

# *Glorious Courage*

## THE LIFE OF CONFEDERATE JOHN PELHAM IN THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA

by Sarah Kay Bierle



### Footnotes

#### Prelude

*his eyes were restless, and flashed like diamonds."*<sup>1</sup>  
*it had arrived safely at the battery."*<sup>2</sup>

#### Chapter 1

relics connected to their boy-hero.<sup>3</sup>  
the family lived in Jacksonville and later in Alexandria.<sup>4</sup>  
"He was like other boys had his fights, loves . . . "<sup>5</sup>  
studied the West Minister Catechism on Sunday."<sup>6</sup>  
Pelham applied for an appointment to West Point.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Confederate Veteran, Vol. 6, September 1898, page 436.

<sup>2</sup> Heros Von Borcke, *Memoirs of the Confederate War For Independence* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1867), 234-235.

<sup>3</sup> Birmingham Public Library, Fred R. Martin Scrapbook Collection; Anniston-Calhoun County Public Library, Fred R. Martin Collection.

<sup>4</sup> Sam Stewart to Peggy Vogtsberger, May 2, 1981, John Pelham Historical Association Papers, Folder 1.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Pelham to Edwin P. Cox, November 25, 1898, Page 2, Question 7. Cox Papers, Freeman Files, Library of Congress.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Pelham to Edwin P. Cox, November 25, 1898, Question 10. Cox Papers, Freeman Files, Library of Congress.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Pelham to Edwin P. Cox, November 25, 1898, Question 9. Cox Papers, Freeman Files, Library of Congress.

the influence of Senator Miles Washington Abernathy.<sup>8</sup>  
enter into any engagement with [the] U.S.”<sup>9</sup>

## Chapter 2

to visit extended family during his trip northward.<sup>10</sup>  
John he reached W. Point . . . seem well pleased.”<sup>11</sup>  
Academy records recorded his entrance on July 1, 1856.<sup>12</sup>  
*and has an area of forty odd acres.”*<sup>13</sup>  
*according to the Rules and Articles of War.*<sup>14</sup>  
Mathis W. Henry, Hugh J. Kilpatrick, and Emory Upton.<sup>15</sup>  
Patrick O’Rorke (Class of June 1861), and George A. Custer (Class of June 1861).<sup>16</sup>  
*I suppose nowadays it would be called personality.”*<sup>17</sup>  
since height determined those allotments.<sup>18</sup>  
You must allow me to introduce him.”<sup>19</sup>  
to begin the arrangements for permission and travel.<sup>20</sup>  
the pleasure of seeing you boys all together. . . .”<sup>21</sup>  
“every action[,] word & thought . . . vividly stamped upon the mind.”<sup>22</sup>  
“I now stand face to face with the stern realities of life.”<sup>23</sup>  
if not this year, and that it will affect my class.”<sup>24</sup>  
a series of forlorn (and not entirely specified) hopes.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, John Pelham Collection, Folder 2, “John Pelham’s Appointment to West Point”

<sup>9</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, John Pelham Collection, Folder 2.

<sup>10</sup> William C. Pelham, Mayville, KY, no date, list of answers to question – Cox Papers, Freeman Files, Library of Congress.

<sup>11</sup> Martha Pelham to William Pelham, June 15, 1856 (University of North Carolina, William Pelham file).

<sup>12</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, USMA Archives to Peggy Vogtsberger, November 20, 1978.

<sup>13</sup> Morris Schaff, *Before The Storm: West Point and the Civil War* (Big Byte Books, 2016), 10.

<sup>14</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, Pelham Service Oath.

<sup>15</sup> Jerry H. Maxwell, *The Perfect Lion: The Life and Death of Confederate Artillerist John Pelham* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press), 16-18.

<sup>16</sup> Kent Masterson Brown, *Cushing of Gettysburg: The Story of a Union Artillery Commander* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 35.

<sup>17</sup> Charles G. Milham, *Gallant Pelham: American Extraordinary* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1959), 21.

<sup>18</sup> Milliard K. Bushong and Dean M. Bushong, *Fightin’ Tom Rosser, C.S.A.* (Shippensburg: Beidel Printing House, Inc., 1983), 5.

<sup>19</sup> John Pelham to Marianna, March 26, 1861. Civil War Times, October 2003, Pages 59-60.

<sup>20</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, March 29, 1858.

<sup>21</sup> University of North Carolina, William Pelham File: Martha Pelham to William Pelham, April 29[?] 1858

<sup>22</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, September 1858 letter to Charles Pelham, published in newspaper.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, October 1858 letter to Charles Pelham, published in newspaper.

familiarize myself with the different subjects.”<sup>26</sup>  
 Philosophy—46 in Drawing & Painting—33 in Spanish.”<sup>27</sup>  
 watching the girls touring the academy.<sup>28</sup>  
 “the road I’ll take” looked certain.<sup>29</sup>  
 South winds come North since the ‘Harpers Ferry’ affair.”<sup>30</sup>  
 we have to cut, thrust, parry and jump, each one taking his turn.”<sup>31</sup>  
 leading to his injury on at least one occasion.<sup>32</sup>  
 “You could see it was always fun for him.”<sup>33</sup>  
 Artillery Tactics 31, Cavalry Tactics 19, Chemistry 33, and Drawing 40.<sup>34</sup>  
 the summer dances, “Hops” as he and other cadets called them.<sup>35</sup>  
 I am now inclined to prefer the Infantry.”<sup>36</sup>  
 “I enjoyed the Prince’s visit vastly.”<sup>37</sup>  
 a dying king, a prince, and the concepts of honor and love.<sup>38</sup>  
*it shows a want to true courage. . .*”<sup>39</sup>

### Chapter 3

preponderance of young men from the South.<sup>40</sup>  
 who shared their antipathy to slavery.”<sup>41</sup>  
*more wise, more discreet than John Pelham’s.*”<sup>42</sup>  
 very conservative—we call [him] submissionists.”<sup>43</sup>  
 or preaching the desire for freedom.<sup>44</sup>  
 and obey the orders of the President of the United States. . . .”<sup>45</sup>  
*higher after the coming Jan. examination than I have ever been before.*”<sup>46</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, John Pelham to Atkinson Pelham, May 29, 1859

<sup>27</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, John Pelham to brother, July 13, 1859

<sup>28</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, John Pelham to Martha Pelham June 12, 1859.

<sup>29</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, John Pelham to Atkinson Pelham, December 29, 1859.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, John Pelham to Martha Pelham, January 25, 1860

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Maxwell, 21.

<sup>34</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, Copied from USMA Archives.

<sup>35</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, John Pelham to Atkinson Pelham, August 13, 1860.

Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, Copied invitation card to “Cadet Hops”

<sup>36</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, John Pelham to Atkinson Pelham, August 13, 1860.

<sup>37</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, John Pelham to Bettie Pelham, October 18, 1860.

<sup>38</sup> Jacksonville Public Library Pelham Collection, Folder 2, Copied page of French literature and accompanying research notes.

<sup>39</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, John Pelham to Samuel Pelham, February 26, 1859.

<sup>40</sup> Schaff, 98.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 88-89.

<sup>42</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, Quoted in “Stores of ‘The Gallant Pelham’ and Adelbert Ames Recalled by Relic in Possession of a Memphis Girl” published February 21, 1932.

<sup>43</sup> Charles Pelham to Martha Pelham, March 12, 1861, Civil War Times, October 2003.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection.

<sup>46</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, John Pelham to Martha Pelham, December 11, 1860.

Commented [DD1]: Them (plural submissionists)

"I wish you would write me as soon as you have time."<sup>47</sup>  
 deemed most desirable for our common peace and security."<sup>48</sup>  
 Two cadets from Ala resigned on account of secession. . . ."<sup>49</sup>  
 his resignation to the Superintendent or other proper officer of that Institution."<sup>50</sup>  
 which they are naturally most anxious to do."<sup>51</sup>  
 if I am recalled by the Authorities, I will obey it."<sup>52</sup>  
 in attempting to force to me to resign" (emphasis original).<sup>53</sup>  
 "cursing and abusing me awfully in Montgomery" for his decision.<sup>54</sup>  
 —and I feel a confidence that I can succeed in it."<sup>55</sup>  
 It should be stored away. . . ."<sup>56</sup>  
 these flirtatious efforts had only been a "sad blunder."<sup>57</sup>  
*they did not send him any official information consequently.*"<sup>58</sup>  
 "I have accepted no place or appointment from any state or government."<sup>59</sup>  
 Pelham's academic standing to the Secretary of War.<sup>60</sup>  
 John Pelham's resignation to April 22, 1861.<sup>61</sup>  
 "alive, walking across the 'area'."<sup>62</sup>  
 "I am going home. I shall be in two or three fights and then be killed."<sup>63</sup>

#### Chapter 4

another cadet who had already gone south.<sup>64</sup>  
 he first went West & soon made his way to Calhoun Co."<sup>65</sup>  
 and John got red in the face."<sup>66</sup>  
 Father didn't like the looks of things at all."<sup>67</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, John Pelham to Atkinson Pelham, December 11, 1860.

<sup>48</sup> The Ohio State University, "Alabama Ordinance of Secession," accessed at: <https://ehistory.osu.edu/exhibitions/Regimental/alabama/confederate/secession>

<sup>49</sup> Cyrus Ballou Comstock, *The Diary of Cyrus B. Comstock*, edited by Merlin E. Sumner (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1987), 225.

<sup>50</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, Atkinson Pelham regarding resignation.

<sup>51</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, Henry DuPont Letters.

<sup>52</sup> John Pelham to Motts, March 26, 1861, *Civil War Times*, October 2003.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3 to sister in law.

<sup>55</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, Pelham to Walker March 31, 1861

<sup>56</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3 to sister in law.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, Henry DuPont Letters.

<sup>59</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, Pelham resignation.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 2, USMA Archives to Peggy Vogtsberger, November 20, 1978.

<sup>62</sup> Schaff, 81.

<sup>63</sup> Maxwell, 45.

<sup>64</sup> Library of Congress, Charles Pelham, 1898. Page 4

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, Page 5

but actually “chewed tobacco in ranks!”<sup>68</sup>  
 pray God to take him safe from the battlefield.”<sup>69</sup>  
 a sobering reminder of the realities of slavery.<sup>70</sup>  
 on May 16, heading to Lynchburg, Virginia.<sup>71</sup>  
 from Virginia Military Institute who acted as drillmasters.<sup>72</sup>  
 4 battered caissons with limbers, and 43 three horses.<sup>73</sup>  
 Albertis was in his mid-forties<sup>74</sup>  
*drilled the awkward squad that had been assigned to him.*<sup>75</sup>  
 I ask thee not now for thine.”<sup>76</sup>  
 not insensible to the virtues of courage and patriotism.”<sup>77</sup>

## Chapter 5

arriving in the early morning hours of July 21.<sup>78</sup>  
 position for hours against the enemy’s advancing thousands.”<sup>79</sup>  
 and wheeled his guns into battery.”<sup>80</sup>  
 Latham’s left by General Jackson, and supported by fragments of troops. . . .”<sup>81</sup>  
 “were cool and brave and made terrible havoc on the enemy.”<sup>82</sup>  
 “to write . . . from Washington City before many weeks.”<sup>83</sup>  
 “the West Point battery that I have drilled with so often.”<sup>84</sup>  
*and we must meet him as becomes us, as becomes men.*<sup>85</sup>

## Chapter 6

ten days after the first battle of Manassas.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., Page 8

<sup>69</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection; Freeman Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>70</sup> Maxwell, 323-324; Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection.

<sup>71</sup> University of North Carolina, Atkinson Pelham to William Pelham, May 24, 1861.

<sup>72</sup> Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania National Military Park Bound Volume 018-11: Murray Taylor.

<sup>73</sup> Maxwell, 50.

<sup>74</sup> 1860s Federal Census, accessed through Ancestry.com.

<sup>75</sup> Maxwell, 49.

<sup>76</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection; Milham, 58.

<sup>77</sup> Belle Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (New York: Blelock, 1866), 61-62.

<sup>78</sup> Maxwell, 51-52.

<sup>79</sup> Official Records, Volume 2, page 481: General Jackson’s battle report for First Manassas.

<sup>80</sup> William Thomas Poague, *Gunner with Stonewall: Reminiscences Of William Thomas Poague* (Golden Springs Publishing, Kindle Edition), 41-42.

<sup>81</sup> Official Records, Volume 2, page 497: General Beauregard’s battle report for First Manassas.

<sup>82</sup> John Pelham, Letter, Jacksonville Republican, August 8, 1861 – Jacksonville Pubic Library, Pelham Collection; Maxwell, 59-61.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

I know you will discharge your duty on every occasion. . . ."<sup>87</sup>  
 continuing to organize, supply, and further train that unit.<sup>88</sup>  
 equipment from the Confederate War Department.<sup>89</sup>  
 authorized the formation of the Stuart Horse Artillery.<sup>90</sup>  
 did not meet approval from authorities in Richmond.<sup>91</sup>  
 "I need a commander very much to organize the battery forthwith."<sup>92</sup>  
 Fauntleroy, Breathed, and Brown."<sup>93</sup>  
 It has taken the name of 'Stuart Horse Artillery.'"<sup>94</sup>  
 "20 skillets and 20 Camp Kettles" had to be obtained.<sup>95</sup>  
 "they are bound to be in the front. . . ."<sup>96</sup>  
 "and I want good men to man them."<sup>97</sup>  
 \$600 bounty reward for signing up so many volunteers.<sup>98</sup>  
 inspired by their French-Creole heritage and their 12-pound Napoleon cannon.<sup>99</sup>  
 Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee."<sup>100</sup>

## Chapter 7

Stuart Horse Artillery as a Virginia unit despite its state-diverse recruiting.<sup>101</sup>  
 Peninsula to join the defense.<sup>102</sup>  
 contained 141 men and had 8 cannon.<sup>103</sup>  
 baggage wagons with their tents and personal supplies.<sup>104</sup>  
 and eventually the incident passed.<sup>105</sup>  
 artillery commanded to guard against Union landings  
 "two 12-pounder howitzers and one 12-pound rifled gun, Blakely."<sup>106</sup>  
 to enfilade the enemy's line."<sup>107</sup>

<sup>86</sup> A.J. Walker to John Pelham, July 31, 1861, Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3, #34.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Maxwell, 63.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>91</sup> Robert H. Moore, *The 1st and 2nd Stuart Horse Artillery* (Lynchburg: H.E. Howard, 1985), 1-2.

<sup>92</sup> James Ewell Brown Stuart, *The Letters of Major General James E.B. Stuart*, edited by Adele H. Mitchell (The Stuart-Mosby Historical Society, 1990), 225.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 230.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 233-234.

<sup>95</sup> Maxwell, 65.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>97</sup> *Jacksonville Republican*, December 19, 1861.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Maxwell, 66.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>101</sup> Robert H. Moore, *The 1st and 2nd Stuart Horse Artillery* (Lynchburg: H.E. Howard, 1985), 5.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>103</sup> J.C. Wise, *Long Army of Lee*, Volume 1, 185-186.

<sup>104</sup> Moore, 9.

<sup>105</sup> Moore, 9-10.

<sup>106</sup> Official Records, Volume 11, Part 1: Captain Pelham report, 574-575.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

I withdrew for want of ammunition."<sup>108</sup>  
 13 escaped animals, though most were eventually retrieved.<sup>109</sup>  
 and never showed cowardice after that."<sup>110</sup>  
 Stuart only had praise for Pelham and the horse artillery.<sup>111</sup>  
 to fire at Col. William W. Averell's Union cavalry<sup>112</sup>  
 They say they don't like to be fired on by cannons from every old field. . . "<sup>113</sup>  
 with Pelham's battery which sent them howling back in confusion."<sup>114</sup>  
 by Lt. James Breathed and Lt. William McGregor joined the force.<sup>115</sup>  
 as did this raid around McClellan, in which Pelham['s guns] took part."<sup>116</sup>  
 his guns helped to secure a crucial bridge over Totopotomoy Creek<sup>117</sup>  
 some good service on the flanks of the enemy."<sup>118</sup>  
 opening the road for Jackson's slow advance.<sup>119</sup>  
 forming line, near Old Cold Harbor Tavern.<sup>120</sup>  
 held position and fought back against the batteries.<sup>121</sup>  
*Enemy's battery at last quieter."*<sup>122</sup>  
 Gun of our enemy groaning threw the are."<sup>123</sup>  
 lived near Martinsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia).<sup>124</sup>  
*sprung up at the place since its occupation by the Northern army."*<sup>125</sup>  
 The gunboat never returned."<sup>126</sup>  
 notably at Forge Bridge on the Chickahominy River.<sup>127</sup>  
 silent witnesses of Pelham's death-dealing shots seen by us the day previous."<sup>128</sup>  
 Evelynnton Heights unguarded and sent a note, informing Stuart.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Moore, 8.

<sup>111</sup> Official Records, Volume 11, Part 1: General Stuart report, 570-574.

<sup>112</sup> Official Records, Volume 11, Part 1: Captain Pelham report, 574-575.

<sup>113</sup> Robert J. Trout, *Gallop Thunder: The Stuart Horse Artillery Battalion* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2002), 58.

<sup>114</sup> James Ewell Brown Stuart to Flora Stuart, May 17, 1862. Archive of the Virginia Museum of History & Culture MSS 1ST923d38Stuart

<sup>115</sup> Official Records, Volume 11, Part 1: General Stuart report, 570-574.

<sup>116</sup> Wise, 206.

<sup>117</sup> Maxwell, 89.

<sup>118</sup> W.W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 73.

<sup>119</sup> Maxwell, 90.

<sup>120</sup> Official Records, Volume 11, Part 2: General Stuart's report, 513-523.

<sup>121</sup> Maxwell, 91.

<sup>122</sup> Robert J. Trout, *With Pen & Saber: The Letters and Diaries of J.E.B. Stuart's Staff Officers* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1995), 76.

<sup>123</sup> Maxwell, 91.

<sup>124</sup> Charles G. Milham, *Gallant Pelham: American Extraordinary* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1959), 98.

<sup>125</sup> W.W. Blackford, 74-75.

<sup>126</sup> Official Records, Volume 11, Part 2: General Stuart's report, 513-523.

<sup>127</sup> Maxwell, 98-99.

<sup>128</sup> Maxwell, 98.

<sup>129</sup> Trout, *Gallop Thunder*, 67.

## Chapter 8

headquarters had military duties and mandatory social events.<sup>130</sup>  
that Pelham live at the noisy headquarters.<sup>131</sup>  
“the grandest flirt that ever lived.”<sup>132</sup>  
silent upon all subjects connected with his own actions.”<sup>133</sup>  
Pelham an easy target for Stuart’s stories and regular teasing.<sup>134</sup>  
the more likely there would be a dangerous raid or operation.<sup>135</sup>  
he received from the captured bounty from the Peninsula.<sup>136</sup>  
destruction of the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad.<sup>137</sup>  
33 skirmishes and 2 regular fights.”<sup>138</sup>  
“tried in vain to silence the enemy guns.”<sup>139</sup>  
prepared for a raid on Pope’s headquarters.<sup>140</sup>  
trading out two of the 12-pound howitzers.<sup>141</sup>  
“intrusted specially to him.”<sup>142</sup>  
“a few well-directed shots.”<sup>143</sup>  
our reinforcements coming up, we drove the enemy back.”<sup>144</sup>  
“firing until the enemy were driven back,” instead of withdrawing sooner.<sup>145</sup>  
“yet steadily forward pressed the line.”<sup>146</sup>  
“his services [which] were much needed.”<sup>147</sup>  
response and arrival had bought time for Jackson.<sup>148</sup>  
Jackson later praised.<sup>149</sup>  
“unlimbered his battery and soon dispersed that portion in the woods.”<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Von Borcke, 187.

<sup>131</sup> W.W. Blackford, 90.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>133</sup> John Esten Cooke, *Wearing of the Gray* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959), 124.

<sup>134</sup> John Esten Cooke, *Surrey of Eagle’s Nest* (New York: F.J. Huntington, 1866), 378.

<sup>135</sup> W.W. Blackford, 90.

<sup>136</sup> Maxwell, 106.

<sup>137</sup> W.W. Blackford, 95.

<sup>138</sup> Trout, *Gallop Thunder*, 76.

<sup>139</sup> Official Records, Volume 12, Part II: General Stuart’s report, 730.

<sup>140</sup> Trout, *Gallop Thunder*, 80.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>142</sup> Official Records, Volume 12, Part II: General Stuart’s report, 735.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, Captain Pelham’s report, 753.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 753-754

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 754

<sup>146</sup> Alan D. Gaff, *On Many A Bloody Field: Four Years in the Iron Brigade* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 155.

<sup>147</sup> Official Records, Volume 12, Part II: General Jackson’s Report, 645.

<sup>148</sup> Hotchkiss, Jedediah. *Jedediah Hotchkiss Papers: Diaries, -1899; 1862, May 20-Dec. 16 extracts. - December 16, 1862, 1862.* Manuscript/Mixed Material. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mss265260019/>.

<sup>149</sup> Official Records, Volume 12, Part II: General Jackson’s Report, 646.

<sup>150</sup> Official Records, Volume 12, Part II: General Stuart’s report, 735.



“to engage my battery where fitting opportunity should occur.”<sup>151</sup>  
 “until the trail of my only gun had been struck and shivered.”<sup>152</sup>  
 “could only get a very limited supply.”<sup>153</sup>  
 “would be very much needed in case of a retreat or pursuit.”<sup>154</sup>  
 “and the execution they wrought was very great.”<sup>155</sup>  
 “upon them with telling effect, scattering them in every direction.”<sup>156</sup>  
 “The Horse Artillery has won imperishable laurels,”<sup>157</sup>

## Chapter 9

Pelham’s cannons carried war into Maryland.<sup>158</sup>  
 horses to replace the equine casualties from Second Manassas.<sup>159</sup>  
 Pelham apparently asked no questions.<sup>160</sup>  
 “and felt able to annihilate the enemy at once.”<sup>161</sup>  
 music provided by the 18th Mississippi Infantry’s band.<sup>162</sup>  
 multiple cannon and helped in the night’s repulse.<sup>163</sup>  
 his promotion had arrived from Richmond.<sup>164</sup>  
 returned to his Confederate friends on September 14.<sup>165</sup>  
 Old Sharpsburg Road in Confederate hands for a short time.<sup>166</sup>  
 crossing at the Middle Bridge.<sup>167</sup>  
 neither attempting further fighting that rainy night.<sup>168</sup>  
 “until daylight the hill will be swarming with blue coats.”<sup>169</sup>  
 which Jackson had sent to the position.<sup>170</sup>  
 the women and children arrived safely in the Confederate lines.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid., Captain Pelham’s report, 754.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 755.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 755.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 755.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 755.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., General Stuart, 744.

<sup>157</sup> Stuart, *Letters*, 264.

<sup>158</sup> Trout, *Galloping Thunder*, 89.

<sup>159</sup> Moore, 32.

<sup>160</sup> George Shreve Collection, Library of Virginia.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Trout, *Galloping Thunder*, 91.

<sup>163</sup> Von Borcke, 135.

<sup>164</sup> James Ewell Brown Stuart to Flora Stuart, September 12, 1862. Archive of the Virginia Museum of History & Culture MSS1ST923d48Stuart

<sup>165</sup> Heros Von Borcke, *Colonel Heros Von Borcke’s Journal, 26 April-8 October 1862* (Palaemon Press, 1981), 167.

<sup>166</sup> Trout, *Galloping Thunder*, 99.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 101; James A. Rosebrock, *Artillery of Antietam: The Union and Confederate Batteries at the Battle of Antietam* (Sharpsburg: The Antietam Institute, 2023), 331.

<sup>168</sup> Maxwell, 153.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 153.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>171</sup> W.W. Blackford, 150-151.

## Chapter 10

refused to leave until Pelham let her fire a cannon.<sup>172</sup>  
he did blush when Major von Borcke told us all about him!"<sup>173</sup>  
a mix of Blakeleys, Napoleons, and a few leftover Howitzers.<sup>174</sup>  
"such terrible execution among the Yankees, and so on to the end."<sup>175</sup>  
"together with officers of cavalry regiments encamped near by. . . ."<sup>176</sup>  
"he became a favourite with all around him. . . ."<sup>177</sup>  
as they headed deep into enemy territory.<sup>178</sup>  
capturing a signal station along the way.<sup>179</sup>  
with horses needed by the army for "their cause."<sup>180</sup>  
Pelham picked new animals for his teams.<sup>181</sup>  
they reached Mercersburg, Pennsylvania.<sup>182</sup>  
in exchange for shoes and boots.<sup>183</sup>  
they prepared to ride on.<sup>184</sup>  
that they resembled Shaker bonnets."<sup>185</sup>  
turn east instead of heading to that supply town.<sup>186</sup>  
inhabitants with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy."<sup>187</sup>  
he nearly lost two cannons down a slope.<sup>188</sup>  
"and the march was made without delay or interruption."<sup>189</sup>  
"to be sleepy and not to be allowed to sleep is exquisite torture."<sup>190</sup>  
"great spirit, on the heads of their columns."<sup>191</sup>  
"we soon crossed and stood once more on Virginia soil."<sup>192</sup>  
estimated \$250,000 of property along their route, mostly in Chambersburg.<sup>193</sup>  
"of those . . . days," mused one witness later.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Maxwell, 174-175.

<sup>173</sup> Milham, 170.

<sup>174</sup> Maxwell, 177.

<sup>175</sup> Trout, *Galloping Thunder*, 114.

<sup>176</sup> W.W. Blackford, 156.

<sup>177</sup> Cooke, *Wearing of the Gray*, 121

<sup>178</sup> W.W. Blackford, 164.

<sup>179</sup> Official Records, Volume 19, Part II: General Stuart's report, 52.

<sup>180</sup> W.W. Blackford, 166-167.

<sup>181</sup> Maxwell, 195.

<sup>182</sup> Official Records, Volume 19, Part II: General Stuart's report, 52.

<sup>183</sup> Maxwell, 195.

<sup>184</sup> W.W. Blackford, 165.

<sup>185</sup> Trout, *Galloping Thunder*, 117.

<sup>186</sup> Official Records, Volume 19, Part II: General Stuart's report, 52.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>188</sup> Maxwell, 200.

<sup>189</sup> Henry B. McClellan, *The Campaigns of Stuart's Cavalry* (Secaucus: The Blue & Grey Press, 1993), 153.

<sup>190</sup> W.W. Blackford, 173.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>193</sup> Maxwell, 208.

<sup>194</sup> W.W. Blackford, 163-164.

## Chapter 11

reducing the number of mounted men who could fight.<sup>195</sup>  
“our efforts by ‘Pelham’s Battery’ of horse artillery.”<sup>196</sup>  
“they requested Uncle Richard to order their horses. . . .”<sup>197</sup>  
crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains at Snicker’s Gap, and entered Loudoun County.<sup>198</sup>  
to Middleburg, avoiding more Union cavalry approaching his rear.<sup>199</sup>  
“one of our caissons exploding from the enemy’s shot.”<sup>200</sup>  
“struck him down at a distance of 800 yards.”<sup>201</sup>  
the 7th Indiana Infantry Regiment in the fighting near Union.<sup>202</sup>  
“with the cannoneers in loading and aiming the pieces.”<sup>203</sup>  
“put on his fighting clothes.”<sup>204</sup>  
his Napoleon detachment sang “The Marseillaise.”<sup>205</sup>  
“expecting, when I looked up, to see Major Pelham shot to fragments.”<sup>206</sup>  
“threw their ranks into confusion and arrested their farther progress.”<sup>207</sup>

## Chapter 12

the one closest to Pelham’s immediate command.<sup>208</sup>  
“long since won a colonelcy at the hands of his country.”<sup>209</sup>  
“He . . . looks like a man who would make his mark upon the world.”<sup>210</sup>  
wounding at least one Confederate artilleryman.<sup>211</sup>  
Union gunboats moved further downstream and out of range.<sup>212</sup>  
examine the horse artillery and quiz him on preferred tactics.<sup>213</sup>  
made their way back to Confederate lines the following morning before daybreak.<sup>214</sup>  
I am going to crowd them with artillery.”<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Trout, *Galloping Thunder*, 125.

<sup>196</sup> Thomas Wallace Colley, edited by Michael K. Shaffer, *In Memory of Self and Comrades: Thomas Wallace Colley’s Recollections of Civil War Service in the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Cavalry* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2018), 42.

<sup>197</sup> Dulany to her mother, November 21, 1862. Library of Virginia, Dulany Family Papers, 1821-1966; 50465, BC7347687

<sup>198</sup> Official Records, Volume 19, Part II: General Stuart’s report, 140.

<sup>199</sup> Trout, *Galloping Thunder*, 126.

<sup>200</sup> Official Records, Volume 19, Part II: General Stuart’s report, 140.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>202</sup> Trout, *Galloping Thunder*, 127.

<sup>203</sup> Von Borcke, 243.

<sup>204</sup> Maxwell, 224.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 225.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>207</sup> Official Records, Volume 19, Part II: General Stuart’s report, 145.

<sup>208</sup> Trout, *Galloping Thunder*, 135.

<sup>209</sup> Maxwell, 235.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.

<sup>211</sup> Official Records, Volume 21: General Fitzhugh Lee’s report, 738-739.

<sup>212</sup> Maxwell, 239.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>214</sup> Von Borcke, 282-285.

<sup>215</sup> Maxwell, 249.

Capt. Mathis W. Henry, to go out into the advanced position.<sup>216</sup>  
*"to raise our heads and look about while he amused himself."*<sup>217</sup>  
 "Tell mother I die bravely," before he died.<sup>218</sup>  
 praised Pelham's action, remarking on his gallantry.<sup>219</sup>  
 that I have only lost one man so far."<sup>220</sup>  
 Pelham routinely deflected praise to Capt. Henry.<sup>221</sup>  
*"so I won't say any more about it. . . ."*<sup>222</sup>

## Chapter 13

gathered for a cheerful dinner party in a large tent.<sup>223</sup>  
 has always been considered impracticable for vehicles."<sup>224</sup>  
 eventually went into the Official Records after the war.<sup>225</sup>  
 "and Pelham dined with me last night."<sup>226</sup>  
*"He was so young and brave. Just a beautiful boy."*<sup>227</sup>  
 his good humor, dancing skills, and quiet conversation.<sup>228</sup>  
 heard about Pelham's recent trip to the Confederate capital.<sup>229</sup>  
 "had men promoted for distinguished gallantry."<sup>230</sup>  
 "there would be no difficulty about his promotion."<sup>231</sup>  
 Pelham's age and appeal to President Davis.<sup>232</sup>  
 "the honor you do me in allowing me to fire it for you."<sup>233</sup>  
 "list of victories for will certainly be the result."<sup>234</sup>

## Chapter 14

<sup>216</sup> Maxwell, 250.

<sup>217</sup> Bound Volumes, Alexander Bates "Artillery".

<sup>218</sup> Trout, *Gallop Thunder*, 146.

<sup>219</sup> Channing Price.

<sup>220</sup> Bound Volumes, J. Churchill Cooke, Newspaper article from 1929.

<sup>221</sup> Maxwell, 257.

<sup>222</sup> Trout, *Gallop Thunder*, 147.

<sup>223</sup> Bound Volumes, James Power Smith speech notes about Lee.

<sup>224</sup> Official Records, Volume 21: General Stuart report, 731-735.

<sup>225</sup> Jedediah Hotchkiss. *Jedediah Hotchkiss Papers: Diaries, -1899; 1863, Jan. 1-Nov. 28. January 1, 1863, 1863.* Manuscript/Mixed Material. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mss265260021/>. Jedediah Hotchkiss Diary, January 10, 1863.

<sup>226</sup> Susan Leigh Blackford & Charles Minor Blackford, *Letters from Lee's Army*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 159.

<sup>227</sup> Fannie G. Adams, *Reminiscences of a Childhood Spent at "Hayfield" Plantation near Fredericksburg Virginia during the Civil War*. Archive of Virginia Museum of History & Culture: MSS 1F5785G53.

<sup>228</sup> Maxwell, 293.

<sup>229</sup> Cooke, Library of Congress. Rosser went to The Bower; Pelham had no surviving comment.

<sup>230</sup> Trout, *Gallop Thunder*, 155.

<sup>231</sup> George Washington Custis Lee to James Ewell Brown Stuart, February 5, 1863. Archive of Virginia Museum of History and Culture: MSS 1St923d57.

<sup>232</sup> Stuart, *Letters*, 293-294.

<sup>233</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Letter, March 9, 1863.

<sup>234</sup> Trout, *Gallop Thunder*, 155-156.

or interrupted his breakfast.<sup>235</sup>  
*Jno. Pelham, Maj. Art.[illery]*<sup>236</sup>  
 waving her handkerchief to the passing officers.<sup>237</sup>  
 they anchored and readied at the prominent stonewall.<sup>238</sup>  
 where we were ordered into position."<sup>239</sup>  
 "drive them from their position."<sup>240</sup>  
 "We had a battle royal holding our own."<sup>241</sup>  
 "and then falling back to reform and charge again."<sup>242</sup>  
 and engaged in hand-to-hand combat.<sup>243</sup>  
 "forward to aid in leading the charge of the 3d regiment. . . ."<sup>244</sup>  
 "'Forward, boys! forward to victory and glory!"<sup>245</sup>  
 2nd Virginia Cavalry's position and near Breathed's guns.<sup>246</sup>  
 while the cavalymen cheered him.<sup>247</sup>  
 making suggestions for the wounded animal's treatment.<sup>248</sup>  
 looked up to ask Pelham a question.<sup>249</sup>  
 "looking very natural, but fatally hurt."<sup>250</sup>  
 to an ambulance and get a surgeon.<sup>251</sup>  
 "'Our loss is irreparable!' he exclaimed."<sup>252</sup>

## Chapter 15

and confirmed that he still breathed.<sup>253</sup>  
 oversaw the next stage of his transportation.<sup>254</sup>  
 his life might have been saved."<sup>255</sup>

<sup>235</sup> Some officers recalled being awoken by the news. Some versions claim that Pelham was having breakfast with Stuart when word arrived that Averell had crossed the river.

<sup>236</sup> Milham, 229.

<sup>237</sup> Henry Gilmor, *Four Years in the Saddle* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1866), 66.

<sup>238</sup> Maxwell, 304.

<sup>239</sup> Trout, *Gallop Thunder*, 178.

<sup>240</sup> Maxwell, 304.

<sup>241</sup> David P. Bridges, *Fighting With Jeb Stuart: Major James Breathed and the Confederate Horse Artillery* (Arlington: Breathed Bridges Best, Inc., 2006), 130.

<sup>242</sup> Gilmor, 70.

<sup>243</sup> See Gilmore, and see Bound Volume 153-10 and Bound Volume 014-01.

<sup>244</sup> Henry B. McClellan, *I rode with Jeb Stuart: The Life and Campaigns of Major General J.E.B. Stuart* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), 217.

<sup>245</sup> Von Borcke, 350.

<sup>246</sup> Gilmor, 70.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-71.

<sup>248</sup> W.W. Blackford, 202.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>250</sup> Gilmor, 71.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>254</sup> Maxwell, 311.

<sup>255</sup> Gilmor, 73.

hands were caked and clotted with mud and blood."<sup>256</sup>  
 "to see him & everything was done for him that could be."<sup>257</sup>  
 "had all things in readiness for his reception."<sup>258</sup>  
 relieve the compression on the brain."<sup>259</sup>  
 but that his brain had not been pierced.<sup>260</sup>  
 and left him to the comfort care of his friends.<sup>261</sup>  
 Military men<sup>262</sup>  
 drew a long breath, and died without a struggle."<sup>263</sup>  
 "the door was gently opened, and Stuart entered."<sup>264</sup>  
 remains to his parents in Alabama.<sup>265</sup>  
 "—a permission which I was, however, constrained to refuse."<sup>266</sup>  
 a solemn reminder of the Confederacy's view of "camp servants."<sup>267</sup>  
 and politicians who knew the Pelham Family.<sup>268</sup>  
 "his friends and admirers might take a last look at the young hero."<sup>269</sup>  
 "*still forever—lies a single snow-white flower. . .*"<sup>270</sup>  
 "brought garlands and magnificent bouquets to lay on the coffin."<sup>271</sup>  
 "safe from the battlefield" by death.<sup>272</sup>

## Chapter 16

the last seven miles toward the Pelham family home.<sup>273</sup>  
 the light would fall on his face when Sunday [morning] came."<sup>274</sup>  
 took the burden of those arrangements from the family.<sup>275</sup>  
 to the larger Baptist church.<sup>276</sup>  
 "as a sacred legacy in the hearts of all who knew him."<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> Gilmor, 73.

<sup>257</sup> Maxwell, 323; Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Mrs. William Herndon to Martha Pelham, March 1863.

<sup>258</sup> Gilmor, 73.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 73-74.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 73-74.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>262</sup> Maxwell, 312.

<sup>263</sup> Gilmor, 74.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>265</sup> Von Borcke, 350.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., 350.

<sup>267</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, J.E.B. Stuart to Dr. Pelham.

<sup>268</sup> Von Borcke, 350-351.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., 351.

<sup>270</sup> Maxwell, 316; Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection.

<sup>271</sup> Von Borcke, 351.

<sup>272</sup> Maxwell, 49.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid., 317-319.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., 321-322.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 322.

<sup>276</sup> Maxwell, 322.

<sup>277</sup> General Orders No 9, University of North Carolina Library.

“permit me to share with you a grief so sacred, so consoling.”<sup>278</sup>  
they named her Virginia Pelham Stuart.<sup>279</sup>  
which have yet been yielded up in this desolating war.”<sup>280</sup>  
*That is really what he was, you know—a boy, a splendid boy.*”<sup>281</sup>

## Appendix A

He has been portrayed as perfectly pure<sup>282</sup>  
implied to have been a womanizer<sup>283</sup>  
and hinted that he romantically preferred men.<sup>284</sup>  
and all her little friends how to ride horses.<sup>285</sup>  
teach the girls to ride horses “like Cavalry officers.”<sup>286</sup>  
surrounded by enslaved women and girls<sup>287</sup>  
to marry our only sister.”<sup>288</sup>  
“excuse me—about the girls you ever saw.”<sup>289</sup>  
*I now stand face to face with the stern realities of life.*”<sup>290</sup>  
a concert evening for the Dialectic Society<sup>291</sup>  
“Think I will make a good Bachelor.”<sup>292</sup>  
one [of the girls] had remained a few days longer.”<sup>293</sup>  
That is the road I’ll take.”<sup>294</sup>  
the summer dances, acting as floor manager.”<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> J.E.B. Stuart to Atkinson Pelham, Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection.

<sup>279</sup> J.E.B. Stuart to Flora Stuart, 1863, Virginia Museum of History and Culture.

<sup>280</sup> Maxwell, 326.

<sup>281</sup> Milham, 225.

<sup>282</sup> Innocence and purity are reflected in some of the immediate writings post-Pelham’s death and other staff officers echoed this idea as they wrote in the early years of the Lost Cause era.

<sup>283</sup> Especially prominent in William W. Hassler’s biography (1960) and perpetuated in more recent biographies and a variety of historical fiction.

<sup>284</sup> Author John Matteson in his biographical history of the battle of Fredericksburg (2021) has implied a modern reading of 19<sup>th</sup> century writings. He does not directly say that Stuart and Pelham had a romantic interest, but his interpretation leaves much to implication of a gay relationship. Multiple readers have approached Bierle without prompting to ask about this interpretation.

<sup>285</sup> John Pelham to Charles Pelham, February 27, 1856. Jacksonville Public Library, Folder 1. Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3 to sister in law.

<sup>286</sup> John Pelham to Marianna Pelham, March 26, 1861. Civil War Times, October 2003, page 60.

<sup>287</sup> 1850 and 1860 Slave Schedules.

<sup>288</sup> Charles Pelham, November 21, 1898, Library of Congress.

<sup>289</sup> Jacksonville Republican, April 5, 1884, “Pelham of Alabama.”

<sup>290</sup> John Pelham to brother, September 25, 1858, Jacksonville Public Library, Folder 3. Reprinted in newspaper.

<sup>291</sup> John Pelham to Martha Pelham, February 26, 1859, Jacksonville Public Library, Folder 3, #19.

<sup>292</sup> John Pelham to Martha Pelham, June 12, 1859, Jacksonville Public Library, Folder 3.

<sup>293</sup> John Pelham to brother, July 13, 1859, Jacksonville Public Library, Folder 3, #23.

<sup>294</sup> John Pelham to Dr. Atkinson Pelham, December 29, 1859, Jacksonville Public Library, Folder 3, #25.

<sup>295</sup> John Pelham to Dr. Atkinson Pelham, May 13, 1860, Jacksonville Public Library, Folder 3. John Pelham to Martha Pelham, June 4, 1860, Jacksonville Public Library, Folder 3, #27. John Pelham to Atkinson Pelham, August 13, 1860, Jacksonville Public Library, Folder 3, #28.

the most unaccountable thing I ever heard of—don't you agree?"<sup>296</sup>  
 and visit him if he got arrested.<sup>297</sup>  
 I know thou wilt ne'er be mine. . . ."298  
 "the 'Gallant Pelham,' which you must be sure to give to him."<sup>299</sup>  
 the lower Shenandoah Valley or Martinsburg area.<sup>300</sup>  
 as a couple moved toward engagement and marriage.<sup>301</sup>  
 (Other relatives stoutly insisted that Pelham had no romantic attachments at all.<sup>302</sup>)  
 "I don't think they were engaged."<sup>303</sup>  
 had been an engagement between Pelham and Dandridge.<sup>304</sup>  
 "a boy, a splendid boy."<sup>305</sup>  
 that Bessie reminded him of his sister.<sup>306</sup>  
 offended at the implications for both his romantic choices and his honor.<sup>307</sup>  
 white patriarchy which is tied to sexual prowess.<sup>308</sup>  
 "the greatest flirt that ever lived"<sup>309</sup>  
 "off-color story that caused Pelham to blush like a girl."<sup>310</sup>  
 "I had not called on her."<sup>311</sup>

## Appendix B

"until the dead are called upon to give up their secrets".<sup>312</sup>

## Appendix C

(No footnotes.)

<sup>296</sup> John Pelham to Marianna Pelham, March 26, 1861. Civil War Times, October 2003, page 60.

<sup>297</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection, Folder 3 to sister in law.

<sup>298</sup> Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection; Milham, 58.

<sup>299</sup> Maxwell, 295.

<sup>300</sup> 1860 Census Records, Ancestry.com

<sup>301</sup> Mary Pelham Graves handwritten note, "General Articles", Jacksonville Public Library, Pelham Collection.

<sup>302</sup> Emma Interview, Library of Virginia.

<sup>303</sup> John Esten Cook to Martha "Pink" Taliaferro Hunter, March 30, 1863. Archive of the Virginia Museum of History & Culture, MSS1H91966, 710-722

<sup>304</sup> John Esten Cooke, Library of Congress.

<sup>305</sup> Milham, 225.

<sup>306</sup> Maxwell, 292.

<sup>307</sup> Peter S. Carmichael, *Lee's Young Artillerist: William R.J. Pegram* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 148-149.

<sup>308</sup> V. Lynn Kennedy, *Born Southern: Childbirth, Motherhood, and Social Networks in the Old South* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 2010), 126-127; see also Kristin Kobes Du Mez, *Jesus and John Wayne* (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2020), particularly 13-18; see also James J. Broomall, *Private Confederacies: The Emotional Worlds of Southern Men as Citizens and Soldiers* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

<sup>309</sup> W.W. Blackford, 90.

<sup>310</sup> Sgt. Robert S. Hudgins II, edited by Garland C. Hudgins and Richard B. Kleese, *Recollections of an Old Dominion Dragoon: The Civil War Experiences of Sgt. Robert S. Hudgins II Co. B, 3rd Virginia Cavalry* (Orange: Publisher's Press, Inc. 1993) page 65.

<sup>311</sup> John Pelham to Martha Pelham, January 25, 1860, Jacksonville Public Library, Folder 3.

<sup>312</sup> James H. Kidd, *Personal Recollections of a Cavalryman* (Ionia: 1908), 131-132.



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Jefferson County Library  
Library of Congress  
Library of Virginia  
Martinsburg Public Library  
Rauner Library at Dartmouth  
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