virginia due to the bitterness existing there. He died in 1888, and is buried in Riverside Cemetery.<sup>11</sup>

Charlotte (Lottie) Read became a florist in Falls Church, and lived with her blind sister until her death in 1891. She is buried in the family plot.

“Miss Emma” Read, blinded since an early age by an accidental gun discharge, was active in the Baptist Church and won several blue ribbons for her crochet work at the Virginia State Fair. She died in 1938, and is

A minister was captured, taken into the dark pine woods of Virginia, made to kneel, and a pistol was fired into the back of his head killing him instantly. This atrocity at Hunter’s Mill was only one of the many that happened in Northern Virginia. Both sides were guilty of similar incidents, and the bitterness of those stormy days is slow to heal. Captured spies could expect little mercy. It was a tragic period in the nation’s history.

### EPILOGUE

Following the war, information concerning the death of the Reverend Read was provided by former Confederates. During the early 1900’s, a member of Mosby’s Rangers wrote:

“(October 1864) Mont joy, with Company D, and with Bush Underwood as guide, moved off towards Falls Church and at night prepared to attack the camp. The pickets were captured, and some of our men were leading horses out of the stables, when the camp was aroused. The blowing of a horn, which at first was thought by our men to denote the assembling of a party of coon hunters, was discovered to be a signal given by a citizen named Reed to alarm the camp. Reed was shot by one of our men. The enemy, now thoroughly aroused, opened fire, which in the darkness did no damage. Three or four negro infantry were killed; 6 prisoners and 7 horses were brought out.”<sup>3</sup>

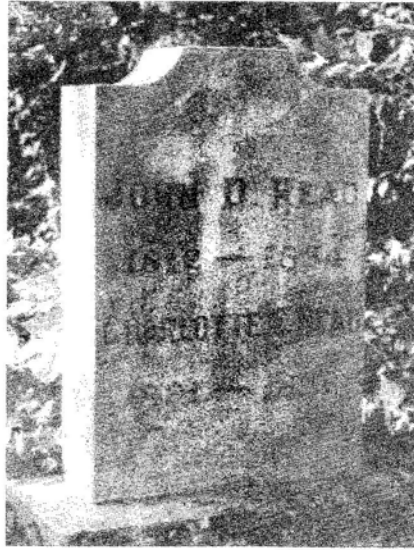
buried in an unmarked grave in what is today the Falls Church Episcopal Cemetery.<sup>12</sup>

The fates of Betsy, John R., and the sixth child mentioned in the Hiram W. Read letter are unknown. The Minute Book (1863-67) in the Fairfax County Courthouse indicates the Reverend Hiram W. Read was appointed guardian of Betsy and Lottie, and that Charlotte E. Read was appointed guardian of her two younger children, Emma and John R., on January 28, 1865. Henry did not require a guardian due to his age, and there is no mention of another child in the Minute Book. Possibly this child died during the time the Read family resided in the District of Columbia.

In keeping with President Lincoln's policy regarding ministers, the Reverend Hiram W. Read was granted liberal leave from his position at the Treasury to attend to the needs of the soldiers. He was so occupied when the Army of the Potomac under General George G. Meade had to abandon 2,500 wounded Union soldiers at Savage's Railroad Station on June 30, 1862, during the Seven Days Battles. Reverend Read volunteered to stay behind as doctor and chaplain to the wounded, and was captured. When word of his praying for the Union at burials reached Confederate President Jefferson Davis, he was court-martialed. On July 5, 1862, he was sentenced to be hanged for treason as "a Yankee, a Union Man, and an Abolitionist." Read replied to the sentence with, "Tell Jeff Davis he has not hemp enough in his bogus Confederacy to hang me."<sup>13</sup>

Read was saved from hanging when General Ambrose E. Burnside captured the noted Southern minister William F. Broaddus at Fredricksburg, Virginia. On September 21, 1862, Read and Broaddus were officially exchanged.<sup>14</sup>

During his confinement in Libby Prison at Richmond, Read contracted typhoid fever: his days with the army were finished. He traveled to the West on a mission for President Lincoln, stayed, and ultimately became New



*The J. D. Read gravestone. Note the "apparition" of an angel with outstretched wings. Minerals leaching from the stone formed the phenomenon.*

Mexico's first Baptist minister. He died at age 75 on February 6, 1895, and is buried at El Pasco.<sup>15</sup> For the next 54 years, he lay in an unmarked grave, until 1949, when a drive to erect a tombstone in his memory was successful. Unfortunately, on his stone his name is misspelled as "Reed."

The grave of the Reverend John D. Read was marked with a plain tombstone. The stone contained minerals that leached out over the years and formed an "angel." This was regarded as an omen by the black community, who felt Read was truly a martyr. Though the angel can still be seen,

time has eroded the memory of the Reverend Read and the circumstances surrounding his death at Hunter's Mill.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Salmon P. Chase papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>2</sup> *OR*, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Part 2, p. 26.

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<sup>4</sup> Emily Howland papers, reproduced courtesy the Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. (Punctuation added for clarity-grammar and spelling unchanged.)

<sup>5</sup> *OR*, Series I, Vol. XLIII, Part 2, p. 414.

<sup>6</sup> Howland papers, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Reproduced courtesy Henry Douglas, Historian, Falls Church, VA.

<sup>8</sup> James J. Williamson, *Mosby's Rangers* (Sturgis & Walton, New York: 1909), p. 271.

<sup>9</sup> Melvin Lee Steadman, *Falls Church by Fence and Fireside* (Falls Church, 1964), p. 65.

<sup>10</sup> Will Book, (1873), Fairfax County Courthouse, Fairfax, VA.

<sup>11</sup> Courtesy Michael Cahall, Director, Oswego County Historical Society, Oswego, N.Y.

<sup>12</sup> "Gravesites in the Churchyard of the Falls Church," *Falls Church, Va., Historical News and Notes*, 1970-1972, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Betty and Dale Danielson, "New Mexico's First Protestant Preacher," *Albuquerque Journal Magazine*, 6-37:8-11, June 30, 1981.

<sup>14</sup> *IBID.* For the viewpoint of the Southern hostage, see Archibald Thomas Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broaddus*, American Baptist Publication Society, 1910.

<sup>15</sup> Death Certificate, Bureau of Vital Statistics, El Pasco, Texas. The *El Pasco Times*, of February 8, 1895, ends the death announcement with: "Peace to his aged ashes."

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## PRIVATE THOUGHTS

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In August, 1861, after the disastrous Federal defeat at Bull Run, Virginia, Lincoln called urgently for more troops. A twenty-year-old Indian named John A. Maxwell was one of those bright, idealistic young men who answered the cry of his country. Joining Company K, 26th Indiana Volunteer Infantry that August, he and his companions went to war looking for a chance to show their mettle. Like most soldiers, he wrote home of camp life, weather, reviews, rumors and endless marching. Like many, Christmas was for him a day to do the washing; his thoughts wandered to dying on lonely battlefields.

He thought of friends and their fate, and was mad at the inaction of the Army. He got his chance to fight, though, and was wounded in the Battle of Prairie Grove, Arkansas, December 7, 1862. His wounds kept him hospitalized for months. Upon release, he served for a time as a clerk in the Commissary, and in April 1863, "he was honorably discharged on a special order by General Schofield, to receive a promotion

and was immediately re-mustered as a First Lieutenant of Cavalry." He remained with the mounted branch of the service until the end of the war. John Maxwell also served as a Judge Advocate for three months, and was Treasurer of the military post at Fayetteville, Arkansas. He also became a member of a commission drawn up to arbitrate disputes over property rights between soldiers and civilians.

When war ended, and things returned to normal, he became a minister. He resigned this occupation for the opportunity to teach Greek and Latin to college students. Becoming restless with the sedentary life, or perhaps yearning to preach God's word again, he re-entered the ministry, but an offer of a professorship of Latin and History at Purdue called him back to education. He was married in 1871, and still unable to determine upon his calling, he spent the rest of his life going between the ministry and various professorships. He died in 1904.

The following are three of his war letters. They represent one of Lincoln's boys of '62, who came when he was called, and saw the job through.



---

Otterville, Jan. 8 — 1862

Friend Demp,

Yours of Dec. 29th came last night, and I improve this earliest opportunity to answer it. We have had nice weather for a few days past, and all things looked quite cheerful, but this morning it is wet and disagreeable. How much more life and activity there is about the camp on a pleasant sunshiny day that [than] a wet cloudy one. The health of the camp is very poor now, only about forty four in our Co. fit for duty and we have about as large a company as any. We are in camp on the Learmine River near Otterville, and will probably stay here for some time.

I still enjoy good health. I have had a severe cold but I am better now. You asked me how holidays passed here. Christmas I did some washing. Mrs. Adams is out here now. She arrived here a day or two after Christmas, she is boarding in town. She brought me a cake and can of peaches. On newyears day my mess had a nice feast.

We were reviewed on newyears day by Gen. Pope and some others. I guess one of Gen. McLellans staff was with Gen. Pope (Gen. Van Rensalier.) I received a letter from Binna a few days ago, and she said Caroline had promised them a visit this winter. Ma is visiting now down at Kent. I got a letter from her the other day. Binna nad Dan were visiting the week before Christmas at Chouis Hill. I was glad to hear of Gordons good health. Warren W. Chouis our orderly sergeant, (I do not know wether he went to school when you did or not,) has gone home on recruiting service, to be gone six months unless ordered back by military authorities. Hé hired me to take his place while he was gone, and I am now staying with the Capt. He has a nice little stove and we keep very comfortable.

Give my love to your Uncle Quillan's family. I close hoping to hear from you soon.

John

To Demp.

Sedalia Mo. May 22 — 1862  
Tuesday afternoon

Friend Demp.

Your last was welcomed a few evenings since. It is very warm weather here at this time. But we who live on the prairie have one advantage, there is most always a good breeze blowing. It makes music on the tents, the ropes flopping around. It is nice to lay in the tent and hear the rain beat upon the canvass. It has such a soothing sound, that it inclines one to sleep. We have had very dry weather here until recently. Yesterday and the night before we had a good rain. It hailed some yesterday. I received a letter last night, and one the night before from home. They are planting corn, broom cord, sorgum, watermelons, muskmelons, cotton seed, & c. & c.

I expected last week before this time we would have been on the road to "Dixie." Our Col., and company officers told us we would leave, and they had reason to believe it, but here we are yet, and I am mad about it. We are here and will never get any name. If we endure the hardships of a soldiers I think we should have some honor along with it, not that we came into service for honor, but while other troops are having a chance to try their pluck, and display their valor, we are kept back, to act constable for Missouri.

Poor Gordon! How sad to think that he had to fall in the prime of life, so far away from dear friends, let us hope for the best. I feel so sorry for his Mother. How much rather would I fall on the battlefield than linger out a few days of sickness, and die. I mean this to apply to the time I am soldiering.

I am still trying to live in that way that will insure me a home in heavin. Remember me when you kneel before your Maker.

Ever your friend  
John A.M.

Near Cassville, Mo.  
Monday afternoon, July 21 — 1862

Friend Demp.

Since last I wrote you we have been marching over a good deal of territory. I believe I have not written to you since we left Sedalia. We left on the cars the latter part of June, arrived at Bolla by traveling two days on the 3rd of the month, and marched every day until last Thursday. We got ready to move that day but the orders were contramanded. We passed through Springfield one week ago last Saturday. It is a nice town, and larger than I expected to see. Several fine residences in the place. Most every house between here and Springfield has been burned, it is a desolate looking country. Coming here we passed by the Millson Creek battle ground. It still exhibits marks of the dreadful battle fought there. It is about 55 miles from here to Springfield. I hear just now that we have orders to go back to Springfield. I suppose we will leave in the morning. We will probably go right back to Bolla, and be shipped to some field of active operations.

I got your letter Friday night. We have had an unusual amount of rain since we came here, had a thunder shower most every day. We had a nice rain this morning.

Lt. Smith has been going to Bloomington this year. I had not heard a word from him. You speak of the boys being nearly all gone, I think when they fill up the new Regts. that are to be organized in Indiana, the state will be entirely striped.

I can not write more at this time direct your letters to Mo. without designating any town or Post-Office.

Your friend,  
John.



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(Continued from page 25.)

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- <sup>40</sup> *IBID*.
- <sup>41</sup> John H. Worsham, *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry* (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1964), p. 69.
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- <sup>45</sup> OR, Part 3, p. 654.
- <sup>46</sup> *Life And Campaigns*, p. 517.
- <sup>47</sup> *I Rode With Stonewall*, p. 134.
- <sup>48</sup> Lieut.-Col. W.W. Blackford, *War Years With JEB Stuart* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), pp. 109-10.
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- <sup>53</sup> *IBID*, p. 644.
- <sup>54</sup> Mary Anna Jackson, *Life And Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1892. See *Stonewall Jackson* by Chambers, Vol. II, p. 94 for a discussion of this incident.
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(Continued from page 21.)

### FOOTNOTES

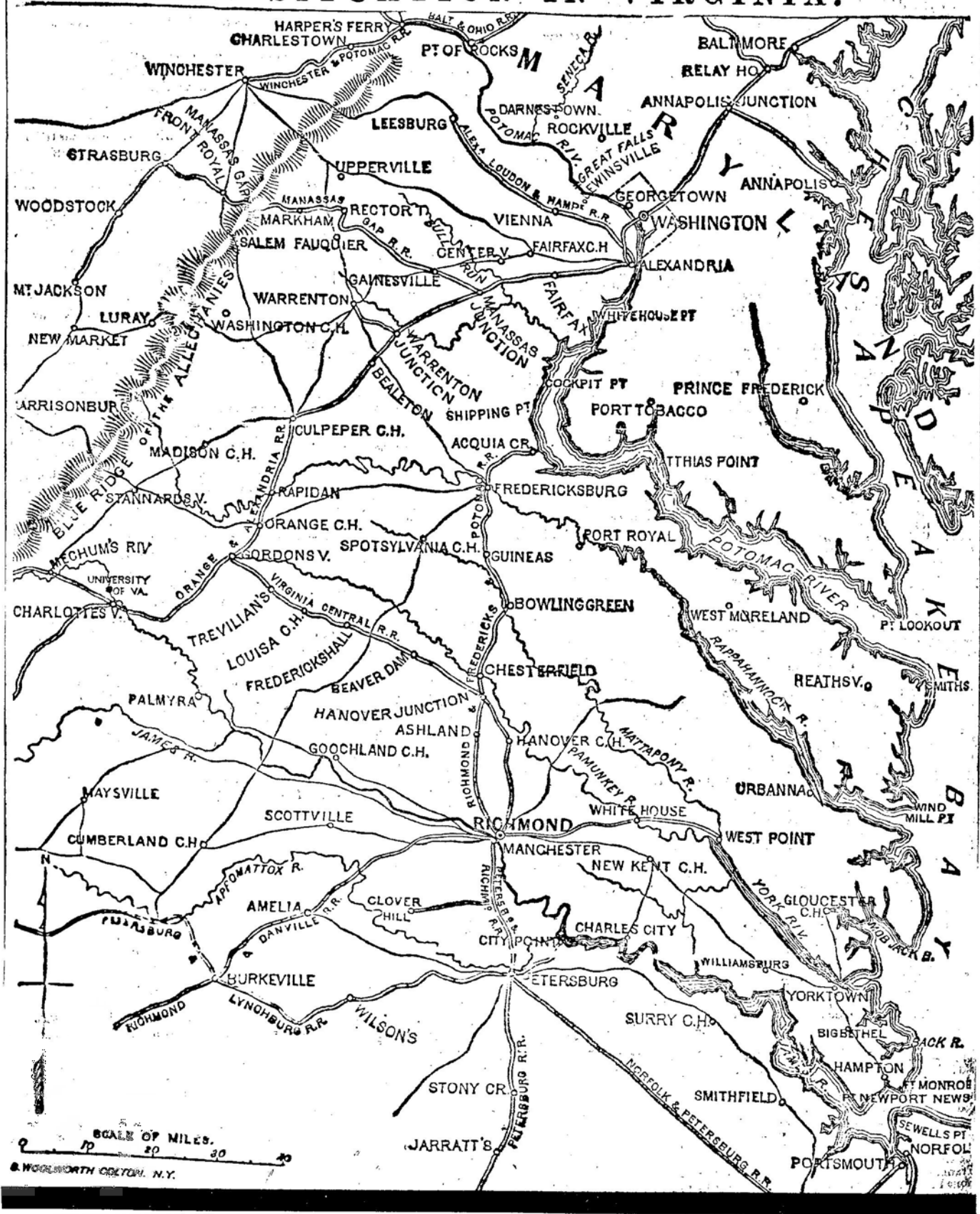
- <sup>1</sup> William Couper, *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1939), Vol. II, p. 98.
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- <sup>4</sup> George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868), p. 425.
- <sup>5</sup> *One Hundred Years*, Vol. I, p. 72.
- <sup>6</sup> *IBID*, Vol. II, p. 7; letter of Gen. Richardson to Virginia Gov. Wise, Nov. 17, 1859.
- <sup>7</sup> *IBID*, p. 120.
- <sup>8</sup> *IBID*.
- <sup>9</sup> *IBID*, p. 137.
- <sup>10</sup> *IBID*: letter of Gen. Smith to ex-Virginia Gov. Kemper, Dec. 26, 1861.
- <sup>11</sup> *IBID*, Vol. II, p. 36.
- <sup>12</sup> *IBID*, p. 49.
- <sup>13</sup> *IBID*, p. 79.
- <sup>14</sup> *Biographical Register*, p. 594.
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- <sup>18</sup> *IBID*, P. 90.
- <sup>19</sup> *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.*, Vol. II, p. 27; letter of Gen. Richardson to Col. P. St.

George Cocke, May 18, 1860.

- <sup>20</sup> *IBID*, p. 107.
- <sup>21</sup> John H. Worsham, *One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry* (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1964), p. 11.
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- <sup>28</sup> *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.*, Vol. II, p. 181.
- <sup>29</sup> *IBID*, P. 147.
- <sup>30</sup> *IBID*, Vol. III, p. 1.
- <sup>31</sup> *IBID*.
- <sup>32</sup> *IBID*, p. 10.
- <sup>33</sup> *IBID*, p. 64.
- <sup>34</sup> *IBID*, p. 107.
- <sup>35</sup> *IBID*.

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