

# To Hell or Richmond: The 1862 Peninsula Campaign

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EMERGING CIVIL WAR SERIES



## Notes

*OR: The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), all references are to Series 1, vol. 11 unless otherwise noted.

*B&L: Battles & Leaders of the Civil War: The Struggle Intensifies*, (Secaucus, N.J., reprint), vol. 2.

*SHSP*: Southern Historical Society Papers

*RNBP*: Richmond National Battlefield Park

### **Circumstances make your presence here necessary**

“power of the land”<sup>1</sup>

“only one man they feared”<sup>2</sup>

“fall in one campaign”<sup>3</sup>

“do not expect to do.”<sup>4</sup>

“is ever in my way”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen W. Sears, *The Civil War Papers of George B. McClellan*. (New York, 1989), Reprint), 70.

Subsequent references: Sears: *McClellan Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 72-75.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 75.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 81.

“in his dotage”<sup>6</sup>  
“well meaning baboon”<sup>7</sup>  
“dangerous point is turned.”<sup>8</sup>  
“98,000 men”<sup>9</sup>  
“complete control”<sup>10</sup>  
“in every way”<sup>11</sup>  
“desirable & necessary”<sup>12</sup>  
“garrison and for battle”<sup>13</sup>  
“cut the confederate railroad”<sup>14</sup>  
“our affairs now”<sup>15</sup>

### **Strike at the Heart**

“the bottom is out of the tub”<sup>16</sup>  
“many of our own people”<sup>17</sup>  
“set on the Occoquan movement”<sup>18</sup>  
“Cameron with Stanton”<sup>19</sup>  
“Manassas by February 22”<sup>20</sup>  
“force I asked for”<sup>21</sup>  
“are prepared to resist it”<sup>22</sup>  
“fight us again & again”<sup>23</sup>  
“at all seasons of the year”<sup>24,25</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 85.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 106.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 87.

<sup>9</sup> Ethan Rafuse, *McClellan's War: The Failure of Moderation in the Struggle for the Union*, (Bloomington, Illinois, 2005), 138.

Subsequent references: Rafuse.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 140-141.

<sup>11</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 107.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 115.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 116-117.

<sup>14</sup> Stephen W. Sears, *Lincoln's Lieutenants: The High Command of the Army of the Potomac*, (Boston, 2017), 128.

Subsequent references: Sears, *Lincoln's Lieutenants*.

<sup>15</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 135.

<sup>16</sup> Rafuse, 170. Rafuse cites Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs' "General M.C. Meigs on the Conduct of the Civil War," *American Historical Review*, January 1921, 292.

<sup>17</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 143.

<sup>18</sup> Sears, *Lincoln's Lieutenants*, 148.

<sup>19</sup> Rafuse, 170-171.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 177.

<sup>21</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 163.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 165.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 166.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 167.

<sup>25</sup> Russel H. Beatie, *Army of the Potomac: McClellan's First Campaign, March-May 1862*, (New York, 2007), 59.

“two marches to Richmond.”<sup>26</sup>  
“no final results”<sup>27</sup>  
“three rivers”<sup>28</sup>  
“such a thing happen!”<sup>29</sup>  
“pulled out of Manassas”<sup>30</sup>  
“at least 40,000”  
“tactical defensive”<sup>31</sup>  
“ARMY OF THE POTOMAC”<sup>32</sup>

### **You Must See**

“numbering some”<sup>33</sup>  
“erosion of their relationship”<sup>34</sup>  
“as soon as practicable”<sup>35</sup>  
“loss to believe it.”<sup>36</sup>  
“attack in rear”<sup>37</sup>  
“that can be held”<sup>38</sup>  
“head for Richmond”<sup>39</sup>  
“as soon as ordered”<sup>40</sup>  
“would face destruction”<sup>41</sup>

### **All Eyes**

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Subsequent references: Beatie.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 168.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 169.

<sup>28</sup> Sears, *Lincoln's Lieutenants*, 130.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 153; Rafuse, pp 189-190.

<sup>30</sup> Sears, *Lincoln's Lieutenants*, 159.

<sup>31</sup> Beatie, 104. Beatie cites a letter from Porter to McClellan held in the Webb papers at Yale University.

<sup>32</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 211.

<sup>33</sup> Stephen H. Newton. *Joseph E. Johnston and the Defense of Richmond*, (Lawrence, Kansas, 1998), 12; Rafuse, 144.

Subsequent references: Newton.

<sup>34</sup> Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants, V./I*, (New York, 1942), Freeman cites the *OR*, 605-611.

Subsequent references: Freeman, *Lee*.

<sup>35</sup> Johnston, Joseph E. *Narrative of Military Operations During the Civil War*, (New York, 1874), no page numbering.

Subsequent references: Johnston, *Narrative*.

<sup>36</sup> Newton, 64.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 65.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 71.

<sup>39</sup> Newton, 74.

<sup>40</sup> *OR*, Part 3, Lee to Johnston, 397; Ibid. 477.

<sup>41</sup> Johnston, Chapter 4.

“centered upon Yorktown”<sup>42</sup>  
“possession of the United States”<sup>43</sup>  
“hospitals and quarters”<sup>44</sup>  
“are already occupied”<sup>45</sup>  
“forces against this line.”<sup>46</sup>  
“to 20,000 men.”<sup>47</sup>  
“under my feet.”<sup>48</sup>  
“by all the regiments.”<sup>49</sup>  
“Lt. Charles Hazlett.”<sup>50</sup>  
“offer a severe resistance.”<sup>51</sup>  
“all along our line.”<sup>52</sup>  
“making a determined resistance.”<sup>53</sup>  
“till reenforcements came.”<sup>54</sup>  
“James River six times.”<sup>55</sup>  
“is waist deep.”<sup>56</sup>  
“the place by assault.”<sup>57</sup>  
“attack Gloucester Point.”<sup>58</sup>  
“nearly all up tomorrow.”<sup>59</sup>  
“yoke of the oppressor?”<sup>60</sup>  
“cannot see the lines.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Walker, Taylor, and Barnes. “Yorktown.” *Detroit Free Press*, April 11, 1862.

<sup>43</sup> AAG Townsend to Col. Dimick, April 30, 18962. *OR*, Part 2, 612.

<sup>44</sup> Parke Rouse, Jr., ed., *When the Yankees Came, Civil War and Reconstruction on the Virginia Peninsula*, by George Benjamin West, (Richmond, Va., 1977), 99.

<sup>45</sup> Cornelius M. Buckley, ed., *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel: The Wartime Letters of Pere Louis-Hippolyte Gache, S. J.* (Chicago, 1981), 88.

<sup>46</sup> Sears, *Richmond*, 25.

<sup>47</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 7.

<sup>48</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 223.

<sup>49</sup> Robert Garth Scott, ed., *Fallen Leaves: The Civil War Letters of Major Henry Livermore Abbott*, (Kent, Ohio, 1991), 109.

<sup>50</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 303.

<sup>51</sup> *OR*, Part 3, 70.

<sup>52</sup> Buckley, 107.

<sup>53</sup> *OR*, Part 3, 71.

<sup>54</sup> Maj. W. A. Smith, *The Anson Guards, Company C, Fourteenth Regiment North Carolina Volunteers, 1861-1862* (Charlotte, 1914), 44.

<sup>55</sup> Forest P. Conner and Robert H. Miller: Letters of Robert H. Miller to His Family, 1861-1862.” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*,” no. 1 (1962), 82.

<sup>56</sup> C. W. Fenton, “From the Anson Guard,” *North Carolina Argus*, May 8, 1862.

<sup>57</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 17.

<sup>58</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 236.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 239.

<sup>60</sup> *OR*, Vol. 9, 53.

<sup>61</sup> *OR*, Part 3, 442.

“to suspend work.”<sup>62</sup>  
“boil with their bullets.”<sup>63</sup>  
“a Dam failure.”<sup>64</sup>  
“going on our front lines.”<sup>65</sup>  
“over a redoubt.”<sup>66</sup>  
“mounting heavy guns, etc.”<sup>67</sup>  
“can be done conveniently.”<sup>68</sup>  
“heavy fire on Monday morning...”<sup>69</sup>  
“lifetime to see.”<sup>70</sup>  
“night of the 3rd.”<sup>71</sup>  
“flies over Yorktown.”<sup>72</sup>

## **It was pandemonium**

“visited by a severe penalty.”<sup>73</sup>  
“Yorktown and Hampton Roads.”<sup>74</sup>  
“across the road.”<sup>75</sup>  
“Brooks from South Carolina.”<sup>76</sup>  
“would closely follow.”<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>63</sup> Paul G. Zeller, *The Vermont Brigade in the Seven Days: The Battles and Their Personal Aftermath* (Jefferson, N. C., 2018), 37.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 67.

<sup>65</sup> Mary action Hammond, O. S. Belden, and Edward A. Acton, “Dear Mollie: Letters of Captain Edward A. Acton to His Wife, 1862.” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, no. 1 (1965), 11.

<sup>66</sup> Graham Dozier, ed., *A Gunner in Lee’s Army: The Civil War Letters of Thomas Henry Carter* (Chapel Hill, 2014), 117.

<sup>67</sup> Herb S. Crumb and Katherine Dhalle, eds., *No Middle Ground: Thomas Ward Osborn’s Letters from the Field* (Hamilton, N. Y., 1993), 20.

<sup>68</sup> *OR*, Part 3, 473.

<sup>69</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (Washington, D. C., 1894-1922), 303.

<sup>70</sup> Alan Nevins, ed., *A Diary of the Battle: The Personal Journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainright, 1862-1865* (Cambridge, Ma., 1998), 44.

<sup>71</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 275.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 233.

<sup>73</sup> Carol K. Dubbs, *Defend this Old Town: Williamsburg During the Civil War* (Baton Rouge, 200), 20.

<sup>74</sup> Earl J. Hess, *Field Armies and Fortifications in the Civil War: The Eastern Campaigns, 1861-1864*, (Chapel Hill, 2013), 93.

<sup>75</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 427.

<sup>76</sup> Ulysses, R. Brooks, *Butler and His Cavalry in the War of Secession 1861-1865*, (Columbia, S. C., 1901), 786.

<sup>77</sup> James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox: Memoirs of the Civil War in America*, (Philadelphia, 1908), 72.

“eager to get at the enemy.”<sup>78</sup>  
“anxious the were to meet the enemy.”<sup>79</sup>  
“2 miles distant.”<sup>80</sup>  
“New Englanders to a crawl.”<sup>81</sup>  
“and to good effect.”<sup>82</sup>  
“the place by assault.”<sup>83</sup>  
“close to the miry earth.”<sup>84</sup>  
“pursuit of the enemy.”<sup>85</sup>  
“swarming with men.”<sup>86</sup>  
“never so mad.”<sup>87</sup>  
“so nervous in all my life.”<sup>88</sup>  
“ranks of the 9th Alabama.”<sup>89</sup>  
“passing southerners.”<sup>90</sup>  
“fighting for, boys.”<sup>91</sup>  
“with perfect coolness.”<sup>92</sup>  
“as best they could.”<sup>93</sup>  
“to support Wilcox’s men.”<sup>94</sup>  
“7th New Jersey.”<sup>95</sup>  
“along the old Quarterpath Road.”<sup>96</sup>  
“7th Virginia Infantry.”<sup>97</sup>  
“spreading around our left flank,”<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Charles Coffin, *Following the Flag: from August 1861 to November 1862*, (New York, 1865), 68.

<sup>79</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 443.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, 465.

<sup>81</sup> *B & L*, Vol. 2, 196.

<sup>82</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 582.

<sup>83</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 17.

<sup>84</sup> Dubbs, 95.

<sup>85</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 450.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*. 549.

<sup>87</sup> Nevins, 40.

<sup>88</sup> J.W. Reid, *History of the 4th Regiment S. C. Volunteers, from the Commencement of the War until Lee’s Surrender*, (Greenville, S.C., 1892), 80

<sup>89</sup> John G. Barrett, editor, *Yankee Rebel: The Civil War Journal of Edmund DeWitt Patterson*, (Knoxville, 2004), 19.

<sup>90</sup> Sean Heuvel and Lisa Heuvel, *The College of William and Mary in the Civil War*, (Jefferson, N.C., 2013), 45.

<sup>91</sup> Dubbs, 114.

<sup>92</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 598.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, 594.

<sup>94</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 587.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, 491.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, 576.

<sup>97</sup> Salem Dutcher, “Williamsburg, A Graphic Story of the Battle of May 5, 1862,” *SHSP*, Vol. 17, 416.

<sup>98</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 487.

“but a good deal exhausted.”<sup>99</sup>  
“as any soldier need desire.”<sup>100</sup>

### **An impetuous charge**

“made them ‘dust.’”<sup>101</sup>  
“in the morning.”<sup>102</sup>  
“was entirely incorrect...”<sup>103</sup>  
“marching on us.”<sup>104</sup>  
“and the river...”<sup>105</sup>  
“line of pickets.”<sup>106</sup>  
“volley into us...”<sup>107</sup>  
“was in rank...”<sup>108</sup>  
“greeted our ears.”<sup>109</sup>  
“terrifying Rebel yell...”<sup>110</sup>  
“have been profound.”<sup>111</sup>  
“Landing on the Pamunkey.”<sup>112</sup>

### **Johnston Pulls Back**

“Eight or Ten”<sup>113</sup>  
“maintain the good name.”<sup>114</sup>  
“from our depots at White House.”<sup>115</sup>  
“move toward Richmond”<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> *Source Book of the Peninsula Campaign in Virginia, April to July*, Gen. Hooker to Cpt. Chauncey McKeever, May 5, 1862, 85.

<sup>100</sup> James R. Burns, *Battle of Williamsburgh, with Reminiscences of the Campaign, Hospitals, Experiences, Debates, etc.* (New York, 1865), iv.

<sup>101</sup> Henry Keiser, *Diary of Henry Keiser of Lykens, Pennsylvania, Company G. 95th & 96th Pennsylvania Volunteers, War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1865*. United State Army Heritage & Education Center, Carlisle Barrack, PA. Transcription by Jake Wynn.

<sup>102</sup> *OR*, Part 1 Franklin’s report of May 17, 1862. 615

<sup>103</sup> *OR*, Part 1 Newton’s report of May 8, 1862. 623

<sup>104</sup> Glenn David Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*. (Chapel Hill, 2012), 132.

<sup>105</sup> *OR*, Part 1, Smith’s report of May 12, 1862. 627

<sup>106</sup> *OR*, Part 1, Hood’s report of May 7, 1862. 631

<sup>107</sup> J.B. Polley, Esq. “To Charming Nellie,” *Confederate Veteran*, January 1896, 44.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> George Skoch and Mark W. Perkins, *Lone Star Confederate*, (College Station, TX. 2003), 13.

<sup>110</sup> J.T. Hunter, “At Yorktown in 1862 and What Followed,” *Confederate Veteran*, February 1918, 67.

<sup>111</sup> William A. Palmer, Jr., *The Battle of Eltham’s Landing*. (self-published, 2012), 9.

<sup>112</sup> Palmer, 15-18.

<sup>113</sup> *OR*, Part III, McClellan to Stanton, 151.

<sup>114</sup> *bid.* Orders from S. Williams, Ass’t Adj. General, May 10, 161.

<sup>115</sup> *B&L*, Vol. 2 “The Peninsular Campaign” by George B. McClellan, 173.

<sup>116</sup> *OR*, Part III, Johnston to Huger, 469-470.

“satisfactory to him.”<sup>117</sup>  
“so great an accession”<sup>118</sup>  
“extreme right”<sup>119</sup>  
“beyond the Chickahominy.”<sup>120</sup>

### **On to Richmond**

“all at once”<sup>121</sup>  
“until further order.”<sup>122</sup>  
“from the woods.”<sup>123</sup>  
“Seward’s advice”<sup>124</sup>  
“Richmond and here”<sup>125</sup>  
“can send me”<sup>126</sup>  
“present for duty”<sup>127</sup>  
“would not reach you on two weeks”<sup>128</sup>  
“right to join me”<sup>129</sup>  
“deal with such people”<sup>130</sup>  
“force in front of me.”<sup>131</sup>

“time to draw off our trains.”<sup>132</sup>  
“giving way on either side.”<sup>133</sup>  
“that’s Dwight!”<sup>134</sup>  
“in the smoke and confusion.”<sup>135</sup>  
“blew the whole thing away.”<sup>136</sup>  
“proximity of a cannon.”<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid, Lee to Johnston, 530.

<sup>118</sup> Johnston *Narrative*, Chapter 5.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> *OR*, Part III, Lincoln to McClellan, 154-155. All quotes in the paragraph are from this letter.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 154.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, 161.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, 170.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 173.

<sup>126</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 264-265.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 184.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. Lincoln to McClellan, 184.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. McDowell to McClellan, 186.

<sup>130</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 275.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid. McClellan to Lincoln, 277.

<sup>132</sup> Longstreet, 77.

<sup>133</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 585.

<sup>134</sup> Nevins, 52.

<sup>135</sup> Dutcher, 418.

<sup>136</sup> Nevins, 54.

<sup>137</sup> Dutcher, 418.



“doodle you can think of.”<sup>138</sup>  
“came to the Union headquarters”<sup>139</sup>  
“the line was broken.”<sup>140</sup>  
“feeling sure of success.”<sup>141</sup>  
“they faltered, they halted.”<sup>142</sup>  
“as to be efficient.”<sup>143</sup>  
“approximately twenty minutes.”<sup>144</sup>  
“John Brown’s body.”<sup>145</sup>  
“history than it has merited.”<sup>146</sup>

## **A Meeting**

“struggled and pushed”<sup>147</sup>  
“tedious march”<sup>148</sup>  
“roads were muddy”<sup>149</sup>  
“ever experienced”<sup>150</sup>  
“hold him in check”<sup>151</sup>  
“shot & shell flew”<sup>152</sup>  
“like so much game”<sup>153</sup>  
“in the wheat field”<sup>154</sup>  
“cut in two”<sup>155</sup>  
“dress parade”<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Nevins, 47.

<sup>139</sup> Brasher, 127.

<sup>140</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 610.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.* 550.

<sup>142</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 551.

<sup>143</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 611.

<sup>144</sup> Hancock’s recollection is 23 minutes, whereas Maury recalled that the push back across the field took ten to fifteen minutes for the 24th Virginia to make it to the fence, adjust their lines, and retreat.

<sup>145</sup> Diary of Mrs. Cynthia B. T. Coleman, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William & Mary.

<sup>146</sup> Drew Gruber, “The Battle of Williamsburg, *Encyclopedia Virginia*, (October 2014).

<sup>147</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 682.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* 739.

<sup>149</sup> Joseph Stanfield diary, RNBP, bound volume #74.

<sup>150</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 722.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> Diary of John Berry, from the Civil War times Illustrated Collection at the U.S. Army Heritage Education Center at Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Typescript of a portion of the diary is at the RNBP, bound volume #74.

<sup>153</sup> *OR*, Part 1, Lane’s report of June 1, 1862, 743.

<sup>154</sup> Michael C, Hardy, *The Battle of Hanover Court House: Turning Point of the Peninsula Campaign*, May 27, 1862, (Jefferson, N.C. 2006), 58.

Subsequent references: Hardy.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 59. Cites Speer’s *Voices from Cemetery Hill*, 52-53.

<sup>156</sup> *OR*, Part 1, Lane’s report of June 1, 1862, 723.

“an organized retreat”<sup>157</sup>  
“mounted arm properly”<sup>158</sup>  
“rather suspicious”<sup>159</sup>  
“faced several regiments”<sup>160</sup>  
“cheering lustily”<sup>161</sup>  
“were also destroyed”<sup>162</sup>  
“68 were missing”<sup>163</sup>  
“in driving them”<sup>164</sup>  
“awaits us in Richmond”<sup>165</sup>  
“handsomest things of the war”<sup>166</sup>  
“desperate battle is before us.”<sup>167</sup>

### **Seven Pines, Part One**

“Keyes received orders to fortify”<sup>168</sup>  
“McClellan instructed Keyes”<sup>169</sup>  
“ten paces distant”<sup>170</sup>  
“blaze of lightning”<sup>171</sup>  
“Federals at the crossroads”<sup>172</sup>  
“enemy’s left flank”<sup>173</sup>  
“cover our right”<sup>174</sup>  
“From their beds of mud”<sup>175</sup>  
“point of extrication”<sup>176</sup>  
“jaws of death”<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 744.

<sup>158</sup> Robert E. L. Krick, *Prelude to the Seven Days*: “The Battle of Slash Church (Hanover Court House), May 27, 1862”. From *The Peninsula Campaign of 1862*, Vol. II, Edited by William J. Miller, (Campbell, Ca., 1995), 17.

Subsequent references: Krick.

<sup>159</sup> Letter from Corporal Joseph Simonds of Company F., 22nd Massachusetts Volunteers to his sister, May 28, 1862. RNBP, bound volume #37.

<sup>160</sup> “Letter from the Potomac Army,” *Erie Weekly Gazette*, July 24, 2862.

<sup>161</sup> *OR*, Part I, ,723.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 680.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, 685.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, 742.

<sup>165</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 280.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, 280.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, 279.

<sup>168</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 872.

<sup>169</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 38.

<sup>170</sup> *B&L*, “Two Days of Battle at Seven Pines, by Gustavus. W. Smith, 227.

<sup>171</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 873.

<sup>172</sup> *B&L*, Smith, 225.

<sup>173</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 938.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid, 938.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid, 873.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, 961.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid, 922.

“unless re-enforced”<sup>178</sup>  
destructive cross-fire”<sup>179</sup>  
“from every team”<sup>180</sup>  
“suffered severely in the advance”<sup>181</sup>  
“iron tempest”<sup>182</sup>  
“it must be abandoned”<sup>183</sup>  
“which rained upon them”<sup>184</sup>  
“as steady as English veterans”<sup>185</sup>  
“with interest after crossing”<sup>186</sup>  
“gathered on us”<sup>187</sup>

### Meanwhile

“one place was waist deep.”<sup>188</sup>  
“over the axle trees.”<sup>189</sup>  
“up to their waists in water”<sup>190</sup>  
“cut them down by hundreds”<sup>191</sup>  
“graner of wheat”<sup>192</sup>  
“150 yards in his rear”<sup>193</sup>  
“made with a yell”<sup>194</sup>  
“dark woods beyond”<sup>195</sup>  
“as far as practicable”<sup>196</sup>  
“vivacity and spirit”<sup>197</sup>  
“murderous fire”<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid, 922.

<sup>179</sup> Gustavus Woodson Smith, *The Battle of Seven Pines*, (New York: C. G. Crawford, 1891), 31.

<sup>180</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 922-923.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid, 973.

<sup>182</sup> C.E. Mink letter, “Louisville Journal & Republican”, July 2, 1862. RNB, bound volume # 38.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, Palmer’s report of June 5, 1862, 929.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, Kearny’s report of June 2, 1862, 838.

<sup>185</sup> Letter to the “Ashland, Ohio Times,” June 26, 1862. RNB, bound volume # 56.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid, Jenkins’ report (undated) of 1862, 947

<sup>187</sup> Ibid. Kearny’s report of June 2, 1862, 840.

<sup>188</sup> Edward Porter Alexander, Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate: A Critical Narrative*, (Dayton: 1977), Originally printed in 1907, 84. Cites Wilcox’s report in the *OR*.

Subsequent references: Alexander.

<sup>189</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 794.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid, 795

<sup>191</sup> Correspondence of George W. Mindil, staff officer of the Federal III Corps. “The Battle of Fair Oaks.” Copy at Richmond National Battlefield Park (RNB), 9.

<sup>192</sup> Letter of A. H. Dalton, USAMHI, copy at RNB, bound volume # 22.

<sup>193</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 808.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid, 799-800.

<sup>195</sup> Mindil, 9, *OR*, Part 1, 1862,

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, 992.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid, 765.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid, 775.

“carrying everything before them”<sup>199</sup>  
“a most perfect apathy”<sup>200</sup>  
“impossible for us to see”<sup>201</sup>  
Seven Pines casualties<sup>202</sup>  
“four miles of Richmond”<sup>203</sup>  
“share its dangers”<sup>204</sup>  
“it smells awful here”<sup>205</sup>  
“sacred soil of Virginia”<sup>206</sup>

### **Aftermath**

“would have been “decisive”<sup>207</sup>  
“his career was ruined”<sup>208</sup>  
“gather his reserves”<sup>209</sup>  
“on the battlefield”<sup>210</sup>  
“Confederate officers”<sup>211</sup>  
“seems incredible”<sup>212</sup>  
“with eight hours”<sup>213</sup>  
“instead of merely defeated”<sup>214</sup>  
“court at once” paragraph<sup>215</sup>  
“never occurred”<sup>216</sup>  
“Alexander pointed out”<sup>217</sup>  
“the army under its commander”<sup>218</sup>  
“would have been dismal”<sup>219</sup>

### **A Perfect Gibraltar**

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid, 982.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid, 983.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, 772.

<sup>202</sup> Alexander, 89.

<sup>203</sup> Sears, *McClellan Papers*, 286.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid, letter to the Army, June 2, 1862, 286.

<sup>205</sup> Letter of Captain James H. Carter, RNBP, bound volume #40.

<sup>206</sup> Letter of D.Y. Huddleston, RNBP, bound volume #91.

<sup>207</sup> Mindil, 3, RNBP.

<sup>208</sup> Newton, 97.

<sup>209</sup> Mindil, 3.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid. 9.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid. 9.

<sup>212</sup> Alexander, 79.

<sup>213</sup> *OR*, Part 1, 940.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid, 935.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid, 935-936.

<sup>216</sup> Alexander, 79.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid, 90.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, 90-91.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid, 93.

“as formidable as possible.”<sup>220</sup>

“ever expected to hear again.”<sup>221</sup>

“tearing up her deck.”<sup>222</sup>

### **A Battlefield Lost**

Information about postwar Sandston<sup>223</sup>

### **The Virginia Peninsula Before 1862**

“associated with them”<sup>224</sup>

“James and York Rivers”<sup>225</sup>

“Richmond in 1780”<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Clifford Dowdey, and Louis H. Manarin, *The Wartime Papers of Robert E. Lee*. (New York, 1961), 169.

<sup>221</sup> Mann, Samuel A., “New Light on the Great Drewry’s Bluff Fight,” *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 34, 1906, 92.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid*, 92

<sup>223</sup> Information on the history of Sandston was found in Manarin, Louis H. and Peple, Charles H. *The History of Henrico County*, (Henrico, Virginia, 2011).

<sup>224</sup> John Salmon, “Tsenacomacao, Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom.,” *Encyclopedia Virginia*, retrieved from <http://encyclopediavirginia.org>, 2020.

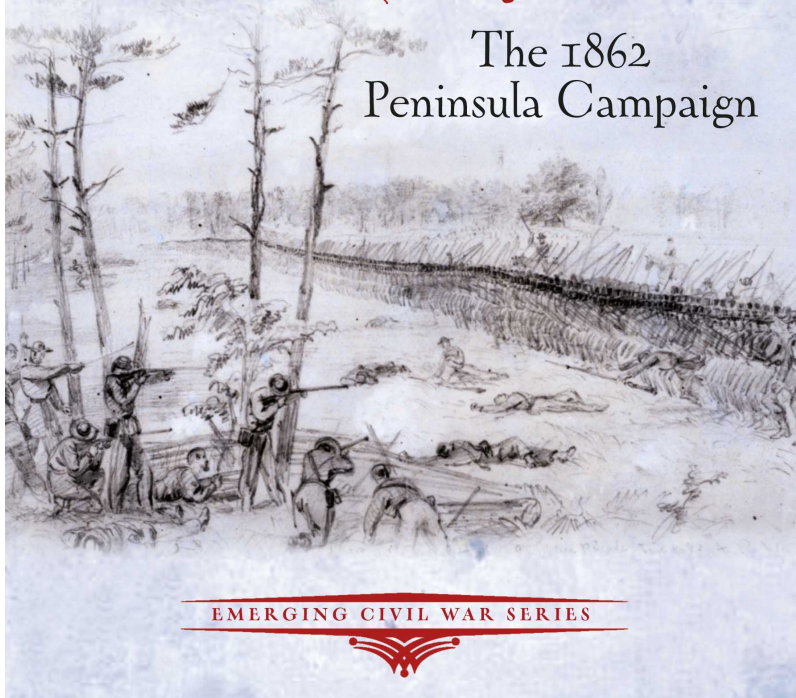
<sup>225</sup> Katherine Gruber, “Williamsburg During the Colonial Period,” “Williamsburg During the Colonial Period,” *Encyclopedia Virginia*, retrieved from <https://www.encyclopediavirginia.com>, 2020.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*.

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# To Hell or Richmond

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