


Strike Them a Blow

BATTLE ALONG THE NORTH ANNA RIVER

MAY 21-26, 1864

by Chris Mackowski

EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES



Footnotes

Chapter One: The Campaign

“ . . . to rest against the morrow.”¹

“Our loss is fearful.”²

“ . . . justly styled ‘Bloody Spotsylvania.’ ”³

“ . . . there you will go also.”⁴

“ . . . there should be nothing left to him.”⁵

“ . . . a new President to treat with.”⁶

“This, viewed as a battleground, was simply infernal. . . .”⁷

¹ Morton, W.T.G. “The First Use of Ether as an Anesthetic.” *Journal of the American Medical Association*. April 23, 1904.

² Rhodes, Elisha Hunt. *All for the Union*. Pg. 149.

³ Brainerd, Wesley. *Bridge Building in Wartime*. Pg. 221.

⁴ *OR XXXIII*, 828. Ulysses S. Grant to George Gordon Meade, Apr. 9, 1864.

⁵ *OR LVIII*, 11.

⁶ *OR XXXII*, pt. 3, pg. 588. James Longstreet to Alexander Lawton, March 5, 1864.

“ . . . a pebble tossed past them.”⁸
 “ . . . when kept up by constant excitement.”⁹
 “[I]t is hardly natural to expect men. . . .”¹⁰
 “[U]ltimately such bloody policy must win.”¹¹
 “ . . . kill them as fast as they come.”¹²
 “Every intelligent enlisted man. . . .”¹³
 “ . . . that could be achieved there.”¹⁴
 “This was no time for repining,” he said.¹⁵
 “My chief anxiety now. . . .”¹⁶
 “ . . . unless some good opportunity were offered.”¹⁷
 “ . . . the camps north of the Rapidan.”¹⁸
 “ . . . and thus give our troops the desired opportunity.”¹⁹
 “ . . . Lee ventured to make during the entire campaign.”²⁰
 “ . . . to march in the morning.”²¹

Chapter Two: Hancock’s March

“The dead horses had dwindled away to bones. . . .”²²
 “A roaring, seething, bubbling hell of hate and murder.”²³
 “ . . . during the day the heat and dust would have been almost intolerable.”²⁴
 “Had Grant originally started his movement. . . .”²⁵
 Winning the race would have “brought on a collision. . . .”²⁶

⁷ Mackowski, Chris. *The Dark, Close Wood: The Wilderness, Ellwood, and the Battle that Transformed Both*. Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 2009. Quotes come from soldier accounts included in the book, derived from archives at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (FSNMP).

⁸ Porter, Horace. *Campaigning with Grant*. New York: Mallard Press, 1991. Pg. 140.

⁹ Wainwright, Charles S. *A Diary of Battle: The Personal journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, 1861-1865*. Allan Nevins, editor. New York: De Capo, 1998. Pg. 379.

¹⁰ Meade, George Gordon. *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade: Major-General United States Army*. Vol. 1. Boston: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913. Pg. 196.

¹¹ Blackford, Charles Minor. *Letters from Lee’s Army; or, Memories of Life in and out of the Army of Northern Virginia During the War Between the States*. Charles Minor Blackford III, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. Pg. 246.

¹² Letter from George W. Zirkle of the Salem Flying Artillery, May 20, 1864. FSNMP.

¹³ Wilkeson, Frank. *Recollections of a Private Soldier*. 100.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, May 28, 1864. < <http://www.nytimes.com/1864/05/28/news/grant-s-army-advance-upon-richmond-lee-was-outflanked-reason-why-it-was-done.html>>. Accessed January 7, 2015.

¹⁵ Grant, Ulysses S. *Ulysses S. Grant: Memoirs and Selected Letters*. New York: Library of America, 1990. Pg. 480.

¹⁶ Porter, Horace. *Campaigning with Grant*. New York: Mallard Press, 1991. Pg. 131.

¹⁷ Porter, 134.

¹⁸ Wilkeson, 99.

¹⁹ Porter, 131.

²⁰ Porter, 131.

²¹ Wainwright, 380.

²² Account from George A. Murden, 1 USSS QM. FSNMP.

²³ Account from John Haley, 17th Maine. FSNMP.

²⁴ King, David H, et. al. *History of the Ninety-third Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1865*. Milwaukee: Swain & Tate Company, 1895. Pg. 454.

²⁵ Alexander, Porter. *Fighting for the Confederacy: The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander*. Gary Gallagher, editor. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. Pg. 387.

“an earthly paradise.”²⁷
 “the corn now was miles high.”²⁸
 The deep gloom of the Wilderness, he said, had been left behind.²⁹
 “. . . a feast to the eye and a joy to the soul”³⁰
 “. . . inspired with new hope.”³¹
 “It was again ‘on to Richmond’”³²
 “. . . so little complaining, or so little straggling.”³³
 “. . . a trial of speed with our enemy.”³⁴
 “. . . food was stolen from the farm-houses.”³⁵
 “Our army, operating in hostile territory, was like a swarm of locusts”³⁶
 “We could look back from the hill tops. . .”³⁷
 “[T]he work of entrenching was continued. . .”³⁸
 “[A] long, weary, dusty march. . .”³⁹
 “the longest and most trying [march]. . .”⁴⁰
 “. . . in some cases almost as seriously as wounds.”⁴¹
 “. . . the arrangement is both clever and pretty.”⁴²

Chapter Three: The Fog of War

Lee glassed the earthworks across the field from him.⁴³
 “. . . will regulate my movements by the information [received].”⁴⁴
 “The enemy left in his trenches. . .”⁴⁵
 “secure him from attack till he cross the Pamunkey.”⁴⁶

²⁶ Humphreys, Andrew. *The Virginia Campaign, 1864 and 1865*. New York: De Capo Press, 1995. Pp. 126-7.

²⁷ Rhea, Gordon. *To the North Anna River: Grant and Lee, May 13-25, 1864*. Baton Rouge: LSU, 2000.

²⁸ Lyman, Theodore. *Meade's Army: The Private Notebooks of Lt. Col. Theodore Lyman*. David W. Lowe, editor. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2007. Pg. 167.

²⁹ Porter, 135.

³⁰ Locke, William Henry. *The Story of the Regiment (Tenth Massachusetts Infantry)*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1868. Pg. 342.

³¹ Porter, 134-35.

³² Porter, 135.

³³ OR XXXVI, vol. 3, 405. Report of Capt. Nelson Penfield of the 125th New York.

³⁴ Military Historical Society. *The Wilderness Campaign, May-June, 1864*. Boston: 1905. Pg. 301.

³⁵ Wilkeson, Frank. *Recollections of a Private Soldier*. 103.

³⁶ Goss, Warren Lee. *Recollections of a Private: A Story of The Army of The Potomac*. 1890. Reprinted 2002 by Digital Scanning, Inc. Pg. 302.

³⁷ Wilkeson, 105.

³⁸ *History of the Ninety-third Regiment*, 455.

³⁹ OR XXXVI, Vol. 1, 389. Report of Capt. James Fleming of the 28th Massachusetts.

⁴⁰ Rhea, 238.

⁴¹ Simons, Ezra de Freest. *A Regimental History: The One Hundred and Twenty-fifth New York State Volunteers*. New York: E. D. Simons, 1888. Pg. 212.

⁴² Wainwright, 380.

⁴³ This entire account: Clark, George. *A Glance Backward: or, Some Events in the Past History of My Life*. Houston: 1914. Pg. 53-54.

⁴⁴ Lee, Robert E. *The Wartime Papers of Robert E. Lee*. Clifford Dowdey and Louis Manarin, editors. New York: De Capo, 1961. May 21 dispatch to Seddon, pg. 744-45.

⁴⁵ Lee, 746. May 22 dispatch to Davis.

⁴⁶ Lee, 744-45. May 21 dispatch to Seddon.

Chapter Four: Leaving Spotsylvania

“fire away occasionally at the enemy’s. . . .”⁴⁷

“Weather hot, roads dusty. . . .”⁴⁸

“This church, a plain brick building, stands at the crossing. . . .”⁴⁹

“Unless we can drive these people out. . . .”⁵⁰

“I’ll bet five dollars there isn’t a Yankee in those works”⁵¹

“[A] reb charge upon our lives”⁵²

“. . . the dangerous duty of supplying the place of both maps and guides.”⁵³

“I have met the enemy. . . .”⁵⁴

“. . . an elderly man of a certain sour dignity; a bitter rebel, plainly.”⁵⁵

Grant and his aide, Horace Porter, had not rested there long.⁵⁶

“Lee now had a superb opportunity to take the initiative. . . .”⁵⁷

Chapter Five: The Night March

But the once-vaunted Second Corps. . . .⁵⁸

If Ewell could not restrain his excitement, Lee said, he had better retire.⁵⁹

“[I]n a wooded country like that. . . .”⁶⁰

“This is rendered necessary by difficulties. . . .”⁶¹

“This command will be prepared to move at 4:00 a.m. tomorrow. . . .”⁶²

“. . . created the impression of being on serious business.”⁶³

“. . . the rest of the army is well up.”⁶⁴

“But the chances are against this.”⁶⁵

“I am afraid the rebellion cannot be crushed this summer!”⁶⁶

⁴⁷ OR XXXVI, pt. 3, 52.

⁴⁸ Lyman, 167.

⁴⁹ Lyman, 167.

⁵⁰ OR XXXVI, pt. 3, 815.

⁵¹ Rhea, 245.

⁵² Holt, Daniel M. *A Surgeon’s Civil War: The Letters & Diary of Daniel M. Holt, M.D.* James M. Greiner, Janet L. Coryell, and James R. Smither, editors. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1994. Pg.192.

⁵³ Grant, 562.

⁵⁴ OR LI, pt. 1, 243.

⁵⁵ Lyman, 167.

⁵⁶ The account of Grant at the Chandler house comes from Porter, 133.

⁵⁷ Grant, 562-3.

⁵⁸ For comparison, when Jackson led the Second Corps on its flanking maneuver at Chancellorsville, they numbered some 28,000.

⁵⁹ Pfanz, Donald C. *Richard S. Ewell: A Soldier’s Life*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. Pg. 389. This is a tale commonly shared as part of “Bloody Angle” tour training at FSNMP, which is where I first heard it.

⁶⁰ Lee, 746. May 22 dispatch to Davis.

⁶¹ Wainwright, 381.

⁶² OR XXXVI, pt. 3, 59.

⁶³ Alexander, 387.

⁶⁴ Ewell, 276.

⁶⁵ Ewell, 276.

⁶⁶ Lyman, 169.

Chapter Six: “Wherever Lee Goes . . .”

“I should have preferred contesting the enemy’s approach. . . .”⁶⁷

“As soon as I can get more positive information. . . .”⁶⁸

“. . . he was really a sick man.”⁶⁹

“General Lee is much troubled and not well.”⁷⁰

Grant planned to cross that army at Chesterfield Bridge. . . .⁷¹

“The map only shows two roads for the four corps to march upon. . . .”⁷²

“. . . we should have been sure of the junction.”⁷³

“The older was a simple and narrow person. . . .”⁷⁴

“Burnside . . . presents an odd figure, the fat man!”⁷⁵

“The wife burst into tears. . . .”⁷⁶

“Bivouacked on a beautiful spot . . .”⁷⁷

“. . . on the shortest kind of rations.”⁷⁸

“. . . that may be dictated by sound military policy.”⁷⁹

“[S]end me my cottons drawers & socks. . . .”⁸⁰

“As I am now, I fear I will melt entirely.”⁸¹

“Burnside and his staff sat within, in the pews, after the manner of a congregation.”⁸²

Chapter Seven: Before the Storm

“I think I am nearer worn out. . . .”⁸³

“. . . has been very much shaken.”⁸⁴

“Still I begrudge every step he makes towards Richmond.”⁸⁵

Across camp, Lee’s aide, Col. Walter Taylor, was also catching up on his correspondence.⁸⁶

⁶⁷ Lee, 746. May 22 dispatch to Davis.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Booth, George. *Personal Reminiscences of a Maryland Soldier in the War Between the States*. Press of Fleet, McGinley, 1898. Pg. 110-111.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ In the original order, Grant had them reversed, calling them Chesterfield Ford and Jericho Bridge. In his memoirs, where he tried to be meticulous about such details, he quoted from the order and left the error unchanged.

⁷² Grant, 563.

⁷³ Wainwright, 383.

⁷⁴ Lyman, 169.

⁷⁵ Lyman, 170.

⁷⁶ From Porter, 136-139, and Grant, 568.

⁷⁷ Holt, 192-3.

⁷⁸ Rhea, 287. Cites “Letter of Francis Solomon Johnson to Emily Hutchings.” Special Collections, MS 243. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries. Athens, Ga.

⁷⁹ Lee, 748. May 23 letter to Mary Custis Lee.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ewell, 276-7.

⁸² Lyman, 169.

⁸³ Rhea, 287. Cites “Letter of Francis Solomon Johnson to Emily Hutchings.” Special Collections, MS 243. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries. Athens, Ga.

⁸⁴ Lee, 747. May 23 dispatch to Davis.

⁸⁵ Lee, 748. May 23 letter to Mary Custis Lee.

“I should be very glad to have the aid of General Beauregard”⁸⁷

Sizes of the armies and casualty figures⁸⁸

Sheridan’s ill-conceived cavalry jaunt took as many as 12,000 more men off the board.⁸⁹

“It is thought that the two armies are now nearly equal than ever before.”⁹⁰

“This is nothing but a feint. . . .”⁹¹

“The enemy had followed us up more closely than we seemed to expect. . . .”⁹²

Chapter Eight: The Battle for Henagan’s Redoubt

The morning’s exertions had exhausted Lee. . . .⁹³

“. . . nothing to embarrass the grand flank movement of the Second Corps.”⁹⁴

“I am extending my troops across the railroad also.”⁹⁵

The country was “so wooded and unknown”⁹⁶

“. . . trees & hills & ravines were so fixed that we could not see the ground. . . .”⁹⁷

“. . . men in the blue-coated line fell headlong, or backward, or sank into little heaps.”⁹⁸

“[W]e had to run the gauntlet of the enemy’s sharpshooters. . . .”⁹⁹

“We rushed down the slope and over the plain. . . .”¹⁰⁰

A Confederate artillerist on the south bank of the river watched. . . .¹⁰¹

“And our men scampered out of the work. . . .”¹⁰²

“The bridge was quickly carried. . . .”¹⁰³

⁸⁶Taylor, Walter Herron. *Lee’s Adjutant: The Wartime Letters of Colonel Walter Herron Taylor, 1862-1865*. R. Lockwood Tower and John S. Belmost, eds. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995. Pp. 161-163.

⁸⁷ Lee, 746, May 23 dispatch to Davis.

⁸⁸ The sizes of armies going into the Wilderness are statistics that come from the NPS, as are the final army sizes going into North Anna. Statistics on the various unit sizes come from Mark Miller’s *The North Anna Campaign: “Even to Hell Itself” May 21-26, 1864*. Lynchburg, VA: H.E. Howard, 1989.

⁸⁹ Rhea uses the figure 10,000; Miller uses 12,000. The NPS uses 12,000: Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields, pg. 205. <http://www.nps.gov/abpp/CWSII/VirginiaBattlefieldProfiles/Mine%20Run%20to%20North%20Anna.pdf>

⁹⁰ This and the rest of the account from Neese, George Michael. *Three Years in the Confederate Horse Artillery*. New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1911. Pg. 275.

⁹² Alexander, 388.

⁹³ The account and quotes from Alexander, 389.

⁹⁴ *OR XXXVI*, Vol. 1, 417. Report of Lt. Col. William Glenney of the 64th New York, referring to the entire maneuver.

⁹⁵ *OR XLVIII*, pt. 3,

⁹⁶ *OR XLVIII*, pt. 3, 120-121.

⁹⁷ Alexander, 388.

⁹⁸ Wilkeson, 114.

⁹⁹ *OR XXXVI*, Pt. 1, 478.

¹⁰⁰ Weygant, Charles H. *History of the One Hundred and Twenty-Fourth Regiment N.Y.S.V.* Newburgh, NY: Journal Printing House, 1877. Pg. 343.

¹⁰¹ Clark, Gibson. “Reminiscences of Civil War Days.” *Annals of Wyoming*. Pg. 380.

¹⁰² Clark, 380.

¹⁰³ Grant, 564.

“The enemy made several attempts to burn the bridge. . . .”¹⁰⁴
“The river is fordable, though the banks are steep and impracticable. . . .”¹⁰⁵
The capture of the redoubt and bridge. . . .¹⁰⁶

Chapter Nine: Jericho Mills

“every inch the soldier”¹⁰⁷
“The bottom of the river was stony. . . .”¹⁰⁸
“. . . Both banks are high, precipitous, and clear of trees.”¹⁰⁹
“. . . a small stream which flowed down its center.”¹¹⁰
“I could have been over two hours sooner. . . .”¹¹¹
“. . . much broken, with several orchards and clumps of trees.”¹¹²
“Time was when the first thing to be done after a halt. . . .”¹¹³
“The rebels were seen busy now hurrying off trains. . . .”¹¹⁴
“We were about camping for the night”¹¹⁵
“I experienced much difficulty owing to thick and tangled brush”¹¹⁶
“In a few moments I heard sharp musketry. . . .”¹¹⁷
“While forming in line. . . .”¹¹⁸
“I had feared this movement all the afternoon. . . .”¹¹⁹
“To rout them, would be no great work. . . .”¹²⁰
“. . . by a sudden attack, causing some wavering.”¹²¹
“Our batteries in position on the North bank of the river. . . .”¹²²
“Soldiers who had been through all the battles of the Potomac army. . . .”¹²³
“The sharp buzz of rifle balls around us. . . .”¹²⁴
“It was ludicrous in the extreme. . . .”¹²⁵

¹⁰⁴ OR XXXVI, pt. 3, 341.

¹⁰⁵ OR XXXVI, pt. 3, 147-148.

¹⁰⁶ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 341.

¹⁰⁷ Goodrich, Frederick. *The Life of Winfield Scott Hancock*. Boston: B.B. Russell, 1886. Pg. 331.

¹⁰⁸ McBride, R. E. *In The Ranks: From the Wilderness to Appomattox Court-House*. Cincinnati, OH: Walden & Stowe, 1881. Pg. 63.

¹⁰⁹ Wainwright, 384.

¹¹⁰ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 238. Report of Dr. Thomas McParlin.

¹¹¹ OR XXXVI, pt. 3, 125.

¹¹² Wainwright, 384.

¹¹³ Locke, 342-3.

¹¹⁴ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 563. Report of Col. William Tilton of the 22nd Massachusetts Infantry.

¹¹⁵ Frank letter. Author's personal collection.

¹¹⁶ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 621. Report of Col. Rufus Dawes of the 6th Wisconsin Infantry.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 617. Report of Maj. Merit C. Welsh of the 7th Indiana Infantry.

¹¹⁹ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 563. Tilton's report.

¹²⁰ Reports, 1863-1865, of Cadmus Marcellus Wilcox. Robert Edward Lee Headquarters Papers, 1850-1876. (Series 5, Folder 7, Item 26.) Virginia Historical Society.

¹²¹ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 556. Report of Maj. John Lentz of the 91st Pennsylvania Infantry.

¹²² Sgt. Charles Thomas Bowen diary. May 23, 1864. FSNMP.

¹²³ McBride, 65.

¹²⁴ Bowen diary.

¹²⁵ McLaurin, William. "Eighteenth Regiment." *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina, in the Great War 1861-'65*. Walter Clark, editor. Goldsboro, NC: Nash Brothers, 1901. Pg. 55.

“. . . very heavy firing in front. . . .”¹²⁶
 “Sock it to ’em, boys!”¹²⁷
 “The pioneers and clerks (exempt from going in battle or carrying arms). . . .”¹²⁸
 “No brigade in the whole army had a higher reputation. . . .”¹²⁹
 “The line on my left now abandoned their breast-works. . . .”¹³⁰
 “[T]he whole first brigade and a part of the second broke. . . .” and “I felt that now was the time to show what artillery could do.”¹³¹
 “. . . his attack had gone “handsomely”. . . .”¹³²
 “I could not help a glow of pleasure and pride. . . .”¹³³
 “[A]ll three batteries opened within canister range. . . .”¹³⁴
 “. . . very much demoralized his troops.”¹³⁵
 “I have seen patent mince-meat cutters with knives. . . .”¹³⁶
 “firing case-shot into them until they were driven into the woods”¹³⁷
 “. . . I saw everybody else running the same way.”¹³⁸
 “Part of my extreme right was just going into position. . . .”¹³⁹
 “. . . “made every part of the line feel nervous””¹⁴⁰
 “. . . “had evidently been a good deal scared.”¹⁴¹
 “Had they pushed their main force in. . . .”¹⁴²
 “I congratulate you and your gallant corps. . . .”¹⁴³

Chapter Ten: Lee’s Council of War

“[A] regular little council”¹⁴⁴

“If I can get one more pull at him, I will defeat him,” Lee said of Grant.¹⁴⁵

¹²⁶ OR XXXVI, pt.1, 399. Report of Capt. Garrett Nowlan of the 116th PA Infantry.

¹²⁷ Bowen diary.

¹²⁸ Frank letter. Frank noted that the pioneers were exempt from service, but they did, in fact, carry arms and were sometimes used in battle.

¹²⁹ Wainwright, 386.

¹³⁰ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 621. Dawes ‘s report.

¹³¹ Wainwright, 385.

¹³² Wilcox report.

¹³³ Wainwright, 385.

¹³⁴ Wainwright, 385.

¹³⁵ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 582. Report of Lt. Col. William Throop of the 1st Michigan Infantry.

¹³⁶ Rhea, 437. Cites: Carleton to Editor, May 26, 1864, *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 31, 1864.

¹³⁷ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 656. Report of Capt. Charles E. Mink of Battery H, 1st New York Light Artillery.

¹³⁸ Fox, John J. III. “Edward Thomas’ Georgia Brigade at the Battle of Jericho Mills on May 23, 1864.” <http://emergingcivilwar.com/2014/05/23/edward-thomas-georgia-brigade-at-the-battle-of-gericho-mills-on-may-23-1864/>. Cites: Marion Hill Fitzpatrick, *Letters to Amanda*. (Macon, Ga., 1998) p. 147. (edited by Jeffrey C. Lowe and Sam Hodges); F.S. Johnson Letter. May 23, 1864, Special Collections, MS 243, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Ga.

¹³⁹ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 128. Report of Maj. Gen. G. K. Warren, commander of the V Corps.

¹⁴⁰ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 129.

¹⁴¹ Wainwright, 385.

¹⁴² Wainwright, 385.

¹⁴³ OR XXXVI, pt. 1, 129-130.

¹⁴⁴ This quotes and the full account come from Alexander, 389.

¹⁴⁵ Cooke, John Esten. *A Life of Gen. Robert E. Lee*.

<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/10692/pg10692.html>

“I seem to have acquired the confidence of General Lee. . . .”¹⁴⁶
. . . Lee “made good his claim to the mule”. . . .¹⁴⁷
“General Hill, why did you let those people cross here?”¹⁴⁸
. . . he told Hill “let us say no more about it.”¹⁴⁹

Chapter Eleven: At Mt. Carmel Church

“It was evidently of the class described. . . .”¹⁵⁰
. . . “looked precisely like a town-hall. . . .”¹⁵¹
“If you want a horrible hole for a halt. . . .”¹⁵²
“A most hot, dry, dusty and barren corner. . . .”¹⁵³
Inside the church, staffers laid boards. . . .¹⁵⁴
Sherman’s message was “one of the florid style. . . .”¹⁵⁵
Meade’s “grey eyes grew like a rattlesnake’s”. . . .¹⁵⁶
“Sir!” Meade barked. . . .¹⁵⁷
“an armed rabble.”¹⁵⁸
“. . . and heartily congratulated upon his signal success.”¹⁵⁹
“In describing a particularly hot fight. . . .”¹⁶⁰
“. . . absent at all from the Army of the Potomac.”¹⁶¹
“. . . a horse every few rods and the air was tainted with them.”¹⁶²
“. . . the general comparative want of tone and discipline.”¹⁶³
“[T]he manner in which Burnside acquiesced. . . .”¹⁶⁴

Chapter Twelve: Marching Into the Trap

“[T]he sun rose like a disc of molten brass. . . .”¹⁶⁵

¹⁴⁶ Rhea, 321. Cites: Martin L. Smith to Sarah, May 29, 1864, in James S. Schoff Collection, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

¹⁴⁷ Alexander, 389-90.

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¹⁴⁹ Taylor, Emerson. *Gouverneur Kemble Warren: Life and Letters of an American Soldier*. Pg.114.

¹⁵⁰ Spear, Ellis. *The Civil War Recollections of General Ellis Spear*. Abbott Spear, ed. Orono, ME: University of Maine Press, 1997.

¹⁵¹ Lyman, *With Grant and Meade from the Wilderness to Appomattox*, 123.

¹⁵² Lyman, 123.

¹⁵³ Lyman, 172.

¹⁵⁴ Lyman, 172.

¹⁵⁵ Lyman, 172.

¹⁵⁶ Lyman, 173.

¹⁵⁷ Lyman, 173.

¹⁵⁸ Lyman, 173.

¹⁵⁹ “Bandy-legged Irishman” is an expression often used by writer Shelby Foote to describe Sheridan—a description I have appropriated here because I’ve always liked it so much. Porter, 143.

¹⁶⁰ Porter, 143.

¹⁶¹ Porter, 144.

¹⁶² Lyman, 177.

¹⁶³ Lyman, 173.

¹⁶⁴ Porter, 145.

¹⁶⁵ *History of the Ninety-third Regiment*, 456.

“My skirmishers are pushing out, and find no enemy so far . . .”¹⁶⁶
 “This morning we found that the enemy had fallen back. . . .”¹⁶⁷
 “I have seen nothing in my front. . . .”¹⁶⁸
 “. . . there is a skirmish line the edge of the woods behind.”¹⁶⁹
 “. . . pools of blood, shreds of bloody clothing & so.”¹⁷⁰
 “. . . “found no enemy yet.”¹⁷¹
 “. . . “right well thrown back.”¹⁷²
 “. . . Meade directed him to stretch out on a road to the South Anna River. . . .”¹⁷³
 “Hancock is directed to affect the crossing . . .”¹⁷⁴
 “The enemy’s side of the river is densely wooded along its bank. . . .”¹⁷⁵
 “The prospects of success are not all that flattering. . . .”¹⁷⁶
 “The ford is very rough and deep. . . .”¹⁷⁷
 “Nothing but the inequalities of the surface. . . .”¹⁷⁸
 “This shows that somebody is still about . . .”¹⁷⁹
 “. . . the projected assault was abandoned. . . .”¹⁸⁰
 Hancock soon began to worry about his left-rear. . . .¹⁸¹
 “While we lay in the woods. . . .”¹⁸²
 “. . . “dealing and receiving heavy blows.”¹⁸³
 “As it grew dark the firing had ceased. . . .”¹⁸⁴
 Even before the blood stopping flowing. . . .¹⁸⁵
 “It is impossible to suppose. . . .”¹⁸⁶

Chapter Thirteen: The Battle of Ox Ford

“Have you heard anything from Crawford?”¹⁸⁷
 “The water was so deep in places. . . .”¹⁸⁸
 “. . . “and I will charge and capture it.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁶⁶ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 157.

¹⁶⁷ Wainwright, 387.

¹⁶⁸ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 149.

¹⁶⁹ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 149.

¹⁷⁰ Bowen diary.

¹⁷¹ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 158.

¹⁷² *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 149.

¹⁷³ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 159, 165.

¹⁷⁴ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 134.

¹⁷⁵ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 166.

¹⁷⁶ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 166.

¹⁷⁷ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 167.

¹⁷⁸ *History of the Ninety-third Regiment*, 456.

¹⁷⁹ This and subsequent notes from Warren on this page from *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 159.

¹⁸⁰ From Hancock’s report, *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 342, and Gibbon’s report, *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 432.

¹⁸¹ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 153.

¹⁸² Quote appears on a sign at NAR park, excerpted from *History of the 58th Massachusetts Infantry*

¹⁸³ *History of the Ninety-third Regiment*, 456-457.

¹⁸⁴ from *History of the 58th Massachusetts Infantry*, appearing on a sign at NAR park

¹⁸⁵ *History of the Ninety-third Regiment*, 456-457.

¹⁸⁶ Badeau, Adam. *Military History of Ulysses S. Grant: From April, 1861, to April, 1865*. Vol. 2, 235.

¹⁸⁷ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 159.

¹⁸⁸ Anderson, *Fifty-Seventh Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers*, 98.

“[A] noise like the coming of a cyclone. . . .”¹⁹⁰
“Every man became his own general.”¹⁹¹
“[A] tremendous volley. . . .”¹⁹²
“Bang it, boys!” . . .¹⁹³
“General Crittenden has had quite a sharp fight and met with quite a loss. . . .”¹⁹⁴
“Nothing whatsoever was accomplished. . . .”¹⁹⁵

Chapter Fourteen: Strike Them a Blow

Sick as a dog and “cross as an old bear. . . .”¹⁹⁶
“Though he still had reports of the operations in the field. . . .”¹⁹⁷
“Lee could attend to nothing except what was absolutely necessary. . . .”¹⁹⁸
“Suppose disease should disable him. . . .”¹⁹⁹
There was no one to strike the blow.²⁰⁰
“If General Lee had known the true condition of affairs. . . .”²⁰¹
“To get from one wing to the other. . . .”²⁰²
“[I]ntrench in your present position, and hold it against the enemy. . . .”²⁰³

Chapter Fifteen: Stalemate

May 24-26, 1864

The 28th Massachusetts had spent all day on May 24. . . .²⁰⁴
“[W]e fully expected to receive one of Grant’s interesting 4 a.m. calls. . . .”²⁰⁵
“. . . much better laid out and heavier than ours, as they always are.”²⁰⁶
“To make a direct attack from either wing. . . .”²⁰⁷

¹⁸⁹ This and the subsequent paragraphs from Anderson, 99.

¹⁹⁰ From a wayside at NAR park.

¹⁹¹ “Sheep” comment comes from Pvt. Vincent DeLong of the 24th New York Dismounted Cavalry. It appears on a wayside sign at NAR park.

¹⁹² E. A. Shiver, Co. C of the 2nd Georgia Battalion, quoted on a wayside sign at NAR park.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 168.

¹⁹⁵ Anderson, 104.

¹⁹⁶ Rhea, 326, for the “bear” comment. Cites: Jedediah Hotchkiss to Henry Alexander White, January 12, 1897, in Hotchkiss Collection, LoC.

¹⁹⁷ Venable, Charles. “Campaign from the Wilderness to Petersburg.” *Southern Historical Society Papers*, vol. 14. Pg. 535.

¹⁹⁸ Taylor, 164.

¹⁹⁹ Lee, Robert E. *Recollections and Letters of Robert E. Lee*. New York: Doubleday, 1904. Pg. 127.

²⁰⁰ In fact, says historian Kris White, there *was* someone to strike the blow: “Operationally, command of the field should have been relinquished to Martin Luther Smith.” However, as an engineer with little experience commanding infantry—he’d been in command of a brigade early in 1862 while constructing defenses around New Orleans—Smith would not have seemed a qualified choice to Lee, who himself was an engineer, but one with experience leading men in combat.

²⁰¹ Anderson, 107.

²⁰² This and the rest of the quote from Grant, 568.

²⁰³ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 155.

²⁰⁴ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 1, 389.

²⁰⁵ Alexander, 390.

²⁰⁶ Wainwright, 388.

. . . “the usual skirmishing and artillery firing” . . .²⁰⁸
 “The men labored earnestly and cheerfully all day. . . .”²⁰⁹
 “The rails and ties were torn up. . . .”²¹⁰
 “It is raining hard and the men in the trenches are suffering. . . .”²¹¹
 In a letter written to his wife that day. . . .²¹²
 Ewell would be perhaps the most notorious casualty of the battle. . . .²¹³
 “I understand that all the forts and posts have been stripped of their garrisons. . . .”²¹⁴
 “We lay for three days in the trenches at North Anna. . . .”²¹⁵
 “[W]e could do nothing where we were. . . .”²¹⁶
 “Can it be that this is the sum of our lieutenant general’s abilities?”²¹⁷
 “[N]either of our two commanding Generals. . . .”²¹⁸
 “At North Anna the rank and file of the Potomac army. . . .”²¹⁹
 “The Yankees have lost all the boldness and dash. . . .”²²⁰
 “Lee’s army is really whipped. . . .”²²¹
 “Our success over Lee’s army is already assured. . . .”²²²
 “How we longed to get away from the North Anna. . . .”²²³
 “It was a delicate move. . . .”²²⁴
 . . . “under cover of the thick clouds that were scudding the sky.”²²⁵
 “Before us, in the distance, rose the swells of Cold Harbor. . . .”²²⁶

Visiting the Battlefield

Information on the Sidney E. King Arts Center can be found at
<http://www.bowlinggreenartscomm.org/sidney-e.-king-arts-center.html>

. . . “the furthest point to which the train ran. . . .”²²⁷

²⁰⁷ Grant, 596.

²⁰⁸ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 1, 412. Report of Brig. Gen. John R. Brooke.

²⁰⁹ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 1, 578. Report of Capt. Benjamin Meservey of the 18th Massachusetts Infantry.

²¹⁰ *History of the Ninety-third Regiment*, 457.

²¹¹ Blackford, 248.

²¹² Ewell, 278.

²¹³ Miller, 138.

²¹⁴ Lee, 750.

²¹⁵ Wilkeson, 122.

²¹⁶ Grant, 568-9.

²¹⁷ Wainwright, 388.

²¹⁸ Washington Robeling letter, FSNMP.

²¹⁹ Wilkeson, 122.

²²⁰ Rhea, 368. Cites: Martin L. Smith to wife, May 29, 1864, in James S. Scoff Collection, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

²²¹ *OR XXXVI*, pt. 3, 206.

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ Wilkeson, 122.

²²⁴ Grant, 570.

²²⁵ Locke, 344.

²²⁶ Wilkeson, 123.

²²⁷ Loehr, Charles T. Address before Pickett Camp, U. C. V., August 31, 1896. Southern Historical Society Papers.

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2001.05.0284%3Achapter%3D1.8>

“Portions of the landscape have been altered. . . .”²²⁸
 Organized in 1773, Carmel Church. . . .²²⁹
 “. . . to preach the gospel to persons of his own color.”²³⁰
 “. . . “who outnumbered the white members three to one at times”. . . .”²³¹
 “The ford at Jericho Mills. . . .”²³²
 “The important thing. . . .”²³³
 “. . . “the largest Civil War battlefield park not operated by the National Park Service”.
 . . .”²³⁴
 Initially preserving 80 acres. . . .”²³⁵

Appendix C: The Battle of Wilson’s Wharf

by Emmanuel Dabney

. . . the men of Butler’s command began entrenching.²³⁶
 . . . enslaved people regularly encountered: a whipping.²³⁷
 “the blood from [Clopton’s] loins at every stroke.”²³⁸
 “. . . Mr. W died instantly.”²³⁹
 . . . the United States Colored Troops in garrison at Wilson’s Wharf.²⁴⁰
 . . . with one piece of artillery for Kennon’s place on the lower James.”²⁴¹
 . . . the Fifth South Carolina Cavalry under Col. John Dunovant.²⁴²
 . . . to offer the garrison to surrender.²⁴³
 “would prove disastrous.”²⁴⁴
 “try and hold it.”²⁴⁵

²²⁸ Update to the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation’s Civil War Battlefields. Pg. 205.

<http://www.nps.gov/abpp/CWSII/VirginiaBattlefieldProfiles/Mine%20Run%20to%20North%20Anna.pdf>.

²²⁹ Wingfield, Marshall. *A History of Caroline County, Virginia: From Its Formation in 1727 to 1924*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Com, 2009. (Originally published in 1924.) Pg. 321.

²³⁰ Wingfield, Marshall. *Wingfield’s History of Caroline County, Va.* Pg. 321.

²³¹ Ibid, 320.

²³² <http://www.civilwar.org/battlefields/northanna/north-anna-2014/message-from-jim-lighthizer.html>

²³³ Email to the author, March 17, 2015, from Sam Smith of the Civil War Trust, quoting CWT’s Director of Real Estate Tom Gilmore.

²³⁴ <http://www.hanovercounty.gov/News/County/North-Anna-Battlefield-Park-Dedicated/>

²³⁵ A trail map from the Hanover County Department of Parks and Recreation can be found here:

http://www.hanovercounty.gov/RP/North_Anna_Battlefield_Park_Trail_Map_and_Guide.pdf

²³⁶ Benjamin F. Butler, *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences of Major-General Benj. F. Butler* (Boston, MA, 1892), 639-40.

²³⁷ William H. Clopton to Julia Gardiner Tyler, May 17, 1864, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin Butler*, 4:244.

²³⁸ George W. Hatton, “Retaliation in Camp,” *Christian Recorder*, May 28, 1864.

²³⁹ “Murder by the Yankees,” *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, May 21, 1864, available online at <http://dxs.richmond.edu/d/ddr/> (accessed November 16, 2014).

²⁴⁰ Janet B. Hewett, et al., eds., *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, I, 6:796.

²⁴¹ Janet B. Hewett, et al., eds., *Supplement to the Official Records*, I, 6:809.

²⁴² Hewett, et al., eds., *Supplement to the Official Records*, I, 6:797.

²⁴³ Hewett, et al., eds., *Supplement to the Official Records*, I, 6:797.

²⁴⁴ John Gill, *Reminiscences of Four Years as a Private Soldier in the Confederate Army* (Baltimore, MD, 1904), 98.

²⁴⁵ Hewett, et al., eds., *Supplement to the Official Records*, I, 6:797.

. . . Wild's men ran up a black flag.²⁴⁶
. . . their free status and gain citizenship.²⁴⁷
“ . . . but gallantly was the compliment returned.”²⁴⁸
“ . . . artillery in the fort and the gun boats.”²⁴⁹
. . . upon the transport vessel, *Mayflower*.²⁵⁰
“There were negro troops as well as white in the fort.”²⁵¹
“ . . . some forward, some backward.”²⁵²
“ . . . a great many on the field for us to bury.”²⁵³
. . . Colonel Dunovant had six men wounded.²⁵⁴
“ . . . I shall never see my noble, kind brother again.”²⁵⁵
“ . . . sent to his master in Richmond.”²⁵⁶
“the most useless sacrifice of time and men and horses made during the war.”²⁵⁷
“ . . . God grant that the evil may be speedily remedied, is all I will now say.”²⁵⁸

²⁴⁶ Robert J. Driver, Jr. and H. E. Howard, *2nd Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, VA, 1995), 121.

²⁴⁷ For more about Fort Pillow see John Cimprich, *Fort Pillow: A Civil War Massacre and Public Memory* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2005) and Brian Steel Wills, *The River was Dyed with Blood: Nathan Bedford Forrest and Fort Pillow* (Norman, OK, 2014).

²⁴⁸ Henry M. Turner, “For the Christian Recorder,” *Christian Recorder*, June 25, 1864.

²⁴⁹ Paul B. Means, “Additional Sketch of the Sixty-Third Regiment (Fifth Cavalry.),” in Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-65* (Goldsboro, NC, 1901), 606.

²⁵⁰ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies I the War of the Rebellion*, X (Washington, D.C., 1900), 90.

²⁵¹ Robert J. Driver, Jr. and H. E. Howard, *2nd Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, VA, 1995), 121.

²⁵² Gill, *Reminiscences of Four Years*, 98.

²⁵³ Turner,

²⁵⁴ Hewett, et al., eds., Supplement to the Official Records, I, 6:797.

²⁵⁵ Mary D. Robertson, ed., *Lucy Breckinridge of Grove Hill: The Journal of a Virginia Girl, 1862-1864* (Columbia, SC, 1994), May 28, 1864; June 2, 1864, June 5, 1864, 188-90.

²⁵⁶ Hewett, et al., eds., Supplement to the Official Records, I, 6:810.

²⁵⁷ Means, 604.

²⁵⁸ Turner, “For the Christian Recorder,” *Christian Recorder*, June 25, 1864.

Errata

An error in a caption on page 11 incorrectly says a statue honoring Caroline County's Confederate veterans stands in front of the Hanover County Courthouse in Bowling Green. Bowling Green is the county seat for Caroline County, as correctly discussed on page 17. Therefore, the statue honoring Caroline County's Confederate veterans stands, appropriately, in front of the Caroline County Courthouse.

A photo of artilleryist Charles Mink on page 73 is incorrectly credited to the Library of Congress. The photo actually appears courtesy of historian Eric Mink (no known relation).

