

A HISTORY OF THE THIRTY-FIRST VIRGINIA
REGIMENT VOLUNTEERS
C. S. A.

Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in the
Faculty of the Graduate School of
West Virginia University

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Morgantown, West Virginia

1955

ABSTRACT

Throughout the long and bloody conflict of the American Civil War no troops were more consistently under fire nor suffered greater hardships and privations than those serving under Generals "Stonewall" Jackson and Robert E. Lee. This is the story of the Thirty-first Virginia Confederate regiment which saw service on the Virginia front from the beginning of the Civil War to its very end.

The men of the Thirty-first Virginia were mustered into service in the spring of 1861. They came from the hills of West Virginia, a region which was bitterly divided over the secession issue. In taking up the cause of the Confederacy many of them consequently found themselves in conflict with both friends and family.

As green recruits they were first engaged in the early probing actions of the war in West Virginia. They were to know many victories, but their first experience of war, as if prophetic of the end, was that of defeat and dismal retreat. After the rout of Garnett's force on Rich Mountain and Laurie Hill and the retreat to Monterey, they spent a hard winter on the line of the Greenbrier River.

In the spring of 1862 the Thirty-first left its native hills to follow "Stonewall" Jackson throughout his brilliant campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. With Jackson it joined Lee before Richmond, and as a part of the Army of Northern Virginia it participated in the many engagements that make up the greater part of the story of the war. Those were the days of victory. Time and again the Army of Northern Virginia turned back the huge army of the Potomac, only to have it advance again under a new leader. The Thirty-first was with Lee in his' first invasion of the North, and fought valiantly at Sharpsburg.

The regiment returned to West Virginia only once during the course of the war. It marched with John D. Imboden in the raid which that officer led across the Alleghenies in-to Northern Virginia in April May, 1963.

It was able however to rejoin Lee in time to participate in the Gettysburg campaign. At Gettysburg it occupied several forward positions, but

did not often come under enemy fire. Once again Lee's army retired to the Shenandoah Valley. There followed a few Months of comparative quiet along the Virginia front. This proved to be only a period of calm before the bloody tempest of the Wilderness and Cold Harbor. This time the Confederates were faced with a new type of northern leader. Grant failed to follow the now familiar Federal pattern of advance, being halted by the Confederates, and retreat. His policy was to advance, meet the enemy, and advance again, no matter how bloody the consequences.

This strategy, along with the superior logistics and manpower of the Federal force, was too much even for the military genius of the Confederate leaders. If Richmond was to be saved a struggle of attrition was now the only alternative. Throughout this sanguinary struggle the Thirty-first Virginia was almost constantly under fire and suffered heavy losses.

Following the reorganization of the Confederate force after Cold Harbor, General Lee, in fear of a Federal move against Lexington, transferred the Second Corps, of which the Thirty-first Virginia was a part, to the Shenandoah Valley. In this Shenandoah Campaign it was not to have the brilliant leadership of a "Stonewall" Jackson. This time the corps was led by the conscientious and well meaning Jubal A. Early. It had served well under his in many campaigns, but always he had been under the direct command of men of greater military acumen. In full command of the Second Corps in the Valley District he was without the advice and prudent guidance of men of greater ability. Capable as a subordinate officer, he failed as a full commander in the field. He led his men to the very outskirts of Washington, which he probably could not have taken in any event, but indecision and hesitation led to the failure of his Valley Campaign.

In December, 1864, the Second Corps left Shenandoah Valley for the last time. It was to rejoin Lee in the memorable defense of Petersburg and Richmond. Throughout the remainder of the winter and spring of 1865 it fought valiantly in the defense of those besieged cities. The efforts of the Thirty-first Virginia as a part of that corps were no less great in those final months of decreasing hope and great privations than in the most victorious period. For the Thirty-first the last days of the war were strikingly similar to its first experience, as it had retreated with Garnett in 1861, it now made its last painful

withdrawal westward from Petersburg in 1866. At Appomattox a handful of gaunt, battle-weary, and emaciated men, the only survivors of those proud and hopeful young men who volunteered in 1861, laid down their arms in final surrender. Their cause had not been successful, but their stalwartness and ability as fighting men of the Army of Northern Virginia was to be studied and admired by military men for many years to come.

This is the story of those brave men.

Chapter I

FORMATION AND ORGANIZATION

Western Virginia was destined from the very beginning of hostilities in the American Civil War to be the scene of a fierce struggle for its control by the two opposing forces. Union leaders realized that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad connecting Washington, Parkersburg, and Wheeling, was the most important and at the same time the most exposed line of the railway network binding the East with the Mid-west. They determined to free this line from any threat of raid by Confederate forces. The organization of two Union regiments at Wheeling and Parkersburg awakened the South to the dangers in that area. General Lee sent officers to organize militia and volunteers in this sector. These officers found a good deal of indifference, and in many cases outright sympathy with the Union cause, throughout Northwestern Virginia. On May 10, Major F. M. Boykin, Jr., wrote to General Lee from Grafton:¹

The feeling in nearly all our counties is bitter, and nothing is left undone by the adherents of the old Union to discourage those who are disposed to enlist in the service of the State. I find that organizations exist in most of the counties pledged to support what they term 'the Union'.

On May 30, a small Confederate force in Grafton was forced to withdraw by the advance of a strong Union column. At daybreak on June 3, the Federals surprised this same unit, commanded by the Confederate Colonel George A. Porterfield, at Philippi, forcing him to withdraw his green and bewildered troops south to Beverly and then twelve miles further to Huttonsville.

Federal seizure of Beverly, at the junction of the Staunton-Parkersburg stage road and the turnpike to Grafton, would secure Northwestern Virginia for the Union and place Staunton in grave danger. All Confederate troops available were hurried there from Staunton, and a qualified officer, Colonel Robert Selden Garnett, Adjutant General of Lee's headquarters, was ordered to proceed to Western Virginia.²

General Garnett reached Huttonsville on June 14, and immediately organized two regiments from the companies collected there. One of these, the Thirty-first Virginia Infantry, was placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel William L. Jackson, of Parkersburg, former lieutenant-governor of Virginia.³ The other regiment, the Twenty-fifth Virginia Infantry, was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel J. M. Heck, a prominent Morgantown Lawyer.

These regiments consisted of previously organized companies and raw troops just arrived at Huttonsville. Company As Thirty-

first Virginia Regiment, was the first in Northwestern Virginia to go into service. They were popularly called "The Marion Guards." A number of privates had been enrolled at Fairmont on May 17, and were mustered into service by Major F. M. Boykin, Jr., at Laurel Hill in Barbour County on June 18. They had seen action at Philippi under Colonel Porterfield and had retreated to Huttonsville where they were placed in the newly organized Thirty-first Virginia Regiment. Captain William P. Thompson was their commanding officer until his resignation on February 8, 1862. In May of that year the company was reorganized and William W. Garnett was elected Captain. During the early months of the war its muster and pay rolls numbered 4 officers and 67 enlisted men.⁴

Company B. was made up of men enlisted at Monterey, Camp Allegheny and Havener's Store by Felix H. Hull and Robert H. Bradshaw. Captain Robert H. Bradshaw was the company commander until he was killed at Port Republic on June 9, 1862. Captain William R. Lyman, formerly a drillmaster at Virginia Military Institute, succeeded to the command. In 1861, the company consisted of 4 officers and 62 men.

Company C. called the "Harrison State Guards," was recruited in the general area of Clarksburg, Bridgeport, Fetterman, and Philippi. It was mustered into service at Grafton on May 26, 1861 by Major F. R. Boykin, Jr. Captain Turner served as its first commander until the elections of May, 1862. At that time Lieutenant William P. Cooper was promoted to Captain and put in command of the company to replace Captain Turner who had been absent because of sickness since May. The muster rolls show an aggregate of 63 officers and 72 men on October 31, 1861.⁶

Company D, called the "Gilmer Rifles", was enrolled by Reverend John E. Mitchell at Gilmer Court House, now Glenville, on May 31, 1861. The men were recruited from a radius of ten miles, with several coming from a greater distance.

They marched from Glenville to Huttonsville, where they became a part of the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment. The company had no equipment to speak of, having only 45 hunting rifles. They were mustered into service at Laurel Hill on June 24, 1861. The Reverend J. E. Mitchell was commissioned captain, but resigned on June 20. In July he was succeeded by J. S. Kerr McCutcheon, who was elected captain.⁷ The rolls for June 30, 1861, show a total of 13 officers and 58 men.

Company E was enlisted at Monterey, Haveners Store, and Camp Bartow by Felix H. Hull. A few were enlisted by Captain M. Karicofe. Hull served as first commanding officer but was transferred to the brigade quartermaster department where he died on October 31, 1861. First Lieutenant John M. Myers was elected captain on November 23, 1861, but was replaced by Lieutenant Samuel A. Gilmer who was elected captain in the elections of May 1, 1862. Captain Gilmer resigned in January 1863 and was replaced

by Lieutenant Jacob C. Matheny. Lieutenant Matheny was promoted to captain when he assumed command. In the early months of the war the company consisted of 8 officers 8 and 68 men.⁸

Company F had been enrolled at Huttonsville by Jacob Currence, who became its first commander. Captain Currence resigned however, on February 13, 1862 because of ill health, and was replaced by Captain Joseph F. Harding. Harding was wounded and was compelled to be absent through August and September of 1862. He rejoined the command late in 1864, only to resign and join the Twentieth Cavalry. In turn Lieutenant William H. Wilson, who succeeded him, was taken prisoner in 1863, and sent to Ft. Delaware. In May, 1861 the company consisted of 7 officers and 44 men.⁹

Company G. was enrolled at Green Bank, Pocahontas County, in May 1861, and was mustered into service on May 29. It then marched 35 miles to Huttonsville where it was attached to the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment. Captain James C. Arbogast, the first company commander, was promoted to major and transferred to replace Major J. H. Chenoweth who was killed at Fort Republic on June 9, 1862, His successor was Sid Ruckman who was promoted from second sergeant to first lieutenant and assigned to company commander, at which post he served until November, 1862, when he was in turn replaced by Lieutenant Elisha Wilfong who commanded the company after that date. In 1861 the rolls show an aggregate of 5 officers 10 and 40 enlisted men.

Company H was organized at Philippi by A. G. Reger and Thomas A. Bradford. It was mustered into service on May 16, 1861. Bradford was commissioned captain and became its first commanding officer. In the elections of May, 1861, First Lieutenant George F. Thompson was elected captain. He was captured in 1863. First Lieutenant John W. Bosworth then assumed command, and commanded the company until March 25, 1865, when he was wounded and made prisoner at Fort Stedman, near Petersburg. Although the muster rolls do not give the date of enlistment for 44 men in this company, they show 4 11. officers and 52 enlisted men IA 1861.

There is little information on the enrollment of Company I, but it appears to have been mustered into service on June 2, 1861. Captain Alfred H. Jackson became its first commanding officer and was appointed Adjutant General of Thomas J. Jackson's staff on November 12, 1861. In the reorganization of May 1862, he was elected lieutenant colonel and became second in command of the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment. On October 30, 1862, First Lieutenant Nathan Clawson was promoted to captain to date from the preceding May 1; he forthwith assumed command of the company. The rolls for 1861 show the company consisting of 4 officers and 62 enlisted men.

Company K was mustered into service on May 18, 1861. Captain Henty Sturms served as its first commanding officer. There is no evidence of the future career or fate of Captain Sturms, but

the rolls show that Lieutenant John R. Phillips was promoted to captain in August 1862, and assumed command of the company. Phillips was wounded on December 13, 1862. Lieutenant Nicholas Poling commanded the company until October 1863, at which time Phillips returned to command. The rolls for May, 1861 show an aggregate of 4 officers and 73 men.

Leaving Porterfield in command at Huttonsville, Garnett next advanced to Beverly on the night of June 15, taking with him his two newly formed regiments, together with Rice's New Market battery of four guns, and the Churchville Cavalry. At Beverly he divided his force, sending Hack's regiment with two guns and a company of cavalry up the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike to a position at the western foot of Rich Mountain. He then pushed forward, taking with him the Thirty-first Virginia and the two remaining guns and companies of cavalry, and occupied Laurel Hill, the northeastern extension of Rich Mountain. Garnett, having heard that the enemy was moving from Philippi to Buckhannon, believed that their intent was to gain possession of these two passes. Garnett 15 felt them to be the "gates to Northwestern Virginia".

General Garnett, realizing his troops to be far too scanty to resist for long a Union force of twice their size, asked for reinforcements. Describing the condition to the troops at Laurel Hill, Garnett wrote to Adjutant General Cooper on June 18:

The force...here is in a miserable condition as to ammunition and equipment. As regards to the latter they are actually suffering. Many are without blankets, and I may say nearly all are without tents. The nights are cold, and there is much rain in this mountainous region. Sickness is there-fore to be apprehended. In addition to this, they are obliged to carry their ammunition in their pockets, and that which escapes the rain is ruined by the perspiration of the men and the wearing out of paper cartridges... I simply want something to protect arms and ammunition from rain.

On June 20 he wrote again urgently requesting more cavalry, complaining that his force was too small to push heavy scouts as far to the front as he desired. He also stated that although the reports indicated the presence of a large body of Union troops at Philippi and Grafton, he did not feel that they had more than seven thousand at both p places combined. Garnett went on to request additional artillery pieces and rifles. He stated that Lieutenant Colonel John Pegram's regiment would reach him the next day, and that Colonel Remsey's regiment of Georgia Volunteers was¹⁷ only two days behind that of Colonel Pegram.

General Lee answered Garnett's request, and in a letter dated June 24, he informed him that two companies of cavalry from Ashland, under Captain Smith and Flournoy, had been 18 ordered to report to him. General Lee Added:

All the equipment and ammunition which can be provided for you will be sent with the four companies of infantry belonging to Colonel Fulkerson's and Colonel Pegram's regiments...I will endeavor to forward by them tents and blankets. Two six pounders, with ammunition and harness if possible, will be sent with the same command.

Supplies from the countryside were soon exhausted, and it proved extremely difficult to transport supplies from Staunton. Garnett continued to occupy the position without attack from the enemy until July 6. He made his position on Laurel Hill more defensible by blocking the roads from the north with fallen trees.

Meanwhile General McClellan, commanding the Northern forces, had determined to advance to Beverly and cut Garnett's line of communication with Staunton. The advance force of Union troops, with General W. S. Rosencrans commanding, concentrated before Rich Mountain, where Lieutenant Colonel John Pegram of the Twentieth Virginia Regiment was in command. Garnett called for additional forces and was informed by Lee on July 5 that the Fourth Virginia Regiment had left on July 2, and was followed closely by Colonel Edward Johnson with the Twelfth Georgia, and Colonel Stephen Lee with the Sixth North Carolina.

On July 11 the Confederates were waiting for the enemy to make his first move. Colonel Pegram had learned from a captured Union sergeant that the Federals planned an attack on his flank. He concluded that it would be on his right. Although he felt little danger of an attack on his left rear, he sent back Captain deLagnel with one gun and five companies to Hart's house and the highest point in the gap. At Laurel Hill Federal troops were known to be close at hand but there was no evidence that they planned a move against that position.

At about 11 o'clock on the morning of July 11, the Union troops drove in the Confederate pickets and launched an assault on deLagnel and his tiny command. They attacked the left instead of the anticipated right flank. Captain deLagnel made a heroic stand. Just as his infantry support began to waver Pegram arrived from Camp Garnett and tried to rally the troops and drive off the Federals, but the troops broke and the enemy seized the road and the gap. Pegram rode back to his camp with the grim knowledge that the enemy was squarely across his line of retreat.

Pegram tried to seize the position again, but soon realized it was impossible. He sent over the crest the troops he had led to the top of the mountain for the anticipated attack. Under the command of Major Nat Tyler he hoped that they might reach Beverly. Pegram then rode down the mountain to join the remainder of his troops at Camp Garnett. In the descent he was injured by a fall from his horse. It was eleven o'clock in the evening before he reached camp again, finding his men wet, hungry, and without rations. After a council of officers it was decided to cross the

mountains and join Garnett at Laurel Hill. Since Pegram was too exhausted to attempt the climb it was decided that Lieutenant Colonel J. M. Heck of the Twenty-fifth Virginia Regiment should assume command. Heck at once formed a column and started the advance upward. It seemed that the Twenty-fifth Virginia would once again join its sister regiment the Thirty-first Virginia, which had remained under the command of Garnett at Laurel Hill.

Meanwhile Garnett's front was being shelled by Federal batteries, and he was preparing to repel an attack. Although he had shown little concern when he heard of the attack on Pegram earlier in the day, he was much concerned over the fate of that part of his command. Shortly after nightfall a messenger reported that Pegram was cut off and that the enemy controlled the road through the gap. This endangered Garnett's own line of retreat. Uncertain as to which direction Pegram would retire, he decided to abandon him. Leaving his tents in place to deceive the enemy, Garnett marched eastward to attempt an escape across the mountain via Cheat Ridge.

Major Nat Tyler, with his half of Pegram's command, had reached Beverly by daylight on July 12. Pegram, in the meantime, had halted most of his troops that had left Camp Garnett under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Heck, and had once again resumed command. The forward company, led by Jed Hotchkiss, did not receive Pegram's command to halt and continued to Huttonsville, Like Tyler and his command it was able to get to safety. Pegram, having wandered all day in search of food, lost his opportunity of reaching Beverly before the Federals. At midnight on July 12 he sent an offer to surrender the troops under his immediate command. He surrendered at Beverly on the following morning.²⁰ The prisoners were later paroled.

Garnett's retreating troops, including the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment, reached Kaler's Ford on Cheat River on July 12. They bivouacked in a heavy rain. The next day they continued their retreat through difficult country, over roads deep with mud. Garnett, always the good soldier, kept his command in marching order, mindful of both front and rear. About eight o'clock on the morning of July 13 the command was put in motion. The Thirty-seventh Virginia, Colonel W. L. Jackson's Thirty-first Virginia, Hansborough's battalion, and a section of artillery under Captain Smith formed the advance. Before crossing the first ford above Kaler's they learned that the enemy, with infantry and artillery supported by mounted troops, was near. Garnett ordered the First Georgia Regiment to form along the river to check the enemy so that the Confederate wantons might get away. The Georgia regiment was to retire through the Twenty-third Virginia, while that regiment covered them. This was done repeatedly until reaching Corrick's Ford, three and one-half miles above Kaler's. This ford was deep and the wagon stalled, causing a loss of time. Once again however the Virginia and Georgia outfits delayed the enemy, and the wagons gained another lead.

When the Twenty-third Virginia reached the third ford they found General Garnett waiting with one aide. Garnett directed Colonel William B. Taliaferro to halt his regiment and post skirmishers beyond a turn in the road. Garnett kept ten men, posted them, and prepared to personally direct their fire. He quickly perceived the possibility of placing his entire rear guard where it could sweep the approaches of the ford. He then dispatched his staff officers.

The Federals approached the position cautiously. When they were within range they directed their fire toward Garnett and young Sam M. Gaines, the General's aide. When the enemy had approached within fifty yards a bullet struck the General in the back. He died just as the Federals reached his position. His command was able to once again escape the enemy and continue their retreat. After long and wearing marches they arrived tattered and exhausted, at Monterey.

Richmond had heard of Garnett's defeat but was not yet sure of his fate on July 17, when orders were sent to General John B. Floyd at Wytheville and to Brigadier General Henry A. Wise at Charleston, Kanawha County, Virginia. These officers were notified of the defeat and that McClellan was at Huttonsville. General Floyd was ordered to affect a junction of his command with that of General Garnett, "Now 23 probably at Monterey." If possible he was to advance his brigade to Salem and then to Jackson's River. If this proved impossible he was to move from Salem to Staunton. General Wise was told that his cooperation was important, and if his presence in Kanawha was not now essential, to move toward Covington. He was directed to communicate with General Floyd.

On July 19, Brigadier General H. R. Jackson who was in command at Monterey, wrote the following report to Colonel George Deas, Assistant Adjutant-General, Confederate States Army:

Our present position in this village, the only one in the vicinity fit for a deposit of supplies, is exposed and wholly untenable, unless the routes approaching it from the west be guarded at considerable distance... I have been restless in the consciousness that, were the enemy appraised of our real condition, he might make sad havoc among us, and at least destroy what they might not be able to hold...The debris of General Garnett's command are constantly pouring in, and what is left in any-thing like organized form will be here on to-morrow or the day following in a more forlorn condition. I fear that, while they must be cared for, they will be almost useless for any military purpose.

Jackson went on to say that he planned to make a forward movement, with the point of view of both guarding his position and quelling some of the panic among the people of the county. His

plan was to take a position somewhere on or beyond the Allegheny ridge. He would send an advanced guard along the turnpike road as near to the enemy as would be safe in order to watch his movements... "Should this force be deemed sufficient to hold for the present the turnpike pass in the Allegheny Mountains, our entire attention maybe directed to Huttonsville and the Huttonsville Road.

In a report submitted to Colonel George Deas on July 22, Jackson wrote the following description of the condition of Garnett's troops in Monterey:

I regret to say that the condition of the command of the late General Garnett is improving but slowly, if at all, the weather being far from propitious. I am greatly embarrassed by the side and discontented. In fact, I must say that I scarcely know what disposition to make of them/ From this remark, how-ever, the regiments of Lt. Col. Jackson (31st Virginia) are to be excepted-- and while they are undoubtedly suffering to a great extent, these able officers keep them up to their duty, maintain their organization intact, and I am troubled with but few complaints from the men.

General Jackson pushed his advance across Allegheny Mountain to the Greenbrier River, while another column advanced to the Huntersville and Huttonsville road. The Thirty-first Virginia regiment, with the Thirty-seventh North Carolina was on the road between Huntersville and Valley Mountain, holding the road into Tygart's Valley. On July 20 Brigadier General W. W. Loring was given command of the Army of the Northwest, which included the force at Monterey and the Huntersville line.

On August 1 General Loring, accompanied by his staff, crossed the Allegheny Mountains to reconnoiter the enemy's position on Cheat Mountain. He decided that a direct attack by way of the Parkersburg road would not be practical. He then took immediate command of the force which had gathered at Huntersville to attempt to take Cheat Mountain by way of the Valley Mountain Pass. The pass was then occupied by the Thirty-first Virginia and the Thirty-seventh North Carolina/ Loring ordered General H. R. Jackson to move his six thousand men to the Greenbrier River and hold himself in readiness until the advance from Huntersville to Beverly was started. Loring then rode to Huntersville where he established his headquarters. By this time Loring was in command of a great many well trained and well supplied men from various southern states. He had a trained staff, including many old army officers. The point of vantage in the advance was already occupied by the Thirty-first Virginia, but Loring failed to move.

Dissatisfied with the results of military operations in Northwestern Virginia, General Lee decided to take the field in person. He reached Huntersville on August 1, where he conferred for several days with General Loring. He urged Loring to advance

on the enemy by way of Valley Mountain, which had been occupied by the Thirty-first Virginia for over a week. Lee made his headquarters on Valley Mountain on August 8. Loring joined him there on August 12, but again his tendency to hesitate led to delay.

In a series of letters to his wife Lieutenant Colonel W. L. Jackson, still in command of the Thirty-first Virginia, described the hardships and expectations of the men at Camp Bartow. In a letter dated August 27, 1861, he tells of the arrival of General Lee and the expected drive against the Federals, although Lee's plans were entirely unknown to him.

Loring was dismayed by the almost constant rainfall in this region. The continued damp and chilly weather led to so much sickness among the unseasoned troops that soon nearly half were in poorly provided hospitals. In a letter to his wife dated September 1, Colonel Jackson speaks of the condition of his men: "Many men are sick. They have every disease-- Measles, Mumps, Jaundice, Dysentery /sic/ and Typhoid fever. Out of about five hundred men present, I have this morning only 231 men fit for duty. There has 30 been so much hardship and exposure." The mortality rate became very high. Since supply trains had difficulty reaching the camps, the army was short on rations for weeks. This was a terrible ordeal for the troops, but they bore it uncomplainingly--their chief concern being why they did not advance against an enemy who was only one day's march away.

After September 1 the weather changed, becoming dry and hot. Troops could be concentrated on the drying roads and supplies gathered for a few days in advance. On September 8, Loring at last agreed to advance. He ordered the Huntersville line to advance against the enemy position at Elkwater, located sixteen miles beyond his position at Valley Mountain. At the same time his Monterey line was to advance on Cheat Mountain, twelve miles from the Confederate camp on Green-brier River.

On the same date, probably on the advice of General Robert E. Lee, Loring organized his command into six brigades. The Thirty-first Virginia, together with the Twelfth Georgia, Third Arkansas, Fifty-second Virginia, Ninth Virginia Battalion, Danville Artillery, and Jackson Cavalry made up the First Brigade, which was commanded by Brigadier General H. R. Jackson.

The Federal force facing Loring at this time was the First Brigade of the Army of Occupation of Western Virginia, This force was under the command of Brigadier General Joseph J. Reynolds. The two opposing armies were about equal in strength, but the Union force was located behind good fortifications and in comfortable camps.

Lee's main objective was to capture the Union position in the center of Cheat Mountain. To carry this out General Jackson

was to march a column of about 2,000 men under Colonel Rust of the Third Arkansas against the enemy position and asked to lead the attack on this section of the enemy line. On the night of September 11 they were to follow the turnpike first to the first top of Cheat Mountain, turn to the left, and by paths through the forest cross the main fork of Cheat River turn the right of the enemy position. On the dawn of September 12 they were to attack and carry that position by surprise if possible. Jackson, with the remainder of his force, was to follow Rust, but continue along the turn-pike to the front of the Federal position. He was to come to Rust's aid in his assault on the morning of September 12. If this assault should be successful, Jackson was to leave a force to hold the captured stronghold and press on to join the attack on the left rear of the Federals at Elkwater. Another force, under Loring, was to get possession of the turnpike on the western slope of Cheat Mountain, and break the line of communication between the Federal camps. This force too was to join in Rust's assault on the Cheat Mountain position. General Donelson was to advance with his brigade along the eastern side of Tygart Valley and the foot of Cheat Mountain to seize the paths and roads leading to the turnpike from that direction. All other 33 outfits had carefully worked out assignments to fulfill.

Everything proceeded according to plan, although heavy rains and darkness on the night of September 11 made travel difficult. This was especially true for the column under Rust, which included the Thirty-first Virginia. Despite this, each command was in its appointed place on the morning of September 12. What happened at this point is not too clear, but the attack by Rust which was to initiate the movement failed to materialize.

The Federal report of Colonel Nathan Kimball of the Fourteenth Indiana claims a brilliant victory on his part, but it seem to be somewhat exaggerated. In his report Kimball puts the Thirty-first Virginia on his right flank. There was a good deal of correspondence explaining the failure. It seems however, that courage failed him.

He appears to have given too much credence to the exaggerated statements of a few Federal prisoners his men had taken. He failed even to make an effort to attack. Colonel Jackson, in a letter to his wife on September 19, expressed disgust with Rust's failure to advance. Although Lee was bitterly disappointed, he made no official complaints. The various commands withdrew to their original positions, General Lee was concerned over the bickering between Floyd and Wise on the Kanawha line. He left Valley Mountain on September 3 to proceed to that line.

Soon afterwards, Lee sent orders to Loring asking him to send reinforcements to Floyd. Since Loring was ill, a council of brigade and regimental commanders decided that the army should immediately march to relieve Floyd. About 1,800 men were left on the line leading to Beverly. This force was under the command of

Brigadier General Henry R. Jackson. Headquarters for this command was at Camp Bartow. Among the outfits stationed at this camp was the Thirty-first Virginia. In a letter to his wife on September 19, Colonel Jackson wrote of his disappointment that his regiment was not permitted to go on with General Lee.

Brigadier General J. J. Reynolds, with a force of about 5,000 Union troops, launched an attack on Camp Bartow early on the morning of October 3. Fortifications at that camp were only partially completed. The Federals encountered about 100 Confederates under Colonel Edward Johnson, who held them off for about an hour with brilliant skirmishing. When Johnson withdrew about 8 o'clock, Reynolds deployed a large body of infantry and two batteries against the center of the Confederate line. The two forces exchanged artillery fire for about an hour and a half. Reynolds then moved a strong column against Jackson's left flank, on which the Thirty-first Virginia had been placed.

The troops on this flank, under the general command of Colonel Rust, were widely dispersed because of the character of the ground. In spite of this they met the assault and drove it back in confusion. Reynolds then organized an assault and drove it back in confusion. Reynolds then organized an assault on Jackson's right flank, which was under the command of Colonel Edward Johnson. With the support of artillery, Johnson's force was able to drive them back in confusion and disorder. The Federals had lost the day. In a letter to his wife on the following day, Colonel W. L. Jackson said of the battle:

My men behaved nobly and sustained the reputation of Northwestern Virginia.... The display of musketry was splendid. After our pickets were driven in, then came the cannons' roar. We had seven pieces. The enemy no doubt had more. The piece in front of my tent was fired ninety-three times and did terrible execution, since the fight the men have named the piece Colonel Jackson's.... Some of my missing men have returned. The one man killed in my regiment was an Englishman who was in the Crimean War, named Jack Mumford, belonging to Captain Thompson's company... Colonel Edward Johnson, from being the most unpopular had become the most popular officer here. He was everywhere, and had his horse killed under him.

The total Confederate loss was 6 killed, 33 wounded and 13 missing. Out of these the Thirty-first Virginia lost 1 enlisted man killed, Private Jack Mumford, Company A, and 1 officer and 2 enlisted men wounded. The enlisted men were first Corporal Benjamin G. Shaver, Company A, and Second Sergeant John O Perry, Company B. The muster rolls do not list an officer as wounded, but it might have been Captain Felix H. Hull, commanding Company E, who died on October 31, 1861. Nine men are listed in the official report as missing, but the muster rolls name only seven.

They were Privates Evan Evans, George P. Morgan, James H. Nay, and Thomas and Thomas West of Company A; Private William W. Staton, Company G; Privates Thomas Alford, who rejoined his company on May 27, 1862, and Solomon Ganer, Both of Company K. Third Sergeant Fleming E. Turner of Company D is listed as having died at Camp Bartow on October 3, but evidently not from battle wounds. Two privates are listed as having died later in October for unspecified reasons. They were William Conrad of Company D, who died on October 22, and 41 Wesley Stalnaker of Company K, who died on October 19.

Among those listed by General H. R. Jackson for distinguished service was Private William Slayton of the Thirty-first Virginia. On October 12 congratulations were sent from the War Department in Richmond to General Jackson, commending him for his successful discharge of duty at the battle of Greenbrier River. In a reply Jackson stated:

As you must be aware, this command is mainly composed of the wrecks of General Garnett's army, and the annals of warfare might be searched in vain to find a more pitiable picture of suffering, destitution, and demoralization than they presented at the close of their memorable retreat.

On October 7 Lieutenant Colonel W. L. Jackson of the Thirty-first Virginia received official notice that a Captain Samuel H. Reynolds, Virginia Volunteers, had been promoted to Colonel and assigned to command of the Thirty-first Virginia. On the same date Colonel Jackson sent in his resignation stating: "Under the circumstances my self respect compels me respectfully but peremptorily to resign the position of Lt. Colonel of Virginia Vols. I will endeavor in some position consistent with my self respect to serve Virginia and the Confederate states. Jackson wrote to his wife on October 8, telling her of Colonel Reynolds assignment, and that he had not yet arrived. Concerning his own resignation he wrote: "The course I have taken is warmly approved by Colonel Johnson and all the officers and men... So warm are the protests made against the change that the War Department may rescind the order... I fear the change will demoralize my Regiment." On October 12 he wrote of the arrival of Colonel Reynolds. "He is the son of Johnson Reynolds of Lewisburg. I cannot tell when I will be let off, but I hope in a few days." It was not until December 16 that a special order arrived stating that "Colonel Wm. L. Jackson is assigned to duty with the Thirty first Va. Vols. and will report to Brigadier. General W. W. Loring, Commanding, Army of the North West."

On November 21 General H. R. Jackson retired to the summit of Allegheny Mountain, leaving only cavalry at Camp Bartow to scout the enemy front. On November 22 he ordered Colonel Edward Johnson to take command of the garrison on the summit of the mountain. This command consisted of four regiments, including the Thirty-first Virginia, a battalion, a cavalry company, and

Anderson and Miller's Virginia batteries. Johnson immediately set to work to insure the safety and comfort of this troop. General Jackson had previously ordered the construction of huts at the top of the mountain. These were gladly occupied by the men, who had suffered considerably from the weather.

In the meantime the Federal General Reynolds had been replaced by Brigadier General R. H. Milroy. Milroy was anxious to gain a reputation, and had undoubtedly been informed that all that remained of the Greenbrier line was a small brigade under Colonel Edward Johnson on Allegheny Mountain. He gathered a force of 5,000 men and marched against Johnson early in the morning of December 12.

Colonel Johnson had sent out a small scouting party on yesterday morning. Near the top of the eastern Cheat Mountain, this group encountered Milroy's advance. They retired, drawing the Federal advance into an ambush, and then withdrew to Camp Allegheny. They arrived about dark and their report gave Johnson the opportunity to make preparations.

Colonel Johnson had under his command about 1,200 men, including the Thirty-first Virginia. "About 4 o'clock on the morning of December 13," the Federals began coming up the mountain on the Confederate right. Johnson had no defensive works on that ridge, only fields and stumps of felled trees. A force of about 2,000 Federals, led by a western Virginian familiar with the locality, advanced against that sector. Around 7:15 a sharp musketry fire opened between this force and the 300 Confederates on the ridge. Johnson immediately ordered two companies of the Twelfth Georgia to the defense of the right. With courageous firing they advanced until they finally drove the enemy from the position at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. They pursued them for more than a mile down the mountain.

The enemy had also been repulsed on the left, but Confederate losses were heavy. Casualties at the end of the battle were 20 killed, 96 wounded, and 28 missing. The Thirty-first Virginia had lost more than any other Confederate group. Second Lieutenant Lewis S. Thompson and 5 enlisted men were killed. The muster rolls, however, list only Privates Henry C. Nichols and Lemon Tennant, of Company A, and Third Corporal -David H. Hall of Company I. Of the four Second officers wounded, the rolls list only Second Lieutenant Isaac V. Johnson of Company H, and Third Lieutenant John R. Phillips of Company K. The official report lists 27 enlisted men wounded. These listed as wounded were Privates Jacob and Samuel J. Tucker, both of Company A; Private John W. Bird, Company B; Privates John Pridemore, Alfred Sims and Joseph C. Snider of Company C; Private Robert McGlaughlin of Company E; Private George W. Beverage, Company G; Fourth Sergeant George A. Bagbay, Third Corporal David H. Hall, Privates Thomas A. Compton, Alexander Haughton, James W. Haughton and Newton J. Powers, of Company I, and Privates Daniel Cross and Robert

Goodwin, Company K. Private Cross of Company K. died. on January 3, 1862, The report lists no men missing from the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment, but the muster rolls list as captured on December 13, Private Jones W. Chew, who was later exchanged, Company B; Fourth Sergeant Ashbel F. James, Company C; Fourth Corporal Davis H. Campbell, also later exchanged, Company E; Private Otho M. Bird, later exchanged, Company E; and Privates James M. Golden, and Perry M. Talbott of Company H. The official return of Federal casualties shows 20 killed, 107 wounded, and ten missing. After this battle Colonel Edward Johnson christened the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment the "Bloody Thirty-first." In his report on December 19, he spoke of the death of brave Lieutenant Thompson, and wrote that Thompson's good conduct had attracted his attention. According to Colonel Johnson young Lieutenant Thompson fell within a few feet of him. 51 In the same report he stated:

The Thirty-first Virginia Volunteers... deserve by thanks for their unflinching courage throughout the struggle. This regiment suffered severely. Lieutenants Toothamn, J. Johnson, McNewman, J. B. Phillips, all wounded, deserve special notice. 2'

In a letter of January 3, 1862 to the President of the Confederacy, Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamine praised the action of Johnson and his command. Johnson was ordered to remain at Camp Allegheny. General Loring, with the remainder of his command, was sent to the Shenandoah Valley. He was to join Stonewall Jackson at Winchester for an expedition against Romney.

Colonel William L. Jackson wrote to his wife on January 5, 1862 while on leave in Richmond. He stated that with the convening of the General Assembly he would be strongly urged for the position of Brigadier General. It was his intention to do everything possible to bring about the promotion. His efforts were evidently of little avail, for he was back in Camp Allegheny on January 10, 1862 without the promotion.

From January 15 to February 23, 1862 Jackson was detached from the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment, although he was still its commanding officer. He was placed in command of a small force at Huntersville. His letters to his wife and a letter to Jackson from Johnson, now a Brigadier General, indicate some trouble with the citizens in the vicinity of that place. Jackson appears to have organized 53 citizen scouts, and handled the trouble admirably.

On January 21 a committee appointed by the Thirty-first Virginia sent a sword to their commanding officer at Huntersville. A letter, signed by the committee members W. P. Cooper, Stephen A. Morgan, and Robert H. Bradshaw, accompanied the sword. The letter stated that the sword was presented "As a testimonial of the high regard in which you are held by your comrades /sic/ in arms, as a

gentleman and a soldier, and respectfully ask its acceptance by you."

Jackson acknowledged the gift in a letter on January 25, in which he wrote: "I cannot express to you Gentlemen how deeply I appreciate the kindness manifested toward me in your letter, or how sacredly I prize this sword, the generous gift of the living and the dead."

On February 24, Colonel Jackson wrote from Camp Allegheny to his wife that during the absence of General Edward Johnson, who was in Richmond, he was in command of the post and the entire Huttonsville line.

General Johnson is expected here by the 6th day of March. My labors are very arduous. I am however used to hard work. My men gave me a warm reception last night and I made them a speech. They are delighted at my return....There is very little sickness here.

Writing to his wife on March 14 Jackson said, "I fear that many of my men will not re-enlist. They all have Guerilla fever. There is a wild, roving and daring life connected with that system, and certain freedom from discipline and restraint, dazzling to most of them."

A letter of March 18 shows something of the character of Colonel Jackson. He is pessimistic, valiant, but not without a good deal of self interest:

Indeed our affairs look so gloomy that I have not assurance that I will have the opportunity to write to, or hear from you, long. I fear our Government has not taken the proper precautions to meet the treat emergency now soon at hand. The enemy is pressing us on all sides, and wherever our armies are defeated, the people of the South will submit. The people of the South are enthusiastic and brave people, but they are not blessed with the gift of endurance, and if our armies are defeated they will compel a treaty of peace, de-grading as that may be. We have many submissionists in our midst, in disguise, and if continued defeats attend our armies, they will throw off their masks. True there are many who will die before they submit, but they can do little without the support of the masses. It is well for us to look the dangers now surrounding us steadily in the face. So deep are laid their plans, it seems as if they can and do take any city they choose. Richmond may not be altogether safe. Tom Jackson is now falling back, and unless we are soon ordered back, or a great victory attends our armies in Virginia, this force here will be cut off, and surrounded by overwhelming force.

All this is followed by:

The sooner you purchase the gold the better for if bad news continues to come, you cannot buy it at any price with your money.

Brigadier General Edward Johnson was back in command at Camp Allegheny on March 18. On that date he submitted a report of his strength to General Lee in Richmond. In it he reported that his position had been considerably strengthened since the battle on December 13. In his report Johnson felt that the prospect of gaining recruits from the country-side within which he was operating was by no means flattering. In Johnson's opinion the people of that area were either indifferent or willing to range themselves on the stronger side. Johnson went on to say that there were rumors to the effect that the enemy planned to advance on Staunton, but that their present number did not indicate any such intention. He felt that:

There is but one point beyond this toward Staunton, which I regard as defensible... Shenandoah Mountain, twenty six miles from Staunton and about nineteen miles from Monterey. This is a strong position, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with the position to speak positively as to the facilities of water etc., for a military encampment, but I believe there is water in abundance.

In a statement of forces issued by General Johnson on March 18, he shows an aggregate strength present and absent for the Army of the Northwest of 3,963. A break down of this figure showed 17 officers and 2,250 men present for duty, 9 officers and 350 enlisted men present sick, and 90 officers and 1,089 enlisted men absent, sick and on leave. The only records of strength of the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment were those given for some of the companies in the muster rolls for February, 1862, Those companies were, Company A, with an aggregate of men; Company B, 106 men, Company C, no record; Company D, the

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On March 4 the Thirty-first and Forth-fourth Virginia Regiments, with one piece of artillery, marched from Allegheny Mountain to Franklin by way of Crab Bottom. They were to intercept a detachment of the enemy which was foraging in that vicinity. Reaching Franklin on the evening of March 5, they found that the enemy had retreated. They then returned to Allegheny Mountain, reaching that position on March 8.

In a letter to General Johnson on March 21, General Lee expressed his sympathy over the difficulty of getting volunteers. Lee felt that it was important that Johnson call out militia to fill the companies of the Virginia regiments to one hundred each. He advised Johnson to send a competent officer to examine Shenandoah Mountain. Lee felt that if Johnson should determine that Shenandoah Mountain was the best position in his rear for defending the approaches to Staunton, he should prepare for its occupation 63 by his troops without disclosing his view to the enemy.

Colonel W. L. Jackson wrote to his wife that he believed the line would fall back to Shenandoah Mountain. On April 2 it broke camp and marched to McDowell, Highland County, where it remained until April 5. The force then marched to the southeast side of Shenandoah Mountain and camped on the head of Calf Pasture River until April 18. On that date they marched toward Valley Mills, Augusta County, arriving there on April 20. On April 11 part of the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment was sent on a scouting party,

composed of 800 men, to reconnoiter the enemy's position at Monterey. Upon arriving they drove in the Federal pickets wounding three of the Federals without the loss of a man.

On April 14 Colonel W. L. Jackson wrote to his wife from Camp Shenandoah, telling her of the skirmish at Monterey. On April 21, he writes from a camp rear Westview, Augusta County, that they were then about five miles from Staunton.

On April 21, at his new camp at Valley Mills, Johnson issued an order dividing his Army of the Northwest into two brigades. The one on the right, with Colonel G. A. Porterfield commanding, consisted of the Twelfth Georgia, Twenty-fifth Virginia, and Thirty-first Virginia Regiments, with Hansbrough's battalion and the Star battery. The one on the left, with Colonel Baldwin commanding, consisted of the Forth-fourth Virginia, Fifty-second Virginia and Fifty eighth Virginia Regiments, with Miller's and Lee's battery.

On May 1, 1862 the enlistment period for most of the men in the Thirty-first Virginia would expire. In view of this, Colonel G. A. Porterfield issued a general order for the reorganization of the regiment. Major John S. Hoffman was ordered by Colonel W. L. Jackson to superintend an election by the non-commissioned officers and privates for new officers. In the ensuing election Major Hoffman was elected Lieutenant Colonel to command the regiment. Hoffman had risen quickly in the regiment. A thirty-nine year old Clarksburg lawyer, he was enrolled on May 21, 1861 by U. M. Turner, who later became commanding officer of Company C, Thirty-first Virginia Regiment. Hoffman was mustered into service at Grafton on May 26-by Major F. M. Boykin, Jr. He became a private in Company C. He was promoted to sergeant major on June 17, 1861, and commissioned major of the Thirty-first Virginia on December 1)1. His popularity with the men is evidenced by his election to command the regiment in May, 1862.

Captain Alfred H. Jackson, formerly in command of Company I, was also promoted to Lieutenant Colonel to be second in command of the regiment. Jackson, who was only 25, had been enrolled on June 7, 1861. Unlike Hoffman, he had served as company commander with the rank of Captain from the time of his enrollment. He had been appointed Adjutant General of T. J. Jackson's staff on November 12, 1861. There is no record as to when he returned to the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment. The election of company commanders in the May, 1862 reorganization has already been discussed. On June 4, Colonel William L. Jackson was transferred from the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment to be aide-de-camp to General T. J. Jackson.

CHAPTER II
JACKSON'S VALLEY CAMPAIGN

In the spring of 1862 General T. J. Jackson, "Stonewall", with a force of about 16,000 men, was keeping a much larger Union force under General Nathaniel P. Banks tied up in the Shenandoah Valley. After a defeat at Kernstown, Jackson retreated "down" the valley to Harrisonburg. Jackson wrote to General Lee on April 28 asking for 5,000 more men. General Lee, needing all the men at his command before Richmond, authorized Jackson to make use of the troops under the command of General Ewell, who was then at Gordonsville, together with the 3,000 men under General Edward Johnson at West View, About twenty miles west of Staunton. The latter force could not be removed without endangering Staunton. This compelled Jackson to strike at the advance forces of General John C. Fremont which were then facing Johnson. At that time Fremont's advance was under the command of General Robert H. Milroy.

Jackson then ordered Ewell's division to march across the Blue Ridge and occupy his camps at Swift Run Gap in order that they might watch Banks. Jackson's force, by skillfully contrived movements, marched by way of Conrad's Store, Port Republic and Brown's Gap to Mechum's Station on the Virginia Central Railroad. The latter place was on the east side of the Blue Ridge. Jackson's force proceeded from there by rail to Staunton. This operation took from April 30 to May 4.

During the afternoon of May 3 Johnson had left his camps at West View and marched his force to the eastern slope of Big North Mountain. They bivouacked in Dry Branch Gap, fifteen miles west of Staunton. Milroy's advance was encamped near the western foot of Shenandoah Mountain, in sight of Johnson's pickets¹.

Both Jackson and Johnson had agreed that the latter should send a flanking party to the left and fall upon the rear of Milroy's camp. Milroy had ordered his detachments to concentrate at McDowell, and when Johnson's flanking party reached his previous camp it found only a small force. Jackson had by this time brought his full force up from Staunton. On May 8, with Johnson's regiments still in advance, Jackson pushed forward until he reached the summit of Bull Pasture Mountain. From this point the two Confederate generals could clearly observe the enemy camp in the valley near McDowell. After a brief skirmish they determined that there would be no more attacks that day. Jackson placed Johnson's brigade on the summit of the mountain, just south of the turnpike. At the same time he sent a flanking party to Milroy's right. In the meantime, Milroy had been reinforced by Schenck's brigade from Franklin. At about 3:30 in the afternoon Milroy attempted an attack on Johnson's position on Sitlington's Hill. As soon as the Federal skirmishers appeared, Jackson ordered up four of Johnson's regiments which had been concealed along the turnpike. He advanced the Fifth-second Virginia as skirmishers against the enemy, and placed the Twelfth Georgia in a position

on the summit of the hill. The other two regiments were ordered to the left, to support the Fifth-second Virginia. The Federal regiments advanced boldly, and a fierce struggle ensued on the brow of the hill. In the mean-time Milroy sent three regiments to attempt to turn the Confederate right. Jackson anticipated this and sent the Thirty-first and Twenty-fifth Virginia Regiments, which were still on the turnpike, to support Johnson. Johnson placed them in support of the Forty-fourth Virginia on his right.²

The Federal troops bravely attacked again and again, but the Confederates unflinchingly held their position. Jackson saw that the Federals were throwing all their force into the struggle, and ordered Taliaferro's brigade to Johnson's aid. Johnson used this force to strengthen his right. He sent portions of the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia Regiments to occupy some elevated woods on his right and rear. This secured for the Confederates a commanding position. When Jackson rushed Campbell's brigade to Johnson's support, the larger tactical force on the field of action made certain the results. The battle lasted from 4:30 in the afternoon until 8:30 that night. The enemy re-treated under cover of night toward Franklin, where they hoped to meet Fremont and the main body of his command.³

The official report lists a total Confederate loss of 71 killed and 390 wounded. The Thirty-first Virginia lost 1 officer and 1 enlisted man killed, and 1 officer and 17 enlisted men wounded.⁴ However, Lieutenant Colonel Alfred H. Jackson, in a letter to his wife on June 13, lists the losses for the Thirty-first Virginia as 19 wounded and 1 killed.⁵ In his report to the Adjutant General, General Johnson mentions Lieutenant Colonel A. H. Jackson among those officers who behaved most gallantly. According to the muster rolls those wounded at McDowell were Private John S. Griffen, Company B; Private David Slocum, Company C; Captain Jacob C. Matheny, command officer of Company E; Private George A. Rexroad, Company E; Second Corporal Asa Kelly of Company F, died on May 20 of wounds received at McDowell, and Private William E. Lemon of the same company died on June 7 from the same cause.⁶

Jackson pursued the Federals until May 11. He advanced to within two miles of Franklin, where he found Schenck in a very strong position. Jackson was anxious to get back into the Shenandoah Valley, reconnoiter Bank's position and be on hand in case he was needed by General Lee. He began his march back to the valley on May 12. While on his way back, he sent a message to General Ewell asking him to meet him at Mt. Salon on the evening of May 17. Sunday, May 18, was spent in resting and religious observances.

In the nineteen days since Jackson had left Ewell's forces at Swift Run Gap, Banks had retreated slowly back up the valley. At New Market on May 1 he had detached Shield's division to join McDowell before Richmond. This left Banks with only about 8,000 men. He established his forces at Strasburg, where he set up defensive works. From his remaining 8,000 he detached 1,000 to

Front Royal to protect the Manassas Gap railroad and the bridges and turnpikes leading to Winchester.

On May 19 Jackson advanced to Harrisonburg, and was in New Market on the following day. He was joined by a portion of Ewell's command at the latter place. The remainder of Ewell's division marched down the eastern of Luray Valley to a point opposite New Market. Meanwhile, Ashby demonstrated with his cavalry against Bank's front below Woodstock.

General Edward Johnson had been wounded at McDowell, leaving the former Army of the Northwest without a commanding officer. Jackson divided Johnson's old command between his own command and that of Ewell. The Thirty-first, Twenty-fifth, and Thirteenth Virginia Regiments, together with the Twelfth Georgia made up the Fourth Brigade, under the command of General Arnold Elzey, Ewell's division.⁷

Jackson now determined to attack Banks' exposed left flank at Front Royal. On May 21 he left the Valley Turnpike and crossed the Massanutton Mountain to the South Fork of the Shenandoah. Here he was joined by the remainder of Ewell's Division.

On May 22 he reached the neighborhood of Front Royal. The Federal commander there, a Colonel Kenley, had not been at all aware of the confederate advance. On May 23 the Confederates moved against Kenley's position. After an unsuccessful attempt to hold his ground, Colonel Kepley retired toward Winchester. He was soon out off by Jackson's cavalry, and nearly all of his command was captured. The Thirty-first Virginia took no active part in this engagement.⁸

Upon hearing of this disaster Banks feared that he could not hold Strasburg, and fell back toward Winchester on May 24. Jackson made an unsuccessful attempt to reach the Valley Turnpike before him. Nevertheless Banks rear guard was hard pressed by the Confederates. Banks retired to Winchester and determined to offer battle. On the morning of May 25 he made his dispositions south of the town, to await Jackson's expected attack. In the meantime, Ewell's division had advanced to Winchester along the Front Royal and Winchester Road, When Jackson found the Federals in possession of the heights south of Winchester, he immediately began the attack. After a determined resistance the Federal right was turned, and they were obliged to abandon their position. They began to re-tire through the streets of Winchester.

Ewell's force had not been idle. On the morning of May 25 it fought its way with difficulty along the Front Royal road. The Twenty-first Georgia finally succeeded in turning the Federal left, and by an enfilade fire forced it from behind the fences bordering the road. By this time Jackson's men had broken the Federal center and right, and between 8 and 9 in the morning the entire Federal line began to retreat rapidly toward Martinsburg.

Elzey's brigade, which included the Thirty-first Virginia, followed the Valley Turnpike through the town as the enemy gave way on all sides. At first the Federals fell back in good order, but they were thrown into confusion while passing through the town, and their retreat became disorderly.

Colonel A. H. Jackson wrote to his wife on June 12, describing the Confederate entry into Winchester. According to Colonel Jackson the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment was the first to enter the town.⁹

The scene surpassed description, the streets were filled with women and children, and young and old, black and white, cheering, laughing, crying and shouting, some were bringing water and food for our soldiers, others waving banners and some of the ladies even went so far as to hug some of our boys in their delight. I assure you I came very near being hugged several times in passing through the town, and you know how averse I am to anything of that kind.

The Confederate infantry followed Banks as far as Stephenson's, five miles from Winchester. There the cavalry took up the pursuit. The weary men were ordered into camp. May 26 was observed as a day of rest and devotion. On May 27, Jackson dispatched a small force under Winder toward Charlestown. Winder found that the enemy held that place in force, and Ewell was ordered to move in the same direction. On May 29 Jackson moved his entire army to Halltown to menace Harper's Ferry, which was occupied by almost 7,000 Federals.¹⁰

Meanwhile President Lincoln had ordered Shields back into the Shenandoah Valley, He was to move along the Manassas Gap railroad, At the same time Fremont, who was now at Franklin, was ordered to move into the valley against Jackson. These forces were to work together to attempt to out off and capture Jackson's army. On the evening of May 29 Jackson received word of Fremont's march toward Strasburg, and the following day the news reached him of Shields movement toward Front Royal.¹¹

Jackson retired to Winchester with the main body of his army on May 30. Upon learning that Shields had entered Front Royal and that Fremont was marching on Strasburg by way of the Capon Springs Road, he immediately retreated to Strasburg. He reached the town on June 1, beating Fremont by only two miles.¹² Jackson then marched his forces out the Capon Springs Road, and met Fremont at a point two miles from the town. After fighting for about an hour he succeeded in repulsing Fremont, but Jackson immediately withdrew and marched to a point near Woodstock the same evening, Fremont pursued Jackson up the Shenandoah, and Shields was ordered by McDowell to march by way of the Luray Valley. The roads in the latter valley, running along the eastern side of the South Fork of the Shenandoah, were in very bad condition. Shields' force moved slowly through mud and quicksand. Jackson retired along the Valley Turnpike, and his cavalry, under

Ashby, retarded the Federal pursuit, Fremont and Shields now did not dare combine their forces, for fear of leaving the eastern or western valley open.

Jackson sent his sick and wounded on to Staunton. On June 6 he left the Valley Turnpike and retired toward Port Republic, thus placing himself in a line of communication with General Lee. It was while covering the retreat toward Port Republic, that Ashby was killed.

Jackson's army enjoyed a well earned rest on June 6 and 7. Ewell held the rear at Cross Keys, and the remainder of Jackson's force was between that point and the north bank of the river at Port Republic. On Sunday morning, June 8, Fremont gave orders to advance on Ewell's force at Cross Keys. Ewell made an excellent disposition of his troops on opposite sides of the road, behind a creek that ran along his front. His flanks extended into the forests on either side, and he placed batteries on the road at his center where they could sweep the open countryside.

Fremont brought his line into a position on the hills northeast of Mill Creek parallel to Ewell's, while protecting his right with batteries and a detached brigade. During the first part of the battle, General Elzey's brigade, including the Thirty-first Virginia, was placed in the rear of the center where he would be able to support either flank. When the Federals advanced with force against General Trimble, who held the Confederate right, the Thirteenth and Twenty-fifth Virginia Regiments of Elzey's brigade were sent to his aid. He then pushed forward more than a mile from his original position. The Thirty-first Virginia, with the remainder of Elzey's brigade, was sent to the support of the left and center of Ewell's line. This delayed a movement by Schenck's brigade on Ewell's left. Fremont now ordered his force back to its original position. Ewell's loss was 287 men, while Fremont lost 664. The official report lists no casualties for the Thirty-first Virginia, but the muster rolls indicate that Privates William S. Lightner and George A. McAllister, both of Company E, were wounded.¹³ Brigadier General Elzey was wounded and disabled from command during this engagement.¹⁴ This action at Cross Keys not only defeated, but temporarily paralyzed Fremont's army.

On the same day the brigades of Tyler and Carroll of Shields's Division had arrived at Port Republic. After a short skirmish they were out off from joining Fremont when Jackson secured the only bridge that could connect the two Federal forces. Shields, who had halted half his command. At Columbia Bridge, ordered them back to Conrad's Store, where he planned to join them. Tyler, however, decided to hold his ground.¹⁵

Early on the morning of June 9, Jackson ordered Winder to cross the river and move against the Federal troops situated near the Lewis farm, As Winder advanced his lines were enfiladed by Federal batteries. His attempt to flank the Federal left and seize the batteries was frustrated. Meanwhile, Ewell was directed to move from his position at Cross keys toward Port Republic. This

left only a small force under General Trimble to hold Fremont in check.

Meanwhile at Port Republic, Winder was reinforced with Taylor's Seventh Louisiana. General Jackson ordered Taylor to turn the Federal left and capture the enemy battery. Taylor's men advanced as directed under galling fire. They succeeded in capturing the battery, but it continued to change hands several times. In the meantime Winder reinforced his left with two regiments from Ewell's division. The battery was then captured and held. Colonel J. A. Walker, temporarily in command of Elzey's Fourth Brigade, complied with a command from Jackson to put the Thirty-first Virginia and Raines' battery in support of Winder. The Thirty-first Virginia, being in a very exposed position, was badly cut up. The remainder of the Fourth brigade was ordered to pursue the now retreating Federals. The enemy was hotly pursued until dark. The entire Confederate loss was 66 killed, 382 Wounded, and 382 missing. The Thirty-first Virginia suffered the greatest loss in Ewell's division. The official report stated its losses as 2 officers and 12 enlisted men killed; 3 officers and 76 enlisted men wounded; and 4 enlisted men missing. Officers listed as killed were Captain Robert H. Bradshaw, Company B, and Lieutenant A. Whitley, (no company given).¹⁶ In a letter to his wife on June 13, 1862 Colonel A. H. Jackson reported the losses of the Thirty-first Virginia as 114 killed and wounded.¹⁷ He lists both Captain Bradshaw and Major Joseph H. Chenoweth as killed. Major Chenoweth had enlisted as a private in Company F on March 15, 1862, and had risen to the rank of Major.¹⁸

Casualties for the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment listed on the available company muster rolls were: killed, Privates William H. Hall and James Steel, both of Company A; Captain Robert H. Bradshaw, Company B; Privates Samuel Dawson and John W. Wellingham, Company C; Fourth Sergeant Charles W. H. Goff, Company D; Private Noah Folks, Company E; Private James A. Ruokman, Company F; Captain James C. Arbogast, Second Lieutenant John R. Warwick, Fifth Sergeant Jonathan J. Hicks, and Private Dallas Hudson, Company G. Listed as wounded were Privates Jonathan F. Danley, Joshua W. Ness, Uriah Tucker, Company A; Privates Charles H. Chewning, Jeremiah S. Church, Henry H. Ervin, John S. Hick-man, William A. Hetzel, Company B; Privates Salathiel S. Dennison, John W. Rector, Jr., Thomas Reed, and Aaron B. Young, Company C; Privates Jacob D. F. Clendenin, Houston Gwin, Isaac H. Hite, and Washington Warner, Company E; Privates Robert D. Lindsay, Peter H. Warwick, and George Wilfong, Company G; Second Corporal Amos Sturm and Private John J. Stewart, Company K. Listed as having died later of wounds received at Port Republic were Second Sergeant Jonathan F. Arnett, died June 16, Company A; Third Sergeant Isaac V. Caldwell, died July 12, Private Morgan S. Bird, died July 11, and Private David Warner, died July 14, all of Company E; Privates John A. Bible, Samuel Carpenter, George Casteel, Charles H. Houchin, Warwick Woddell, dates of death not given, Company G.¹⁹

Thus ended Jackson's valley campaign. Shields' division retired to Front Royal and subsequently to Manassas. Fremont fell

back to Mount Jackson on the Valley Turnpike, Jackson left the valley on the night of June 17, and his army reached the vicinity of Richmond on June 26. He was in line of battle and ready to fall on McClellan's rear by June 26.

CHAPTER III
FROM CEDAR MOUNTAIN TO CHANTILLY

General R. E. Lee, long on the defensive, was determined to take the offensive against McClellan, Such a movement required the cooperation of Jackson's command. At a meeting of Confederate military leaders in Richmond it was decided that the bulk of the Confederate troops would be moved north of the Chickahominy. Jackson's troops would outflank all Union defense lines north of the river. McClellan must then either move the bulk of his lines north of the river or withdraw from his present lines. On June 26 a Confederate force under General A. P. Hill attacked the Federal position near Mechanicsville. They were repulsed with great slaughter, McClellan now deter-mined to abandon his base at White House and fall back to the James River and establish a base there. This decision was made too late for the Union General Porter to effect a withdrawal of his troops and guns from the north side of the Chickahominy. McClellan failed to reinforce him adequately.

Early on the morning of June 27 McClellan heard that Jackson had joined the other Confederate troops north of the river. He then ordered Porter to withdraw McCall's division from Beaver Dam Creek to Gaines' Mill. This was successfully accomplished.

The Confederate troops, now embarked on an aggressive campaign, became even more confident when they learned of McCall's withdrawal. At about noon on June 27 they discovered Porter's position at Gaines' Mill, The able Porter had made his naturally strong position even stronger by constructing fortifications.¹

Lee promptly ordered an attack upon the Federal position. Jackson was unfamiliar with the ground, and one of his guides conducted Ewell's division west instead of east of the right flank, which was its appointed position. This brought Ewell's force directly in front of A. P. Hill's command, instead of to its left, thus paralyzing the movements of both commanders for some time.²

Jackson, together with D. H. Hill, attacked the enemy position on the north front. A fierce struggle continued through the late afternoon, with both sides receiving reinforcements. Toward evening Lee ordered a general advance, and the Federal lines broke near the center. Jackson had not been idle. He fully realized the necessity of cooperation among the commanders. His divisions stretched several miles through forest and swampy creeks, but he had arranged them so that they could move promptly at the propitious moment. When he became aware of the general movement for-ward, he ordered Major Dabney to ride to each division commander and instruct him to move forward and bear to the left. This brought Jackson's line into successive actions in echelon. The entire line swept into action with D. H. Hill on the left, followed by Ewell on the right, Jackson's old division,³ and then Whiting.⁴ A yell,

"Jackson's come" swept through the lines of A. P. Hill and Longstreet.⁵ The Federals fell back in confusion. Their loss in killed, wounded, and missing was 6,837.⁶ There is a dearth of information concerning the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment in this engagement, but their losses were 2 officers killed, and 2 officers and 16 enlisted men wounded.⁷ Losses for the Thirty-first Virginia listed in the muster rolls were First Lieutenant Isaac N. Heger, Company I., killed; Privates William Cumming, Andrew J. Queen, Joseph C. Snider, Company C, wounded; Private Edward Moulden, Company E, wounded; Second Corporal William J. Bonner and Private James P. Hickman, Company H, wounded; Corporal Samuel H. Gibson, Company I, wounded: Privates Jacob Godson and Thomas Wilson, Company I, wounded. Corporal Gibson of Company I died on July 1.⁸

General Lee expected McClellan to cross the river at the lower bridges in an attempt to retreat to Fort Monroe. To prevent this he sent Ewell's force down the river as far as Bottoms Bridge on the morning of June 28. He waited in vain for such a movement.⁹ General McClellan had ordered his army to move to the James on the evening of June 27, by way of White Oak Swamp. On June 29 Ewell was ordered to return to Grapevine Bridge and follow Jackson's pursuit of McClellan. On the morning of June 30, Ewell was joined by General Jubal A. Early, who was to command his Fourth Brigade, of which the Thirty-first Virginia was an integral part. General Elzey had been seriously wounded at Gaines' Mill. At this time General Early was still suffering from a wound received at Williamsburg.

At Malvern Hill Ewell's division was in reserve. Near the end of the day, the Fourth Brigade was placed in the rear of Colonel Stafford's command. Early was ordered to support D. H. Hill on the right, and was exposed to heavy artillery fire. The next morning the troops of the Fourth Brigade, including the Thirty-first Virginia, were the only ones remaining in that part of the field. The main body of the enemy had retired, but a body of cavalry, supported by infantry, remained in the field. By 10 o'clock the last of the enemy force had retired. Losses of the Thirty-first Virginia at Malvern Hill were 1 officer and 2 enlisted men wounded.¹¹ Casualties listed in the muster rolls were First Lieutenant Warwick C. Kincaid, Company B, wounded; Private James W. Quick, Company F, wounded.¹²

The Federal government, now alarmed, ordered McClellan back to the line of the Potomac in front of Washington. Meanwhile the armies of Fremont, Banks and McDowell were organized under Major General John Pope as the Army of Virginia. They were organized in the vicinity of Sperryville and Piedmont, Virginia.

Gordonsville, which was essential to Lee's line of railway communication, was seriously exposed to this army. Consequently, on July 13 Lee ordered Jackson to Gordonsville with Robertson's cavalry brigade and the two infantry divisions of Ewell and

Winder. On July 27 another 12,000 men under A. P. Hill, were added to this force. Jackson's advance reached Gordonsville on July 19.

On July 24- First Lieutenant Charles B. Ruckman of Company G, Thirty-first Virginia, was charged with being so drunk as to incapacitate him from the performance of his duties. This incident occurred at Liberty Mills, Orange County, Virginia. The charge was forwarded through brigade and division to General Jackson, who referred it to a general court martial. There is no record of the proceedings or the decision of the court martial.¹³

Jackson watched carefully for an opportunity to meet his adversary. He found it when Pope moved forward to Culpeper Court House, leaving parts of his command strung all along the way back to Sperryville. On July 27 Jackson led his army to the vicinity of the Rapidan, where he planned to drive in the Federal cavalry on the morning of July 28. He then intended to occupy a favorable position where the road to Culpeper crosses between the Rapidan and Cedar Run. Due to a misunderstanding of orders he was not able to carry this out. On the morning of August 9 Jackson drew up his line of battle on the edge of the forest, at right angles to the road and a low range of hills known as Slaughter's Mountain. Shortly after 10 o'clock Ewell's division was ordered forward. Early's brigade, under cover of the woods, was ordered to the left. The Brigade, including the Thirty-first Virginia, was then formed in a meadow on the north branch of Cedar Creek. The entire brigade moved forward through the woods until it came upon a body of enemy cavalry, which it quickly scattered. It then continued, coming out into the open field in line of battle. Upon reaching the crest of a hill, three enemy batteries opened fire on it. Early then ordered his men to retire a few yards to avoid the effect of the artillery. He then sent to General Winder, who was still half a mile back, asking for support. He was soon supported by artillery. An artillery duel lasting about two hours followed. Shortly afterward the enemy infantry was seen advancing to the front and right. Early then began his infantry advance with the support of artillery. The enemy gave way to the front and right, but Early's left was temporarily pushed back. It was soon rallied and the entire front maintained its ground. Due to a shortage of ammunition, Early did not order a further advance. A little after dark the enemy retired before an advance of Confederate regiments from the left. General Jackson then ordered a general pursuit of the enemy, which Early-carried out until ordered by General Ewell to wait until the other brigades of the division came up.

In his report Early states that the disorder on the left during the battle, was confined to the Twenty-fifth, Thirty-first, and part of the Fifty-eighth Virginia Regiments. He explained that this did not occur until the commanding officer of both regiments, Lieutenant Colonel A. H. Jackson of the Thirty-first Virginia and Major Higginbotham of the Twenty-fifth Virginia, were both wounded and carried to the rear. This left their regiments without effective leadership. In addition to this, the regiments to the left of Early's command had retired, leaving the left flank and rear of both the Thirty-first and Twenty-fifth Virginia exposed to

enemy fire.¹⁴ Early described the gallantry exhibited by the men of these two regiments, gathering about their color bearers and advancing all the while. Losses for the Thirty-first Virginia in this action were 3 killed and 17 wounded.¹⁵

In an unpublished manuscript by Major Joseph Harding of Elkins, West Virginia, formerly with Company F, Thirty-first Virginia Regiment, he says that the color bearer around whom the men of the Thirty-first rallied was Martin Mulvey of Company I. According to the manuscript Harding himself caught up the regimental flag, waved and summoned the men to follow him. They did so without orders. Shooting and cheering they rallied and swept the enemy from the field. Shortly afterward, a Major Hale, an aide to General Ewell, rode up and suggested that Ewell recommend Harding for promotion to Colonel. Harding explains that as no vacancy then existed in the regiment, and he did not wish to leave it, the promotion did not occur.¹⁶

Casualties listed in the muster rolls for the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment were: killed, Second Corporal Isreal Marks, Company D; Private William A. Hamilton, Company E; Private John M. C. Lewis, Company F. Wounded were: Private Benjamin K. Martin, Company W; Private George M. Cookman, Company C; Captain J. S. Kerr McCutcheon and Private Elam Goff, Company D; Private George W. Phillips, Company G; Captain George T. Thompson, and Private Joshua Lunsford, Company H; Private Marhen Clark, Company I. Private George Atchinson of Company A was captured. First Lieutenant Hiram M. March, Company I, was wounded and died on August 11.¹⁷

Meanwhile General Lee received information that Pope was being heavily reinforced by Burnside. McClellan's army was being sent to Aquia Creek for the same purpose, leaving a small detachment before Richmond. Lee sent the remainder of his force to join Jackson in an attempt to defeat Pope and drive him from northern Virginia before McClellan could join him. Lee followed his army in person, near the middle of August. On August 19 he shifted his army from the south bank of the Rapidan to the west,, in order to draw Pope away from McClellan. Jackson was in command of the left wing of the army moving toward Culpeper Court House. Pope hastily put the Rappahannock between him-self and the Confederate army. Confederate marching orders were then changed to advance toward the Rappahannock. On the morning of August 21 Lee's army was on the south bank of that river, with Jackson's command making up the left, Pope's men held the north bank, and a lively artillery duel was kept up during the day. Second Lieutenant William H. Wilson, Company F, of the Thirty-first Virginia, was struck in the temple with a fragment of shell during the Federal barrage.¹⁸

Lee determined at this point to attempt to turn Pope's right and put the Confederates behind him. His plan was to send Jackson, under cover of the low ranges of the Bull Run Mountains, up the river to the vicinity opposite the Warrenton Springs. When

Jackson reached this point he immediately began moving his troops to the other side of the river. Early's command crossed about a mile further down the river. Private William Grogg, Company E, Thirty-first Virginia, was killed by a shell during the crossing.¹⁹ Heavy rains during the night rendered the river past fording, leaving Early's force isolated on the north shore to confront Pope's entire army alone. The rains forced Lee to abandon his attempt to flank Pope. Early put up a bold front while awaiting the reconstruction of a bridge in his rear. He held the road against a Federal advance under Sigel, who commanded a force of 2,500 men. On the night of August 23, Early was joined by Robertson's Cavalry re-turning from Stuart's expedition in Pope's rear. On the morning of August 24 Early withdrew over the improvised bridge to a position in rear of Jackson's main force. There his men ate for the first time in two days.²⁰ Losses of the Thirty-first Virginia on the Rappahannock from August 22 to the 24, were 2 killed and 6 wounded. The Thirty-first Virginia was the only regiment in Early's brigade to suffer casualties.²¹ The only casualty, other than Private Grogg, listed in the muster rolls was Private John M. Carpenter, Company G, who was wounded on August 22.²²

Lee still wished to strike Pope before the main body of McClellan's force could reach him. In conference with Jackson he devised a plan by which Jackson would move to Pope's rear, cut his line of communication at Bristle Station, and destroy his stores at Manassas Junction. He was then to fall back to await the arrival of Lee and Longstreet north of the Warrenton and Washington Turnpike.

Jackson began his movement on the morning of August 25. With a detachment of some 23,000 infantry and artillery, together with Stuart's Cavalry, he started a forced march behind the Bull Run Mountains. His troops carried scout rations for three days. By the end of the first day he had reached the vicinity of Salem on the Manassas Gap Rail-road. On August 26 Jackson's force marched southeast, following the railroad toward Gainesville. There it was joined by Stuart's Cavalry. By the end of the day it had reached Bristoe Station. Jackson was now in Pope's rear and on his line of communication, which he destroyed, capturing trains moving toward Washington. Jackson sent Trimble's brigade and a portion of Stuart's Cavalry four miles further to Manassas Junction, leaving Ewell at Bristoe Station to protect his rear. On the afternoon of August 27, Ewell repulsed a vigorous attack by Porter, and later in the day withdrew to Manassas Junction. Early's brigade, including the Thirty-first Virginia, was designated as rear guard. General Early adroitly pulled out his regiments so that they disengaged themselves with trifling losses.

The only casualties in the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment listed in the muster rolls for this rear guard action were Privates John Bird, Jr., and Thomas J. Jones of Company E. Both men were wounded. Private Andrew J. Robinson of the same company had been shot for desertion on August 19.²³ Early's brigade arrived in the vicinity of Manassas Junction late in the afternoon of

August 27. According to Major Harding's manuscript it spent most of August 28 wandering about in the vicinity of the first Manassas battle ground.²⁴ Early was not unduly proud of his men.²⁵

The first part of Jackson's mission had been performed. He now had to preserve his force until Lee and Longstreet could join him. He determined to stay close to the line of Lee's advance from Thoroughfare Gap, and also strike a blow at the Federals if the chance came. The divisions of his command were temporarily scattered due to conflicting orders.²⁶ Before they could be reunited, Jackson received word that a Federal force was in full retreat northward in the direction of Bull Run. All during the day of August 28 he received evidence of gathering opposition, but did not modify his plan to remain where he was until Lee arrived. Late in the afternoon he heard Longstreet's cannon at Thoroughfare Gap. After finding that his divisions could be reunited within a few hours, he determined to strike the Federals on the march. Jackson's old division was moved to the left in the direction of Gainesville, because of their rear guard action of August 27, Ewell's division was not ordered forward until just before dark.²⁷ At about sunset a Federal Column was seen advancing up the Warrenton Turnpike, and Jackson ordered an attack. After a bloody infantry and artillery battle lasting two and one-half hours, the Federals withdrew. The brigades of Early and Hayes were formed in the rear of Stark's brigade, and were called up too late to share in the action.²⁸ Thus the Thirty-first Virginia suffered no casualties in this engagement. Generals Taliaferro and Ewell were both severely wounded. Ewell's command passed by seniority to Alexander R. Lawton.²⁹

On the morning of August 29 Ewell's division, now under Lawton, formed on a line perpendicular to the rail-road. Its right flank rested on the Warrenton Turnpike and faced toward Groveton. Shortly afterward, Early received orders from Jackson to take his own brigade and that of Hayes to a ridge west of the turnpike. This was to prevent the enemy from flanking the Confederate right. In this movement the Thirteenth and Thirty-first Virginia Regiments were placed by Jackson in some woods on the east of the turnpike to observe the enemy moving toward his right. Mean-while the entire confederate line was modified so as to place it along the railroad. By skirmishing, the Thirteenth and Thirty-first Virginia Regiments kept the body of the enemy's infantry in check until the head of General Longstreet's Corps made its appearance on the turnpike from the direction of Gainesville. The two regiments were then recalled to rejoin the remainder of the division.³⁰

Early was then ordered to form his brigade in the rear of General Lawton. Shortly afterwards the enemy began an attempt to drive the Confederates from the line of the railroad. Early found it in the possession of the enemy. He advanced his brigade and the Eighth Louisiana Regiment, driving the enemy back across the railroad and hundred yards beyond. This was the last attempt made by the enemy on August 29 to gain the line of the railroad.³¹ Casualties listed in the muster rolls of the Thirty-first Virginia

for the battle of Groveton were Second Lieutenant William J. West, Company C, killed; Private Felix G. West, Company A, and Private Dennis Bohner, Company I, both wounded.³² The official report does not list the casualties for this regiment.

The next morning the enemy sharpshooters commenced firing on Early's left flank, and enemy skirmishers were crossing the railroad on his left. After some delay General Hill sent out brigades to occupy positions on Early's left. During the morning Early's skirmishers repulsed a column of the enemy which commenced to advance. Shortly afterward arrangements were made to place all of General Hill's troops on Early's left, with the remainder of the division on his right. This left room for only three regiments of Early's brigade on the front line. Early then withdrew four of his regiments, including the Thirty-first Virginia.³³

That afternoon the Federals began a determined attack upon the line, beginning on the right. An enemy column advanced in front of the three remaining regiments of Early's brigade. They were quickly repulsed and pursued by these regiments. Early immediately moved his reserve regiments up to fill the gap. When darkness fell the Confederates had won the day, and they gave thanks for their bloody victory. Major Harding wrote that he was slightly wounded by a fragment or shell, and was found the next morning about a mile in front of the then Confederate position.³⁴

Losses for the Thirty-first Virginia listed in the muster rolls for August 30 were: killed, none listed; wounded, Private Samuel J. Tucker, Company A; Fifth Sergeant Robert D. Leach and Private Charles C. Stuart, Company B; Private Francis M. Golden, Company C; Private William F. Warner, Company H.³⁵

On Sunday, August 31, streams were swollen and the roads muddy after a night long rain. Despite this Lee determined to strike the Federals once again before they reached the defenses of Washington. Jackson was instructed to seek the flank of Pope. Longstreet was to remain on the field of battle to occupy the enemy's attention. Jackson's force started northward through the rain. Ewell's division was instructed to move, following Jackson's old division. They followed the Little River Turnpike toward Germantown. The next morning they again marched in a single column until reaching Chantilly. There the divisions were placed in two columns, one on each side of the road. Upon reaching Ox Hill in the afternoon, the enemy was observed approaching from Centerville. Jackson's men were placed in line of battle, with Early's brigade, including the Thirty-first Virginia, in the rear.

The enemy opened with artillery. After some time General Starke, in command of Jackson's old division, requested Early to occupy an interval between his left flank and the turnpike. Having received no orders, Early did this with some hesitation. On reaching the position he found that three of his regiments, the Thirteenth, Twenty-fifth, and Thirty-first Virginia, had not followed. When he sent an aide to determine the cause, he found them engaged with the enemy in their front. Hays brigade and the Sixth Louisiana Regiment, pursued by the enemy, had fallen back in

confusion through these regiments. Early immediately marched back and found that the enemy had been successfully repulsed by his three regiments. The next day Early's brigade was advanced to the front, a quarter of a mile beyond its position on the previous day. The remainder of the division continued in its former position. This action near Chantilly might be said to end the Virginia phase of the campaign begun when Jackson was dispatched to Gordonsville.

The official report listed the losses of the Thirty-first Virginia at Chantilly as 1 killed and 7 wounded.³⁶ Major Harding received an additional wound, this time a severe one in the arm. He was absent throughout the month of September, 1662..³⁷ The only losses listed in the muster rolls are Private Randolph Wise, Company F, and Private Courtland Phillips, Company K, both wounded.³⁸

CHAPTER IV
ANTIETAM AND FREDERICKSBURG

When the defeated Federal forces were brought back into the defenses of Washington, McClellan was immediately restored to full command in the East. After the second victory at Manassas, Lee determined to cross the Potomac and carry the campaign into Maryland and Pennsylvania. On September 3 Jackson gave instructions to each of his divisions to be ready to move at a specified time. The advance into Maryland by the battle-weary troops was accompanied by much straggling. It took from September 4 to September 7 for Lee's army to cross the Potomac.¹ On September 6 they camped in Best's Grove near Frederick. When the Confederate army entered Maryland, Lee expected the Federals along the south side of the Potomac to be withdrawn toward Washington. In view of this, he decided that one column should march westward, while he advanced to the vicinity of Hagerstown. This column, under the command of Jackson, was to envelop Harper's Ferry, reopen communication with the Shenandoah Valley, and then rejoin the main body of the army at Hagerstown.²

Jackson was to begin his advance on September 10, and close in upon Harper's Ferry from the rear on September 12. Jackson's entire command, including Early's brigade and the Thirty-first Virginia, was to participate in this movement. At the same time John G. Walker's division was to climb Loudon Heights across the Shenandoah River from Harper's Ferry. The actual capture of the town would be left to the division commanded by Lafayette McLaws. McLaws' division was to occupy Maryland Heights, which overlooked the Ferry from north of the Potomac. The arsenal town would be subjected to a triple fire.³

At about 10 o'clock in the morning of September 13, Jackson's advance came into view of the enemy, who was drawn up in force on Bolivar Heights. Late in the afternoon of September 14 Jackson's divisions were ordered to advance on the town in three columns, one along the road and another on each side of it. After passing Halltown, Ewell's division advanced to the woods on School House Hill. Lawton's and Trimble's brigades were formed in line of battle on the right of the turnpike, with Hay's brigade on the left. Early's brigade, including the Thirty-first Virginia, was placed to the rear of Lawton. In this manner they advanced through the woods without opposition, and gained possession of the hill fronting Bolivar Heights. Early's brigade was then moved across the road by flank, and placed to the rear of Hay's brigade, which General Lawton had put under Early's command. It was dark by this time, and the several brigades lay on their arms during the night.

The following day the Federals, under the fire of the Confederate batteries from across the Shenandoah and Potomac, surrendered without further movement from Jackson's troops.

On September 15 General Lawton, now commanding Ewell's division, received orders to move the division to Boteler's Ford

below Sheperdstown. He immediately set his own brigade and that of Trimble in motion, ordering Early to follow with his own and Hay's brigades as soon as they received rations from Harper's Ferry. They later rejoined Lawton in camp about four miles from the ford.

The division moved at dawn the next morning. Crossing the Potomac at the ford, it proceeded on the road to Sharps-burg. McClellan had wrecked Lee's plans for maneuvering in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and Lee had withdrawn to Sharps-burg. There Jackson rejoined him, and the Confederate forces prepared to meet the enemy. Early on the morning of September 17 the battle began.

Early that morning General Jackson had ordered Early to move his brigade to the left. They were to support some pieces of artillery which Major General Stuart had in position there. Thus Early's brigade, of which the Thirty-first Virginia was an integral part, was separated from the remainder of Ewell's division, and avoided much of the terrible slaughter of that day.

Early supported General Stuart as he had been directed. Later in the day he was informed by Stuart that Lawton had been wounded, and that Jackson had ordered Early to move his brigade back and take command of the division. Leaving the Thirteenth Virginia to support Stuart, Early moved back toward the center of the line. During this movement he came upon three Hundred men of Jackson's division who had been rallied by Colonels Rigsby and Stafford. Using these men and his own troops, Early formed on the Federal right, He had reformed his regiments and held his flank position. He directed Colonel Smith of the Forty-ninth Virginia to take command of his brigade, and rode in the direction of the positions of the other brigades of the division. Early found the center of Jackson's line falling back, and attempted to reorganize the brigades and order them up. He reported the situation to General Jackson. Early then returned to his own brigade on the left of Jackson's line.

Upon returning Early found his brigade in a somewhat critical position. Although it occupied a concealed position in the woods running along the Hagerstown road, the line to its right had fallen back leaving it exposed to an attack both on the right flank and on the front. Early drew his right flank quietly under cover of the woods so as not to have his rear exposed in the event he was discovered. An enemy column advancing on his left flank was held in check by the men of Colonel Grigsby and Stafford and the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment. At about this time Confederate reinforcements came up and advanced into the woods from the direction of Early's right flank. The enemy in the front commenced to give way, and was pursued by the brigade. It drove him entirely out of the woods. Early then discovered a body of the enemy moving across the plateau on his left flank, but he succeeded in arresting his command and ordered it to retire. This enabled him to change front and advance upon this force. Receiving more reinforcements at this time, he succeeded in driving the enemy, win great slaughter, entirely beyond the woods, Thus Early's brigade has succeeded admirably in holding the left of Jackson's

line, and repulsing the bloody enemy assault upon the entire left or ' general Lee's line or battle at Sharpsburg.

This was the last serious enemy attack on that portion or the line. Early's force remained in this position for the remainder of the day and night of September 17 and all or the following day. The loss for the entire brigade included 16 killed and 166 wounded. Losses for the Thirty-first Virginia listed in the muster rolls were: killed, corporal Allison D. Robinson, company H; wounded, First Lieutenant Laban H. Exline, and Private Nathaniel Wilson, company A; Private Elliott Jones and. Prlvate Harrison D. Paugh, company H; captured were Private Alfred smith, company r; Privates William Gillespie and John M. Wilfong, Company G.⁸

Ewell's division was to act as infantry rear guard for Lee's retreat into Virginia. Early received orders from General Jackson late on September 16 to move back as soon as his pickets were relieved. The division began Lo move between 10 and 11 in the evening. 1L crossed Boteler's Ford shortly after sunrise on September 19, and formed in line of battle on the heights on the Virginia side. After remaining in this position for two or three nouns under artillery fire from the enemy, it advanced toward Martinsburg, leaving Lawton's brigade to abandon the position, Early was ordered to move back to that place with three brigades, including his own and the Thirty-First Virginia Regiment, on the morning of September 20. They were placed in line of battle on the right and left of the road leading to the ford. This was in rear of General A. P Hill's division. They remained there until late in the afternoon, when they were ordered to move back following Jackson's division. They were halted at about midnight near Opequon, where they remained until September 24. They then crossed Opequon Creek and camped on the Williamsport Turnpike six or seven miles from Martinsburg. On September 27 they moved on to Bunker.⁹

Losses listed in the official report for the Thirty-first Virginia for the entire period between Harper's Ferry and Boteler's Ford were 2 killed and 10 wounded.¹⁰ Early was now in command of Ewell's division and Colonel J. a. Walker was placed in command of Early's brigade. Colonel John S. Hoffman remained in command of the Thirty-first Virginia.¹¹

Lee's army spent the remaining days of the fall of 1862 in the lower valley of the Shenandoah. On November 6 Lee announced his reorganization of the Army of Northern Virginia into two corps. The First Corps was to be under the command of General Longstreet and the Second Corps under General T. J. Jackson. The Second Corps included Jackson's Division, Ewell's Division and those of A. P. Hill and D. H. Hill.¹²

The Thirty-first Virginia remained a part of Early' brigade, now under Colonel J. A. Walker, Ewell's Division, now under General Early, both of which were now a part of Jackson's Second Corps.

On November 12 a regimental court martial for the Thirty-first Virginia, made up of Captain J. S. Kerr McCutcheon, Company D, Captain John P. Phillips, Company D, and Lieutenant Norval Lewis, Company Co tried Private Thomas J. Williams of Company B, for absence without leave. Private Williams was found guilty and required to forfeit one month's pay. He was discharged however, on November 20 because of rheumatism.¹³ Discharges were granted Private Granville C. Lake, Company C, on September 14, and Privates William Cummings, Daniel P. Smith and Edward I. Smith, all of Company C, on September 21, under provisions of the Conscript Law, There were probably similar discharges grated in all the companies of the Thirty-first Virginia, but they are not listed in the muster rolls. Sergeant Marion Harding of Company F, was killed in a skirmish in Randolph County, Virginia on October 10.¹⁴

The muster rolls of October 31, 1862 for the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment show Company A with an aggregate strength of 48 men, Captain William W. Arnett commanding; Company B, 67 men, Captain William R. Lyman commanding; Company Co 43 men, Captain W. P. Cooper commanding; Company D, 19 men, Lieutenant L. D. Haymond commanding. This company listed 27 deserters dropped from the rolls; Company E, aggregate 74 men, 26 present for duty, 31 sick, 4 prisoners of war, 9 on detached service, 3 on extra duty, Second Lieutenant A. F. Swadley commanding. The rolls for the other companies do not give so much detail. Company F 'numbered 67 men, 7 prisoners, 15 sick, and 6 desertions, Captain J. F. Harding commanding; Company G, 54 men, 14 sick, 25 , on duty, and 7 on extra duty, Lieutenant Elisha Wilfong commanding. Company H numbered 47 men, Captain George T. Thompson commanding; and Company K, 27 present for duty, Captain J. R. Phillips commanding. Figures were not available for Company I.¹⁵

In October McClellan attempted to draw Lee from the valley by crossing the Potomac and advancing into the Piedmont region. After crossing the river he occupied the gaps of the Blue Ridge and made demonstrations toward the Shenandoah. Lee ordered Longstreet's Corps to cross the mountains to the vicinity of Culpeper Court House, leaving Jackson's Corps in the Shenandoah Valley. McClellan now occupied Pope's old position on the left bank of the Rappahannock. Officials in Washington were once again dissatisfied with McClellan, and replaced him at this time with Burnside. The latter was determined to make a drive on Richmond by way of Fredericksburg. When he pressed toward Fredericksburg on November 15, Stuart reported his movements to General Lee, who quickly divined his plan of action. Longstreet was ordered from Culpeper to Fredericksburg, and at the same time Jackson was ordered to that vicinity. Jackson proceeded to Fredericksburg by a circuitous route up the valley and thence over the Blue Ridge toward Fredericksburg. He arrived there in advance of his command late on the evening of November 29.

Major Joseph Harding wrote in his manuscript, which has previously been mentioned, that he rejoined the Thirty-first Virginia late in October in time to participate in this movement

to stop Burnside. Harding found many wounded from the Maryland campaign. He mentioned the move up the Valley and thence across the Blue Ridge toward Fredericksburg. He states that the Thirty-first Virginia crossed over the Blue Ridge at Swift Run Gap, and went into camp for the night at its eastern foot, where it found a still. So many of the men became drunk that they called it "Camp Row". Colonel Hoffman sent for Harding to complain about the drinking, and Harding noted that he saw a jug in Hoffman's tent and told the Colonel that he should set an example.¹⁶

Longstreet had arrived at Fredericksburg on November 19, and taken a position on the hills behind the city. When Jackson's command arrived it was moved to the rear of the main line. In this position it could readily move to the aid of the front line troops of D. H. Hill or those of Longstreet if the occasion should demand. Lee's army was firmly entrenched.

Burnside took ample time to concentrate his command and move against Lee. It was not until December 11 that he attempted to lay pontoon bridges across the Rappahannock. He did not succeed in doing this throughout the day, but in the fog of the night of December 11 he succeeded in establishing the bridges. If Burnside had crossed a sufficient number of troops during the night to liquidate the resistance in Fredericksburg and form good bridgeheads for his large divisions the results of the campaign might well have been different. As it was Burnside failed to strike on December 12 when Lee's divisions were still somewhat scattered. Burnside had given his adversary a full day to prepare for his attack.

The Confederate divisions commanded by General Early entered the battle only once during the bloody and futile assaults by the Federals against the commands of Longstreet and Jackson, which were located before the Federal right and left respectively. During the Federal attacks of December 13 their engineers had discovered a weak point in the Confederate line near A. P. Hill's left. There a Swampy forest covered a sector left unguarded. Through this weak point the Federals attempted to turn Jackson's left, and in the attempt broke through the A. P. Hill's first line of battle. Jackson immediately ordered the divisions of Early and Taliaferro to advance against the now disorganized and forward rushing Federals. In his report of this action Colonel J. A. Walker, who was in command of Early's brigade of Early's (Ewell's) division, wrote that his brigade, which included the Thirty-first Virginia, met the enemy at about the middle of the woods. 'But they fell back as we came up, and we continued to press them closely, driving them across the railroad and following them some distance beyond into the open field.¹⁷ Upon reaching the railroad these Confederate troops found no support on their left. When he saw a large column of Federal infantry about 400 yards away on his left, Walker withdrew his command to the railroad and held that position. Harding wrote in his account of the incident that he and Hoffman had an argument over this withdrawal. Hoffman felt that the Confederates should have retired sooner, and Harding that they

should have pursued more vigorously while they had the enemy on the run.¹⁸

After withdrawing to the railroad Walker detailed Lieutenant Colonel James B. Terrill of the Thirteenth Virginia to advance against the enemy force of the left of Early's brigade and fall upon the Federal flank. This was carried out and the enemy fell back without firing a gun. After this there were no enemy troops seen in this vicinity, but the brigade continued to hold the railroad through the remainder of the evening.¹⁹ It was relieved the next morning and rejoined Ewell's division. This was the only action during the battle of Fredericksburg in which the brigade which included the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment took part. The losses for that regiment, as given in the official report, were 2 killed and 14 wounded.²⁰ On the other hand, the regiment's muster rolls listed as killed during the battle Corporal Edward L. Toothman and Private Roy B. Wilson, both of Company A, and Sergeant Cyrus Couch of Company F. Listed as wounded were Private Benjamin Varner of Company H, and Privates Newton J. Powers and Able Spaur of Company I.²¹

Burnside did not renew his attack on December 14, and the day passed uneventfully except for skirmish fire and artillery exchanges. The following day also passed uneventfully, with a truce in the afternoon to bury the dead and remove the wounded that had not yet been brought off. Burnside withdrew his troops across the river on the night of December 15 in a remarkably well led and coordinated operation. Lee was not able to pursue the retiring army without coming under the fire of heavy Federal guns on Stafford Heights. The Federals made a demonstration opposite Port Royal, on the morning of December 16. Stuart's Cavalry, followed by Jackson marched to meet it, but it proved to be only a feint. The Second Corps went into winter quarters in Caroline County, just back of the Rappahannock.

On December 17 Colonel Hoffman issued a congratulatory order to the officers and men of the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment for their conduct and achievements in the engagement at Fredericksburg.²²

The winter months were fairly uneventful. On December 22 Lieutenant W. B. McNemar of Company I, Thirty-first Virginia, wrote a letter to the Staunton Spectator thanking the ladies of Augusta County for a gift of 35 pairs of stockings, 1 comforter, and 1 visor. The visor was presented by a lady who requested that it be given to the bravest private in the company. Since it was difficult to determine who was the bravest, Lieutenant McNemar wrote that it was given to a private who went through the battle at Fredericksburg without shoes.²³

On January 7, 1863 Private William Barrett of Company C was charged with failure to report for duty on a working detail, after he had been ordered to do so by Captain William P. Cooper of the same company. The charge was forwarded to the office of

General Lee, and a trial was set for March 3. There is no record of the findings of the court martial.²⁴

CHAPTER V
WITH IMBODEN IN WEST VIRGINIA AND AT GETTYSBURG

As early as January 22, 1863 General John D. Imboden had written to General Lee from his base of operations on Shenandoah Mountain, requesting the loan of the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia Infantry Regiments for a proposed raid into West Virginia. In replying to this request Lee regretted that he could not spare the two regiments at that time, but suggested that Imboden utilize four companies of the Twenty-fifth Virginia then at Warm Springs, using them for a basis on which to recruit for the regiment. Lee also suggested that any men in West Virginia who did not desire to join other regiments be recruited for the Thirty-first and Twenty-fifth Virginia, and for the time being remain attached to Imboden's command.¹

In a letter to Lee on March 2, 1863, Imboden informed him that an expedition could not be undertaken before April 1, because of the swollen streams in the mountain country. Imboden wrote that he had not enough men to move on Beverly, and again requested that the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia, consisting of from 600 to 800 veterans, be sent to him by April 1. He suggested that their ranks could be filled with recruits. That by placing the raw recruits with the thoroughly organized and disciplined soldiers in the regiments, the actual effective strength of the units would be doubled. 'Let me have these skeleton regiments until the 15th of May, and, if you need them then, take them back, with their exhausted ranks filled from their own section of the country. They are anxious to come, officers and men.'²

In his reply on March 11, Lee wrote that he would lend him the two regiments if he could replace them temporarily in his own army. He was expecting a move against him by General Hooker.³ On the same day Lee wrote to General Samuel Jones, commanding the Department of Southwestern Virginia, at his headquarters in Dublin. He informed Jones that he wished to support Imboden, and asked if he (Jones) could apart two regiments either to Imboden or to himself. He asked Jones to threaten any force of the enemy in the Kanawha Valley to divert them from Imboden. The purpose of General Imboden's proposed raid was to destroy the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from Oakland, Maryland to Grafton, West Virginia, and defeat and capture the enemy at Beverly, Philippi, and Buckhannon. He also hoped to enlist the young men of this area into Confederate service, and to control this area in the coming May elections. The plan, later modified by Lee, proposed simultaneous attacks by two forces, one under Imboden directed at Grafton, while the other, which consisted mostly of cavalry, under William E. Jones would move against Oakland.

On March 16 General Samuel Jones wrote to Lee that he would send him two regiments of his infantry that had been operating in eastern Virginia, as soon as they were returned to

him. On March 17 he wrote that he had heard from Imboden, and that he specifically wanted the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia Regiments. He suggested that if the Secretary of War would permit, Lee could take his own Fifteenth and Forty-fourth Virginia Regiments to replace the two desired by Imboden. On March 28 he wrote that he had conferred with Imboden. He assured General Lee that either of his own two regiments would be as large as the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia combined.⁴

In a letter dated April 2 Jones wrote to Lee that the Forty-fourth Virginia had been ordered to Knoxville, but that he would send the Fiftieth Virginia instead without delay. He said, "I take it for granted you will send the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia to Imboden. You may count with certainty on receiving the Fiftieth."⁵

Before receiving this letter Lee had written to Imboden that he would ask General Jones to send the promised troops to him (Imboden), as it was now too late to send the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia. He sent the request to Jones on the same day. In a letter to Lee, on April 8, Jones informed him that the Fiftieth Virginia had started by rail on the evening of April 7 to join him at Fredericksburg. "I hope that you have before this sent the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia Regiments to General Imboden...his expedition will start on the 15th instant unless something unforeseen occurs to prevent."⁶

General Lee realized that it was too late to change the situation. On April 3 he issued an order directing the Twenty-fifth Virginia Regiment of Jones' Brigade, Trimble's Division, and the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment of Early's (old) Brigade, Early's Division to proceed to Shenandoah Mountain by way of Staunton and report to Brigadier General J. D. Imboden. In the same order the Fiftieth Virginia Regiment was ordered to report to General T. J. Jackson for assignment to one of the Virginia Brigades of the Second Army Corps.⁷

General Samuel Jones wrote to Imboden on April 13, that he felt confident that Colonel W. L. Jackson would join the expedition at Huntersville with from 300 to 400 men.⁸

On March 15 Colonel John S. Hoffman, now temporarily in command of Early's Brigade, had written to Divisional Headquarters requesting leave to represent Harrison County in the Virginia House of Delegates. Colonel Hoffman wrote that a vacancy existed in the representation from that county, and that he, as one of the last delegates to represent it, was entitled to discharge the duties of office until a successor could be duly elected and qualified. The request was respectfully returned by General Early on the same day, on the grounds that the General Assembly would adjourn in a day or two.⁹

On April General Imboden issued an order stating his "high gratification" in announcing that the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia Regiments had arrived and now formed a part of the Northwestern Virginia Brigade. He welcomed back to their native mountains the distinguished regiments that had "won the admiration of their country." General Imboden wrote of the two regiments: ¹⁰ In nearly every battlefield of Virginia they have nobly illustrated the sturdy man-hood of the free born mountaineers and have earned by deeds of their heroic valor the proud distinction of being known amongst the host of heroes Virginia has placed in the field, as 'flower of the army.' After a long and splendid service in the defense of our sacred soil far from their homes, they come as the avengers of the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted by a brutal foe upon the aged, the innocent, and the helpless ones they have been so long separated from.

The following day, April 14, General Imboden issued the marching orders for his expedition into West Virginia. The Brigade would move out at six o'clock on the morning of April 15. The Sixty-second Virginia Regiment would take the advance, the Thirty-first Virginia next, and the Twenty-fifth Virginia was to follow thirty minutes later. ¹¹

An interesting and amusing sidelight into the life of the commanding officer of the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment, Colonel J. S. Hoffman, is a letter written to him from Bath Court House on this same April 15 by a W. P. Thompson. In this letter he proposed a matrimonial alliance between Hoffman and the cousin of his wife, a Miss Mattie McCue. Thompson urged him to obtain a leave of absence and visit at her home. He assured Hoffman that nothing so developed all that is good in one's character as a good marriage. "My marriage has rendered me so happy that I would feign have my friends imitate the example." ¹²

On Monday, April 20, Imboden marched from his camp at Shenandoah Mountain with the following troops: the Twenty-fifth, Thirty-first, and Sixty-second Virginia Infantry Regiments, the Eighteenth Virginia Cavalry, and J. H. McClanahans Battery of six guns. His entire force numbered in the aggregate about 1,825 effective men. On the evening of April 21 he was joined at Hightown by the Twenty-second Virginia Infantry, the Thirty-seventh Virginia dismounted Cavalry, and the Nineteenth Virginia Cavalry, all from General Sam Jones command. This gave him an effective force of 3,365 men, of which about 700 were mounted. The force was supplied with thirteen days ration of flour, and thirty days of salt. They hoped to requisition meat from the farms in the territory through which they planned to pass. They reached Huttonsville on the evening of April 23, after a long march in drenching rain, over swollen streams and difficult roads. There

were several desertions from the ranks of the Thirty-first Virginia during this march into West Virginia.

At Camp Bartow, on the Greenbrier, the Confederates learned that the Yankee scout John Slayton and seven Federal soldiers had passed there on the morning of April 22. They had been hurrying to Beverly with intelligence of Imboden's approach. Imboden had anticipated some attempt to precede him with information of his coming. On April 20 he had ordered a mounted picket from Pocahontas to the foot of Cheat Mountain. This compelled Slayton to attempt to reach Beverly through the mountains. The fact that Slayton had succeeded in getting through was confirmed when it was learned at Huttonsville that a mounted picket of thirty men, usually kept at that place, had been withdrawn on the morning of April 23. Imboden's force was greatly fatigued and camped that night at Huttonsville. A little after midnight Imboden's advance picket reported a party of the enemy had passed up the east side of Tygart's River to a mountain overlooking the Confederate camp. It was later discovered that they had turned back before reaching a point high enough to discern the Confederates.

It rained all through the night of April 24, and the next morning was extremely gloomy. Early that morning Imboden started all his infantry down through the farms on the east side of the river. About seven miles above Beverly they were joined by four guns from his battery. The cavalry and a section of artillery followed the main road on the west side of the river. This force, under Colonel George W. Imboden, was ordered to press forward and gain possession of the road leading to Buckhannon, as soon as it contacted the enemy at Beverly. About five miles above the town the advance cavalry met a man, who fled as soon as he saw them. This man, later identified as J. F. Phares the Sheriff of Randolph County, was shot through the lungs, but he succeeded in reaching Beverly and giving the alarm.

In the meantime, the Confederates on the east bank of the river had captured a Federal forage train and its escort. They learned from the prisoners that before Phares had given the warning, the enemy had been ignorant of their approach. Imboden's force now found the Federals drawn up in line of battle about a mile above the town. They opened artillery fire upon the head of the Confederate column. Imboden found them strongly posted on a plateau above the river bottom, in a position to command the road for more than a mile. Since a frontal attack would have been much too costly, he attempted to turn their position by making a detour of over two miles to get around to the north of the town. Imboden's cavalry made a dash for the Buckhannon road on the west side of the river, and succeeded in cutting off a Federal retreat by that route. The enemy began to fall back, leaving a strong force of skirmishers through which the Confederate infantry had to pass. After a running fight of over two miles through the woods,

Imboden gained the north side of the town just before sunset. It was too late to cut off the Federal retreat toward Philippi. About one-third of the town was in flames. The attack had been so sudden that the Federals could neither remove nor destroy their stores. Imboden estimated the Federal loss of property at not less than \$100,000.00. He had lost three men, all so badly wounded that they had to be left in Beverly where they later fell into enemy hands.¹⁴

On the following morning the road to Philippi was found to be impractical for artillery or wagons, owing to the depth of the mud. On that day General Imboden issued an order reprimanding some of his men for seizing and appropriating for their own use the private property of Union Citizens in this part of the State of Virginia... any seizure and appropriation to private uses of the property of any citizen, will be treated and punished as robbery."¹⁵

Imboden ascertained that the Federal General Benjamin S. Roberts was at Buckhannon with a considerable force. He doubted the prudence of advancing on Philippi while this force was still on his flank. He sent two companies of cavalry to try to contact General W. E. Jones, from whom he had heard nothing. Jones had left Lacy Springs, Rockingham County, Virginia on April 21, and marched directly to Cheat River. He found the bridges over that river too well guarded, and set out to find Imboden. His march to find Imboden was one of terror and destruction for the countryside through which he passed. Marching through Morgantown and Fairmont he took several prisoners and a large number of horses and cattle. At Bridgeport on April 30 he captured a company of Federals and several railroad employees. He marched on through Philippi, and reached Beverly with a large number of horses and cattle. He had done much destruction to railroads along his route. He joined Imboden again, as we shall see, on May 2.

After sending the two companies to try to contact Jones, Imboden determined to cross Rich Mountain. He intended to move either directly on Buckhannon, or get between Philippi and Buckhannon in order to attack one or the other of the Federal forces. On the evening of April 26 Imboden crossed the Middle Fork and encamped midway between Philippi and Buckhannon. He immediately sent his cavalry forward to seize the bridge near the mouth of the Buckhannon River.¹⁶

Artillery fire was heard that evening from the direction of Philippi, but Imboden supposed it to be from the enemy force that had been driven from Beverly. He felt that they were firing at his companies he had sent to find General Jones. About eleven o'clock that evening Colonel G. W. Imboden informed him that the Beverly force had passed toward Buckhannon early that morning, and that a fresh Federal brigade had arrived at Philippi. Colonel Imboden requested him to send two regiments of infantry and a section of artillery to the bridge held by his cavalry force. He

feared an attack upon the bridge that evening. General Imboden resolved to send these reinforcements, but as his troops were all very tired he called a meeting of regimental commanders to determine which troops were best fitted to make the march. The meeting was attended by Lieutenant Colonel J. S. Hoffman of the Thirty-first Virginia. General Imboden declared in his report of his action, that it was not until this meeting that Colonel George S. Patton of the Twenty-second Virginia disclosed to him an order of the Federal General R. C. Schenck, which Patton had found at Beverly. The Federal order assigned a division of six brigades for the defense of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Imboden realized that this Federal force had been east of the Alleghenies when his own expedition had set out. And all the officers present were of the opinion that General W. E. Jones had failed to reach or interrupt communications on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. They had not heard from General Jones at that time. In consequence of this they deemed their own position to be critical as the enemy could throw an entire division against them in a few hours. The Federals could cut off their retreat either at Laurel Hill, Beverly, Buckhannon, or Weston. All officers present were of the opinion that they should fall back to a position where an escape would be possible in the event they were over-powered. In view of this they marched back to Roaring Run on April 27. Imboden recalled his cavalry from Buckhannon bridge and sent a scout toward Buckhannon. The scout reported upon his return that the enemy had burned the bridges across Middle Fork and the Buckhannon Rivers, and retreated from Buckhannon after blockading the roads.

The Confederates marched to within four miles of Buckhannon on the following day. Early on the morning of April 29 Imboden crossed over to the town with one regiment. The enemy had burned all of their stores in the town. Many of Imboden's horses were exhausted and his men began to scour the country for corn and wheat, but grain was found to be very scarce. A large part of the cavalry was employed in collecting cattle and sending them to the rear. All live-stock was paid for at the current rates before Imboden arrived in the country. On the same day Imboden received information from General W. E. Jones, with whom he was not in contact, that the enemy was massing his troops at Jane Lew and fortifying that position. On May 1 Colonel George Imboden was sent with his cavalry to Weston. He found the town evacuated and stores destroyed. In fear that General Jones had been cut off in his attempt to join him, General Imboden gave orders that night for a move toward Philippi on the following morning.

Just before they were to move out on May 2 they received intelligence that General Jones was within six miles of their position. They also heard that the iron bridge the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. at Fairmont had been destroyed, and that a party under Lieutenant Sturns of the Nineteenth Cavalry, which Imboden had sent out, had succeeded in burning all the bridges for thirty miles west of Fairmont. They had also burned the bridges on the Northwestern Virginia Railroad at Bridgeport. When Imboden

received this information he changed his direction and marched toward Weston. He felt that his force, combined with the brigade of Jones, was strong enough to hold its own and defeat the enemy at Jane Lew or Clarksburg. Jones arrived before Imboden had left Buckhannon and approved the plan to move on to Weston. Because of bad roads they did not arrive there until the morning of May 3. Imboden's scouts informed him that the enemy at Clarksburg had fortified a pass at the mouth of Lost Creek and that they consisted of several thousand men. General Jones arrived with part of his command on May 4, and Imboden's command busied itself scouring the countryside for grain and cattle. They found little grain, but procured a large number of fine cattle.

On May 5, they were joined by the remainder of General Jones Brigade. On the same day Imboden's picket at Jane Lew was surrounded and attacked, but all escaped except three who were captured. The picket reported the advance of a large Federal force, and Imboden and Jones expected a fight. They received intelligence that day that the enemy force consisted of between 41600 and 5,000 infantry and twelve field guns under the command of Generals Kenly and Roberts. Imboden and Jones also learned that the Federals were expecting reinforcements momentarily. They realized that there was little prospect for success in an engagement with the enemy. Defeat so far in the interior would have meant destruction. They therefore determined to separate on the morning of May 6. General Jones was to go west to attack the Northwestern Virginia Railroad, and Imboden would move south toward Summersville in Nicholas County. Previous to this Imboden had seat a dispatch to General Samuel Jones informing him that this would probably be their route. He suggested that Jones move against the enemy at Fayetteville and in the Kanawha Valley. The message never reached Jones. On May 6 Imboden ordered all of his sick and his stores back to Monterey, and at an early hour moved toward Summersville. He fell back slowly through heavy rains and over poor roads.

During this slow withdrawal Imboden destroyed enemy entrenchments and block houses at Bulltown, Sutton, and Big Birch. On the night of May 12 he received a dispatch from Colonel Imboden, who was twelve miles in advance with his cavalry. He was informed that the enemy was preparing to evacuate Summersville. Later in the evening a courier arrived with the intelligence that Colonel Imboden had entered Summersville and found that the enemy had with-drawn about an hour previously. Colonel Imboden immediately pursued them and overtook their rear guard about six miles west of Summersville, on the way to Gauley Bridge. He made a vigorous assault on their rear guard, capturing twenty-three prisoners, twenty-eight wagons of supplies and one hundred eighty mules.

On receiving this information General Imboden immediately ordered reveille and began a forced march of twenty miles to

Summersville, reaching there about three o'clock in the morning. Supplies captured that evening came at an opportune time, since Imboden's artillery and wagon horses were almost exhausted. The fresh mules enabled him to relieve them, From Summersville they marched to Staunton.

Although Imboden had secured only seventy-five to one hundred recruits for his own command, including the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia Regiments, he had gathered a large amount of supplies, chiefly horses, cattle, grain and forage. Colonel William L. Jackson had secured between three hundred and four hundred recruits. Imboden was disappointed in the number of recruits he had secured. He attributed this to the fact that the spirit of the people had been "broken by tyranny."¹⁷

On May 12 Major General Samuel Jones wrote to General Lee requesting the return of the Fiftieth Virginia Regiment. On May 21 General Lee replied that he did not see how he could spare the Fiftieth Virginia Regiment until the two given to General Imboden in exchange for it were returned to his army.¹⁸

Jones replied on May 28 that Lee was entirely correct and that he had ordered General Imboden to return the Twenty-fifth and Thirty-first Virginia Regiments under instructions of the Secretary of War. Shortly afterwards Lee acknowledged that the two regiments were on their way to rejoin his command.

Following his victory at Chancellorsville, Lee decided to attempt another invasion of the North. He desired to enter Maryland and Pennsylvania by way of the Valley of Virginia before Hooker ascertained his plans.

Lee had reorganized his army in May into three corps. The First Corps under Longstreet, the Second under Ewell, who had returned to duty, and the Third under A. P. Hill. After Imboden returned the Thirty-first Virginia it rejoined Elzey's brigade, now under the command of a General Smith. It was once again a part of Early's division in the Second Corps.

The Third Army Corps was left at Fredericksburg to restrain Hooker. Lee began his withdrawal from the Rappahannock on June 3. Both the First and Second Corps, together with Stuart's Cavalry, were at Culpeper Court House on June 8. Lee then ordered Ewell and the Second Corps to cross the Blue Ridge and drive Milroy and the Federal force at Winchester from the Valley. Jenkins was to move his cavalry down the Valley and cut the line of the Baltimore and Ohio, in order to prevent Milroy from receiving reinforcements. Ewell closed around Winchester on June 14, and with a brilliant flank movement by Early's division, succeeded in driving the Federals from Winchester. They were

pursued as far as Harper's Ferry on June 15, suffering a great loss of men and supplies. Smith's brigade (formerly Early's) was not engaged on either day.²⁰ While at Winchester the Fifty-eighth Virginia Regiment, together with a regiment from Hoke's brigade, was detached and sent to Staunton in charge of prisoners. When Early's division left Winchester for Shepherdstown, the Thirteenth Virginia was left at the former place. The Thirty-first Virginia continued on with the remainder of the brigade.

On June 22 Early's command crossed the Potomac at Shepherdstown and camped on the Hagerstown road near Boonsborough. On June 23 they moved to Waynesborough in Pennsylvania, and on June 24 to Greenwood on the turnpike from Chambersburg to Gettysburg. They remained there throughout the day of June 25.²¹

By June 27 Ewell was in Carlisle, and his advance, under Early, had crossed the South Mountains and was nearing York. Thus the men of the Thirty-first Virginia were among the first to enter Pennsylvania. In the meantime Hooker had become aware of Lee's plan and had crossed the Potomac on June 25. By June 26 Hooker had four corps of his army at Frederick and three at Middletown. Lee's army was not in the Cumberland Valley. Hooker was replaced by General George Meade on June 28.

When Lee heard that the Army of the Potomac had crossed that river and was now threatening his line of communication at Hagerstown, he at once recalled Ewell's division from the Susquehanna, near Harrisburg. He began to concentrate his army at Cashtown, near the town of Gettysburg. Ewell promptly sent orders to Early, who was then at York, to fall back to Cashtown. Meade began to move his force to Pipes Creek just below the Maryland border.

On receiving the orders to fall back, Early marched his force back to within three miles of Heidlersburg, where it encamped on the evening of June 30. He then conferred with General Ewell who informed him that Rodes would move toward Cashtown by way of Middletown and Arendtsville. It was arranged that Early should go by way of Hunterstown and Mummasburg. The next morning Early found that the road from his camp to Hunterstown was very rough. He decided to march by way of Heidlersburg, and proceed from there to the Mummasburg road. Just after passing Heidlersburg he received a written order from Ewell informing him that General D. H. Hill was moving from Cashtown toward Gettysburg, and that Rodes was moving toward the same place. He then determined to follow the road he was on to Gettysburg.

On arriving he discovered a body of the enemy in front of Gettysburg engaged in driving back the left of General Rodes line. He immediately ordered his division to the front, placing

Smith's brigade, including the Thirty-first Virginia, to the rear of Hoke's on the left flank. Infantry and artillery fire was opened on the enemy. After a short and hot contest the enemy was driven back with great slaughter. They fell back to the low ridge of Cemetery Hill, where they had a second line of battle. Thus began the battle of Gettysburg.²²

After entering the town Early was informed by an aide to General Smith that a large force of the enemy was advancing along the York road and that there was danger that he might be flanked. Early stated that he had no faith in the report, but he sent Gordon's brigade with orders that he was to take charge of Smith's brigade and keep a lookout on the York road.

Shortly afterward, Early informed General Ewell that with the support of a division, the hill to which the enemy had retreated could be taken. Early was informed that Johnson's division was coming up, and it was decided that with this division an attempt would be made to gain the wooded slope that commanded Cemetery Hill from the left. The division arrived too late, and no attempt was made to take the hill that night. The attack did not begin the following morning, but was expected to begin about four o'clock in the afternoon. The other brigades of Early's division were ordered to move into the field in the front to the left of the town. This would put them in a position to advance upon Cemetery Hill. Smith's brigade, of which the Thirty-first Virginia was a part, was left under General J. E. B. Stuart to guard the York road. Consequently the Thirty-first Virginia did not participate in the assault upon Culp's Hill. After dark on the evening of July 2, Early was ordered by General Ewell to send Smith's brigade to support General Johnson on the left of the line. This was carried out and the Thirty-first Virginia, together with the two other regiments then under Smith, was engaged on the extreme left during July 3.²³

Early that morning the brigade moved and formed under the enemy's works, in rear of the Stonewall brigade of Johnson's division. It remained in this position until dark. According to the report of Colonel John S. Hoffman, commanding the Thirty-first Virginia, the brigade was exposed to heavy artillery fire and to some fire from musketry during the earlier part of the day. During the afternoon it was annoyed by enemy sharpshooters who were protected by rocks. That night the brigade moved to the rear and back around to the right of the Confederate position.

On the morning of July 4 Smith's brigade was moved to a ridge west of the town, in a position on the left of the Chambersburg turnpike. In this position, between the brigades of Generals Gordon and Hays, it was once again under Early's command. It remained there throughout the day.²⁴

During the entire three days of battle the Thirty-first Virginia saw little real action, and suffered only four officers and sixteen men wounded and seven men missing.²⁵

Lee's army waited throughout the entire day of July 4 for a counterattack which never came. At two o'clock in the morning of July 5 Ewell ordered Early's division to fall back on the road toward Fairfield. This division was to act as a rear guard for the entire Confederate army. The retreat to Fairfield was in good order. At Fairfield there was a brief skirmish, but the enemy was quickly driven off. Early's division encamped near Fairfield. The following day Rode's division acted as rear guard, and Early's division moved to the front of the corps. It encamped that night at Waynesborough.

On July 7 Early's division was halted about a mile north of Hagerstown, where it remained until July 10. On that date General Smith resigned the command of his brigade, and Colonel Hoffman, formerly commanding the Thirty-first Virginia, was placed in command. On July 11 Early's division was moved farther to the right on the road from Hagerstown to Williamsport, where it remained until after dark on July 12. It was then moved to support General D. H. Hill's position on the road leading to Sharpsburg. General Hill was at that time faced by a large force of the enemy. The division was withdrawn to Williamsport on the night of July 13, once again bringing up the rear of the corps. Early on July 14 it recrossed the Potomac. Smith's brigade, now commanded by Colonel Hoffman, forded above Williamsport.

On July 15 Early's command passed through Martinsburg, and on July 16 reached Darkesville where it remained until the afternoon of July 20. On that date it was ordered to cross North Mountain to Hedgesville to intercept a body of the enemy. Reaching Hedgesville on July 12, Early found that the enemy had hastily withdrawn. He then received orders to move up the valley through Winchester to the Opequon. Shortly thereafter, Early received instructions from General Ewell to turn off the Valley Road from Cedarville and proceed down the valley to New Market. He was then to cross the Blue Ridge and proceed to Clark's Mountain near Orange Court House. He arrived there on August 1.²⁶

Casualties for the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment during the Gettysburg campaign as listed in the official report were: Privates Francis M. Ashcraft, captured near Waynesboro on July 7, and Benjamin F. Brisey, captured on July 1, both of Company A; First Lieutenant Warwick C. Kincaid, Privates Hughart M. Pullin and Jeremiah Propst, wounded, all of Company B; Sergeant Washington Van Horn, wounded and captured on July 3, First Sergeant John B. Ervin, wounded, Private Sylvester W. Rexroad, wounded July 3, Private Thomas J. Ralston, wounded and captured on July 3, and Private Daniel H. Rexroad, captured July 3, all of Company E; Privates William F. Campbell, wounded July 3, and James

H. Campbell, captured, both of Company H; and First Lieutenant Nicholas Poling, wounded July 3, and Private Courtland Phillips, captured July 3, both of Company K.²⁷

CHAPTER VI
FROM THE WILDERNESS TO COLD HARBOR

Uncertainty on the part of Meade and the need for troops at other points, put a stop to military operations for a time in Virginia. With the fall of Vicksburg Lee found it necessary to detach a portion of his command for operation in the West. On September 9, 1863 he sent Longstreet with two divisions to the aid of General Braxton Bragg.

A report of the organization of the Army of Northern Virginia on September 30 shows the Thirty-first Virginia as still a part of Smith's brigade of Early's division, Ewell's Second Army Corps.¹ That brigade was temporarily under the command of Colonel John S. Hoffman of the Thirty-first Virginia.

Meade finally advanced from beyond the Rappahannock on September 13. Lee was waiting in his partially fortified position in front of Orange Court House, but Meade failed to attack and withdrew to Culpeper. Taking the offensive Lee crossed the Rapidan on October 9, hoping to do battle with Meade on the plains of Culpeper. Meade hastily with-drew to beyond the Rappahannock on October 10. Lee then tried another flank movement by way of Warrenton, expecting to fall upon Meade's force at Fauquier. Meade, however, slipped to the south side of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad and took the road through Brentsville toward Alexandria. The two armies now raced, almost within, sight of each other, "on opposite sides of the railroad." It was Lee's hope "to intercept Meade and bring him to battle."

Meade detached a small force from Warren's Corps to Bristol Station to guard his flank. This force was so admirably concealed that when on September 14 Lee's advance approached the Union position without skirmishers it was driven back in confusion, losing nearly fourteen hundred men. Lee sternly rebuked General A. P. Hill, who was in command of the advance, for this imprudence.² This action enabled Meade to escape to his fortifications at Centreville. Lee pursued him to the vicinity of Manassas Junction, and then retired to the Rappahannock.

Stuart's cavalry was ordered to cover the fords on both sides of the railroad, and brigades from Early's and Johnson's divisions were to alternate in holding an entrenched hill on the north side of the Rappahannock. On the evening of November 7 the Seventh Louisiana Regiment of Early's division, then occupying that position, was surprised by a large force of Federals. Early immediately ordered his entire division to the south bank of the river, opposite the assailed position on the north bank. He realized that the position of his troops on the north bank was extremely vulnerable, and that the batteries on the south bank were too distant to offer adequate support. Nevertheless he sent

the remainder of Hays' brigade, of which the Seventh Louisiana was a part, and later Hoke's brigade across the river to their support. Gordon's brigade was sent to occupy Jamison's Hill on the south bank of the river. Smith's brigade, under the permanent command of Brigadier General John Pegram since October 31, was ordered to the rear. The Thirty-first Virginia was detached from the latter and ordered to occupy the rifle trenches to the right of the railroad on the south bank of the river. Despite Early's precautions the two brigades the north bank were overrun and captured after dark. Early and his force stood by helplessly on the south bank where it witnessed this disaster. It cost the Confederacy one thousand six hundred men.³ Lee retired with his army to establish winter quarters on a mountain slope east of Orange Court House.

Lee's army faced the winter of 1863-64 in a destitute condition. Thousands were barefooted and without overcoats, blankets or warm clothing. Nevertheless they accepted their privations with cheerfulness and alacrity.⁴

On November 26 Meade again crossed the Rapidan. His First and Fifth Corps crossed the river at Culpeper Mine ford, his Second Corps at Germanna ford, and his Third and Sixth Corps at a point farther up the river. They were all to converge on the old turnpike road leading to Orange Court House. His purpose was to turn Lee's right. On November 27 Johnson's division of Ewell's corps (now under command of General Early due to the illness of Ewell) encountered the Third and Sixth Federal Corps and repulsed their attempt at crossing.

Lee rapidly formed his line, with Hill on the left and the Second Corps on his right. These two, advancing east-ward, discovered an excellent defensive line on Mine Run of the Rapidan. In bitterly cold weather they constructed an admirable defensive line. Early's division, now commanded by General Hays, was formed at right angles with the old stone turnpike about a quarter of a mile west of Locust Grove. Here the enemy was situated in heavy force. Pegram's brigade, which included the Thirty-first Virginia, was formed in a line on Hays' right, and at right angles with it. This was to prevent a flank movement by the enemy. Early found it impossible to attack the enemy from Hays' position without disadvantage. Hays' division was engaged in some skirmishing with the enemy on November 27 This slight action continued on the following day. About four o'clock in the afternoon of November 28 Lee ordered Early to withdraw his force to Verdierville, but the latter, observing an enemy concentration on the hills opposite his position at Mine Run, determined that a withdrawal at that time would not be judicious. He did decide to draw back Hays' line to a position some distance to the rear of its present location. The Confederates waited the next three days for a Federal attack, but except for occasional artillery fire no such movement occurred. General Lee then decided to take the initiative, but found that

the enemy had withdrawn during the early hours of December 2. Early's command pursued the enemy for some distance. Hays' division of that command pursued the Federals along the turnpike as far as the Wilderness Tavern.

When they found the enemy had recrossed the river, the pursuing Confederates moved back to Mine Run.⁵ The Thirty-first Virginia saw little action and suffered no casualties in the Mine Run campaign.⁶

Lee's Army remained in its position near Orange during the remainder of the winter of 1863-64. On December 16, Major General Early was assigned to the command of the Valley District. General Ewell, now recovered from his illness, returned to the command of the Second Corps.⁷

On February 6, 1864 Meade sent a division to Morton's ford near Ewell's right, to feel out Lee's position. Ewell brought up his entire corps to resist it and the Federal division fell back, leaving seven dead and forty-six prisoners. Confederate losses were four killed and twenty wounded. A Confederate lieutenant and twenty-five men guarding the ford were captured.⁸

The bad feeling between Colonel Hoffman and Captain Joseph F. Harding of Company F, Thirty-first Virginia Regiment, which has been previously mentioned, finally reached a climax in January 1864. On January 13 Colonel Hoffman ordered that stables be built for the horses of the regiment, and Captain Harding was asked for a detail of two men. Harding furnished the men, and informed them that they should work on the stable for the government horses. He added that they might take their own pleasure about working on those for horses that were privately owned. The men reported to Colonel Hoffman and informed him that Captain Harding had told them that army regulations did not require them to work on the stables for privately owned horses. In Hoffman's report on the matter he states that the Acting Inspector of the division happened to be at his headquarters at the time the event occurred, and said that he would at once cause inquiries to be made at the Headquarters of the Army. Colonel Hoffman wrote in his report that he regretted that the incident had occurred and regarded it a very "High duty on the part of officers to try any proper means to protect their men against abuse. I dislike exceedingly to make an issue of an officer against the alleged rights of his men, especially involving any supposed benefit on my part."⁹ On January 17 Brigadier General Pegram, commanding the brigade, directed that Captain Harding be placed under arrest. The General was of the opinion that Colonel Hoffman had a perfect right to detail men for building stables.

Harding related years later that he wrote to General Lee about the matter, and that Lee upheld him. "General Lee ordered my discharge from arrest, and at the same time in a

complimentary letter written and signed in his own hand writing. .
.completely justified my action."¹⁰

Shortly afterwards harmony within the regiment was interrupted when Major William P. Cooper resigned. According to Harding's manuscript Hoffman advanced and promoted Captain J. S. Kerr McCutcheon, one of his favorites, instead of the popular Nathan Clawson of Company I. Clawson, as senior captain, was entitled to be promoted to fill the vacancy. Nearly all of the commissioned officers immediately resigned, and only withdrew their resignations through the efforts of the Secretary of War and the magnanimity of Captain Clawson. Captain William R. Liman of Company B insisted that his resignation be accepted, and shortly after-ward Captain Harding resigned.¹¹

In March, 1864 General U. S. Grant succeeded to the command of the Army of the Potomac. He immediately determined upon a plan of campaign toward Richmond. On May 4, with some 147,000 men under his command, he ordered his forward movement.

Stuart informed Lee of the arrival of Grant's army on the north bank of the Rapidan, opposite the Germanna and Ely fords. At nine o'clock in the morning of May 4, Lee gave orders for his army to advance to meet the Federal movement. Two roads led from Lee's position to that of the enemy in the Wilderness. Ewell's corps advanced along one or these, the Orange Turnpike, while two divisions of A. P. Hill's command advanced eastward along the plank road from Orange Court House. Longstreet was ordered to advance from Gordonsville across country to the same objective point. He was, however, delayed in getting his march underway.

Early's division, with which we are chiefly concerned in the following campaign bivouacked that evening at Locust Grove. The artillery was posted close behind it. That night Ewell received orders to march upon the enemy at day-light the following morning. He was later advised to regulate his advance by that of General A. P. Hill, whose progress he could determine by the firing at the head of Hill' a column. Lee did not wish to bring on a general engagement before Longstreet came up. In view of this Ewell advanced cautiously, with a brigade from Johnson's division in the advance. At about eleven o'clock in the morning of May 5 Ewell's force came upon a column of the enemy crossing the pike from Germanna Ford toward the plank road. There followed a skirmish between the enemy and Jones* brigade of Jackson's old division. Ewell ordered up two other brigades to halt the enemy advance, and order was re-established.

Ewell now formed his line. The brigades ran from right to left as follows: Daniel's, Dale's, Battle's, George H. Steuarts, The Stonewall, Stafford's (Johnson's division), Pegram's (which included the Thirty-first Virginia), Hays' and Gordon's. Slight

works were thrown up and several partial attacks by the enemy repulsed. In the engagements of the next few days Ewell's Corps occupied roughly the left and center of Jackson's line of battle, with that of A. P. Hill extending to the right and covering the position of the tardy Longstreet. Ewell held the Fifth and Sixth Corps in check and prevented Grant and Meade from pressing an advance beyond Lee's right. The fighting closed at dusk on May 5 with the repulse of a fierce attack on Pegram's brigade. General Pegram was severely wounded, and Colonel J. S. Hoffman of the Thirty-first Virginia succeeded to the command of his brigade.¹²

May 6 was occupied by partial assaults and attempts by the enemy to turn the flank of Ewell's line. All efforts were successfully repulsed. Upon his arrival that afternoon, Longstreet was ordered to the right to relieve Hill's divisions. Lee ordered a flanking movement by Longstreet which was successfully carried out. General Longstreet was severely wounded by his own men in this movement. Lee had ordered a similar flanking movement by Ewell on the left. Johnson's and Gordon's brigades, under the leadership of Early, were to fall upon the enemy's right flank and sweep the rear of his breastworks. Each remaining brigade was to unite in the attack as its front was cleared. The attack began late in the day. It was entirely successful until checked by darkness. A mile of the Federal works had been taken, as well as six hundred prisoners and two brigadier generals. The enemy made no attempt to recover their lost ground either on the right or the left of the field.¹³

No fighting took place on May 7, and that night Ewell received word from General Lee to tend to the right. If by daylight no large force was seen to his front, he was to follow General Anderson toward Spotsylvania Court House.¹⁴

After a difficult march through intense heat, thick dust and smoke from the burning woods, Ewell's troops reached Spotsylvania Court House at about five o'clock in the after-noon of May 8.¹⁵

Anderson and his First Corps had arrived earlier that day and taken a position to the northern front of Spotsylvania Court House. Ewell's Corps arrived just in time for Rodes division, of that command, to repel an attempt by the Federals to turn Anderson's right. Rodes advanced for nearly half a mile until he came upon strong enemy works and was forced to halt. Johnson's division formed on his right, and General Gordon, who had succeeded Hays in command of Early's old division (including the Thirty-first Virginia), kept his troops in reserve. Rude defenses were thrown up along this emergency line. On May 9 the lines were defined and entrenched. At Ewell's suggestion an elevated point at Johnson's center, and near the right center of the entire line, was taken into the line and occupied by artillery. A second line, cutting off this salient, was occupied by Gordon's division. Heavy

skirmishing occurred during that day. General Early, now in command of the Third Corps, brought his command upon the field on May 9, and occupied Lee's right from the horseshoe salient around the front of Spotsylvania Court House. He also occupied a section of the eastern front of the salient. Ewell held the remainder of that front, its north projecting apex and its western face. On May 10, due to heavy enfilading and reverse artillery fire on Gordon's line, he was withdrawn and placed in rear of Rode's left and Anderson's right. About four o'clock in the afternoon Grant made an assault on Ewell along the western face of the salient. Ewell's line was broken and fell back to the second line at the base of the salient. Battle's brigade and Gordon's division were brought up and the former thrown across the head of the enemy column. Gordon struck the enemy on both flanks and drove them back from the works with heavy losses.

On May 11 a heavy rain fell throughout the entire day and little fighting took place. Movements behind the enemy line led Lee to believe that Grant was preparing to withdraw toward Fredericksburg. In view of this Lee ordered Ewell to withdraw the artillery along Johnson's front. At about midnight Johnson reported the enemy massing before him, and called for the return of the artillery. Longstreet was directed to return the artillery to the entrenchments, and Gordon was to be ready to support Johnson. Unfortunately Johnson's line was broken shortly after dawn on May 12, and both he and General George H. Steuart with two thousand eight hundred of their men were captured. Just at this time the batteries came up and their twenty cannons also fell into Federal hands. Smoke and heavy mist assisted the Federal move. They poured through the Confederate lines supported by constant artillery fire, and took possession of the right and left of the salient.

General Gordon's division, including the Thirty-first Virginia, held its ground with almost superhuman effort. It drove out the enemy in its immediate front and regained a part of the works to the right of the salient. The heaviest enemy effort was to the left of the angle against Rode's position. Here the fighting was of the most desperate character. Although a part of the works were retaken in that sector by heroic effort, the salient was still held by the enemy. Reinforcements were rushed to that part of the line, and, despite the terrible flank fire to which they were exposed, they held their ground until three o'clock in the morning of May 13. At that time Ewell's troops had retaken two-thirds of the works.¹⁷

It was not considered advisable to continue the counter attack with Ewell's depleted command, and a new line had been constructed during the night of May 12. Ewell's force was quietly withdrawn to this line. The front remained quiet until May 18, when a fresh enemy force advanced toward the new line. This attack was quickly repulsed by artillery fire. Ewell was ordered to demonstrate against the enemy on May 19, as Lee wished to

ascertain their movements. Moving around the enemy's right flank, Ewell's men came upon a large and strongly entrenched enemy force. Ewell prepared to retire, but was attacked by the Federals. A part of the line was shaken, but Pegram's brigade of Gordon's division (Colonel Hoffman commanding) and Ramseur's of Rodes', held so firmly that Ewell was able to maintain his position until nightfall, when he withdrew. His loss was about nine hundred, killed, wounded, and missing.¹⁸

Casualties for the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment listed in the muster rolls at the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House were: Corporal E. V. Ervin, wounded, Corporal James S. Davis, killed, Private Harvey H. Carroll killed, Private John T. Leach, wounded, Private Samuel J. Ralston, wounded, Private James A Ralston, wounded, all of Company B; Private Harvey Beverage, wounded, Private Morgan B. Campbell, wounded, Company E; Corporal Joseph H. Stine, killed, Private Jefferson Arbogast, killed, Private Squire Newton Bosworth, wounded, Private Henson H. Douglas, killed, Private John Folks, killed, Private Adam Heavener, killed, all of Company F; First Sergeant John W. Nottingham, killed, Private Lafayette Long, died of wounds, Private Charles S. Moore, wounded, Private James C. Moore, died of wounds, Private Mathais L. Moore, captured, Private John Nottingham, killed, Private Andrew J. Shafer, captured, Private James Shoals, killed, Private Zackariah Swink, captured, Private James Wanless, captured, and Private Henry A. Yeager, captured, all of Company G.¹⁹ The Official Records list no casualties on the regimental level.

On the night of May 20 Grant withdrew his forces from his position at Spotsylvania Court House. It was his intention to follow the line of the Richmond and Fredericks-burg railroad toward Richmond. When Lee received intelligence of this he dispatched Ewell across country on the Telegraph or Old Stage Road from Washington to Richmond. Later in the day Third Corps advanced to a similar point on a road nearly parallel to and not far to the west of Telegraph Road. That afternoon Anderson's first Corps began its advance along the Telegraph Road. By the afternoon of May 22 Lee's entire army was on, the south bank of the North Anna River, near Hanover Junction. Here he was joined by Breckinridge, who had come from the Shenandoah Valley, and by Pickett, from near Richmond. Thus reinforced, Lee's army was posted in an excellent defensive position. The First Corps occupied the center, in a position across Telegraph Road. The Second Corps was on the right, across the rail-road leading to Fredericksburg. Its line extended to the North Anna River. The Third Corps occupied the extreme left, with Pickett and Breckinridge held it reserve.²⁰

Grant's army reached the Telegraph bridge on the North Anna on the afternoon of May 23. Late in the afternoon the Federals succeeded in pushing Lee's First Corps back across the bridge and established a foothold on the south bank of

the river. Grant soon crossed over a large force, and set up a line of battle on the south side of the river. Mean-while Lee's center and the Second Corps on the right success-fully prevented enemy crossings before their section of the line. The Federals pushed the Third Corps back for some distance, and established a line across the Virginia Central Railroad. This movement threatened Lee's left. At six o'clock in the afternoon Hill sent Wilcox's division, with which Pegram's brigade was cooperating, to drive the Federals back,²¹ The Federals, however, were firmly entrenched and the movement was not a success. The opposing forces threw up defensive works during the night.

Since his left had been forced back, Lee determined to shorten his line by retiring his center. His left now ex-tended northeast and southwest from the North Anna across the Virginia Central Railroad to Little River. The First and Second Corps were extended southeast to near Hanover Junction and thence eastward and southward in a salient. This new position cut Grant's army into two parts. In view of this he withdrew farther to the southeast on the night of May 26, to seek another road to Richmond. General Lee was seriously ill at the time, and was thus unable to fall upon Grant on the north bank of the North Anna River.

Lee was apprised of Grant's withdrawal on the following day, and he ordered the Second Corps, now temporarily under Early, to march southward between the Virginia Central and Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad. They were to cross the Central at Atlee's, and take a position on the road to Richmond from the Hanover town crossing of the Pamunkey. The First Corps followed on the Telegraph road, and by May 29 all the Confederate Corps were in line of battle between the Totopotomoy and the Chickahominy, covering the roads leading to Richmond. General Breckinridge's division and McLaughlin's battalion of artillery occupied the left, with the First Corps on his right and the Second Corps still farther to the right, near and beyond Pole Green Church. The Third Corps was held in reserve to support Breckinridge. On May 29 there was a severe engagement between Fitz Lee's cavalry and a force of Federal cavalry at Haw's Shop. Late in the afternoon of June 1 Grant attacked Lee's, line on the right, followed by an attack all along the line.

These early June days were marked by intense heat and dust and in the Confederate lines an acute shortage of food.

General Lee realized that Grant would probably be re-enforced by troops from Butler's command at Bermuda Hundred, and began to call for additional troops from Beauregard's force, which had been facing Butler since May 18. Beau-regard hesitated to send the troops, and by May 30 Lee's position was critical. Grant continued to extend his left with the intention of resting that

flank on the Chickahominy. In an effort to prevent this, Lee determined to strike the enemy before Grant received his reinforcements. An opportunity seemed to offer itself to the Second Corps near Bethesda Church, Early opened an attack but was bloodily repulsed. Among the officers killed was a Colonel Edward Willis of the Twelfth Georgia, who had been temporarily acting commander of Pegram's Brigade.²² Grant continued to extend his left, with Old Cold Harbor as his logical objective.

General Lee believed that a large part of Butler's troops would reach West Point on May 30. In view of this, he telegraphed President Davis that unless he was reinforced, at least by Hoke's Division of Beauregard's force, the result would be disaster.²³ The Secretary of War immediately ordered Beauregard to send Hoke's Division at once by rail-road to Lee's aid.²⁴ There followed a race for time, the question being whether Smith's Corps would reach Grant or Hoke's Division reach Lee first.

On May 31 Fitz Lee's Cavalry, which had been holding the cross roads of Cold Harbor until Hoke's arrival, was engaged by a Federal force. He soon received support from Clingman's Brigade of Hoke's Division, which was just coming up, but the superior force of the Federals forced them back. This left Cold Harbor temporarily in Federal hands, Lee was determined that the enemy would not turn his flank. He immediately ordered Anderson to go around Early and establish contact with Hoke, over whom he was given command. This entire force was to be in position by daylight of June 1, Anderson began an attack early that morning, but due to the leadership of an inexperienced commander, Kernshaw's Brigade broke and the panic soon spread to other units. Anderson's advance came to a halt. Had the Federals chosen to launch a counter-attack at this time, the Confederate right wing would have been shattered. Fortunately the attack did not come, but Old Cold Harbor remained in the hands of the Federals. The Confederates spent the remainder of the day fortifying their line.

On June 2 most of the action, which was sporadic, was concentrated against the Second Corps around Cold Harbor. On June 3 Grant threw his force impetuously along the entire Confederate front. His losses were tremendous and his gains negative. Grant wrote later that he regretted the last assault at Cold Harbor. Possibly due to the change of command from Ewell to Early, and the fact that Early had commanded the First Corps at Spotsylvania Court House, there is little evidence in the Official Records of the action of the Second Corps, or any of its units, at the second Cold Harbor.

Both armies remained in position in a long hot stalemate until June 12. On June 7 Grant detached Sheridan for an expedition toward Gordonsville. His objective was to be the Virginia Central Railroad. He was met by Hampton's cavalry at Trevilian's Station

on June 12, and after a hotly con-tested battle Sheridan was forced to retreat to Grant's rear.

Casualties listed in the muster rolls of the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment at the battle of Cold Harbor were: Private Hughart M. Pullin, Company B, wounded; Private Morgan B. Campbell, Company E, wounded; Private Milton M. Couth, Company F, killed; and Private Harvey Heavener, Company G, wounded.²⁵

CHAPTER VII
EARLY' S VALLEY CAMPAIGN

During the pause in the fighting after Cold Harbor, General Lee reorganized his greatly depleted Army of Northern Virginia. He was faced with the task of finding new senior officers. He was aided by a recently passed act of the Confederate Congress authorizing the appointment of Generals of all rank on a temporary basis. Among the officers appointed at this time was General Early, who was promoted to Lieutenant General and assigned to the command of the Second Corps on May 31. Dodson Ramseur was to succeed Early to the Command of Early's Division, John Pegram's wounds disqualifying him for such a responsible position. Lieutenant Colonel William B. Lewis of the Forty-third North Carolina was to direct Pegram's Brigade while that officer was wounded.¹ Colonel John S. Hoffman remained in command of the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment.

On June 9 Lee received intelligence that the Federal General David Hunter was in Staunton, and was preparing to march on Lexington. On June 11 this Federal force entered Lexington.² It was evident that a large force must be sent to combat Hunter since he obviously would undertake to move east of the Blue Ridge. This assignment went to Early's Second Corps. The fact that a large part of the old "Army of the Valley" belonged to the Second Corps was probably one of the things responsible for this assignment.

At dawn on June 13 Early's men began to move, and by June 16 they were approaching Rivanna River. Early was at that time in Charlottesville. While at the Rivanna Early's force established contact with that of John C. Breckinridge, which had been ordered to Lynchburg at an earlier date. Upon learning that Breckinridge was seriously threatened, Early determined to use all the rolling stock of nearby railroads to rush the Second Corps to Lynchburg. Early arrived about one o'clock in the afternoon of June 17, with a part of Ramseur's (Early's) Division. Early found Breckinridge in bed, troubled with an old wound. He was fortunate in finding Harvey Hill as well as Brigadier General Harry Hays, one of his former officers, in the city. He also learned that Arnold Elzey was on his way from Staunton. Early surveyed the fortifications around Lynchburg and determined that they were too near the city. He directed his troops to occupy a more advanced line. The new line was subjected to artillery fire on June 17, but the Federals did not advance against them. On June 18 the remainder of the Second Corps arrived from Charlottesville. The enemy made a few small scale attacks against the line but these were easily repulsed. Hunter withdrew his force early on the morning of June 19. Early pursued him as far as the present day town of Bedford, but his poorly organized cavalry was soon out distanced. Early tried for three days to overtake the enemy who retreated toward Lewisburg. He then decided to give his men a day's rest, and then advance into the Shenandoah Valley by way of Lexington as he had been originally ordered. His force consisted of about ten thousand

infantry, and about four thousand cavalry and artillery.³ He reached Staunton on June 26. Most of his men were in high spirits, but suffered greatly from the lack of shoes. On June 30 his column passed through New Market, and by July 2 he was in Winchester. On the following day he established contact with the advance guard of the Federal General Sigel's command. The Federals were driven back to Harpers Ferry. That town was evacuated on the night of July 4, but the Confederates were not able to enter because the enemy held Maryland Heights.⁴

On July 6 Early crossed the Potomac, and lead his troops into Maryland. By the evening of July 7 his men had received their much needed shoes, and on July 8 they crossed South Mountain and pressed eastward. At eight o'clock on the morning of July 9, the enemy was reported to be near Monocacy River. It was a part of the Third Division of the Federal VI Corps which had arrived the day before.⁵ Early ordered his infantry to deploy, and his artillery opened upon the opposing batteries. The Federal batteries commanded both the highway and railway bridges across the Monocacy. The Federal troops were situated below the bridge on the Washington road, where they awaited an attack on the east bank of the river. Two miles to the north of the railroad was a bridge on the Baltimore road. Here the Federals were on the left bank, as if to prevent a crossing. Ramseur's Division was deployed on both sides of the Washington road, to serve as the Confederate center. Gordon's Division and McCausland's Cavalry made up the Confederate right. Here the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad ran almost parallel to the west bank of the river.⁶ Early was investigating the ground, trying to determine where best to open the attack, when he saw McCausland's Cavalry brigade cross at a river ford be-low the highway bridge and assail the Federal line. He immediately ordered Gordon's Division to its support. Ramseur demonstrated against the Federal center. After a fierce battle on the Confederate right the Federals were scattered, but they were not pursued since Early did not wish to be burdened with prisoners. The total enemy loss was about 1,300, while Early lost less than .⁷

The Federal Sixth Corps was a part of the Army of the Potomac, and Early realized that Grant had been forced to detach troops from before Richmond to defend Washington. Early had a faint hope that he might attack and perhaps capture Washington, and on July 10 he resumed his advance and marched for thirty miles.⁸

On July 11 the Confederates reached the right of the enemy fortifications of Washington, but Early's men were almost completely exhausted. Skirmishers were thrown out, and the enemy fortifications were found to be very strong and scientifically constructed. After a consultation with his divisional commanders, Early decided that an assault would require too great a sacrifice of men. He therefore decided to retire once again across the Potomac.⁹

Instrumental in his decision was the fact that the Federal General Sigel was at Maryland Heights, Hunter was making his way from western Virginia to get in his rear, and Couch was organizing a militia force in Pennsylvania. Ramseur was of the same opinion as his commanding officer in the decision to retire. Even success would have meant a pyrrhic victory.¹⁰

After threatening the city on July 12, Early fell back in good order after dark. As soon as he had recrossed the Potomac the Federal commanders Sigel, Hunter, Averell and Crook prepared to attack him. There were several skirmishes of small importance. On July 20 Ramseur's Division advanced north of Winchester upon Federal troops who had been reported to be in that vicinity. Upon contacting the enemy at Stephenson's Depot, a part of Hoke's Brigade broke and confusion spread among the Confederate troops.¹¹ In the panic that followed 267 Confederate troops were captured, with 73 killed and 130 wounded.¹² This reverse was a tremendous blow to the young Ramseur.

On July 24 there was a sharp action at Kernstown between Early's force and that of General George Crook. Most of the action on the Confederate side was fought by Echols's Division which was under Breckinridge's command. The remainder of the Second Corps waited to join the pursuit. In pursuing Crook Early moved his forces to Martinsburg. It was while resting here on July 29 that he sent the controversial cavalry raid under McCausland and Bradley T. Johnson against Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. The antagonism of these two officers that grew out of this raid, further handicapped Early's already unsubstantial cavalry force.

Meanwhile General Lee had decided on August 6 to send Kershaw's Division and Fitz Lee's Cavalry into the Shenandoah Valley to assist the Second Corps. These two commands were put under the general command of Anderson. Early was gratified to receive these reinforcements. The organization of the Valley District in August, 1864 shows the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment was a part of Pegram's Brigade, Ramseur's Division.¹³

On August 9 Early was informed that a large Federal force under Major General Phil Sheridan was being assembled at Harper's Ferry. On August 10 he began a series of marches and demonstrations that completely confused the Federal forces. For a month Early continued his maneuvering without any serious move on the part of Sheridan. On September 14 Anderson and Kershaw left the valley under orders to return to the Army of Northern Virginia.¹⁴

On September 17 Early advanced from Stephenson's Depot to Bunker Hill. On September 18 he sent Gordon's Division to Martinsburg to disperse a small enemy force there. After this Gordon's Division bivouacked at Bunker Hill, while the divisions

of Rodes and Breckinridge camped at Stephenson's Depot. Ramseur was at Winchester to cover the road from Berryville.¹⁵

Early on the morning of September 19 Early received word that the Federals had crossed the Opequon and were advancing on the Berryville road. He had been expecting the attack and immediately ordered Gordon to support Ramseur. Early then rode to Ramseur's position east of Winchester. He arrived to find this division in line of battle, and he immediately ordered up the other divisions. The weakest part of Ramseur's line was the left flank, which was occupied by the weakened command of Bradley Johnson. Rodes and Gordon arrived just before the enemy advanced with a heavy force against that portion of the line. The newly arrived generals immediately moved to Ramseur's left and decided to undertake a maneuver to outflank the Federal flankers. Shortly after-wards Rodes was fatally wounded by enemy artillery. Nevertheless the counter-attack was successful, and the enemy on the left was driven, back with heavy losses. It seemed as if the day had been won, but Early's cavalry on the left soon began falling back in disorder. He immediately ordered Breckinridge to that portion of the line. With the support of artillery, that officer was able to halt the Federal advance.¹⁶

At about the same time the Federals launched an attack against the left-center. With all the firing on that section of the line the other troops along the line became uneasy. They began to fall back to a line of breastworks near the town. When Early received word that his right had been turned, he was forced to retreat twenty miles to Fisher's Hill, near Strasburg. His losses in infantry and artillery were 226 killed, 1,567 wounded, and 1,818 missing, a total of 3,611.¹⁷ The muster rolls for the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment do not list the losses for this battle.

At Fisher's Hill Early was compelled to order Fitz Lee's Cavalry to the Luray Valley in order to check a possible enemy advance in that direction.¹⁸ He suffered an additional loss when General Breckinridge was ordered back to the department of Southwest Virginia.¹⁹ Early was however promised the early return of Kershaw from Culpeper.²⁰

Early was forced at this time to reorganize his force. Brigadier General John Pegram was given command of Ramseur's (Early's) Division, and Colonel John S. Hoffman, of the Thirty-first Virginia, was advanced to the command of Pegram's brigade. Lieutenant Colonel J. S. Kerr McCutcheon replaced Colonel Hoffman in command of the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment.²¹ Ramseur was placed in command of Rodes' Division, and Gordon was transferred to command Breckinridge's Division.²²

In order to successfully occupy the position at Fisher's Hill, Early was forced to stretch his small army perilously thin. It was necessary to occupy the almost four mile distance between the North Fork of the Shenandoah and the Little North Mountain. In order to do this, he found it necessary to dismount Lomax's Cavalry to occupy the position on his left.

Early realized the danger of his position, and had planned to fall back on the night of September 22. Late that evening a Federal force, moving under cover of the woods, forced his weak left flank and succeeded in getting in the rear of his line. The entire line gave way in panic and confusion. His entire force would probably have been destroyed if it had not been for the splendid support of the Second Corps Artillery. Twelve guns were captured before they could be withdrawn.²³

Early's losses in infantry and artillery were: 30 killed, 210 wounded, and 995 missing, a total of 1,235. Early reported that his cavalry losses were slight.²⁴

The night of September 22 favored their retreat. They succeeded in driving back a force of Federal cavalry at Rude's Hill on the following day. On September 24 they successfully resisted an attempt by enemy infantry to flank them. They were joined by the returning Kershaw with 2,700 men at Port Republic on September 26. The retreat, however, did not halt until they reached Waynesboro on September 28, where they remained for one day. The Confederates then moved on to Mount Crawford, where they were joined by Rosser's brigade of 600 cavalry on October 5.²⁵ These additional forces about equaled their losses at Winchester, and, upon hearing that the enemy was falling back, they immediately moved back into the Valley to New Market. They occupied that town on October 7.

Despite a defeat of his cavalry at Tom's Brook on October 9, Early moved on to Fisher's Hill on October 12-13. There he found the enemy on the north bank of Cedar Creek. After reconnoitering the Federal position, Early decided it was too strong for a direct attack. By October 17 his provisions were so low that it became necessary either to attack or withdraw. After a reconnaissance of the Federals from Massanutton Mountain, it was determined to launch a flanking movement on the Federal right. On the afternoon of October 18 Early met with his division commanders to discuss the plans for battle. The plans required Gordon, with the Second Corps composed of Gordon's, Ramseur's, and Pegram's Divisions, to make an all night march around the base of Three-top Mountain, south of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, and then by recrossing the river at Bowman's Ford they were to capture the enemy's picket and turn his left flank. Kershaw's Division was to strike to the northeast through Strasburg, cross the Cedar Creek at Bowman's Mill, and then by moving northward, fall upon the left of the force that Gordon was attacking in the front.

Wharton's Division was to move up the Valley Turnpike and join in the attack. Lomax, with almost half of Early's cavalry, was to demonstrate by way of Front Royal toward either Newtown or Winchester. Rosser, Gordon, and Kershaw were to attack at five o'clock on the morning of October 19. Wharton's time of attack was to depend upon the circumstances that developed. Early accompanied Kershaw's Division.²⁶

The attack opened with remarkable precision. Gordon fell upon the rear of the Federal Nineteenth Corps. His line of battle had Ramseur's Division on the right and Gordon's on the left. These divisions were supported by Pegram.²⁷

The enemy fell back to a second line, and Pegram's Division was ordered forward into battle. For some reason, although there was success all along the line, Early faltered, and, though urged by Gordon, he did not immediately attack the enemy's second line. Many of his men fell to looting the vacated enemy camp. This delay enabled the Federal commanders to rally and reform their men. Although the Federals fell back to a third position, Early had waited far too long to give his troops the order to advance. The Confederates were in a badly exposed position.²⁸

At about four-thirty in the afternoon the Federals launched a swift counter-attack against the Confederate left. The sheer weight of numbers caused Early's left to collapse. When the divisions of Kershaw and Ramseur discovered that Gordon's men were falling back, panic spread through the Confederate lines. It was at this time that Ramseur was mortally wounded, and left in the hands of the enemy.²⁹

Early tried vainly to halt the fleeing men. Only the small commands of Wharton and Pegram, which had been on the right of the line, held. Early finally had to order them back. Once again a retreat by Early was supported by his artillery.³⁰

Most of the prisoners and stores taken earlier in the day had already been sent back toward Staunton, and therefore did not fall back into Federal hands. Although Sheridan had won the day, his losses proved to be 5,665 men.³¹ Early estimated his own losses at less than 1,000, but the figure was probably too low.³²

He blamed his defeat on the short-age of competent officers, and thus the inability to maintain discipline. Early was seriously criticized throughout the South.

The Confederates retreated through the night to New Market, where Early made a final report of the disaster. Sheridan

made no serious attempt to pursue Early, who fell back to Milford and took a fortified position. Here he was attacked on October 26 by a force of Federal cavalry, but their attack was not successful.

On November 10 Early's force marched back to the vicinity of Woodstock, with Rosser's Cavalry advancing to Fairview; and that of Lomax to Front Royal. At six o'clock on the morning of November 11, with Pegram in the advance, Early drove the Federal pickets from Middletown and advanced as far as Newton. There he formed a line of battle. He remained in that position through November 12, with only skirmishing and a little cavalry action. After dark on that date he fell back to Fisher's Hill. On November 14 he fell back to his old camp near New Market.³³

At this time Kershaw's Division was ordered back to Richmond. On November 17 Pegram's Division marched up the Valley to Big String. Early's camp was attacked by two divisions of enemy cavalry on November 22, but they were quickly repulsed. The Confederates remained at New Market until December 6. When it was learned that the Sixth Corps of Sheridan's army had gone to join Grant, the famed Second Corps left the Shenandoah Valley, where it had seen so much action, for the last time. Now under the command of Major General Gordon, it left by rail from Staunton on December 7. Early was left in command of small force in the Valley. The few surviving veterans of the Second Corps once again joined the Army of Northern Virginia at Petersburg. There it participated in the defense of that beleaguered city.

CHAPTER VIII
PETERSBURG AND APPAMATTOX

Since the preceding June, the Army of Northern Virginia and the Army of the Potomac had faced each other behind strong entrenchments and fortifications before Richmond and Petersburg. General Lee had greatly weakened his al-ready thin lines by detaching cavalry and infantry units to the support of Early in the Shenandoah Valley. Grant had made continuous attempts through the summer and fall of 1864 to turn Lee's right by extending the Federal Left, and at the same time break through Ewell's line before Richmond. His attempts, however, had been thwarted and the Confederate line held. Lee's line stretched for forty miles, and was manned by some fifty-four thousand men. It faced a Federal force of more than one hundred and seven thousand.¹

The fortifications north of the James River, from Chaffin's Bluff northward along the front of Richmond, were commanded by Lieutenant 'General R. S. Ewell. South of the James, stretching as far as Hatcher's Run southwest of Petersburg, the line and fortifications were manned by the depleted forces of the Army of Northern Virginia, together with General Beauregard's force of the Departments of North Carolina and Southern Virginia. The Third Corps under A. P. Hill occupied the Confederate right, south of Petersburg to the Weldon and Petersburg Railroad. It was on this portion of the line that Lee made a number of flank movements after July, 1864. After the Second Corps rejoined the Army of Northern Virginia in mid-December, 1864, the position of units in the Confederate line were as follows: General A. P. Hill on the extreme right, holding the line from Hatcher's Run to Fort Gregg; Generals Gordon and Anderson from Hill's left to the Appomattox; and General Longstreet from the Appomattox to the Confederate left at White Oak Swamp.² The return of the Second Corps raised the effective force of the Army of Northern Virginia to over fifty thousand.

A breakdown of the Confederate returns of December 20, 1864 shows the following forces:

	Officers	Enlisted Men
Longstreet's First Corps (Including Hoke's Division)	1,503	20,010
Gordon's Second Corps	505	8,179
Hill's Third Corps	1,097	15,274
Anderson's (Johnson's division only)	504	6,692
Total	3,609	50,155 ³

There was little action along the line throughout December, 1864 and January, 1865. The winter proved to be unusually severe and Confederate rations, always meager, often failed entirely, but the gaunt half-starved Confederate troops valiantly held the line. Present for duty in Pegram's Division, which still included the Thirty-first Virginia, on January 10, 1865, were one hundred sixty-three officers and two thousand four hundred eleven enlisted men. There was an aggregate present and absent of eight thousand one hundred ninety-four.⁴ It was the smallest division in the smallest corps of the army.⁵ Returns of the same division on January 31, show one hundred fifty officers and two thousand three hundred nineteen men present for duty; on February 10, one hundred forty officers, and two thousand one hundred fifty-one men; and on February 20, one hundred fifty-two officers and two thousand two hundred ninety-two men. The inspectors report from February 24 to March 1, shows forty-seven officers and six hundred sixty-five men present for field duty. The organization of the Army of Northern Virginia, based on inspection reports from January 26 to January 31, 1865, still had the Second Army Corps under the command of Major General John B. Gordon, with Early's Division commanded by Brigadier General John Pegram. Pegram's Brigade was at this time under the command of Colonel John S. Hoffman, and the Thirty-first Virginia was commanded by a Captain Nathan Clawson.⁷

On February 5 Grant again sent a large force against the Confederate right on Hatcher's Run. Lee immediately sent General Gordon with his old division and Pegram's to the extreme right of his line, beyond Burgess' Mill. They were to guard the flank of the army. When the Federals crossed Hatcher's Run, Pegram sent two of his brigades out from camp to reconnoiter. One brigade moved near the stream, and the other farther to the right and along the Vaughan Road. These two brigades were attacked by Crawford's Division of Warren's Corps, and were forced back slowly until General Pegram reinforced them with the remainder of his division. Gordon's Division, commanded by Brigadier General Evans, which was sent forward to support, formed on Pegram's left and drove the enemy back. However, because of superior numbers, Evans was forced to retire and reform. Evans ordered his division forward again on the left, while Pegram charged on the right. The enemy was driven back. Pegram's division, however, suffered the serious loss of its commander, General Pegram, who was killed as he was riding with his troops in the charge. Colonel John S. Hoffman, commanding Pegram's old brigade, and who was the former commanding officer of the Thirty-first Virginia, was severely wounded at almost the same time. A portion of the line was thrown into confusion, but when Mahone's Division arrived and was placed in position to fill the gap between the commands of Evans and Pegram, the entire line advanced and drove the enemy back in confusion to his works along the creek.⁸

The command of Pegram's Division passed to Brigadier General James A. Walker.⁹ Colonel John G. Casey of the Fifty-eighth Virginia, as the only remaining Lieutenant Colonel in the brigade, replaced Hoffman as commanding officer of Pegram's Brigade. The Thirty-first Virginia remained under the command of Captain Nathan Clawson.¹⁰

The Federal General Warren advanced again on February 7, but found that Gordon had withdrawn from the field of battle and had formed his troops in a defensive line in the rear of it. Warren then retired to Hatcher's Run and made no further advance. After February 7 there was little action about Hatcher's Run.

Lee had ascertained that Grant, in extending his lines at Hatcher's Run, had left that portion of his line from Petersburg to City Point to be held by the Ninth Corps. He planned to break through at this point by a surprise attack and interpose between the two wings of Grant's army. Gordon was directed to form a plan and take charge of all troops in this action. In connection with those plans the division of General Bushrod Johnson, then facing the Ninth Corps, exchanged places with Gordon's command on Hatcher's Run. This relocation of troops occurred during the middle of March.

Gordon delivered his plan to General Lee on March 23, and was told to assemble his forces to make the assault on March 25. Gordon had made a long and careful study of the grounds at a point where the trenches of the opposing forces were not more than one hundred fifty yards apart. His plan called for a careful infiltration of the enemy lines by three columns, each consisting of one hundred men. They were to make a rush for some small forts that Gordon was certain lay behind the main enemy line. Having gained these forts they were to fire into the Federal rear, while a large Confederate force poured through breaks and advanced through the Federal trenches. Pickett's Division was ordered from north of the Appomattox to support this drive, and Longstreet was to demonstrate below Richmond. Preparations were complete and Gordon was ready for the advance at four o' clock on the morning of February 25. Just before the assault he made a stirring speech to his soldiers in the Confederate trenches opposite Fort Stedman, which they were to storm.

There was a moment of fear that the Federals might become aware of their plan when a Federal picket heard them clearing debris and called a challenge. He was quieted, however, by a quick thinking Confederate who called out that they were merely gathering some corn. The Confederates crept forward and fell upon the opposing pickets without a rifle being fired. They crept through the Federal obstructions and entered Fort Stedman, taking many sleepy and surprised prisoners. They then began to spread left and right through the Federal trenches. Thus far the action had proceeded without a flaw. The Federals had been taken completely by surprise. While Gordon was waiting to hear the guns

from the small forts which he had planned for them to take in the rear of the Federal Line, he received the alarming news that the advance columns had not been able to find the forts. The large Confederate force which had poured through the break soon realized that they were confined to Fort Stedman and a small number of trenches. They realized that they would soon be subject to a heavy enfilading fire from enemy artillery. Their position soon became intolerable. Federal artillery both to the left and right subjected them to a cruel fire. Federal troops began to attack and recover some of their lost positions. Around eight o'clock in the morning, General Lee sent orders to evacuate the works. By this time, however, the open ground between the Confederate and Federal lines became a no man's land, and large numbers of Confederates refused to cross over again to their former position. Many stayed behind to surrender to the Federals. About three thousand five hundred men were left behind, and approximately one thousand nine hundred of these were prisoners.¹¹ Confederate casualties for that unfortunate March 25, were probably in excess of four thousand four hundred men. Federal losses were two thousand eighty men.¹²

There has never been absolute agreement as to whether the small forts to the rear of the Federal lines, which Gordon had hoped to reach, actually existed.¹³

On March 29 the Confederates became aware that a large force of Federal cavalry and infantry was in position near Hatcher's Run on their right. That evening Sheridan's cavalry reached Dinwiddie Court House, and his infantry support extended to the Quaker Road. Lee quickly transferred his cavalry and Pickett's Division from his left to his right. By dawn on March 30 this movement had been completed and a Confederate force under General Pickett now opposed the Federal advance on Five Forks.

On March 31 General Lee personally directed three brigades in driving back Warren's Fifth Corps to behind Gravelly Run. At the same time Pickett forced Sheridan back to Dinwiddie Court House. That evening Warren extended his left in order to cooperate with Sheridan. The following morning, on finding that Sheridan now had infantry support, Pickett and his cavalry, under Fitz Lee, fell back and disposed their commands in line of battle at Five Forks. Here the Confederates became detached from their support and their flanks were overrun late in the afternoon of April 1. They were completely routed.

At four-forty that morning the Federals had delivered a heavy attack on A. P. Hill's front, four miles southwest of Petersburg. General Hill lost his life in an attempt to recover the shattered line.¹⁴ Still farther to the left on Gordon's front, his picket posts had been taken at eleven o'clock on the night of April 1. At daylight on April 2 his first line was successfully stormed, but his second line held. Confederate

leaders no longer believed that there was anything to be gained by an attempt to remain at Petersburg. The long-planned attempt to unite with Johnson and fall upon the advancing force of Sherman before Grant could reach them, must now be attempted. With almost super-human effort they continued to hold the line throughout the remainder of the day on April 2. The government at Richmond had already been notified, and Ewell's force in front of Richmond was directed to march toward Amelia Court House. After dark on the same day Lee evacuated Petersburg and re-tired his army along the banks of the Appomattox to Amelia Court house. Gordon, whose command still included the Thirty-first Virginia, was entrusted to command the rear guard. The progress of the Confederate infantry, now numbering about twelve thousand five hundred men, was slow and difficult, for the men were gaunt, weakened, and half-starved.

By April 4 most of Lee's army had reached Amelia Court House, where they had expected to find a food supply. To the great disappointment of the starving men there was no such supply, and full day was lost in the attempt to forage meager supplies from the countryside.¹⁵

Pathetically little food was found. At about one o'clock in the afternoon Lee's army, deathly weary, moved on toward Jetersville, a small station on the railroad leading to Burkeville. As they were leaving Amelia Court House, Ewell troops began to arrive from the Richmond front.¹⁶

The First Corps of Lee's army, in an advance position, found Union cavalry in a strong position just beyond Jetersville, barring the road to Burkeville. Part of Grant's army was across the Confederate line of retreat. Lee decided to change his route and move westward to Farmville, on the Southside Railroad. He might find food supplies there, and then move southward toward the Roanoke River. There followed a terrifying and miserable night of panic, men falling from hunger and exhaustion fired at their own comrades in terror. Discipline entirely collapsed in some units. Daylight found brigades dwindled and regiments almost dissolved.¹⁷ The various commands were retreating in disorder. The First Corps, under Longstreet, was in the advance, Anderson followed, then Ewell, with Gordon's Second Corps as rear guard. Fitz Lee's cavalry was to cover the rear.¹⁸

On April 6 the Confederates made an attempt to reorganize their forces, and improve their plans for withdrawal. Anderson, Pickett, and Bushrod Johnson were still separated from the main army. The few survivors of these commands and Henry A. Wise's Brigade were placed under Gordon. Gordon and Longstreet now headed the two remaining Corps, with the remnants of the Thirty-first Virginia still attached to Gordon's command. It was necessary for the Confederates to put the Appomattox River between them and the pursuing Federals. It was decided to divide the army

and have the force under Gordon march to Farmville by way of High Bridge, while Long-street was to continue on the road to Farmville. There followed a cold and miserable night for the starving soldiers. Gordon soon had the Second Corps marching in regular order. Though pitifully reduced in number they still maintained their discipline. The next morning they reached Farmville and received two days rations. While preparing the rations they received news that Mahone, who covered the retirement of the Second Corps, had not succeeded in completely destroying High Bridge, and the Federals had crossed with little delay. The rear brigades just entering Farmville found the supply train gone. It was decided to march northward toward Lynchburg. Gordon marched through the woods by flank in order to protect the wagons. The Confederates presumed that a large force of Federal infantry was marching south of an parallel to Lee's army. If the Federals outdistanced them their only escape was to the north, away from Johnson. The loyal troops struggled pitifully to keep up with the army. ¹⁹ Many fell from the ranks from sheer exhaustion. Many of the exhausted veterans, recovering some strength, rejoined their commands during the night. One brigade of Brigadier General James A. Walker's (Early's old) Division was able at onetime to muster two hundred men and repulse a Federal cavalry attack. ²⁰

At nine o'clock on the evening of April 7, under a flag of truce a message was presented at Mahone's lines addressed to General Lee. It was a letter from Grant calling for Confederate surrender to avoid further "effusion of blood."²¹ The Confederates resumed the march on April 8, and the morale of the men seemed to be improving. Supplies had been ordered to Appomattox Station and an attempt had to be made to reach them before the Federals. As the day wore on no enemy force harassed the advance. Late in the day it was reported that Sheridan was moving up the South Side Railroad. When Gordon's command approached Appomattox Court House, late in the day, the halt was called. On the morning of April 9 Lee found that Grant's infantry possessed the road he was following toward Lynchburg. Lee and Grant had been exchanging letters since the preceding evening. In reply to Grant's first letter, Lee had asked for terms. In his reply Grant suggested a meeting of officers from both sides to decide upon terms. Lee replied that his letter did not mean a surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but had understood General Grant's letter to indicate a proposition of peace. On the moraine of April 9 Lee received a reply from Grant stating that he was not authorized to treat on the subject of peace, and that the terms were well understood. He suggested that that desirable event would be hastened by the South laying down their arms. General Lee was particularly interested in how a truce would affect the forces under his command. ²²

There had been a delay on the morning of April 9 in receiving an answer from Grant to Lee's second letter, and plans were made for another attempt to break through toward Lynchburg. All excess equipment was eliminated. Fitz Lee was to open the attack, supported by the Second Corps. Both Fitz Lee and Gordon were then to wheel to the left and cover the passage of the vehicles.

Longstreet would hold the position behind the trails. The success or failure of this movement would determine whether Grant's terms would be accepted.

There was some debate between Gordon and Fitz Lee as to whether the troops across their road were infantry or dismounted cavalry. At five o'clock the advance began on the right in good order. The Federal works were reached, and the Federal cavalry fell back in haste. Then Gordon wheeled and formed a new line of battle facing southward. They had hardly gained their new position when they learned that Federal infantry was in the woods to their right and rear. At the same time Federal cavalry demonstrated against the left of Gordon's line.²³ Three hours after the attack had opened, Gordon's plight was desperate. He informed Colonel Charles Venable, of Lee's staff, that he must have support from Longstreet. Longstreet had been, preparing to fight in front or rear, when he was summoned to General Lee and informed that the Second Corps could not break through. He found General Lee carefully dressed for a proposed meeting with Grant. Longstreet was forced to admit that surrender seemed inevitable, and Lee rode off for the proposed meeting.

Gordon's men were still fighting furiously along their line. Longstreet sent a message to Gordon informing him of the truce meeting. Gordon immediately sent out an improvised flag of truce to arrange a cease fire during the conference between the two commanding generals. Sheridan first sent a rather flamboyantly dressed Major General George A. Custer, who demanded that Gordon should unconditionally surrender the troops of his command. Gordon informed him that the truce was merely for the duration of the conference, and if not granted, all responsibility for bloodshed would be on the hands of General Sheridan. Custer then asked to see Longstreet, to whom he later presented his demands, and by whom he was rather brusquely ordered back to his own lines. Longstreet wrathfully told him that he had violated all of the decencies of military procedure.²⁴

Almost immediately after Custer's departure General Sheridan himself approached Gordon's line, and a truce on the Second Corps line was arranged between the two generals.

There had been some delay in the meeting between Grant and Lee, but at about twelve-thirty in the afternoon Lee finally rode forward for the conference. Three hours later, the armistice agreed upon, he sadly returned. It had been agreed that all men would be paroled to go to their homes. Late that evening commissary wagons from the Union camp entered the Confederate lines bringing food to the starving troops. Confederate officers were ordered to prepare rolls of their sadly depleted forces, so that the paroles could be drawn up. The roll was to be made in duplicate, one copy to go to the victors.²⁵

A commission of Lee's senior officers, Longstreet, Gordon, and Pendleton was assigned to arrange the details of the surrender. The Federal demands were lenient. It was agreed that the surrender would be applicable to all forces operating with the army when the negotiations began on April 8. Privately owned Confederate horses were to be retained by their owners. General Grant generously agreed that the discharged soldiers could pass freely through Federal lines on their way home. They would be allowed free passage on all government transport on military railroads.²⁶

The pathetic remnants of the Army of Northern Virginia formed in a column to march to their full surrender on the morning of April 12. The ragged, mud caked veterans of the Second Corps marched without drumbeat to the Federal lines where they stacked their arms. So pathetically impressive were they that the two Federal brigades of the Fifth Corps were ordered by their commander General George Chamberlain to shift from order arms to carry arms, the marching salute. General Chamberlain later wrote that it seemed as if it were the passing of the dead.²⁷

Officers and men still attached to the Thirty-first Virginia Regiment at the time of surrender were as follows: Field and Staff, J. Edward Hall, Acting Adjutant; Non-commissioned Staff, Quartermaster Sergeant John O. Perry, Ordinance Sergeant Martin V Stewart, Corn. Sergeant Samuel J. Blankensop; First Sergeant Samuel Rutherford, Sergeant Robert Henderson, Sergeant A. Ely Hoffman, Privates Theodore Davis, William L. Morgan, Davis O. Morgan, Joseph W. Ness, John Rex, William Roberts, Company A; Sergeant Jeremiah H. Helmes, Privates Peter H. Hussman, James R. Hitchlin, James W. Helmes, Jarrett M. Malcolm, Martin W. Malcolm, Solomon J. McDaniel, Samuel A. Ralston, George W. Sheffer, James A. Stewart, Company B; Privates Benjamin F. Corder, David Slocum, and Musician Joseph L. West, Company C; Sergeant William W. Snider, Privates Frank Greenleaf, Charles McGinnis, Charles Burnes, Company D; Sergeant Reuben K. Dever, Privates William C. Byrd, Andrew J. Simmons, William J. Rexroad, Company E; Sergeant George B. Arbaugh, Privates Jolla J. Spencer, Andrew J. Spencer, Peter W. Warrick, Company G; Privates Perry M. Talbott, William Barrett, Company H; Sergeant Nimrod D. Reger, privates Abel Spaur, John W. Saaur, John W. Spaur, Francis M. Waugh, Van B. Flesher, Company I; Sergeant Frank G. Phillips, Sergeant Solomon Ganer, Corporal Fred M. Johnson, Privates Thomas B. Digman, and Granville B. Moore, of Company K.²⁸

The discharge of these gaunt men marked the end of a brave and noble regiment, an organization that had seen action from the first skirmishes in the hills of West Virginia in 1861 to the final surrender at Appomattox. The men under whom they had fought were among the greatest Confederate leaders. They had seen action in many of the bravest, bloodiest, and most decisive battles of the War between the States. Their story is inextricably linked with that of "Stonewall" Jackson, Robert E. Lee, Jubal Early, John

B. Imboden, John B. Gordon, and many other Confederate heroes. The cause of the mountain men of the Thirty-first Virginia had not been successful, but they had fought, under the most desperate and trying circumstances, with a vigor and spirit that had seldom been matched in the history of man.

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46. "Special Orders" December 16, 1861 Jackson Papers.
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51. "Report of Colonel Edward Johnson," December 19, 1861, Thirty-first Virginia Papers.
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53. O. R., Vol. XII, pt. 3, p. 827
54. "Letter Special Committee to W. L. Jackson," January 21, 1862, Jackson Papers.
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56. "W. L. Jackson to his wife," February 24, 1862, Jackson Papers•
57. "W. L. Jackson to his wife," March 14, 1862, Jackson Papers
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Pineville, West Virginia
April 7, 1955

Dr. F. P. Summers,
Head Department of History
West Virginia University
Morgantown, West Virginia

Dear Dr. Summers:

I was extremely pleased to receive your very nice letter of April 4, and I will be sending the thesis along to you within a week. I will not bother to apologize again for the long delay, other than to say that I have been pretty well tied up with other work. Living in an environment in which "Babbitry" is the highest form of personal achievement is not very conducive to things scholarly.

You will find the typing rather poor, since I did not feel that I could afford to have it typed again by a professional typist until it has been approved. You will, I think, find it has the corrections I wanted despite a rather large number of strike-overs.

In going over the thesis I have paid careful attention to your marginal notes and letters of last Spring. Although I have been able to make most of the corrections and additions you asked for, I am afraid that not all of the shortcomings are due to negligence or error on my part. You mention several times that I tend to lose contact with the Thirty-first Virginia in the last few chapters, and depend too much on the action of the division or larger units. I have been aware of that from the beginning, and I believe I mentioned it to you in 1953 when we discussed the thesis. I found that although Dr. Gooks material is replete with events and data on the early period of the war, it is practically devoid of useful material from about 1863 to the end. As far as the Thirty-first Virginia is concerned this is also true of the Official Records and most of the other really valuable sources. A glance at the general index of the O. R. will confirm this. You will find the Thirty-first Virginia mentioned frequently in the volumes dealing with the early period, but rarely, if at all, in the later volumes. That is why I have included incidents in my work dealing with that period which you did not feel were really important to the work. They are simply evidence of an attempt on my part to maintain some contact with the regiment.

I am still planning to leave the job I now have, and I have been traveling about a good deal during the last few months for interviews. I have had several rather interesting offers, and I hope to be leaving in the not too distant future. I am looking forward to visiting the university again, and I hope you do not find my typing too difficult to decipher.

Very truly yours,

Pineville, West Virginia
Dr. Roy Bird Cook
Cook Drug Company
Quarrier Street
Charleston, West Virginia

Dear Dr. Cook:

I am again sending you my copy to the thesis, which has just been returned from Tulane University. You may keep it as long as you desire.

I was quite impressed by the article you sent regarding the Remington Award. I had read about it previously in the news-paper, but this was a more complete account. The number of awards and positions you have held is most inspiring. I was aware that you were one of our ranking state and regional historians, but I had no idea that you had been the recipient of so many honors.

I am leaving for Tulane on September 11. In the event you should wish to contact me, my address will be: Irby House, Tulane University, 31 McAlister Drive, New Orleans 18, La. Of course anything sent to my home address will be forwarded.

With the best of wishes to you and with the hope that your trip to New York will be as pleasant as it certainly deserves to be, I am

Very sincerely yours,