

4 July, 1984

Dear Family,

I more or less had decided that my writings of the 16th Regiment Virginia Cavalry at Gettysburg would be my last venture into the Civil War with Andrew Sansom and M. M. Morrison. Then I saw an ad for the "Records of the 16th Regiment of Virginia Cavalry" by Jack Dickinson. I not only got the records, I found a cousin — on both sides of the family. Jack is descended from Able Sansom, an older brother of Andrew, and from Naaman (Namon?) C. Morrison, older brother of M.M. And, it turns out, the 16th Virginia Cavalry was filled with our mutual grandfathers, uncles and cousins from Wayne Co.

Not only did Andrew (born 1823) enlist, but so did his younger brother Riley Sansom (b. 1832); and not only was M.M. (b. 1835-36) in the 16th, but so was Naman C. Morrison (b. 1832), M.M.'s older brother. But that may not be all, there were numerous Adkins' and Blankenship's, a couple of Booten's, some Clay's, a Gilkerson, and a John W. Stephenson, who may have been a brother of the Sarah Stephenson married to John Blankenship. So there were at least four family members fighting for the Confederate States of America, and possibly many more cousins and uncles from Yankee-controlled West Virginia.

The Official Records list 1275 men who served in the 16th at one time or another; 201 were from Wayne County (but nearly half of the men aren't identified as to the county where they enlisted). The lists show 66 as confirmed killed or died during the war; 194 taken prisoner; and 92 who deserted. Both Naaman\* and Madison were captured September 15, 1863, at Louisa Kentucky and sent to the same prison camp. M.M. was released from Rock Island on October 25, 1864. Namon was released from a hospital February 26, 1865. Both Andrew and Riley Sansom were on detached duty or horse detail at the time the last records were written in December, 1864.

At any rate, Jack has promised more information, including the geneology of Sarah Clay Morrison, and I will keep you advised.

Love to all,



\*Jack Dickinson spells it Naaman; the records list him as Namon or Naman.

"WHEN LEE MARCHED OVER THE MOUNTAIN WALL"<sup>1</sup>

GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

JULY 1 - 4, 1863

E. L. DuFEU

1984

<sup>1</sup>From the poem "Barbara Frietchie" by John Greenleaf Whittier.

## PREFACE

"Each man believes in his heart he will die  
Many have written last thoughts and last letters  
None know if our deaths are now or forever  
I pray you  
    you (if any open this writing)  
Make in your mouths the words that were our names"<sup>1</sup>

Those lines partly explain why I continue to read and gather information about the Civil War: I want to make in our mouths the words that were the names of our ancestors: Andrew Sansom and Madison Maston Morrison. Among the little bits and pieces that are all we will ever know of them is the knowledge that for a few terrible years they were caught up in a horrible war where brother did fight brother and families and friends were split assunder by issues that few of them understood.

In 1863 there were 30 million Americans, all more or less polarized by the Civil War. Many of the Copperheads in the North disagreed with Lincoln and his policies, and many in the South disagreed with Jefferson Davis and his policies, but the war was joined, and by 1863 was about to climax in one of the great battles of history: the Battle of Gettysburg.

The South had neither the food, resources and supplies, nor the manpower to carry on a lengthy struggle year after year. During 1861 and '62 the Confederates had fought a mainly defensive war as the North tried to tighten a noose around them on land and sea, cutting their supply lines to Europe and elsewhere. The North was not ready for a long war either, but there it was a matter of will, not supplies. There was growing dissatisfaction with the war as Lincoln's generals lost battle after battle to the Southerners. In 1863, the Confederacy was as well fed, well armed, and well trained as it would ever be. To the West U.S. Grant was laying siege to Vicksburg. A diversion in the East might cause Lincoln to move some of Grant's soldiers closer to Washington D.C. In May, 1863, Robert E. Lee decided to go on the offensive, take the war to the northern peoples, capture much needed food and supplies and, possibly, relieve the pressure on Vicksburg. Though not part of Lee's plans, moving the War to the north might cause so much trouble for Lincoln the North would look for peace and European nations might recognize the Confederate States of America.

The South would fail at Gettysburg and the war would drag on for nearly two more years. The reasons for the failure are still being debated by historians. Lee's Corps Commanders, Generals Longstreet, Ewell, and Hill were erratic in the handling of their

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<sup>1</sup>From a poem "Epistle to be Left in the Earth," Archibald MacLeish.



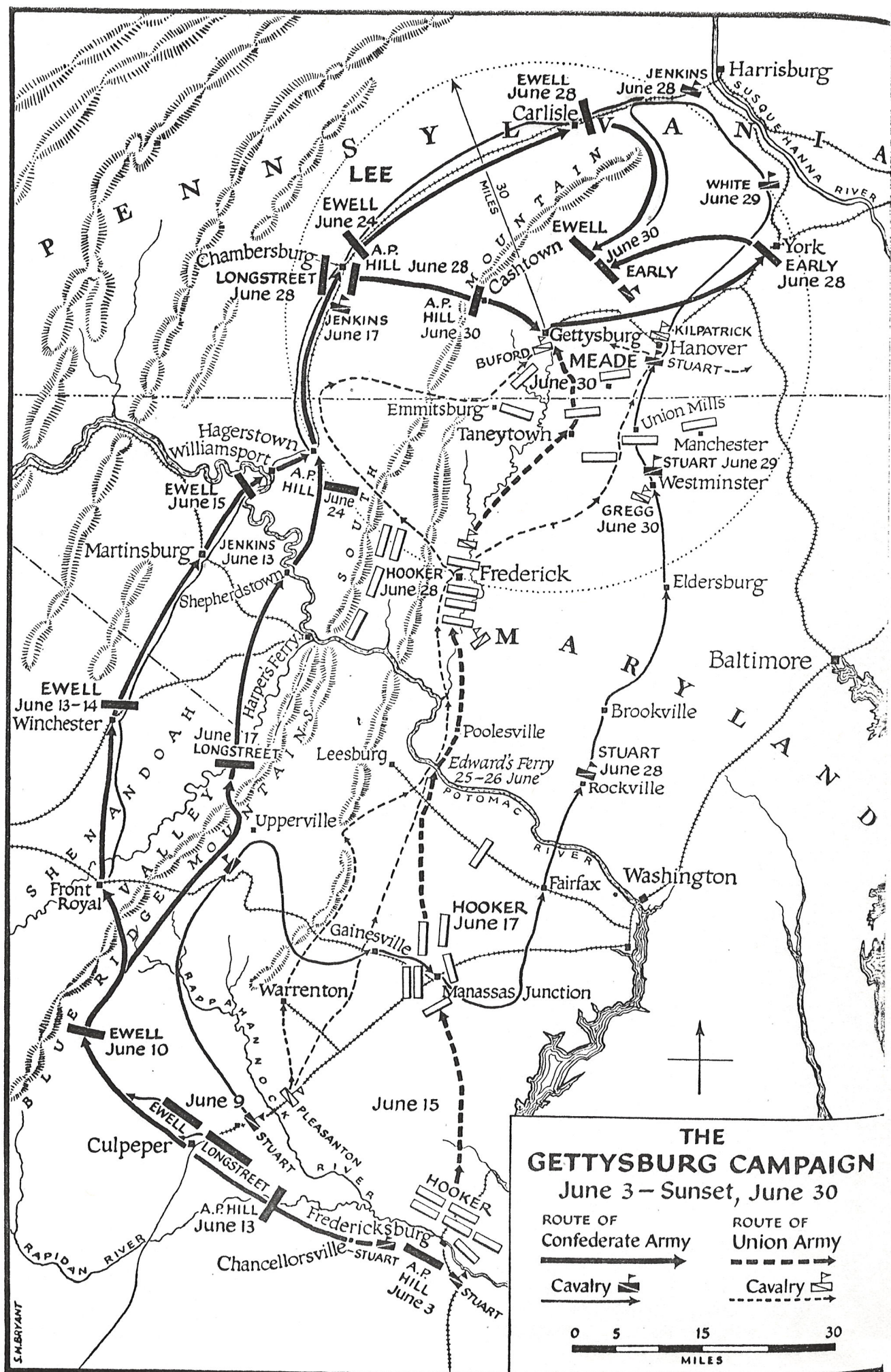
troops. Sometimes they did well, were even brilliant, but for the most part they were reluctant or hesitant when vigorous action was needed. Stuart and most of his cavalry were not present to report the position of the enemy and harass them from the rear. Lee himself was not decisive in his handling of the Army. It was not his way to direct his generals by detailed orders; he preferred to tell them what were his overall objectives and let each general execute those directives in their own manner. Since the only means of communication was by mounted couriers trying to locate generals who were miles apart during the thick of battle, Lee had to believe his generals would perform as they had in previous battles. Unfortunately, they did not! And finally, though not universally agreed on, Meade and his Union commanders did perform very well. For almost the first time Lee was out-generalled by the Northerners. For once the Union soldiers had generals equal to their abilities.

The soldiers on both sides were valiant and brave. The actual numbers of men and their officers who fought at Gettysburg will never be known exactly, but most estimates place Meade's Union Army of the Potomac at about 93,500 men; Lee's Army of Northern Virginia at 75,000 men. When the three days of war had ended, 43,500 men would be killed in action, wounded (many of them to die later) or missing (presumed to be captured by the enemy). The Confederates lost 20,450 officers and men; the Union Army, 23,050 officers and men: 26 percent of the combatants were dead, wounded or missing.

On July 4 Lee started his retreat to Virginia and Vicksburg surrendered to Grant. Europe never recognized the C.S.A.







## PROLOGUE TO GETTYSBURG

Anyone who has seen a movie about the Civil War or read about its battles can picture the soldiers marching to battle. The Union Sixth Corps made the kind of march of which movies are made. "The word came that they were needed, and needed in a hurry, so they marched — from ten at night until five the next afternoon with only a few breaks for coffee, or now and then a short rest. On and on they trudged, endlessly it seemed, at first through darkness and then in the glare of the July sun, thirty-four long miles to Gettysburg. One veteran remembered hearing strains of band music. Catching the beat of 'Old John Brown's Body,' he noted that the men immediately strode along more briskly as first a score, a hundred, a thousand, and then ten thousand voices sang out the battle cry of 'Glory, Glory Hallelujah, His Soul is Marching On.' All night long they marched at a remarkable pace to the sound of bands which alternated with the shrill of fifes and the roll of drums. Never before had the bands played on the march except when they entered a town... By mid-morning the heat of day had wilted the men into complete silence except for the rhythmic slap, slap of feet on the stony pike. Some reeled and staggered as if drunk. Every now and then someone would collapse in his tracks. His comrades would quickly drag him to the grass along the roadside, place his musket beside him, and then resume their places in ranks. Thoughtful farmers and their families kept others from dropping out by bringing to the roadside tubs and pails of cool well water. Some were more generous and fed the men with cherries, milk and a great variety of cooked food."<sup>1</sup>

The Confederate soldiers carried no tents when on the march. When it rained two men shared their woolen blankets and their "gum blanket" or oil cloth. They were usually poorly shod, often barefoot. Their clothes were of all cuts and colors, with a lot of blue pants in evidence, taken from Union prisoners or the dead at Chancellorsville. The "Reb" traveled lighter than the "Yankee." His blanket, haversack, and cartridge box weighed only 12 to 14 pounds altogether. His rifle and bayonet another 12 pounds. Even so, 24 pounds became very heavy under the hot sun of July.<sup>2</sup>

But that was only part of the story. An army corps of 11,000 men marching four abreast, closed-up in ranks, made a column nearly three miles long. But there was more, much more. That corps needed 300 wagons, 400 horses and 2,000 mules to carry their supplies. One wagon might supply 50 men with a weeks supply of subsistence, forage for the stock, ammunition, baggage, hospital stores, and whatever else was needed to move an

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<sup>1</sup>The Gettysburg Campaign, Edwin B. Coddington.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 22.



army. Accompanying the corps might be 25 or 30 smooth-bore or rifled-bore cannon with limbers and caissons of ammunition. And now the corps extended for 18 miles or so along the road.<sup>3</sup>

In the spring of 1863 Lee's Army of Northern Virginia needed about 20,000 horses to move three Army corps and the Cavalry out of Virginia into Pennsylvania.<sup>4</sup> If they had travelled together, Lee's Army of 75,000 men and their supply train would have made a column nearly 80 miles long. However, Lee moved each Corps independently so that there were three main groups converging on Gettysburg as June ended.

The cavalry was more mobile, foraging off the land, often riding 30 or even 40 miles a day. The macadamized roads of Pennsylvania were hard on the horses, however. A horse that lost a shoe would be lame within 5 miles. And some of the units had other problems. The troopers from western Virginia were usually poorly mounted and poorly equipped, but for the Gettysburg campaign Jenkins' Brigade had new Enfield rifles. This was not an advantage.

"To fire an Enfield a soldier had to bite off the end of the cartridge, pour the powder down the barrel and ram the bullet on top of it. He then affixed a percussion cap to a nipple against which the hammer struck when he pulled the trigger, making a spark which ignited the powder. "A veteran infantry man could fire four times a minute, but only for a short time before his barrel fouled from the powder. He could hit a small target up to two hundred yards and a man up to 500 yards. The muzzle-loading rifled musket was a deadly weapon, and using the .58 caliber soft lead ball or conical minnie ball, could inflict an ugly wound."<sup>5</sup> But it was nearly impossible to load and fire from horseback. More often than not Jenkins' men fought dismounted as infantry. Although most of Stuart's cavalry had no peers as horsemen, they were at a disadvantage due to inadequate equipment. "All of the troopers detested the Confederate saddle which was ugly and uncomfortable, but they suffered their greatest handicap in arms. At the best they had pistols, revolvers and sabres to fight Yankees armed with breech-loading carbines."<sup>6</sup> A few Confederate cavalry units had carbines by 1863, but most had to struggle with weapons designed for the infantry, such as Jenkins' Brigade and their new Enfield rifles.<sup>7</sup>

In the following pages I will try to follow Jenkins' Brigade as it rides to Gettysburg and back to Virginia. For a few days in the summer of 1863 Corporal Andrew Sansom of Company E and Private Madison Maston Morrison of Company H, the 16th Regiment

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 224; 667, 668.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 23.    <sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 252.    <sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 259.    <sup>7</sup>Ibid.



Virginia Cavalry, were part of history. The only pictures I have of them were taken in the early 1900s when they were old men with white, flowing beards. Andrew is sitting stiffly erect in front of his log house on Wilson's Creek; M.M., with an uncreased hat square on his head, stands holding the bridle of his favorite mule. Both men are proud looking, as they had every right to be. They had pioneered a hostile land, fought in a great war, and survived to old age. The mule, a cow, and the clothing worn by the women in the one picture show M.M. to be the more prosperous of the two. Mary Ann Sansom wears a wrinkled black dress that very likely had turned green with age and the cabin looks barren indeed, but oh, how I wish I could talk with each of them and hear the marvelous stories they had to tell. Instead, I'll try to tell one story for two of them, impersonally, without the breath of life they could have provided, more a cataloging of where they were during that hot, fateful summer of 1863.

"The anguish of memory is that it dies with the people who remember."

Jayne Kramer

The New Yorker Magazine, May 16, 1983

## CHAPTER I

### Roads To Gettysburg: Northern Virginia

On June 3, Lee set the Army in motion, northward, as part of Longstreet's First Corps left Fredericksburg for Culpeper, Virginia. On June 4, Ewell's Second Corps followed. Hill's Third Corps left on June 14, but Stuart's cavalry did not get Lee's final orders until June 25th, then disappeared for a week.

As it entered the Gettysburg campaign, Lee's cavalry arm was under the command of "the redoubtable, flamboyant Major General J.E.B. Stuart."<sup>1</sup> His brigadiers were Generals Wade Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee, and W.H.F. "Rooney" Lee. "After months of campaigning the division needed reinforcements and certain other improvements to bring its regiments up to strength."<sup>2</sup> "On May 9 Lee requested more cavalry from General Samuel Jones, commander of the Department of Southwestern Virginia, to stop the raiding forces such as those of Union General Stoneman, who had been 'running wild over the State, cutting our railroads, etc., and even going to within sight of Richmond.' Lee did not even hint that he might use them for other purposes, such as an offensive move against the North."<sup>3</sup>

"Soon after Chancellorsville, Lee informed Stuart of his intention to order-in Brigadier General W. E. 'Grumble' Jones' cavalry brigade ... which had been operating in the Shenandoah Valley. Lee directed that Brigadier General A. G. Jenkins' body of cavalry be sent to Staunton (Virginia) or some other convenient place in the region. While these men lacked the training, experience, and discipline of Stuart's troopers, they did contribute substantially to the size of the cavalry and would be whipped into shape, whether under Jenkins' continued leadership Lee was not sure at the time."<sup>4</sup>

In answering Lee's request for aid, Samuel Jones referred to Jenkins as "a bold and gallant soldier ... (but) ... not a good administrative officer." Jones believed him capable of great improvement in this respect, but "unfortunately many of his men are his constituents, and he has been a politician ... and still has aspirations that way."<sup>5</sup>

In early June, Jenkins' Brigade was in the lower Shenandoah Valley, near Berryville. The Brigade consisted of four regiments and three battalions as follows:

8th Virginia Cavalry -	Col. J. M. Corns
14th Virginia Cavalry -	Col. James Cochran

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<sup>1</sup>The Gettysburg Campaign, Edwin Coddington, Morningside Bookshop, 1968, p. 15 (hereafter, Coddington).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.    <sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 603, fn 30.    <sup>4</sup>Ibid.    <sup>5</sup>Ibid.

16th Virginia Cavalry -	Col. M. J. Ferguson
17th Virginia Cavalry -	Lt. Col. W. C. Tavenner
19th Virginia Cavalry -	Col. W. L. Jackson
34th Virginia Cavalry Battalion -	Lt. Col. V. A. Witcher
36th Virginia Cavalry Battalion -	Maj. J. W. Sweeney
37th Virginia Cavalry Battalion -	Lt. Col. A. C. Dunn

There were 1,451 men present for duty; 2,656 men aggregate present and absent.<sup>6</sup>

Sunday, June 7 "During the seventh, Lee met with Generals Jenkins and Imboden and ordered them to prepare the way for the advance of the main Confederate army into the Shenandoah Valley."<sup>7</sup> General Lee gave Jenkins his separate instructions:

"I desire you to have your command ready to be concentrated at Strasburg, or Front Royal, or any point in front of either, by Wednesday, the 10th instant, with a view to cooperate with a force of infantry. Your pickets can be kept in advance as far as you deem best, toward Winchester. See to their arms, ammunition, and equipments, and make arrangements for provisions and forage. Send me all information you have about the position and strength of the enemy at Winchester, Martinsburg, Charlestown, Berryville and any other point where they may be. Keep your horses as fresh as you can and have your whole command prepared for active service."<sup>8</sup>

Lee had chosen Jenkins to command the Brigade. Corporal Sansom and Private Morrison were about "to go in harms way."<sup>9</sup>

Tuesday, June 9 Possibly the greatest cavalry battle in the history of the United States was fought today. "While Stuart had been engaged in dress reviews of his troops, the Union cavalry under General Pleasanton crossed the Rappahannock at Beverly Ford and Kelly's Ford. For hours the troopers of the blue and of the gray fought each other in charge and counter charge. Stuart was barely able to survive. For the first time in this sector of the war, the Union cavalry proved equal to the Confederate horsemen. This gave them and the Army of the Potomac a boost in morale. Stuart lost 523 men, the

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<sup>6</sup> Wildcat Cavalry, A Synoptic History of the Seventeenth Virginia Cavalry Regiment of the Jenkins-McCausland Brigade in the War Between the States; J. H. Dawson; Morning-side Bookshop, Dayton, Ohio; 1982; p. 19 (hereafter, Dawson).

<sup>7</sup> Roads to Gettysburg, J. W. Schildt; McClain Printing, Parsons, West Virginia; 1982, p. 34 (hereafter, Roads To).

<sup>8</sup> Dawson, p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> John Paul Jones in a letter to Le Ray de Chaumont of France, November 1778, explaining his need for a fast ship to harass the British: "For I intend to go in harms way."



North lost 566."<sup>10</sup> As a result of his near humiliation at Brandy Station, Stuart may have tried too hard to renew his reputation on the way to Gettysburg. For whatever reason he would not be there until the battle was two-thirds over. Jenkins' Brigade did not take part in the reviews and was not in the battle at Brandy Station.

Wednesday, June 10 Today "Lee sent Ewell's Second Corps on its way from Culpeper to Cedarville, a little valley town four miles north of Front Royal."<sup>11</sup>

Friday, June 12 "Ewell brought his Corps across the mountains through Chester Gap in the vicinity of Front Royal and Cedarville" where General Jenkins' Brigade joined it.<sup>12</sup> "Lee skillfully maneuvered Ewell's Corps and Jenkins' cavalry so as to escape detection until they appeared before (the Union) defenses at Berryville and Winchester."<sup>13</sup> Ewell divided his command "into two columns; one under General Robert E. Rodes included his big division of about 8,000 men and Jenkins' cavalry, over 1,600 troopers strong."<sup>14</sup> The cavalry was to accompany "Ewell's corps into Pennsylvania and give him assistance as foragers, scouts, and a cavalry screen."<sup>15</sup>

Jenkins' immediate task was to cooperate with Rodes in the attack on Berryville. "Rodes' instructions were to capture (Major General Robert) Milroy's Third Brigade, estimated to be a force of 1,800 men under Colonel McReynolds at Berryville, and then to go on to Martinsburg to seize Colonel B. F. Smith's force of about 1,300 men."<sup>16</sup> According to Ewell's plan, Rodes and Jenkins then were to proceed north to the Potomac River, cross and remain near Williamsport while Jenkins would collect horses, sheep, beef cattle and other items to be sent south for supplies.

Rodes moved closer to Berryville on the afternoon of the 12th, with Jenkins' screening the movement.

Saturday, June 13 "At Berryville Jenkins' Brigade drove in the enemy cavalry, but was held up by the Federal artillery."<sup>17</sup> Before Rodes could move up to attack, McReynolds successfully evacuated Berryville. Rodes sent Jenkins to the west of town in an effort to cut off the retreat of the enemy. Part of the Brigade pursued along the road west of Berryville, part along the Charlestown Road. Jenkins attacked a detachment of cavalry at Bunker Hill, losing several men to the enemy fire, which came from dismounted troopers behind barricades, but capturing 75-100 prisoners.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Roads To, p. 21.    <sup>11</sup>Coddington, p. 73.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 88.    <sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 88.    <sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 90.    <sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 90.    <sup>17</sup>Dawson, p. 20.    <sup>18</sup>Ibid.

McReynolds reached Winchester safely, but his troops would suffer defeat with the rest of Milroy's command the next day when Ewell captured Winchester in a brilliantly executed entrapment.

Sunday, June 14 "Early on June 14, Jenkins was in front of Martinsburg to demand the town's surrender. The demand was declined. Rodes promptly ordered Jenkins to move most of his brigade to the west of town, dismount, move forward as skirmishers and endeavor to take Martinsburg, thus cutting off the enemy's anticipated retreat toward Williamsport.

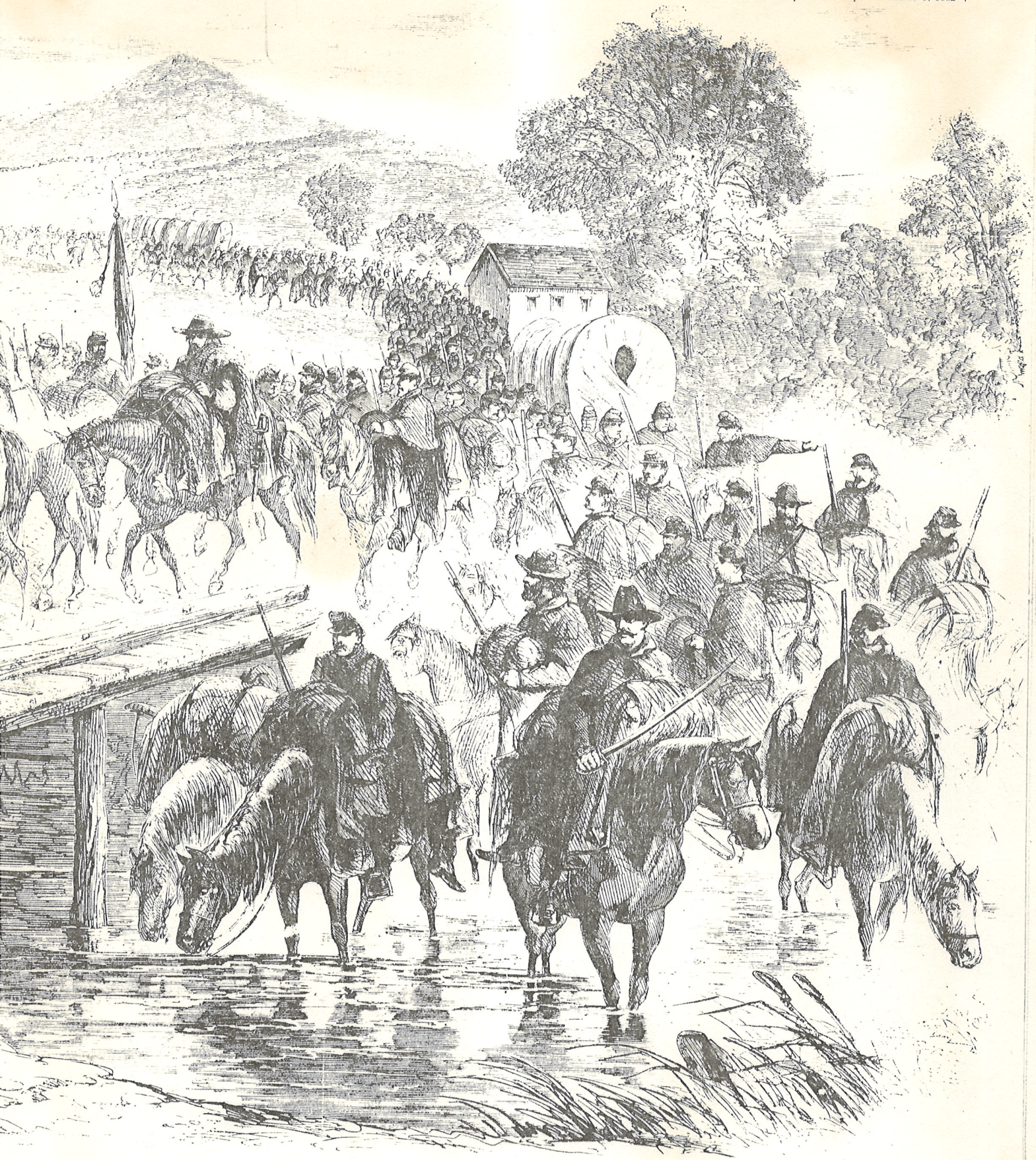
"The Federals soon abandoned Martinsburg. Ramseur's Brigade of infantry chased them northward. Rapid as was Ramseur's pursuit, Jenkins was ahead of him with cavalry dismounted and a squad or two on horseback. After a few shots, the enemy was compelled to abandon all of its artillery. Five of the Federal field pieces were captured, along with their caissons and most of their horses, along with three officers and 65 men. Jenkins continued the pursuit to the Potomac that night, capturing many more prisoners. Rodes reported: 'General Jenkins' gallant brigade, under his impetuous leadership, has already succeeded in crossing the Potomac above Williamsport, and after driving off the small force at that place, has advanced into Pennsylvania.'"<sup>19</sup> But Jenkins had failed to capture either McReynolds or Smith's troops "owing to a combination of circumstances which included the inefficiency of his cavalry, the element of luck, and good generalship on the part of the enemy."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Dawson, pp. 20-21.

<sup>20</sup>Coddington, p. 90.





Stuart's troopers on a raid behind Union lines. Drawing by A. R. Waud shows cavalymen loaded with plunder.



Whereas the people of Maryland appeared happy to see the Confederate cavalry "pandemonium prevailed in Pennsylvania. Roads leading to Harrisburg and other points north were choked with wagons and carts of all kinds. Former slaves, fearful of being carried back to the South, were in full flight. Men and women packed what they could carry or haul and fled. Some farmers were driving their cows, horses and sheep northward. Train stations were jammed ... War was coming home and the folks did not like it. They were terrified."<sup>4</sup>

"The Rebel column was led by thirty-two-year-old Albert G. Jenkins, a graduate of Jefferson College in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, and Harvard University. Despite his youth, he had served two years in the United States Congress prior to the war."<sup>5</sup> He would be dead within a year.

Before Lee's main forces crossed the Potomac, he issued General Order No. 72 for the twofold purpose of prohibiting damage or destruction of private property and authorizing only certain officers to seize it. Although the regulations were designed to prevent lawless confiscation of property, their primary purpose was not a humanitarian one. Lee wanted to make sure that seizure of the region's movable wealth was done efficiently and for the benefit of the whole army. He also knew that wanton and indiscriminate pillaging and destruction of property by individual soldiers would break down discipline and reduce the effectiveness of the army. The army would naturally leave terrible scars. Even though much of it was unintentional, it was bound to damage the area as 75,000 men, 20,000 horses and over a thousand wagons raided for supplies for immediate of future use.<sup>6</sup>

"The Richmond Examiner was upset over Jenkins' easy-going and soft-hearted tactics. The media expected the troopers to make the people of Pennsylvania suffer as the folks in Virginia suffered. The newspaper wanted to see Franklin County burned and devastated. Lee, on moral and psychological grounds, did not follow this method of warfare."<sup>7</sup>

President Lincoln issued a call for 100,000 State Militia to meet the crisis caused by Jenkins' sudden appearance in Pennsylvania.

Tuesday, June 16 Lt. Schuricht reported: "Early in the morning our pickets were attacked by the Federals, but the enemy was repulsed, and we made some prisoners. A railroad bridge and telegraph connections were destroyed by our men. General Jenkins

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<sup>4</sup>Schildt, p. 82.    <sup>5</sup>Ibid.    <sup>6</sup>Coddington, p. 154.

<sup>7</sup>Schildt, Roads To, p. 82.

ordered the storekeepers to open their establishments, and we purchased what we needed, paying in Confederate money. The inhabitants had to provide rations for the troops and we fared very well, but their feelings toward us were very adverse. However, a number of them, belonging to the peace-party, treated us kindly, especially were the Germans in favor of peace. Many inhabitants had fled in haste from the city, but owing to the suddenness of our approach, clothes and household utensils were left scattered in the streets. I was ordered, with part of my company, to move this unprotected property safely into the houses of its probable owners. At nine o'clock at night General Jenkins had his brigade alarmed, to see how the troops would be in readiness for action, and was much pleased with the result."<sup>8</sup>

A citizen of Chambersburg wrote: "Early this morning the Confederates took possession of what is known as Shirk's or Gelsinger's Hill. This is a commanding eminence about four miles north of Chambersburg, and on the road leading to Harrisburg. A line of battle was formed along the brow of this hill by a part of the Confederate force, while detachments were sent out in all directions for the purpose of plundering. General Jenkins and staff, after spending the night under the hospitable roof of Colonel McClure, came early in the day into Chambersburg and established his headquarters at the Montgomery House. One of his first acts was to summon the burgess and town-council to his headquarters,..."

"General Jenkins also issued an order requiring all arms in possession of our citizens, whether public or private, to be brought to the front of the court house within two hours; and in case of disobedience all houses were to be searched, and those in which arms were found should be lawful objects of plunder. The pretext for this humiliating order was that his troops had been fired on by a citizen the night before. Many complied with the requisition, and a considerable number of guns, good, bad, and indifferent, were carried to the appointed place, where a committee of our people were ordered to take down the name of each person who brought a gun. This was to secure the houses of all who complied with the order from the threatened search. Some, of course, did not comply, but enough did to satisfy the enemy, and a general search was avoided. Captain Fitzhugh, Jenkins' chief of staff, an ill-natured man -- the same person who figured so largely in the burning of the town a year afterward -- assorted the guns as they were brought in, retaining those that could be used by their men, and twisting out of shape, or breaking

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<sup>8</sup>Schuricht, p. 340.



over the stone steps of the courthouse, such as were unfit for service."<sup>9</sup> (This event may have occurred on the 17th not the 16h; see following)

"More reprehensible than any destruction of property was the search for Negroes by Jenkins and other semi-independant cavalry commands. Any that were found were seized and sent South into slavery. The Confederates carried on this practice in many sections of the state, but particularly around Mercersburg where they took free Negroes who had been born and raised in Pennsylvania. Jenkins captured 'quite a number' and started them South. Fortunately many escaped..."<sup>10</sup>

Wednesday, June 17 "Early in the morning the citizens were ordered by the general to give up all weapons, and we received about 500 guns of all sorts, sabres, pistols, etc. The useful arms were loaded on wagons and the others were destroyed. About 11 o'clock news reached headquarters of the advance of a strong Yankee force, and consequently we evacuated the city and fell back upon Hagerstown, Md."<sup>11</sup>

From other sources it appears that the main body of the brigade withdrew to Greencastle, Pennsylvania, but as General "Jenkins continued his practice of sending out detachments from his main body to reconnoiter the country side" Lieutenant Schuricht and the 14th Regiment may have gone to Hagerstown."<sup>12</sup>

Jenkins' cavalry was still the only part of Lee's army to have reached Pennsylvania. Robert Rodes was busy in Williamsport, Maryland, receiving the supplies brought in by Jenkins' troopers. The quartermasters and commissaries were able to replenish their depleted supplies. The farmers of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, lost between two thousand and three thousand head of cattle. Some were slaughtered for immediate use of the Confederates, the rest were sent to the rear. The troopers took horses for themselves, but with the exception of some isolated cavalry incidents near Greencastle, the Confederates were well behaved."<sup>13</sup>

In Harrisburg, Washington DC, and much of the North, the panic subsided on the 17th when Jenkins' cavalry left Chambersburg and retired back down the Cumberland Valley.

Thursday, June 18 Lt. Hermann Schuricht was officer of the day for the 14th Regiment with his company on picket duty."<sup>14</sup>

For the next few days Jenkins detached parts of his brigade to raid the countryside

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<sup>9</sup>Schildt, Roads To, p. 105.    <sup>10</sup>Coddington, p. 161.

<sup>11</sup>Schuricht, p. 340.    <sup>12</sup>Dawson, p. 22.    <sup>13</sup>Schildt, Roads To, p. 124.

<sup>14</sup>Schuricht, p. 341.



and the communities of Greencastle, Waynesboro, Welsh Run, and Fairfield. "About two hundred of his men under Colonel M. J. Ferguson went to Mercersburg on their way to Cove Mountain and McConnellsburg. They were a fierce and hard-bitten lot of warriors who rode with pointed pistols and drawn sabres, looking and hoping for trouble. During the week of his operations in this party of Pennsylvania, Jenkins succeeded in taking from farmers large numbers of horses and cattle without compensation ... Taking every road and byway, the Confederates were very adept at ferreting out livestock and horses hidden in obscure corners of the farm or some valley not too deep in the mountains ... The value of the property (Jenkins) took on this extensive raid was estimated to have been between \$100,000 and \$250,000. The direct financial loss in the seizure of valuable horses and stock was compounded by its timing. With the harvest season just days away, farmers deprived of their draft animals faced the ruin of their crops for want of the means to reap them.<sup>15</sup> "Horses seemed to be considered by Jenkins as 'contraband of war, and were taken without the pretence of compensation; but other articles were deemed legitimate subjects of commerce even between enemies, and they were generally paid for after a fashion."<sup>16</sup>

It is probable that Corporal Sansom and Private Morrison were with Ferguson; that they were part of his "fierce and hard-bitten lot of warriors."

About the night of the 18th the rains started that were to plague both armies through much of the campaign. "Copious showers of rain fell that night and the next day, the first rainfall for six weeks."<sup>17</sup>

Friday, June 19 Schuricht noted, "The company was ordered to Waynesborough, Pa., to capture horses and cattle in the neighborhood for our army. A powerful thunder-storm surprised us at night, and we took refuge on a large farm. The proprietor was obliged to furnish us with rations for ourselves and our horses."<sup>18</sup>

On the 19th Rodes' Division started north to join Jenkins in Pennsylvania. The rest of Lee's army was still across the Potomac in Virginia.

Saturday, June 20 At 4:00 a.m. Colonel Ferguson and his troopers from the 16th Regiment arrived in McConnellsburg. "They awakened the shopkeepers who were very

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<sup>15</sup> Coddington, p. 162.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 645, f.n. 28.

<sup>17</sup> Schildt, Roads To, p. 125.

<sup>18</sup> Schuricht, p. 341.

## CHAPTER II

### Road to Gettysburg: In Pennsylvania

Monday, June 15 "Fatigued, but hopeful, and encouraged by the result of our glorious battle of yesterday, at Martinsburg, Virginia, we were called by the sound of the bugle to mount horses. As early as 2 o'clock in the morning we advanced towards the Potomac. We reconnoitered first to 'Dam No. 5.' and returning to the road to Williamsport, Maryland, we rapidly moved to the river. Forging the Potomac, we took possession of Williamsport, and were received by the kindly inhabitants. Tables, with plenty of milk, bread, and meat, had been spread in the street, and we took a hasty breakfast. Soon after this we rode towards Hagerstown, Maryland, where we arrived at noon, and were enthusiastically welcomed by the ladies. They made us presents of flowers, and the children shouted, 'Hurrah for Jess Davis!' The ladies entreated us not to advance into Pennsylvania, where we would be attacked by superior forces. However, we sped on, and when we came in sight of Greencastle, Pennsylvania, General Jenkins divided his brigade in two forces. My company belonged to the troops forming the right wing, and pistols and muskets in hand, traversing ditches and fences, we charged and took the town. The Federal cavalry escaped, and only one lieutenant was captured. After destroying the railroad depot, and cutting the telegraph wires, the brigade took up its advance to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. No other Confederate cavalry force seems to co-operate with our brigade, numbering 3,200 officers and men. Our vanguard skirmishes with the retreating enemy. On the road we found several partly burned wagons, which they had destroyed; and at 11 o'clock at night, we entered the city of Chambersburg, and on its eastern outskirts we went into camp."<sup>1</sup>

Lieutenant Schuricht overestimated the size of Jenkins' Brigade. "The 19th Virginia Cavalry was assigned to ride with General Imboden's Brigade, as was the 37th Battalion. The 8th Virginia Cavalry, which had been commanded by Jenkins during the 1861 and 1862 campaigns in western Virginia did not move down the Valley with the rest of the command."<sup>2</sup> When Jenkins crossed the Potomac he had with him the 14th, 16th, and 17th, Virginia Cavalry Regiments, and the 34th and 36th Battalions.

In the action at Williamsport the 17th had their first casualty of the war when one trooper was wounded.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Jenkins' Brigade in the Gettysburg Campaign, Extracts from the Diary of Lieutenant Hermann Schuricht, of the Fourteenth Virginia Cavalry; In Southern Historical Papers, vol. XXIV, Richmond, Virginia, 1896 (hereafter, Schuricht).

<sup>2</sup>Dawson, p. 21.    <sup>3</sup>Ibid.



much surprised. The stores were opened and the Rebels helped themselves to shoes, hats, medicine, food and hardware. The troopers rounded up twelve thousand dollars worth of cattle, 120 horses and several black boys. Although the reception was cool, a few young ladies presented flowers to the men in gray.

"Returning to Greencastle, Ferguson's men charged into Mercersburg. They expected to meet some resistance, but there was none. Colonel Ferguson stopped at the home of Dr. Philip Schaff, a noted theologian. The two men had a long discussion. Before departing, the Rebel officer expressed the desire that when they met again it would be in peace."<sup>19</sup>

"Nathaniel Edward Harris was governor of Georgia after the Civil War, but in '63 he was a member of the 16th Virginia Cavalry, Jenkins' brigade... Trooper Harris was fond of his regimental commander, Colonel Ferguson. He was noble and brave," but "the commander had a bad habit of getting hit in just about every engagement." Harris tells us what it was like traveling through the Cumberland Valley in June and July of that year.

"I learned the pangs of hunger for I could not eat the bread and apple butter that constituted the larger part of our ration. Every family in Southern Pennsylvania seemed to own a large bakery and kept a supply of apple butter on hand.

"We slept along the fence corners or in open fields, if we got any sleep at all. There was a ceaseless call on all the energies of every soldier. When our horses would give way in forced marches, we would swap them for horses belonging to the citizens. We found these Pennsylvania draft horses of Percheron-Norman breed to be almost worthless for the cavalry. They could not stand the exposure, and the marches on the pikes soon put them out of the running."<sup>20</sup>

Sunday, June 21 This Sunday morning Jenkins' troops were patrolling the area between Hagerstown and Greencastle. "By 10:00 a.m. Jenkins was a little south of Greencastle. He sent Captain J. A. Wilson with Company I of the Fourteenth Virginia Cavalry on ahead. Captain Wilson was told 'that if he met any Yankees he was to simulate panic and thus draw the enemy in a headlong pursuit.' The main body of the brigade would be waiting in ambush."

"Jenkins rode through Greencastle. A mile north of town they came to the William Fleming house. Down the road was a blacksmith shop. Two Union soldiers, who were having their horses' shoes tightened, ran out and were quickly taken prisoner. Jenkins saw

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 155-56.

<sup>20</sup> Schildt, Roads To, pp. 156-57.

Union cavalry on a wooded hill nearby. He moved quickly to put the plans for an ambush into action. The rest of his force had dismounted and was hidden by the wheat. Rodes was advancing with his infantry, who were tearing down fences on both sides of the road so they could advance unhindered. The Confederates were prepared to commit almost 8,000 troops to the conflict. Their opposition turned out to be thirty-five Union cavalry." Jenkins had been told a tall tale by D. K. Appenzellar, one of the local farmers, who had assured Jenkins that General George B. McClellan was marching south with forty thousand men. Union newspapers of the day supported the story, but the Confederates were overly cautious. Nevertheless, Corporal William H. Rihl became the first Union soldier killed in Pennsylvania during this campaign. The rest of the Union troopers withdrew from their nearly disastrous engagement.<sup>21</sup>

Monday, June 22 "Lee accelerated the movement of his army northward. Earlier that day he had given Ewell instructions to march with two of his divisions and Jenkins' cavalry toward the Susquehanna River by several routes: one through Emmitsburg, another by way of Chambersburg, and the last through McConnelsburg. ... If Harrisburg should come within his 'means,' he was directed to capture it."<sup>22</sup>

"The 14th Virginia Cavalry Regiment readvanced towards Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, but Co. D in charge of Captain Moorman, and Major Bryan of Rhodes (sic) Division, was detailed to proceed to the South Mountain to capture horses, of which about 2,000 had been taken there by farmers and industrial establishments to hiding places."<sup>23</sup>

"On June 22, Robert E. Lee addressed to Ewell a letter of instruction which gave evidence that the army commander was uncertain about the discipline and effectiveness of Jenkins' Brigade. The letter read in part: 'You must get command of your cavalry, and use it in gathering 'supplies, obtaining information, and protecting your flanks. If necessary, send a staff officer to remain with General Jenkins.'"<sup>24</sup>

On that date, the brigade was back in Chambersburg. That same day Col. French and the 17th Cavalry (along with Lt. Col. E. V. White's 35th Battalion from "Grumble" Jones' Brigade) were detached and assigned to escort General Jubal Early's Division of the Second Corps in a movement east over South Mountain toward York, Pennsylvania. There has been speculation over the years that it was hoped Early would be joined by J.E.B. Stuart's cavalry at York for a move on Harrisburg.<sup>25</sup> If that was contemplated, it never

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<sup>21</sup>Schildt, Roads To, pp. 174-175.

<sup>22</sup>Coddington, p. 106.

<sup>23</sup>Schuricht, p. 341. <sup>24</sup>Dawson, p. 22.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.



materialized because Stuart did not find Lee's army until it was too late for him to be of much help at Gettysburg.

With the departure of the 17th Regiment, Jenkins' Brigade was reduced to the 14th and 16th Regiments and the 34th and 36th Battalions.

On the 22nd Rodes' infantry moved north to join Jenkins and the real invasion of Pennsylvania was in motion.

Tuesday, June 23 "Jenkins' cavalry returned to Chambersburg one day ahead of Rodes' division. Jenkins' chief of staff, Captain Fitzhugh, promptly ordered the townspeople to furnish large amounts of provision for the brigade which were to be brought to the courthouse by a specified time. Should they refuse, he would institute a general search of the houses for food." It was a difficult order because "those who stayed behind had sent away large quantities of goods after Jenkins' first visit to Chambersburg on June 17 ... Nevertheless the Confederates did obtain large amount of goods they needed, which they paid for in their own money."<sup>26</sup>

Wednesday, June 24 "About 9:00 a.m. the sound of music was heard on South Main Street in Chambersburg ..., it was the band belonging to Robert Rodes' division of Confederate infantry. As the long gray column reached the hill at the Reformed church, the band struck up the music of 'The Bonnie Blue Flag.'"<sup>27</sup>

"The uniforms were wrinkled and so full of dust that it was hard to distinguish between the Confederate gray and the butternut uniforms. Some were shoeless. Others had shoes that were falling apart. The hot June sun had given them all good tans."

"Part of the column marched through Chambersburg and posted a strong position north of town. Jenkins and his cavalry unit was assigned to guard the approaches from Harrisburg."<sup>28</sup>

June 24, 25, and 26 were important days for both the Army of Northern Virginia and the Army of the Potomac: both armies crossed the Potomac from Virginia into Maryland. On the 24th, Longstreet's First Corps started crossing at Williamsport. About 12 miles downriver (as the crow flies), at Shepherdstown, A.P. Hill started the Third Corps across the river. About 25 farther downriver, Hooker prepared the Union army for a crossing at Edwards Ferry. Jeb Stuart would not get his much needed cavalry across the river until the night of June 27-28, at Rowsers Ford, about 10 miles downstream from the Union crossing.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Coddington, pp. 163-164.      <sup>27</sup> Schildt, p. 182.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.      <sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

The absent 17th Regiment rejoined Jenkins' Brigade at Chambersburg on the 24th.

Thursday, June 25 Lieutenant Schuricht recorded in his diary, "Captain Moorman reporting sick, I took command of the company, and was ordered to Shippensburg. We camped several miles beyond this place, on the direction of Carlisle. We had several encounters with the enemy."<sup>30</sup> Most of Jenkins' Brigade was at Shippensburg.

Today (the 25th) the Confederate First and Third Corps completed their crossing of the Potomac. "For the Union army the crossing of the Potomac would go down in history as the greatest river crossing in the history of the American Continent. Never before, and never since, has such a large body of men and equipment crossed a major river on the way to combat like the Army of the Potomac did at Edward's Ferry."<sup>31</sup>

By the end of the 25th, most of Lee's Army was across the Potomac and threatening an advance on Harrisburg, but Hooker's army was in position to defend Washington and Baltimore. As the Confederate corps moved through the Maryland countryside, the bands played "Maryland, My Maryland" and the men sang "All Quite Along the Potomac Tonight." They were in enemy territory, but scarcely a shot had been fired.<sup>32</sup>

Friday, June 26 "Today it was 'on to Chambersburg' for the men in gray. Hagerstown, Greencastle, Marion and Chambersburg witnessed the marching of the Army of Northern Virginia. Hood's Texans crossed the River today. So did Hooker: "From the rain-soaked banks of the Potomac, the men in blue continued to cross and move northward into Maryland, heading for a rendezvous in Frederick."<sup>33</sup>

With the approach of Hill's Third Corps, Ewell was now free to leave Chambersburg and head north.

Saturday, June 27 Early Saturday morning in Carlisle there were warnings that the Rebels were near at hand. "But no one believed the report. They had experienced too many false alarms in the last few days. The folks were unwilling to listen to the 'cry of wolf.' The morning passed and still no sign of Rebels. No one believed the Rebels were close until they were within a quarter mile of town. Captain Boyd's cavalry fell back and brought the unwelcome news. But this time there was no alarm."<sup>34</sup>

Lieutenant Schuricht recorded: "The entire brigade moved on to Carlisle, and after some skirmishing with Pennsylvania militia on horse we passed the obstructions and fortifications, and occupied the city at 10 o'clock. About 3 o'clock General Ewell's Corps

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<sup>30</sup>Schuricht, p. 342.    <sup>31</sup>Schildt, p. 180.    <sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 216.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 223.    <sup>34</sup>Schildt, Roads To, p. 262.



arrived. We advanced toward Mechanicsburg, Pa., and camped during the night about five miles distant from the town. Our pickets were attacked several times."<sup>35</sup>

"When the Rebels reached Carlisle Col. William N. Penrose and Robert Allison, assistant burgess, went out to meet the advancing Rebels. Colonel Preston stated there were no troops in town and no resistance would be offered. He begged the men in gray not to charge through the streets because it would only hurt innocent women and children. General Jenkins said he did not want trouble and preferred to enter town as quietly as possible. 'Accordingly about eleven o'clock Saturday morning, the rebel advance entered the town from the west end of Main Street. Their horses were at a walk and the general conduct of the soldiers good. They were about four hundred in number, mounted infantry ... They passed down Main Street to the juncture of the Trindle Spring and Dillsburg roads, where a portion of them filed to the left and proceeded to the Garrison. The remainder dismounted for a few minutes, when they again took their saddles, returned to town, and stopped in the public square.'"<sup>36</sup>

"... 'They were a grim looking set of men in their thirties and forties, and they and their horses were covered with dust. These troops carried their carbines in hand, the stocks resting on their legs in readiness if anyone fired on them.' Another detachment followed and went toward Harrisburg."<sup>37</sup>

Jenkins had ridden all over the Cumberland Valley since June 16. "Now he asked for Borough authorities. Chief Burgess Andrew Ziegler, Esq., and several members of the town council came to talk with the cavalry leader. He demanded fifteen hundred rations to be furnished within the hour and deposited in the Market House ... Jenkins said that unless his demands were met his men would help themselves. 'In less than an hour the stalls of the market 'house were piled with all kinds of eatables ... Their horses were picketed along the pavements faring equally well with their masters... After dinner rebels rode up and down different streets ... and conducted themselves, generally speaking, with decorum.'"<sup>38</sup>

At five o'clock the sound of music announced the arrival of Ewell's Second Corps, the band playing "Dixie" as the men in gray marched through the streets.

"Orders were given to General Jenkins to proceed to the Susquehanna River and scout the approaches and defences of Harrisburg. Jenkins was accompanied by Ewell's chief engineer, H. B. Richardson."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Schuricht, p. 342.    <sup>36</sup>Schildt, Roads To, p. 263.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.    <sup>38</sup>Ibid.    <sup>39</sup>Ibid.





THE INVASION OF PENNSYLVANIA—WORKING ON THE FORTIFICATIONS NEAR HARRISBURG, PA., JUNE 16TH, 1863.

Our artist gives a view of the citizens of Harrisburg laboring on the fortifications of that city, showing the tardy but ineffective preparation  
Meanwhile the New York regiments, all accustomed to military drill and evolution, some already tried by actual service, were hurrying to the  
action; and on these men, till the War Department could assign regulars or volunteers, depended the safety of Pennsylvania.



Today General Lee crossed the Mason and Dixon Line into Pennsylvania.

Sunday, June 28 At three o'clock in the morning of the 28th a courier arrived at Major General George Meade's tent and handed Meade an order from the President. Meade was now the commanding officer of the Army of the Potomac. Hooker was out. One of Meade's first acts was to jump three brilliant young captains to the rank of brigadier general. One of these was George A. Custer, 23 years old, 5th U.S. Cavalry.

Lieutenant Schuricht writes: "After some skirmishing with the Federal cavalry we occupied Mechanicsburg, and upon requisition were treated by the citizens to a delicious dinner. Probably the frightened people gave to us the meals prepared for their own table. Thus, greatly gratified and reinvigorated, we advanced towards the Susquehanna River, and about four miles from Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, we took position on a dominating hill. Jackson's Battery, belonging to our brigade, came up, and the artillery fire with the enemy ensued, lasting until nightfall. General Jenkins took position on Silver Springs turnpike, a road parallel to the Carlisle-Harrisburg turnpike, and I was ordered with my company to select a place of concealment east of Mechanicsburg, in order to protect our connection with Carlisle."<sup>40</sup>

Monday, June 29 A correspondent of the Richmond Enquirer travelled with Jenkins. His report for events of the 28th and 29th follow:

General Jenkins' Brigade  
Near Harrisburg, Pa., June 30, 1863

"Messrs. Editors — Our last communication was dated Carlisle, Pa., June 27th. That day General Rhodes (sic) command came up, and General Jenkins' Brigade passed three miles beyond and encamped for the night."

"The next morning (28th) we entered and occupied Mechanicsburg, seven miles distant from Harrisburg. In the evening we advanced and harassed their pickets a few hours, and then fell back a mile or two and encamped. Next morning (29th) we advanced again, and kept up lively picket skirmishing all day."

"The Baltimore battery played upon the enemy's outposts occasionally on two roads. In the afternoon Jackson's Battery — which belongs to General Jenkins' Brigade — came up, and was placed in position on the left. It worked admirably, and, covered by it, Lieutenant Colonel Witcher, with his brave men (34th Va. Cav. Battalion), charged and took the enemy's outpost. At the same time, General Jenkins, with Captain Moorman's Company (17th Va. Cav.), under command of Lieutenant Schuricht, acting as his escort,

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<sup>40</sup>Schuricht, p. 343.

made a reconnoissance on the right, and obtained a pretty fair view of the enemy's position, fortifications and probable strength, and again fell back and encamped on the same ground of the previous night.

"This must be regarded as very daring for such a small force to hold in check a large army, sent for the defence of the capital, so long."

"The contemplated move of the present day is not known to the writer. The boys are faring sumptuously every day. This is a land of plenty, and the citizens express a willingness for them to avail themselves of their hospitalities for self-protection. More anon. W.K."<sup>41</sup>

Lee learned from a spy that Hooker had crossed the Potomac, probably on the 28th. He sent Ewell an order to return immediately to Chambersburg, reconsidered the effect of having his entire army in one spot, and sent a second order sending Ewell to Heidlersburg.

But "the 2,000 or so troopers assigned to Ewell — most of them belonging to Jenkins' Brigade — were not serving as well as they might have done. Instead of protecting Ewell's van and flanks, they were lagging behind. It has been suggested that perhaps Ewell wanted them to protect the rear of his column, to bring up stragglers, guard wagons, and discourage only venturesome Federal forces from harassing his rear."<sup>42</sup>

"On June 29 Ewell ordered Jenkins to leave the vicinity of Harrisburg. There are indications that Jenkins was slow in bringing his command together for its move to Heidlersburg."<sup>43</sup> However, "Richard Ewell was angry and testy" (at Lee's orders to leave Harrisburg). "It seemed as though he was almost in a daze when he was ordered back from Carlisle. He wanted to assault Harrisburg. In his confusion, he forgot to recall Jenkins and the cavalry. He had to return to the maps and issue new orders."<sup>44</sup>

"Ewell's response to Lee's directives was prompt and efficient. In one day he brought together two of his divisions which were miles apart, without a hitch."<sup>45</sup>

Tuesday, June 30 "One of Jenkins' cavalry companies and half a section of his artillery battery wasted all of June 30 in Mechanicsburg carrying out what had become nonessential tasks. At sunset a courier ordered them back to Carlisle. From there the entire command marched to Petersburg, reaching it about 2:00 a.m. The men and horses got little rest that night, for the jittery general, expecting an enemy attack, kept the troopers under arms and their mounts saddled."<sup>46</sup>

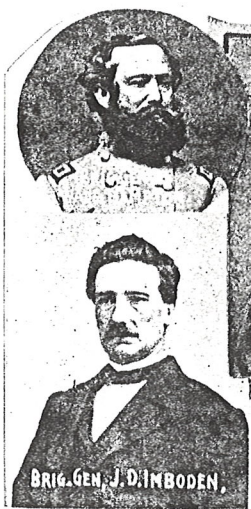
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<sup>41</sup>Southern Historical Society Papers, VXXIV, Richmond, Va., 1896, p. 350.

<sup>42</sup>Dawson, p. 23.    <sup>43</sup>Ibid.    <sup>44</sup>Schildt, Roads To, pp. 394-397.

<sup>45</sup>Coddington, p. 191.    <sup>46</sup>Coddington, p. 191.





LIEUT. GEN. J. E. B. STUART,  
CAVALRY CORPS, C.S.A.