

The Delta General



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. The Seven Days Battles—July 1862

. Did Blacks Own Slaves?



Camp Website: www.humphreys1625.com

July 2022, Volume 25, Issue 7

Dedicated to the Memory of Brig/ General Benjamin G. Humphreys

Commander's Comments — Larry McCluney

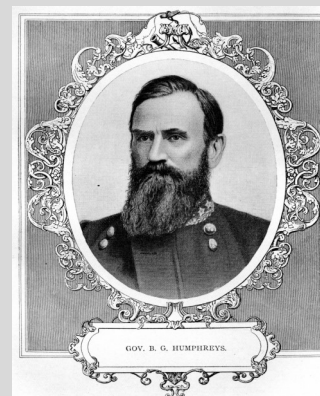
Compatriots,

Welcome to the July edition of the Delta General. I hope you will enjoy this month's issue. The National Reunion is ahead of us as we prepare to elect a new Commander-in-Chief. Thus, at our July 9, and I hope everyone will make all efforts to attend, we will be selecting delegates for the National Reunion, and voting on amendments that will affect the National Constitution. Please be referring to your SCV Magazine for discussion in July. Our July program will be the Forrest Homecoming Video that was released in May.

In this issue of the Delta General, you will highlight the Seven Days Battles, info on National Reunion, and a look around the state as well.

As I come to the end of my term as Commander-in-Chief, it seems that I have an event every weekend between now and the end of my term. I will be on the road traveling a lot leading up to the National Reunion carrying out the business of the organization trying to finish things up. Its hard to believe two years is almost over but I am looking forward to going back into the ranks and sitting with my brothers as Past Commander-in-Chief on the GEC for the next 6 years.

Please bring a friend or potential recruit at our to our July 9 meeting as we gather to carryout our Camp's business and remember our Confederate ancestors. We hope to see you there.



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Camp Adjutant's Report — Dan McCaskill - June, 2022

Due to the Mississippi Division Reunion in Columbus, MS there was no June Camp Meeting. However, there are a few things members should be aware of. First, as all should know by now the Dues Season is upon us. Please don't throw your notice on the desk and forget about it and let the Dues Deadline cost you extra money. The National and Division combined re-instatement fees is \$10 or a 18% increase in dues. Pay as soon as you can and save 10 bucks. As of June 29, 17 members have paid. Second, the Division is currently compiling a list of Division Members who are U.S. Veterans or currently on active duty to be published in the Jeff Davis Legion in time for Veterans. This one small way to thank each for their service. A form will be sent out soon for this purpose but if you would like to send me your information now you are more than welcome to do so. Six members have already done so. Information needed but not limited to is Name, Rank, Duty, Unit and Branch of Service, Date of Enlistment & Discharge and Awards (optional). Send whatever is important to you. (See page 4 for this form to fill out) Third, an upcoming event worthy of putting on your calendar is the re-dedication of the Confederate Monument in Columbus, MS that was moved to the east Confederate Section in Friendship Cemetery. The dedication is tentatively set for Saturday, November 12, 2022 at 11:00 am. Confirmation and additional information will be sent forth as I receive it. Finally, we will have a Camp Meeting at the 1st Presbyterian Church at 6:00 pm Saturday July 9 th. Our program for the evening will be the viewing of Part 1 of "The Forrest Homecoming" beginning in Memphis and concluding at Elm Springs, Columbia, TN.

Guardians needed

Everyone knows the atmosphere in this country where it comes to anything Confederate. Last summer we saw how vulnerable our Memorials were to the rioters. Sadly, it has spread to the cemeteries the place where the left wants all the Memorials moved. In the past few weeks, the Sleeping Lion Memorial to the Confederate dead in Oakwood Cemetery in Atlanta, GA has been removed. Our Confederate Dead and our Memorials are at risk to removal and vandalism. This why we need Guardians to watch over our Memorials and burial sites of our Confederate Dead. Most of our members live in Counties with Confederate Memorial Monuments and all live near a cemetery where Confederate Dead are buried. The Mississippi Division has the MS Division Guardian Program for burial sites where a person adopts a burial site or several sites and watches over the site ensuring it is properly cared for. The Division now has the MS Division Monument Guardian Program. With this program, a person signs up to keep watch on a Memorial. There is a contact person to report any vandalism and/or threats of removal. If anyone is interested in either or both of these programs, please contact me by either email: danmccas@tecinfo.net or cell phone: 662-822-1096. One or two people cannot be everywhere. It takes a group effort. This is one way you can live The Charge given to the Sons by Gen. Stephen D. Lee.

Every Monday Night on Facebook at 7:00 PM Central time
and on Thursday Nights at
7:00 PM for Look Around the
Confederation



SCV_CHAT
RECLAIMING THE NARRATIVE
ONE WEEK AT A TIME

Chaplain's Corner — Earl McCown

I Corinthians 15:55-58, *O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?* ⁵⁶ *The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law.* ⁵⁷ *But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.* ⁵⁸ *"Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord."*
I Corinthians 15:58.

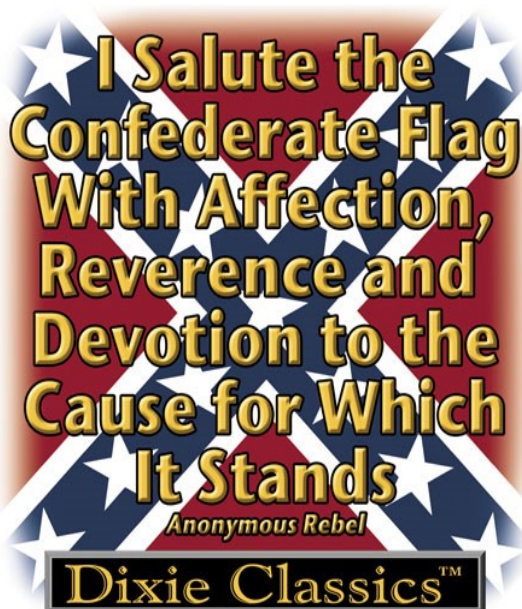


When America is at war, emotions fluctuate according to battles won or lost. Usually, many battles must be fought before victory can be declared. Christ's victory over sin and death was won in a single battle.

In today's passage, Paul addressed the persistent question of death. His words focused on the victory of the risen Christ. The apostle was a personal witness to Christ's resurrection. Also, a varied group of others experienced the risen Christ.

Today's key verse follows the victory announcement of verse 57. Paul offered encouragement and specific expectations for God's people prior to the time of their deaths. He challenged believers to bear firm convictions, expand their ministries (abound), and expect their efforts to make a difference in the sight of God.

Just as God's Word never returns to Him void, your good deeds done in His name will never be in vain.



THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATE MUSEUM AT ELM SPRINGS

The truth about the South's struggle to form a new nation is under attack as never before. The National Battlefield Parks have been taken over by the "it's all about slavery" provocateurs. Museums have changed their collections and interpretations to present what they call the cultural history of the War for Southern Independence. In reality this new perspective is nothing more than South bashing. The forces of political correctness have gone into high gear. They attempt to ban any and all things Confederate through their ideological fascism.

There needs to be at least one place where the people of the South and others can go to learn an accurate account of why so many struggled so long in their attempt to reassert government by the consent of the governed in America!

The General Executive Council of the Sons of Confederate Veterans made the commitment in October of 2008 to start the process to erect a new building that will have two purposes. One of the uses of this new building will be to give us office space and return Elm Springs to its original grandeur. However the main function is to house The Confederate Museum. We are planning a museum that will tell the truth about what motivated the Southern people to struggle for many years to form a new nation. At the SCV Reunion in July of 2009 the GEC set up a building fund for this purpose. One of the goals is to provide an accurate portrayal of the common Confederate soldier, something that is currently absent in most museums and in the media.

These plans have now become a reality. The ground breaking has taken place and the museum is now open.

Take this journey with us and support the museum as a donor or join the Friends of the Museum today!

Send Donations to:
Sons of Confederate Veterans
Attn: National Confederate Museum
P.O. Box 59
Columbia, TN 38402

Or you can call 1-800-MY-DIXIE to pay by credit card.

www.theconfederatemuseum.com

Mississippi Division SCV
U S Veterans

Name: _____

Rank: _____ Branch of Service: _____

Unit: _____ Command: _____

Enlistment Date: _____ Discharge Date: _____

Optional, Awards: _____

Active Duty: Yes No

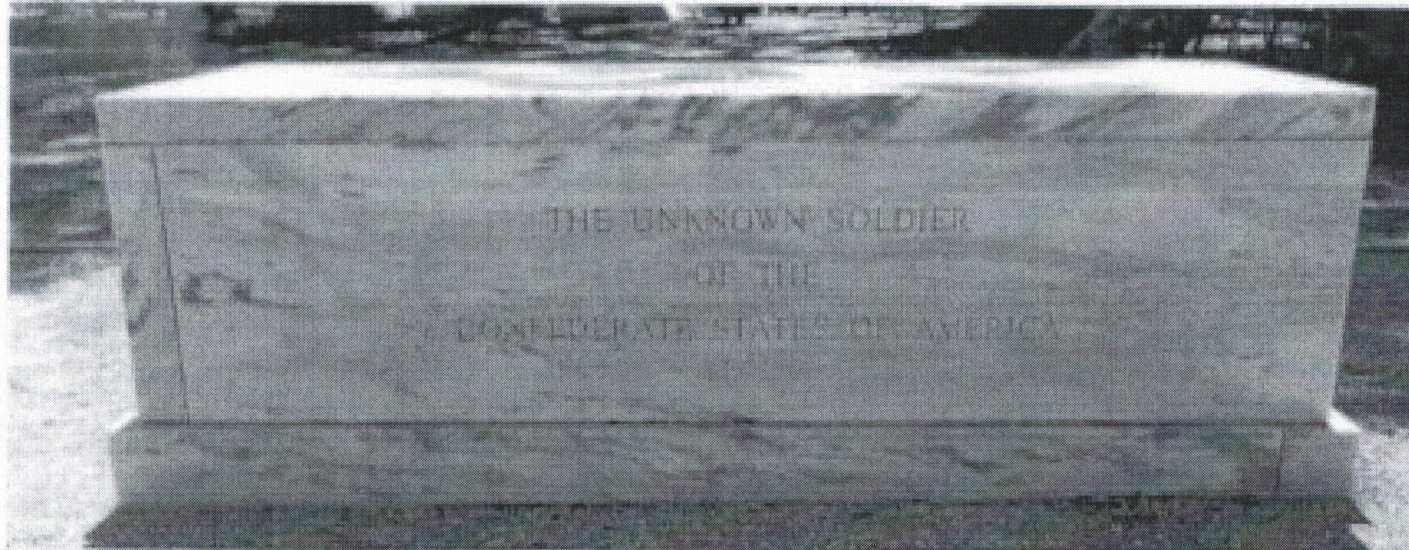
Additional Information: _____

Camp Name and No.: _____

Mail to your Camp Adjutant or
Jeff Barnes at 2067 Wicker Mill Road
Pulaski, MS 39152

Bricks for Beauvoir and the Tomb of the Unknown Solider

Honor your confederate Ancestors by purchasing an Ancestral Memorial Brick for \$50.00 each in the Memorial sidewalk of the Confederate Cemetery at Beauvoir. The plans for the sidewalk are nearing completion, so if you want a brick put down for your ancestor you need to get your order in soon, so as not to miss out.



Each brick that you purchase will be engraved with your ancestors rank, name, unit and company. Memorial bricks will be laid, memorializing your ancestor, in a sidewalk from the UDC Arch to the Tomb of the Unknown Confederate Solider at Beauvoir.

Detach and send in the form below to the address listed to order your bricks.

Ancestral Brick Order Form

Instructions: Use the lines as laid out no more than 15 spaces per line. You may use abbreviations when necessary. Please include your name and address, for confirmation letter. (See Sample Below)

Line 1: _____

(First and Last Name)

Line 2: _____

(Rank)

Line 3: _____

(Unit)

ORDER YOUR ANCESTOR'S BRICK TODAY!

Make Checks out for \$50.00 per brick for:

Bricks for Beauvoir

Mail to: Bricks for Beauvoir

2244 Beach Blvd

Biloxi, MS. 39531

OR

Visit our gift shop where you
can pay by cash or credit!

Example:

Pvt. JAMES W.

McCluney

6th MS CAV, CO. F



GEORGIA 2022



SONS OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS

127th National Annual Reunion



The Atlanta Campaign Battlefield Tour Reunion July 19 to 23, 2022

Clarence Brown Conference Center
Cartersville, Georgia

Hosted by: William J. Hardee Camp #1397
and Kennesaw Battlefield Camp #700

THREE DAYS OF BATTLEFIELD TOURS FOLLOWING THE 1864 ATLANTA CAMPAIGN WITH SOME OF THE MOST INTACT TRENCHES AND FORTIFICATIONS IN THE COUNTRY. FOURTH DAY CLIMAX SEE THE 1886 CYCLORAMA THE BATTLE OF ATLANTA.

July 20, Battlefield Tour of Chickamauga.



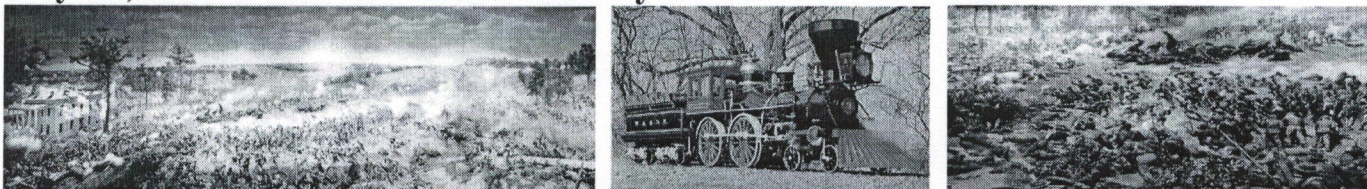
July 21, Battlefield Tour of Ringgold Gap, Resaca & Dalton.



July 22, Battlefield Tour of Kennesaw Mountain & Cheatham Hill.



July 23, Personal Tour of the 1886 Cyclorama of the Battle of Atlanta.





Sons of Confederate Veterans

127th National Annual Reunion, July 2022

Official Registration Form

Cartersville, Georgia * July 19 - 23, 2022 *

www.2022reunion.gascv.org

NAME (Print): _____

SCV CAMP NAME & NUMBER: _____

TITLE/POSITION: _____

PERSONAL ADDRESS: _____ Zip _____

PHONE: _____ EMAIL: _____

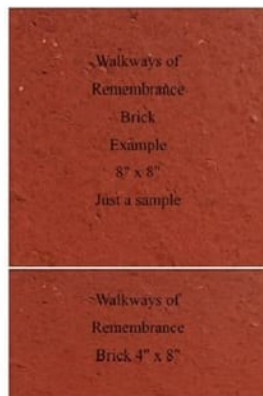
~ Tickets Purchased ~

Event / Date	Price	Qty.	Total
Reunion Registration (After July 1, 2022 = \$75) includes Reunion Medal	\$65		
Chickamauga Dinner & Presentation at the Clearance Brown Conference Center Tuesday, July 19, 2022 @ 6:00 pm	\$50		
Chickamauga Battlefield Tour (lunch included) / Wednesday, July 20, 2022 @ 10:00 am	\$68		
UDC Tour - "A Southern Tea Outing" Historic Woodstock / Wednesday, July 20, 2022 @ 1:00 pm	\$65		
Resaca Dinner & Presentation at the Booth WBTS / Cowboy Museum. (Admission included) / Wednesday, July 20, 2022 @ 6:30 pm	\$55		
UDC Tour- "A Day in 1850 Cartersville" / Thursday, July 21, 2022 @ 9:30 am.	\$35		
Battlefield Tours of Resaca, Ringgold Gap, & Dalton (lunch included) Thursday, July 21, @12:15 pm.	\$68		
SCV Heritage Luncheon / Thursday, July 21, 2022 @ 12:30 pm	\$40		
Kennesaw Mountain Dinner & Presentation at the Savoy Antique Automobile Museum. (Admission included) / Thursday, July 21, 2022 @ 6:30 pm	\$55		
Prayer Breakfast / Friday, July 22, 2022 @ 7:00 am	\$30		
Battlefield Tours of Kennesaw Mountain, Cheatham Hill & Marietta Confederate Cemetery (lunch included) / Friday, July 22, 2022 @ 12:15 pm	\$68		
SCV Awards Luncheon / Friday, July 22, 2022 @ 12:30 pm	\$40		
UDC Tour - "Gone with the Wind Tour" / Friday, July 22, 2022 @ 1:00 pm	\$45		
Mechanized Cavalry Breakfast / Saturday, July 23, 2022 @ 7:00 am	\$30		
Personalized Tour of the Cyclorama of the Battle of Atlanta and Atlanta History Center Museum. (Admission & Chick-fil-A lunch included)/Saturday, July 23, 2022 @ 12:30 pm	\$68		
SCV Banquet, Debutante Ceremony & Grand Ball / Saturday, July 23, 2022 @ 7:00 p.m. Note: Dress/Attire is Coat & Tie or Period Uniform/Civilian	\$70		
Honor your Confederate Ancestor by including his name in a special Remembrance section of the official program book; two lines of 45 characters. Write on back of this form.	\$10		
Final Total - total of Registration, Tours and Meals			

Make Checks Payable to: Georgia Division, SCV

Mail Form & Check to: Georgia Division, SCV, P.O. Box 1081, Macon Ga. 31202

For more information contact Secretary@gascv.org or (478) 305-7862



Walkways of Remembrance
Bricks and Pavers For the Walkways for the
General Headquarters for the Sons of Confederate Veterans at Elm Springs
and the
Confederate Museum at Elm Springs

Remember and honor your Confederate Ancestor, a family member or any cherished memory with the purchase of a Memorial Brick to be laid for a walkways at the General Headquarters for the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the Confederate Museum at Elm Springs.

Brick sizes:

The 4" x 8" brick will allow 3 lines with 21 characters (including spaces) per line and will cost \$50.

The 8" by 8" brick will allow 6 lines with 21 characters (including spaces) per line and will cost \$100.

Layout for 4" x 8" brick with 3 lines max and 21 characters per line max (including spaces) \$50

Layout for 8" x 8" brick with 6 lines max and 21 characters per line max (including spaces) \$100

Make checks payable to SCV and write "Bricks" in the memo line. Please fill out this form and mail to:
SCV, P.O. Box 59, Columbia, TN 38402
Credit card payments are available by calling 1-800-MYSOUTH and contacting Merchandising.

Please include all your contact information so we can contact you.

Name: _____
Address/City/State/Zip: _____
Phone number: _____
Email address: _____



Friends of The Confederate Museum at Elm Springs Annual Membership Application

All memberships are tax-deductible and include the E-Newsletter.

_____ Yes, I want to join the Friends of The Confederate Museum at Elm Springs

_____ Is this a Corporate Membership?

Name: _____

Address: _____

City/State/Zip: _____

Phone: _____

Email address: _____

Membership Levels & Benefits

Longstreet Level: \$25

- Membership for one
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs

Judah P. Benjamin Level: \$50

- Family Membership
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs

Patrick Cleburne Level: \$100

- Family Membership
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs
- 10% Gift Shop Discount

N. B. Forrest Level: \$250

- Family Membership
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs
- Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum
- 10% Gift Shop Discount
- Free Elm Springs Hat or T-Shirt

Robert E. Lee Level: \$500

- Family Membership
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs
- Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum
- 15% Gift Shop Discount
- Free Elm Springs Hat and T-Shirt

Jefferson Davis Level: \$1000

- Family Membership
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs
- Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum
- 20% Gift Shop Discount
- Free Elm Springs Hat, T-Shirt and Polo

Please check the following membership level:

_____ Longstreet Level

_____ Judah P. Benjamin Level

_____ Patrick Cleburne Level

_____ N. B. Forrest Level

_____ Robert E. Lee Level

_____ Jefferson Davis Level

Please make checks payable to Sons of Confederate Veterans and mail to:

Sons of Confederate Veterans, P. O. Box 59, Columbia, TN 38402

If paying by credit card, please call (931) 380-1844 or email at exedir@scv.org



Friends of Elm Springs

Annual Membership Application

All Proceeds go to the restoration and maintenance of the Home
Elm Springs built in 1837

All Memberships are tax-deductible and include the E-Newsletter

_____ Yes, I want to join the Friends of Elm Springs

_____ Is this a Corporate Membership?

Name: _____

Address: _____

City/State/Zip: _____

Phone: _____

Email address: _____

Membership Levels & Benefits

Elm Tree Level: \$25

- Membership for one
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs

Cool Spring Level: \$50

- Family Membership
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs

Todd Family Level: \$100

- Family Membership
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs
- 10% Gift Shop Discount

Susan Looney Level: \$250

- Family Membership
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs
- Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum
- 10% Gift Shop Discount
- Free Elm Springs Hat or T-Shirt

Abram Looney Level: \$500

- Family Membership
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs
- Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum
- 15% Gift Shop Discount
- Free Elm Springs Hat and T-Shirt

Frank Armstrong Level: \$1000

- Family Membership
- Unlimited Tours of Elm Springs
- Unlimited Tours of The Confederate Museum
- 20% Gift Shop Discount
- Free Elm Springs Hat, T-Shirt and Polo

Please check the following membership level:

_____ Elm Tree Level

_____ Cool Spring Level

_____ Todd Family Level

_____ Susan Looney Level

_____ Abram Looney Level

_____ Frank Armstrong Level

Please make checks payable to Sons of Confederate Veterans and mail to:

Sons of Confederate Veterans, P. O. Box 59, Columbia, TN 38402

If paying by credit card, please call (931) 380-1844 or email at exedir@scv.org

National SCV News:

Join the Confederate Legion

Membership fees & donations support the Southern Victory Campaign

- Individuals and organizations can join. Membership in the Sons of Confederate Veterans is not required.
- Businesses, associations and S.C.V. camps can join.
- An individual member can organize an independent Confederate Legion group and name it whatever he/she likes.
- Members are expected to follow moral standards, obey the law, and participate in the Southern Victory Campaign.
- Credit cards and checks are accepted. Credit card payments can be recurring.
- Payments are tax deductible because the S.C.V. is a 501 (c) (3) entity.
- Members receive an ID card, certificate, access to support and communications. Most of all, you get the satisfaction of knowing you're part of the offensive!

Dues and donations are used to mount a two-prong offensive that we call the Southern Victory Campaign. It's led by the Heritage operations Committee of the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

Phase One of the campaign offensive involves direct action by the Heritage Operations Committee of the S.C.V. Prong Two involves direct action by individual and group members of the Confederate Legion.

Objectives include:

- Reestablishing public support for the principles of liberty held by the founders of the United States and the Confederate States of America.
- Rebuilding respect for the Confederate States of America that preferred to leave the Union rather than abandon the principles of liberty like the Northern states were doing under Leftist influences of that day and age.

For those interested in more information on how you can help "Make Dixie Great Again" go to <https://www.makedixiegreatagain.com/>



Gen. R. E. Lee Canceled by West Point

C.S.A. Flags Canceled by NASCAR

C.S.A. Flags Canceled by Country Music neo-Marxist elites

C.S.A Veterans Monuments destroyed by neo-Marxist mobs

Are You Ready to Do Something About It?

Fellow Southerners—Complaining Will Not Defeat Our Enemies. Doing what we have always done will not defeat those who are determined to slander and eventually exterminate our Southern culture.

Are You Ready to Take Real Action—To Make a Fundamental Change in our current social/political situation? Other people and nations have used the strategy of non-violent, irregular political warfare to protect their culture and even to win their Freedom!

The South is dying for lack of a bold political leader in a Bully Pulpit who will use his office to organize a South-wide and eventually a nation-wide resistance movement.

If you want to do more than complain—then join the movement to reclaim, not only our monuments, but to reclaim our country! Nay-sayers, pacified Southerners, the tired and defeated need not apply! See our video—*The South's First Bully Pulpit*:

<https://rumble.com/v167kmq-the-souths-1st-bully-pulpit.html>

The data is in, the numbers prove that the majority of Southerners want to protect their honorable Southern heritage. We must be organized to conduct political activity—electing one of us to a Bully Pulpit will jump start our non-violent, conservative revolution. First in the South and then in every Red State and Red County in America.

This effort will not happen without your support. Talk comes easy—it is time for all of us to "put-up or shut-up." "We the people" have been politically silent too long—it's time to implement a strategic plan for ultimate victory!

James Ronald Kennedy



Candidacy Announcement **For Commander-in-Chief**

Men of the Sons of Confederate Veterans,

Unwilling to bear the yoke of tyranny, our Confederate forefathers stood before an invading army to protect their families, their homes, and their freedom. In April of 1906 these men of valor gathered again. Their great numbers had been diminished by the ravages of time. Many had crossed over the river to rest beneath the shade of the trees, and those that remained were beginning their last march. These men, these Confederate veterans, gave us the most wonderful inheritance. As descendants of Confederate soldiers, we have been given our marching orders to continue the fight.

I have had the honor to serve as Army of Tennessee Councilman, Army of Tennessee Commander and Lt. Commander-in-Chief. I am very aware that our enemies are many, and that they will use any and all tactics necessary to eliminate our heritage. It is with this knowledge that I announce my candidacy for Commander-in-Chief.

I have been a member of the SCV since 2004. I am a Life Member of National and the Tennessee Division. I am a member of Samuel R. Watkins Camp #29. I have held positions at the Camp, Division, and National levels. I attend National and Division Reunions and I have visited all over the Southland.

Today we stand in the stead and in the role that our ancestors did all those year ago, and we defend their honor. It will not be an easy fight, but it is necessary and honorable. I appreciate your support, and may we step forward together to do our duty.

May God Save Dixie,
Jason Bosher



Inside the museum



Did Black People Own Slaves?

By Henry Louis Gates Jr of The Root Magazine, 3/4/13

One of the most vexing questions in African-American history is whether free African Americans themselves owned slaves. The short answer to this question, as you might suspect, is yes, of course; some free black people in this country bought and sold other black people, and did so at least since 1654, continuing to do so right through the Civil War. For me, the really fascinating questions about black slave-owning are how many black "masters" were involved, how many slaves did they own and *why* did they own slaves?

The answers to these questions are complex, and historians have been arguing for some time over whether free blacks purchased family members as slaves in order to protect them — motivated, on the one hand, by benevolence and philanthropy, as historian Carter G. Woodson put it, or whether, on the other hand, they purchased other black people "as an act of exploitation," primarily to exploit their free labor for profit, just as white slave owners did. The evidence shows that, unfortunately, both things are true. The great African-American historian, John Hope Franklin, states this clearly: "The majority of Negro owners of slaves had some personal interest in their property." But, he admits, "There were instances, however, in which free Negroes had a real economic interest in the institution of slavery and held slaves in order to improve their economic status."

In a fascinating essay reviewing this controversy, R. Halliburton shows that free black people have owned slaves "in each of the thirteen original states and later in every state that countenanced slavery," at least since Anthony Johnson and his wife Mary went to court in Virginia in 1654 to obtain the services of their indentured servant, a black man, John Castor, for life.

And for a time, free black people could even "own" the services of white indentured servants in Virginia as well. Free blacks owned slaves in Boston by 1724 and in Connecticut by 1783; by 1790, 48 black people in Maryland owned 143 slaves. One particularly notorious black Maryland farmer named Nat Butler "regularly purchased and sold Negroes for the Southern trade," Halliburton wrote.

Perhaps the most insidious or desperate attempt to defend the right of black people to own slaves was the statement made on the eve of the Civil War by a group of free people of color in New Orleans, offering their services to the Confederacy, in part because they were fearful for their own enslavement: "The free colored population [native] of Louisiana ... own slaves, and they are dearly attached to their native land ... and they are ready to shed their blood for her defense. They have no sympathy for abolitionism; no love for the North, but they have plenty for Louisiana ... They will fight for her in 1861 as they fought [to defend New Orleans from the British] in 1814-1815."

These guys were, to put it bluntly, opportunists par excellence: As Noah Andre Trudeau and James G. Hollandsworth Jr. explain, once the war broke out, some of these same black men formed 14 companies of a militia composed of 440 men and were organized by the governor in May 1861 into "the Native Guards, Louisiana," swearing to fight to defend the Confederacy. Although given no combat role, the Guards — reaching a peak of 1,000 volunteers — became the first Civil War unit to appoint black officers.

When New Orleans fell in late April 1862 to the Union, about 10 percent of these men, not missing a beat, now formed the Native Guard/Corps d'Afrique to defend the Union. Joel A. Rogers noted this phenomenon in his *100 Amazing Facts*: "The Negro slave-holders, like the white ones, fought to keep their chattels in the Civil War." Rogers also notes that some black men, including those in New Orleans at the outbreak of the War, "fought to perpetuate slavery."

How Many Slaves Did Blacks Own?

So what do the actual numbers of black slave owners and their slaves

tell us? In 1830, the year most carefully studied by Carter G. Woodson, about 13.7 percent (319,599) of the black population was free. Of these, 3,776 free Negroes owned 12,907 slaves, out of a total of 2,009,043 slaves owned in the entire United States, so the numbers of slaves owned by black people over all was quite small by comparison with the number owned by white people. In his essay, "The Known World of Free Black Slaveholders," Thomas J. Pressly, using Woodson's statistics, calculated that 54 (or about 1 percent) of these black slave owners in 1830 owned between 20 and 84 slaves; 172 (about 4 percent) owned between 10 to 19 slaves; and 3,550 (about 94 percent) each owned between 1 and 9 slaves. Crucially, 42 percent owned just one slave.

Pressly also shows that the percentage of free black slave owners as the total number of free black heads of families was quite high in several states, namely 43 percent in South Carolina, 40 percent in Louisiana, 26 percent in Mississippi, 25 percent in Alabama and 20 percent in Georgia. So why did these free black people own these slaves?

It is reasonable to assume that the 42 percent of the free black slave owners who owned just one slave probably owned a family member to protect that person, as did many of the other black slave owners who owned only slightly larger numbers of slaves. As Woodson put it in 1924's *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830*, "The census records show that the majority of the Negro owners of slaves were such from the point of view of philanthropy. In many instances the husband purchased the wife or vice versa ... Slaves of Negroes were in some cases the children of a free father who had purchased his wife. If he did not thereafter emancipate the mother, as so many such husbands failed to do, his own children were born his slaves and were thus reported to the numerators."

Moreover, Woodson explains, "Benevolent Negroes often purchased slaves to make their lot easier by granting them their freedom for a nominal sum, or by permitting them to work it out on liberal terms." In other words, these black slave-owners, the clear majority, cleverly used the system of slavery to protect their loved ones. That's the good news.

But not all did, and that is the bad news. Halliburton concludes, after examining the evidence, that "it would be a serious mistake to automatically assume that free blacks owned their spouse or children only for benevolent purposes." Woodson himself notes that a "small number of slaves, however, does not always signify benevolence on the part of the owner." And John Hope Franklin notes that in North Carolina, "Without doubt, there were those who possessed slaves for the purpose of advancing their [own] well-being ... these Negro slaveholders were more interested in making their farms or carpenter-shops 'pay' than they were in treating their slaves humanely." For these black slaveholders, he concludes, "there was some effort to conform to the pattern established by the dominant slaveholding group within the State in the effort to elevate themselves to a position of respect and privilege." In other words, most black slave owners probably owned family members to protect them, but far too many turned to slavery to exploit the labor of other black people for profit.

Who Were These Black Slave Owners?

If we were compiling a "Rogues Gallery of Black History," the following free black slaveholders would be in it:

John Carruthers Stanly — born a slave in Craven County, N.C., the son of an Igbo mother and her master, John Wright Stanly — became an extraordinarily successful barber and speculator in real estate in New Bern. As Loren Schwening points out in *Black Property Owners in the South, 1790-1915*, by the early 1820s, Stanly owned three plantations and 163 slaves, and even hired three *white* overseers to manage his property! He fathered six children with a slave woman named Kitty, and he eventually freed them. Stanly lost his estate when a loan for \$14,962 he had co-signed with his white half brother, John, came due. After his brother's stroke, the loan was Stanly's sole responsibility, and he was unable to pay it.

William Ellison's fascinating story is told by Michael Johnson and James L. Roark in their book, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South*. At his death on the eve of the Civil War, Ellison was wealthier than nine out of 10 white people in South Carolina. He was born in 1790 as a slave on a plantation in the Fairfield District of the state, far up country from Charleston. In 1816, at the age of 26, he bought his own freedom, and soon bought his wife and their child. In 1822, he opened his own cotton gin, and soon became quite wealthy. By his death in 1860, he owned 900 acres of land and 63 slaves. Not one of his slaves was allowed to purchase his or her own freedom.

Louisiana, as we have seen, was its own bizarre world of color, class, caste and slavery. By 1830, in Louisiana, several black people there owned a large number of slaves, including the following: In Pointe Coupee Parish alone, Sophie Delhonde owned 38 slaves; Lefroix Decuire owned 59 slaves; Antoine Decuire owned 70 slaves; Leandre Severin owned 60 slaves; and Victor Duperon owned 10. In St. John the Baptist Parish, Victoire Deslondes owned 52 slaves; in Plaquemine Brule, Martin Donatto owned 75 slaves; in Bayou Teche, Jean B. Muillion owned 52 slaves; Martin Lenormand in St. Martin Parish owned 44 slaves; Verret Polen in West Baton Rouge Parish owned 69 slaves; Francis Jerod in Washita Parish owned 33 slaves; and Cecee McCarty in the Upper Suburbs of New Orleans owned 32 slaves. Incredibly, the 13 members of the Metoyer family in Natchitoches Parish — including Nicolas Augustin Metoyer, pictured — collectively owned 215 slaves.

Antoine Dubuclet and his wife Claire Pollard owned more than 70 slaves in Iberville Parish when they married. According to Thomas Clarkin, by 1864, in the midst of the Civil War, they owned 100 slaves, worth \$94,700. During Reconstruction, he became the state's first black treasurer, serving between 1868 and 1878.

Andrew Durnford was a sugar planter and a physician who owned the St. Rosalie plantation, 33 miles south of New Orleans. In the late 1820s, David O. Whitten tells us, he paid \$7,000 for seven male slaves, five females and two children. He traveled all the way to Virginia in the 1830s and purchased 24 more. Eventually, he would own 77 slaves. When a fellow Creole slave owner liberated 85 of his slaves and shipped them off to Liberia, Durnford commented that he couldn't do that, because "self interest is too strongly rooted in the bosom of all that breathes the American atmosphere."

It would be a mistake to think that large black slaveholders were only men. In 1830, in Louisiana, the aforementioned Madame Antoine Dubuclet owned 44 slaves, and Madame Ciprien Ricard owned 35 slaves, Louise Divivier owned 17 slaves, Genevieve Rigobert owned 16 slaves and Rose Lanoix and Caroline Miller both owned 13 slaves, while over in Georgia, Betsey Perry owned 25 slaves. According to Johnson and Roark, the wealthiest black person in Charleston, S.C., in 1860 was Maria Weston, who owned 14 slaves and property valued at more than \$40,000, at a time when the average white man earned about \$100 a year. (The city's largest black slaveholders, though, were Justus Angel and Mistress L. Horry, both of whom owned 84 slaves.)

In Savannah, Ga., between 1823 and 1828, according to Betty Wood's *Gender, Race, and Rank in a Revolutionary Age*, Hannah Leion owned nine slaves, while the largest slaveholder in 1860 was Ciprien Ricard, who had a sugarcane plantation in Louisiana and owned 152 slaves with her son, Pierre — many more than the 35 she owned in 1830. According to economic historian Stanley Engerman, "In Charleston, South Carolina about 42 percent of free blacks owned slaves in 1850, and about 64 percent of these slaveholders were women." Greed, in other words, was gender-blind.

Why They Owned Slaves

These men and women, from William Stanly to Madame Ciprien Ricard, were among the largest free Negro slaveholders, and their motivations were neither benevolent nor philanthropic. One would be hard-pressed to account for their ownership of such large numbers of slaves except as avaricious, rapacious, acquisitive and predatory.

But lest we romanticize all of those small black slave owners who ostensibly purchased family members only for humanitarian reasons, even in these cases the evidence can be problematic. Halliburton, citing examples from an essay in the *North American Review* by Calvin Wilson in 1905, presents some hair-raising challenges to the idea that black people who owned their own family members always treated them well:

A free black in Trimble County, Kentucky, " ... sold his own son and daughter South, one for \$1,000, the other for \$1,200." ... A Maryland father sold his slave children in order to purchase his wife. A Columbus, Georgia, black woman — Dilsey Pope — owned her husband. "He offended her in some way and she sold him ... " Fanny Canady of Louisville, Kentucky, owned her husband Jim — a drunken cobbler — whom she threatened to "sell down the river." At New Bern, North Carolina, a free black wife and son purchased their slave husband-father. When the newly bought father criticized his son, the son sold him to a slave trader. The son boasted afterward that "the old man had gone to the corn fields about New Orleans where they might learn him some manners."

Carter Woodson, too, tells us that some of the husbands who purchased their spouses "were not anxious to liberate their wives immediately. They considered it advisable to put them on probation for a few years, and if they did not find them satisfactory they would sell their wives as other slave holders disposed of Negroes." He then relates the example of a black man, a shoemaker in Charleston, S.C., who purchased his wife for \$700. But "on finding her hard to please, he sold her a few months thereafter for \$750, gaining \$50 by the transaction."

Most of us will find the news that some black people bought and sold other black people for profit quite distressing, as well we should. But given the long history of class divisions in the black community, which Martin R. Delany as early as the 1850s described as "a nation within a nation," and given the role of African elites in the long history of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, perhaps we should not be surprised that we can find examples throughout black history of just about every sort of human behavior, from the most noble to the most heinous, that we find in any other people's history.

The good news, scholars agree, is that by 1860 the number of free blacks owning slaves had markedly decreased from 1830. In fact, Loren Schweninger concludes that by the eve of the Civil War, "the phenomenon of free blacks owning slaves had nearly disappeared" in the Upper South, even if it had not in places such as Louisiana in the Lower South. Nevertheless, it is a very sad aspect of African-American history that slavery sometimes could be a colorblind affair, and that the evil business of owning another human being could manifest itself in both males and females, and in black as well as white.

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The Seven Days Battles

The **Seven Days Battles** were a series of seven battles over seven days from June 25 to July 1, 1862, near Richmond, Virginia, during the American Civil War. Confederate General Robert E. Lee drove the invading Union Army of the Potomac, commanded by Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, away from Richmond and into a retreat down the Virginia Peninsula. The series of battles is sometimes known erroneously as the **Seven Days Campaign**, but it was actually the culmination of the Peninsula Campaign, not a separate campaign in its own right.

The Seven Days began on Wednesday, June 25, 1862, with a Union attack in the minor Battle of Oak Grove, but McClellan quickly lost the initiative as Lee began a series of attacks at Beaver Dam Creek (Mechanicsville) on June 26, Gaines's Mill on June 27, the minor actions at Garnett's and Golding's Farm on June 27 and 28, and the attack on the Union rear guard at Savage's Station on June 29. McClellan's Army of the Potomac continued its retreat toward the safety of Harrison's Landing on the James River. Lee's final opportunity to intercept the Union Army was at the Battle of Glendale on June 30, but poorly executed orders and the delay of Stonewall Jackson's troops allowed his enemy to escape to a strong defensive position on Malvern Hill. At the Battle of Malvern Hill on July 1, Lee launched futile frontal assaults and suffered heavy casualties in the face of strong infantry and artillery defenses.

The Seven Days ended with McClellan's army in relative safety next to the James River, having suffered almost 16,000 casualties during the retreat. Lee's army, which had been on the offensive during the Seven Days, lost over 20,000. As Lee became convinced that McClellan would not resume his threat against Richmond, he moved north for the northern Virginia campaign and the Maryland campaign.

The Peninsula campaign

The Peninsula campaign was the unsuccessful attempt by McClellan to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond and end the war. It started in March 1862, when McClellan landed his army at Fort Monroe and moved northwest, up the Virginia Peninsula beginning in early April. Confederate Brig. Gen. John B. Magruder's defensive position on the Warwick Line caught McClellan by surprise. His hopes for a quick advance foiled, McClellan ordered his army to prepare for a siege of Yorktown. Just before the siege preparations were completed, the Confederates, now under the direct command of Johnston, began a withdrawal toward Richmond.^[9] To start this was a very good move. The first heavy fighting of the campaign occurred in the Battle of Williamsburg (May 5), in which the Union troops managed some tactical victories, but the Confederates continued their withdrawal. An amphibious flanking movement to Eltham's Landing (May 7) was ineffective in cutting off the Confederate retreat. In the Battle of Drewry's Bluff (May 15), an attempt by the United States Navy to reach Richmond by way of the James River was repulsed.^[9]

As McClellan's army reached the outskirts of Richmond, a minor battle occurred at Hanover Court House (May 27), but it was followed by a surprise attack by Johnston at the Battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks on May 31 and June 1. The battle was inconclusive, with heavy casualties, but it had lasting effects on the campaign. Johnston was wounded and replaced on June 1 by the more aggressive Robert E. Lee. Lee spent almost a month extending his defensive lines and organizing his Army of Northern Virginia; McClellan accommodated this by sitting passively to his front, waiting for dry weather and roads, until the start of the Seven Days.^[10] Lee, who had developed a reputation for caution early in the war, knew he had no numerical superiority over McClellan, but he planned an offensive campaign that was the first indication of the aggressive nature he would display for the remainder of the war.^[10]

Planning for offensives

Lee's initial attack plan, similar to Johnston's plan at Seven Pines, was complex and required expert coordination and execution by all of his subordinates, but Lee knew that he could not win in a battle of attrition or siege against the Union Army. It was developed at a meeting on June 23. The Union Army straddled the rain-swollen Chickahominy River, with the bulk of the army, four corps, arrayed in a semicircular line south of the river. The remainder, the V Corps under Brig. Gen. Fitz John Porter, was north of the river near Mechanicsville in an L-shaped line facing north—south behind Beaver Dam Creek and southeast along the Chickahominy. Lee's plan was to cross the Chickahominy with the bulk of his army to attack the Union north flank, leaving only two divisions (under Maj. Gens. Benjamin Huger and John B. Magruder) to hold a line of entrenchments against McClellan's superior strength. This would concentrate about 65,500 troops to oppose 30,000, leaving only 25,000 to protect Richmond and to contain the other 60,000 men of the Union Army. The Confederate cavalry under Brig. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart had reconnoitered Porter's right flank—as part of a dar-

ing but militarily dubious circumnavigation of the entire Union Army from June 12 to 15—and found it vulnerable.^[11]

Lee intended for Jackson to attack Porter's right flank early on the morning of June 26, and A.P. Hill would move from Meadow Bridge to Beaver Dam Creek, which flows into the Chickahominy, advancing on the Federal trenches. (Lee hoped that Porter would evacuate his trenches under pressure, obviating the need for a direct frontal assault.) Following this, Longstreet and D.H. Hill would pass through Mechanicsville and join the battle. Huger and Magruder would provide diversions on their fronts to distract McClellan as to Lee's real intentions. Lee hoped that Porter would be overwhelmed from two sides by the mass of 65,000 men, and the two leading Confederate divisions would move on Cold Harbor and cut McClellan's communications with White House Landing.^[12]

McClellan also planned an offensive. He had received intelligence that Lee was prepared to move and that the arrival of Maj. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's force from the Shenandoah Valley was imminent (McClellan was aware of Jackson's presence at Ashland Station, but did nothing to reinforce Porter's vulnerable corps north of the river).^[13] He decided to resume the offensive before Lee could. Anticipating Jackson's reinforcements marching from the north, he increased cavalry patrols on likely avenues of approach. He wanted to advance his siege artillery about a mile and a half closer to the city by taking the high ground on Nine Mile Road around Old Tavern. In preparation for that, he planned an attack on Oak Grove, south of Old Tavern and the Richmond and York River Railroad, which would position his men to attack Old Tavern from two directions.^[14]

Opposing forces

The armies that fought in the Seven Days Battles comprised almost 200,000 men, which offered the potential for the largest battles of the war. However, the inexperience or caution of the generals involved usually prevented the appropriate concentration of forces and mass necessary for decisive tactical victories.

The Confederate army was not a proper unified command as the Army of the Potomac was, but simply a thrown-together collection of all the troops that could be gathered for the defense of Richmond. This contributed to the poor coordination of the army during the battles and the inability of Robert E. Lee to destroy the Union army.

The average strength of a division in the Army of the Potomac was about 9000 men (including non-combatants) with Casey's division being the smallest at around 7000 and Morell's being the largest at 11,000 men. The average strength of Confederate divisions varied from 12,000 men (A.P. Hill's division) to 5000 men (Theophilus Holmes's division). Confederate reports listed only combat troops and excluded non-combatants such as couriers, staff officers, and wagon drivers. Jackson's command was severely understrength from the Valley campaign and his own division had less than 2000 men, most of them being in the Stonewall Brigade while the brigades of Samuel Fulkerson and John R. Jones were down to nearly regimental size and were held in reserve for most of the Seven Days Battles. Ewell's three brigades numbered 3000 men total. Jackson was reinforced with the brigade of Alexander Lawton, recently arrived from Georgia, and numbering 3500 men. This brought his total strength to around 8000 men.

D.H. Hill's division numbered around 7700 men, having numbered close to 10,000 before the heavy losses at Seven Pines. They were reinforced with Roswell Ripley's brigade, newly arrived from North Carolina, and numbering 2300 men, bringing the total strength of Hill's command to 10,000 men. James Longstreet's division numbered 9050 men on June 25 according to army ordnance chief Edward P. Alexander. It had numbered close to 12,000 men prior to losses at Seven Pines. Benjamin Huger's division numbered approximately 8600 men. William Whiting had around 4000 men in his two brigades. John Magruder's three divisions numbered about 13,000 men.

Oak Grove

McClellan planned to advance to the west, along the axis of the Williamsburg Road, in the direction of Richmond. Between the two armies was a small, dense forest, 1,200 yards (1,100 m) wide, bisected by the headwaters of White Oak Swamp. Two divisions of the III Corps were selected for the assault, commanded by Brig. Gens. Joseph Hooker and Philip Kearny. Facing them was the division of Confederate Maj. Gen. Benjamin Huger.^[17]

Soon after 8 a.m., June 25, the Union brigades of Brig. Gens. Daniel E. Sickles (the Excelsior Brigade), Cuvier Grover, both of Hooker's division, and John C. Robinson stepped off. Although Robinson and Grover made good progress on the left and in the center, Sickles's New Yorkers encountered difficulties moving through their abatis, then through the upper portions of the creek, and finally met stiff Confederate resistance, all of which threw the Federal line out of alignment. Huger took advantage of the

confusion by launching a counterattack with the brigade of Brig. Gen. Ambrose R. Wright against Grover's brigade. At a crucial moment in the battle, the 26th North Carolina of Brig. Gen. Robert Ransom's brigade, in their first combat engagement, delivered a perfectly synchronized volley of rifle fire against Sickles's brigade, breaking up its delayed attack and sending the 71st New York into a panicked retreat, which Sickles described as "disgraceful confusion."^[18]

Heintzelman ordered reinforcements sent forward and also notified army commander McClellan, who was attempting to manage the battle by telegraph from 3 miles (4.8 km) away. McClellan ordered his men to withdraw back to their entrenchments, mystifying his subordinates on the scene. Arriving at the front at 1 p.m., seeing that the situation was not as bad as he had feared, McClellan ordered his men forward to retake the ground for which they had already fought once that day. The fighting lasted until night-fall.^[19]

The minor battle was McClellan's only tactical offensive action against Richmond. His attack gained only 600 yards (550 m) at a cost of over 1,000 casualties on both sides and was not strong enough to derail the offensive planned by Robert E. Lee, which had already been set in motion.^[20] Beaver Dam Creek (Mechanicsville)[

Lee's plan called for Jackson to begin the attack on Porter's north flank early on June 26. A.P. Hill's Light Division was to advance from Meadow Bridge when he heard Jackson's guns, clear the Union pickets from Mechanicsville, and then move to Beaver Dam Creek. D.H. Hill and Longstreet were to pass through Mechanicsville and support Jackson and A.P. Hill. South of the river, Magruder and Huger were to demonstrate to deceive the four Union corps on their front.^[21]

Lee's intricate plan went awry immediately. Jackson's men, fatigued from their recent campaign and lengthy march, ran at least four hours behind schedule. By 3 p.m., A.P. Hill grew impatient and began his attack without orders, a frontal assault with 11,000 men. Porter extended and strengthened his right flank and fell back to concentrate along Beaver Dam Creek and Ellerson's Mill. There, 14,000 well entrenched soldiers, aided by 32 guns in six batteries, repulsed repeated Confederate attacks with substantial casualties.^[22]

Jackson and his command arrived late in the afternoon and he ordered his troops to bivouac for the evening while a major battle was raging within earshot. His proximity to Porter's flank caused McClellan to order Porter to withdraw after dark behind Boatwain's Swamp, 5 miles (8.0 km) to the east. McClellan was concerned that the Confederate buildup on his right flank threatened his supply line, the Richmond and York River Railroad north of the Chickahominy, and he decided to shift his base of supply to the James River. He also believed that the diversions by Huger and Magruder south of the river meant that he was seriously outnumbered. (He reported to Washington that he faced 200,000 Confederates, but there were actually 85,000.)^[24] This was a strategic decision of grave importance because it meant that, without the railroad to supply his army, he would be forced to abandon his siege of Richmond. A.P. Hill, now with Longstreet and D.H. Hill behind him, continued his attack, despite orders from Lee to hold his ground. His assault was beaten back with heavy casualties.^[25]

Overall, the battle was a Union tactical victory, in which the Confederates suffered heavy casualties and achieved none of their specific objectives due to the seriously flawed execution of Lee's plan. Instead of over 60,000 men crushing the enemy's flank, only five brigades, about 15,000 men, had seen action. Their losses were 1,484 versus Porter's 361. Despite the short-term Union success, however, it was the start of a strategic debacle. McClellan began to withdraw his army to the southeast and never regained the initiative.^[26]

Gaines Mill

By the morning of June 27, the Union forces were concentrated into a semicircle with Porter collapsing his line into an east-west salient north of the river and the four corps south of the river remaining in their original positions. McClellan ordered Porter to hold Gaines's Mill at all costs so that the army could change its base of supply to the James River. Several of McClellan's subordinates urged him to attack Magruder's division south of the river, but he feared the vast numbers of Confederates he believed to be before him and refused to capitalize on the overwhelming superiority he actually held on that front.^[27]

Lee continued his offensive on June 27, launching the largest Confederate attack of the war, about 57,000 men in six divisions.^[28] A.P. Hill resumed his attack across Beaver Dam Creek early in the morning, but found the line lightly defended. By early afternoon, he ran into strong opposition where Porter had deployed along Boatwain's Creek; the swampy terrain was a major obstacle to the attack. As Longstreet arrived to the south of A.P. Hill, he saw the difficulty of attacking over such terrain and delayed until Stonewall Jackson could attack on Hill's left.^[29]

For the second time in the Seven Days, however, Jackson was late. D.H. Hill attacked the Federal right and was held off by the division of Brig. Gen. George Sykes; he backed off to await Jackson's arrival. Longstreet was ordered to conduct a diversionary attack to stabilize the lines until Jackson could arrive and attack from the north. In Longstreet's attack, Brig.

Gen. George E. Pickett's brigade attempted a frontal assault and was beaten back under severe fire with heavy losses. Jackson finally reached D.H. Hill's position at 3 p.m. and began his assault at 4:30 p.m.^[30]

Porter's line was saved by Brig. Gen. Henry W. Slocum's division moving into position to bolster his defense. Shortly after dark, the Confederates mounted another attack, poorly coordinated, but this time collapsing the Federal line. Brig. Gen. John Bell Hood's Texas Brigade opened a gap in the line, as did Pickett's Brigade on its second attempt of the day. By 4 a.m. on June 28, Porter withdrew across the Chickahominy, burning the bridges behind him.^[31]

For the second day, Magruder was able to continue fooling McClellan south of the river by employing minor diversionary attacks. He was able to occupy 60,000 Federal troops while the heavier action occurred north of the river.^[32]

Gaines's Mill was the only clear-cut Confederate tactical victory of the Peninsula Campaign.^[33] Union casualties from the 34,214 engaged were 6,837 (894 killed, 3,107 wounded, and 2,836 captured or missing). Of the 57,018 Confederates engaged, losses totaled 7,993 (1,483 killed, 6,402 wounded, 108 missing or captured).^[34] Since the Confederate assault was conducted against only a small portion of the Union Army (the V Corps, one fifth of the army), the army emerged from the battle in relatively good shape overall. However, although McClellan had already planned to shift his supply base to the James River, his defeat unnerved him and he precipitously decided to abandon his advance on Richmond.^[35]

Union withdrawal

The night of June 27, McClellan ordered his entire army to withdraw to a secure base at Harrison's Landing on the James River. His actions have puzzled military historians ever since. The Union army was in a good position, having withstood strong Confederate attacks while only deploying one of its five corps in battle. Porter had performed well against heavy odds. Furthermore, McClellan was aware that the War Department had created a new Army of Virginia and ordered it to be sent to the Peninsula to reinforce him. But Lee had unnerved him, and he surrendered the initiative. He sent a telegram to the Secretary of War that included the statement: "If I save this Army now I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or any other persons in Washington—you have done your best to sacrifice this Army." (The military telegraph department chose to omit this sentence from the copy given to the Secretary.)^[36]

McClellan ordered Keyes's IV Corps to move west of Glendale and protect the army's withdrawal, while Porter was sent to the high ground at Malvern Hill to develop defensive positions. The supply trains were ordered to move south toward the river. McClellan departed for Harrison's Landing without specifying any exact routes of withdrawal and without designating a second-in-command. For the remainder of the Seven Days, he had no direct command of the battles. The Union retreat across the Chickahominy after Gaines's Mill was a psychological victory for the Confederacy, signaling that Richmond was out of danger.^[37]

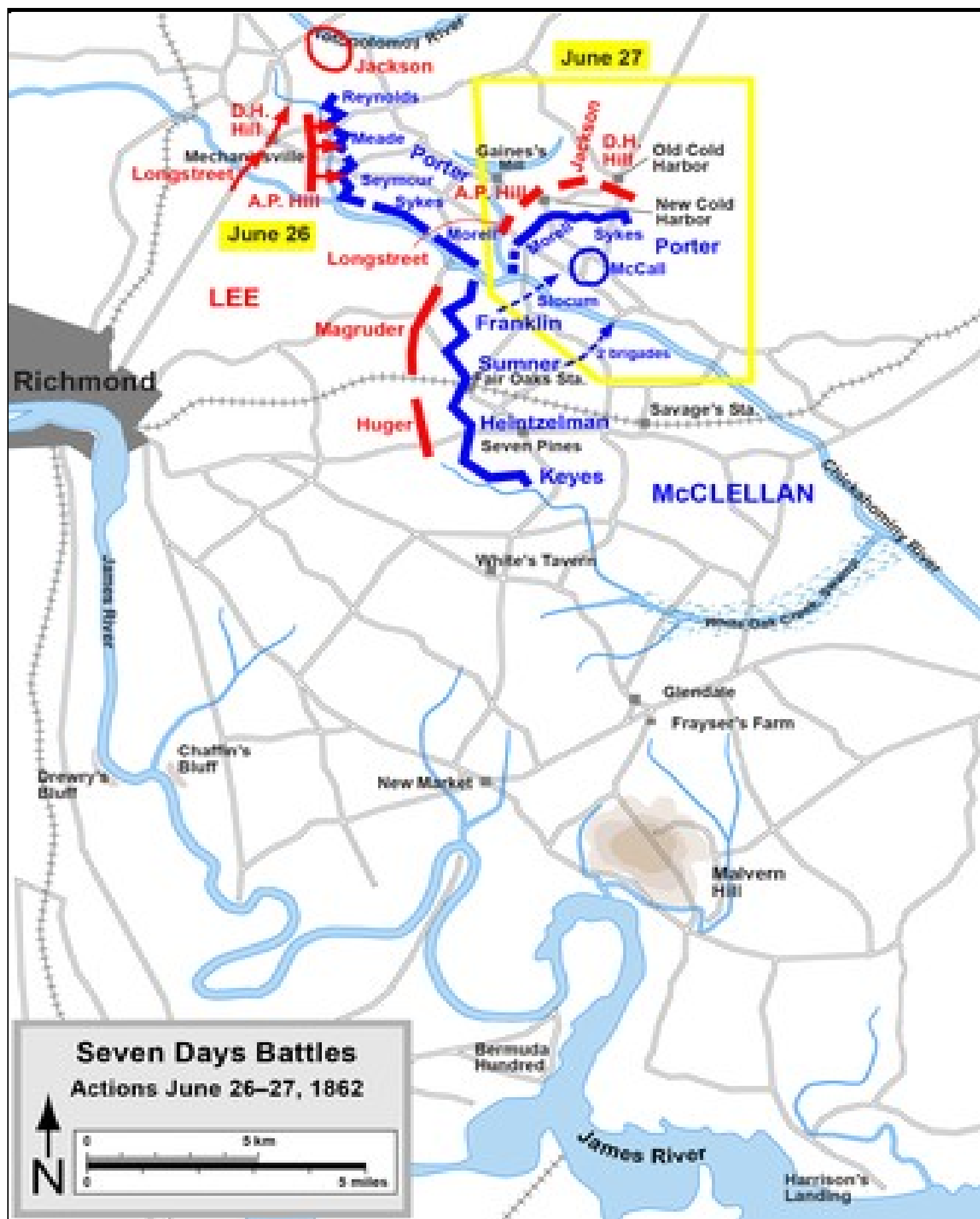
Lee's cavalry reported that Union troops had abandoned their defense of the Richmond and York River Railroad and the White House supply depot on the York River. That information, plus the sighting of large dust clouds south of the Chickahominy River, finally convinced Lee that McClellan was heading for the James. Until this time, Lee anticipated that McClellan would be withdrawing to the east to protect his supply line to the York River and positioned his forces to react to that, unable to act decisively while he awaited evidence of McClellan's intentions.^[38]

Garnett's & Golding's Farm

While Lee's main attack at Gaines's Mill was progressing on June 27, the Confederates south of the Chickahominy performed a reconnaissance in force to determine the location of McClellan's retreating army. Magruder ordered Brig. Gen. Robert A. Toombs's brigade forward to "feel the enemy." Toombs, a Georgia politician with a disdain for professional officers, instead launched a sharp attack at dusk against Baldy Smith's VI Corps division near Old Tavern at the farm of James M. Garnett. The attack was easily repulsed by the brigade of Brig. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock.^[39]

On June 28, Toombs again was ordered to conduct a reconnaissance, but turned it into an attack over the same ground, meeting the enemy at the farm of Simon Gouldin (also known as Golding). Toombs took it upon himself to order his fellow brigade commander, Col. George T. Anderson, to join the assault. Two of Anderson's regiments, the 7th and 8th Georgia, preceded Toombs's brigade into the assault and were subjected to a vigorous Federal counterattack by the 49th Pennsylvania and 43rd New York, losing 156 men.^[40]

These were the only attacks south of the Chickahominy River in conjunction with Gaines's Mill, but they helped to convince McClellan that he was being subjected to attacks from all directions, increasing his anxiety and his determination to get his army to safety at the James.^[41]



Savage's Station

On Sunday, June 29, the bulk of McClellan's army concentrated around Savage's Station on the Richmond and York River Railroad, a Federal supply depot since just before Seven Pines, preparing for a difficult crossing through and around White Oak Swamp. It did so without centralized direction because McClellan had personally moved south of Malvern Hill after Gaines's Mill without leaving directions for corps movements during the retreat nor naming a second in command. Clouds of black smoke filled the air as the Union troops were ordered to burn anything they could not carry. Union morale plummeted, particularly so for those wounded, who realized that they were not being evacuated from Savage's Station with the rest of the Army.^[42]

Lee devised a complex plan to pursue and destroy McClellan's army. Longstreet's and A.P. Hill's divisions looped back toward Richmond and then southeast to the crossroads at Glendale, Holmes's division headed farther south, to the vicinity of Malvern Hill, and Magruder's division was ordered to move due east to attack the Federal rear guard. Stonewall Jackson, commanding three divisions, was to rebuild a bridge over the Chickahominy and head due south to Savage's Station, where he would link up with Magruder and deliver a strong blow that might cause the Union Army to turn around and fight during its retreat.^[43] McClellan's rear guard at Savage's Station consisted five divisions from Sumner's II Corps, Heintzelman's III Corps, and Franklin's VI Corps. McClellan considered his senior corps commander, Sumner, to be incompetent, so he appointed no one to command the rear guard.^[44]

Initial contact between the armies occurred at 9 a.m. on June 29, a four-regiment fight about 2 miles (3.2 km) west of Savage's Station, lasting for about two hours before disengaging.^[45] Meanwhile, Jackson was not advancing as Lee had planned. He was taking time to rebuild bridges over the Chickahominy and he received a garbled order from Lee's chief of staff that made him believe he should stay north of the river and guard the crossings. These failures of the Confederate plan were being matched on the Union side, however. Heintzelman decided on his own that his corps was not needed to defend Savage's Station, so he decided to follow the rest of the army without informing his fellow generals.^[46]

Magruder was faced with the problem of attacking Sumner's 26,600 men with his own 14,000. He hesitated until 5 p.m., when he sent only two and a half brigades forward. Union artillery opened fire and pickets were sent forward to meet the assault.^[47] The two brigade front of Kershaw and Semmes began to push the narrow defensive line of one of Sedgwick's brigades. Sumner managed this part of the battle erratically, selecting regiments for combat from multiple brigades almost at random. By the time all of these units reached the front, the two sides were at rough parity—two brigades each. Although Magruder had been conservative about his attack, Sumner was even more so. Of the 26 regiments he had in his corps, only 10 were engaged at Savage's Station.^[48]

The fighting turned into a bloody stalemate as darkness fell and strong thunderstorms began to move in. The "Land Merrimack"—the first instance of an armored railroad battery to be used in combat—bombed the Union front, with some of its shells reaching as far to the rear as the field hospital. The final action of the evening was as the Vermont Brigade, attempting to hold the flank south of the Williamsburg Road, charged into the woods and were met with murderous fire, suffering more casualties of any brigade on the field that day.^[49]

There were about 1,500 casualties on both sides, plus 2,500 previously wounded Union soldiers who were left to be captured when their field hospital was evacuated. Stonewall Jackson eventually crossed the river by about 2:30 a.m. on June 30, but it was too late to crush the Union Army, as Lee had hoped. General Lee reprimanded Magruder, but the fault for the lost opportunity must be shared equally with the poor staff work at Lee's own headquarters and a less than aggressive performance by Jackson.^[50]

Glendale and Oak Swamp

Most elements of the Union Army had been able to cross White Oak Swamp Creek by noon on June 30. About one third of the army had reached the James River, but the remainder was still marching between White Oak Swamp and Glendale. After inspecting the line of march that morning, McClellan rode south and boarded the ironclad USS *Galena* on the James.^[51]

Lee ordered his army to converge on the retreating Union forces, bottlenecked on the inadequate road network. The Army of the Potomac, lacking overall command coherence, presented a discontinuous, ragged defensive line. Stonewall Jackson was ordered to press the Union rear guard at the White Oak Swamp crossing while the largest part of Lee's army, some 45,000 men, would attack the Army of the Potomac in mid-retreat at Glendale, about 2 miles (3.2 km) southwest, splitting it in two. Huger's division would strike first after a three-mile (5 km) march on the Charles City Road, supported by Longstreet and A.P. Hill, whose divisions were about 7 miles (11 km) to the west, in a mass attack. Holmes was ordered to capture Mal-

vern Hill.^[52]

The Confederate plan was once again marred by poor execution. Huger's men were slowed by felled trees obstructing the Charles City Road, spending hours chopping a new road through the thick woods. Huger failed to take any alternative route, and, fearing a counterattack, failed to participate in the battle. Magruder marched around aimlessly, unable to decide whether he should be aiding Longstreet or Holmes; by 4 p.m., Lee ordered Magruder to join Holmes on the River Road and attack Malvern Hill. Stonewall Jackson moved slowly and spent the entire day north of the creek, making only feeble efforts to cross and attack Franklin's VI Corps in the Battle of White Oak Swamp, attempting to rebuild a destroyed bridge (although adequate fords were nearby), and engaging in a pointless artillery duel. Jackson's inaction allowed some units to be detached from Franklin's corps in late afternoon to reinforce the Union troops at Glendale. Holmes's relatively inexperienced troops made no progress against Porter at Turkey Bridge on Malvern Hill, even with the reinforcements from Magruder, and were repulsed by effective artillery fire and by Federal gunboats on the James.^[53]

At 2 p.m., as they waited for sounds of Huger's expected attack, Lee, Longstreet, and visiting Confederate President Jefferson Davis were conferring on horseback when they came under heavy artillery fire, wounding two men and killing three horses. A.P. Hill, the commander in that sector, ordered the president and senior generals to the rear. Longstreet attempted to silence the six batteries of Federal guns firing in his direction, but long-range artillery fire proved to be inadequate. He ordered Col. Micah Jenkins to charge the batteries, which brought on a general fight around 4 p.m.^[54]

Although belated and not initiated as planned, the assaults by the divisions of A.P. Hill and Longstreet, under Longstreet's overall command, turned out to be the only ones to follow Lee's order to attack the main Union concentration. Longstreet's 20,000 men were not reinforced by other Confederate divisions of Huger and Jackson, despite their concentration within a three-mile (5 km) radius. They assaulted the disjointed Union line of 40,000 men, arranged in a two-mile (3 km) arc north and south of the Glendale intersection, but the brunt of the fighting was centered on the position held by the Pennsylvania Reserves division of the V Corps, 6,000 men under Brig. Gen. George A. McCall, just west of the Nelson Farm. (The farm was owned by R.H. Nelson, but its former owner was named Frayser and many of the locals referred to it as Frayser's, or Frazier's, Farm.)^[55]

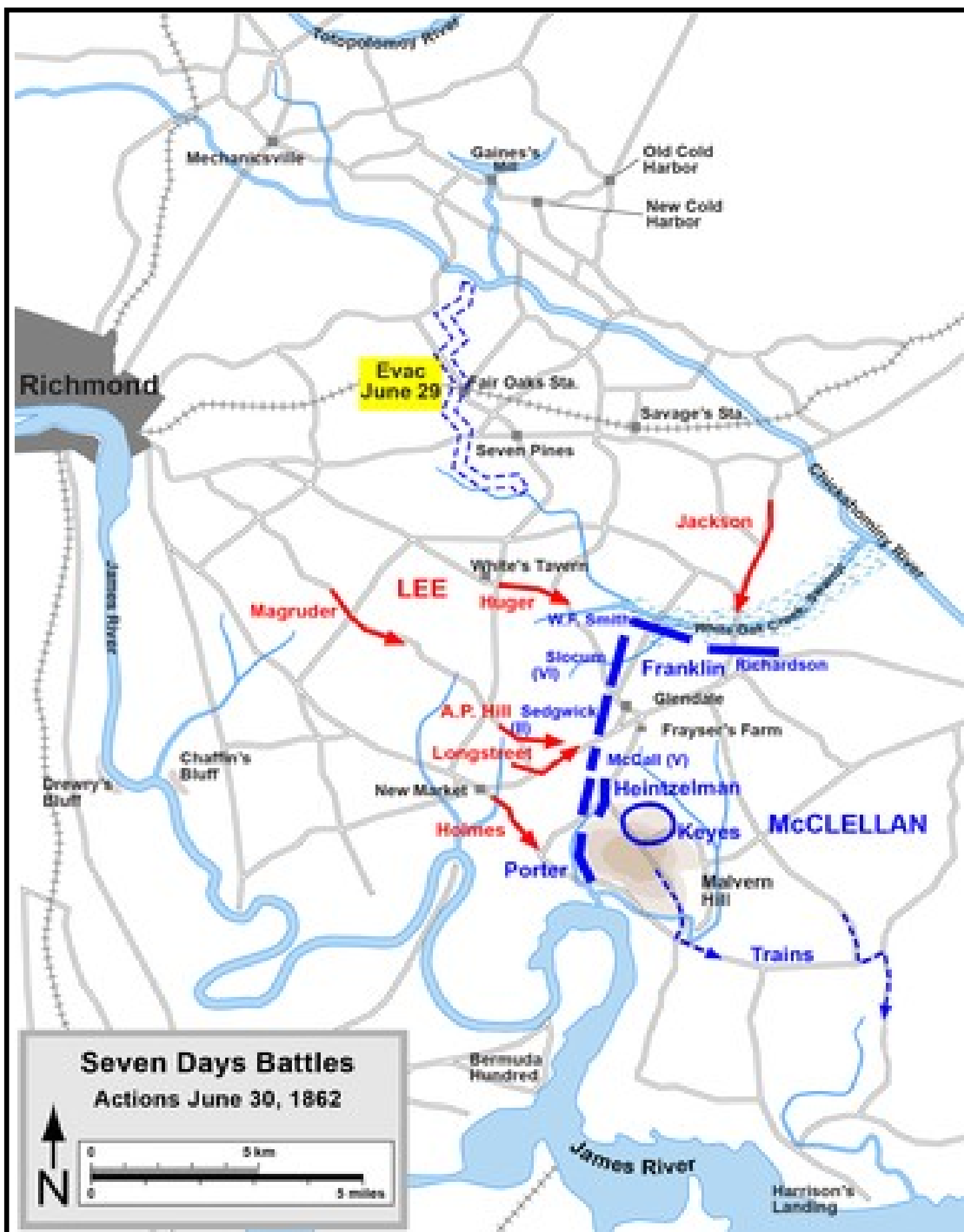
Three Confederate brigades made the assault, but Longstreet ordered them forward in a piecemeal fashion,^[56] over several hours. Brig. Gen. James L. Kemper's Virginians charged through the thick woods first and emerged in front of five batteries of McCall's artillery. In their first combat experience, the brigade conducted a disorderly but enthusiastic assault, which carried them through the guns and broke through McCall's main line with Jenkins's support, followed up a few hours later by Brig. Gen. Cadmus M. Wilcox's Alabamians. The Confederate brigades met stiff resistance in sometimes hand-to-hand combat.^[57]

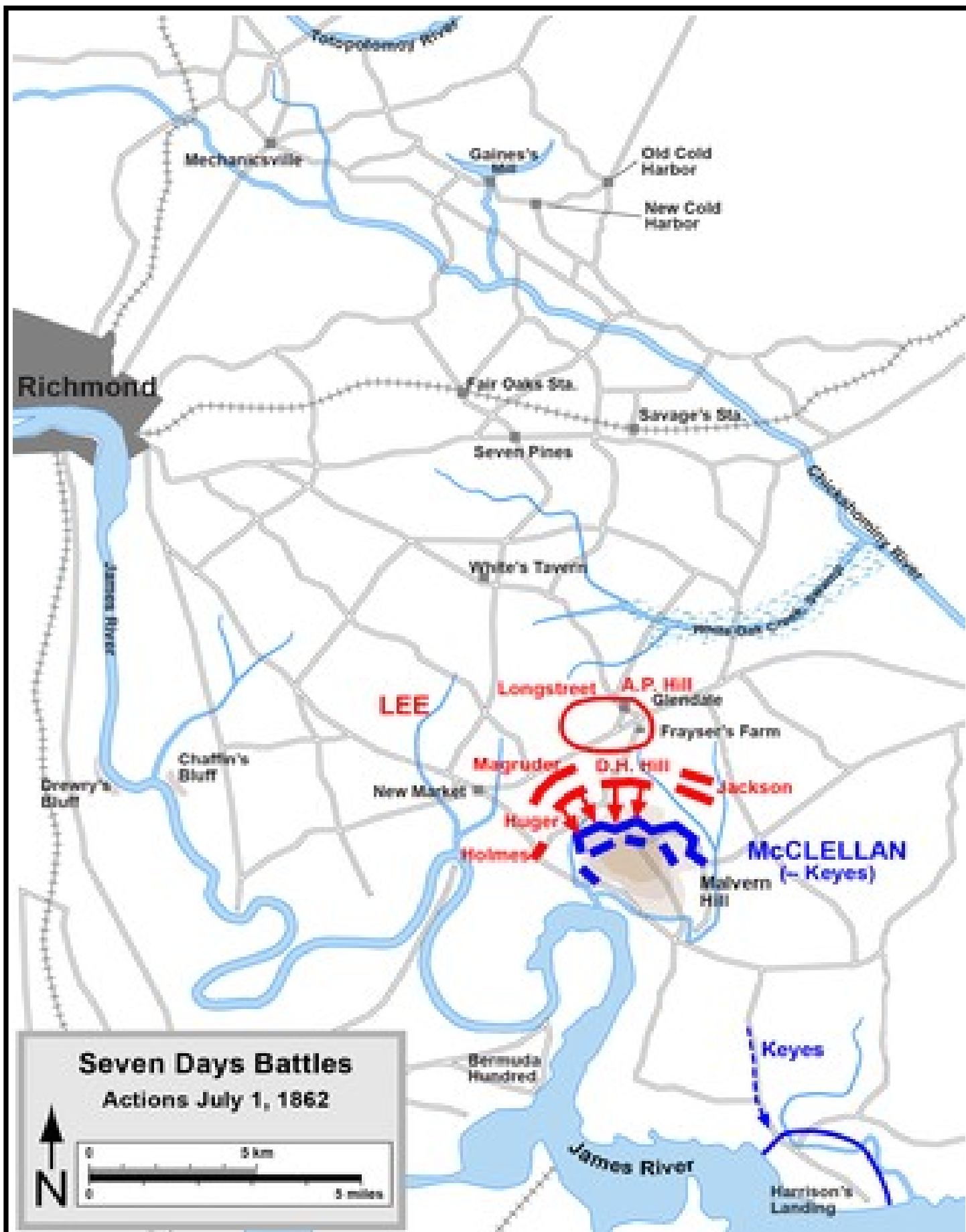
On McCall's flanks, the divisions of Brig. Gen. Joseph Hooker (to the south) and Brig. Gens. Philip Kearny and Henry W. Slocum (to the north), held against repeated Confederate attacks. Brig. Gen. John Sedgwick's division, which had units both in reserve and around White Oak Swamp, came up to fill a gap after a brutal counterattack. Heavy fighting continued until about 8:30 p.m. Longstreet committed virtually every brigade in the divisions under his command, while on the Union side they had been fed in individually to plug holes in the line as they occurred.^[58]

The battle was tactically inconclusive, although Lee failed to achieve his objective of preventing the Federal escape and crippling McClellan's army, if not destroying it. Union casualties were 3,797, Confederate about the same at 3,673, but more than 40% higher in killed and wounded. Although Jackson's wing of the army and Franklin's corps comprised tens of thousands of men, the action at White Oak Swamp included no infantry activity and was limited to primarily an artillery duel with few casualties.^[59]

Malvern Hill

The final battle of the Seven Days was the first in which the Union Army occupied favorable ground. Malvern Hill offered good observation and artillery positions, having been prepared the previous day by Porter's V Corps. McClellan himself was not present on the battlefield, having preceded his army to Harrison's Landing on the James, and Porter was the most senior of the corps commanders. The slopes were cleared of timber, providing great visibility, and the open fields to the north could be swept by deadly fire from the 250 guns^[60] placed by Col. Henry J. Hunt, McClellan's chief of artillery. Beyond this space, the terrain was swampy and thickly wooded. Almost the entire Army of the Potomac occupied the subdivision of Porter's corps on the extreme left and the line extended in a vast semicircle from Harrison's Landing on the extreme right to Brig. Gen. George W. Morell's left, which occupied the geographically advantageous ground on the northwestern slopes of the hill.^[61]





Rather than flanking the position, Lee attacked it directly, hoping that his artillery would clear the way for a successful infantry assault. His plan was to attack the hill from the north on the Quaker Road, using the divisions of Stonewall Jackson, Richard S. Ewell, D.H. Hill, and Brig. Gen. William H.C. Whiting. Magruder was ordered to follow Jackson and deploy to his right when he reached the battlefield. Huger's division was to follow as well, but Lee reserved the right to position him based on developments. The divisions of Longstreet and A.P. Hill, which had been the most heavily engaged in Glendale the previous day, were held in reserve.^[62]

Once again, Lee's complex plan was poorly executed. The approaching soldiers were delayed by severely muddy roads and poor maps. Jackson arrived at the swampy creek called Western Run and stopped abruptly. Magruder's guides mistakenly sent him on the Long Bridge Road to the southwest, away from the battlefield. Eventually the battle line was assembled with Huger's division (brigades of Brig. Gens. Ambrose R. Wright and Lewis A. Armistead) on the Confederate right and D.H. Hill's division (brigades of Brig. Gen. John Bell Hood and Col. Evander M. Law) on the Quaker Road to the left. They awaited the Confederate bombardment before attacking.^[63]

Unfortunately for Lee, Henry Hunt struck first, launching one of the greatest artillery barrages in the war from 1 p.m. to 2:30 p.m. The Union gunners had superior equipment and expertise and disabled most of the Confederate batteries. Despite the setback, Lee sent his infantry forward at 3:30 p.m. and Armistead's brigade made some progress through lines of Union sharpshooters. By 4 p.m., Magruder arrived and he was ordered forward to support Armistead. His attack was piecemeal and poorly organized. Meanwhile, D. H. Hill launched his division forward along the Quaker Road, past Willis Church. Across the entire line of battle, the Confederate troops reached only within 200 yards (180 m) of the Union Center and were repulsed by nightfall with heavy losses.^[64] Maj. Gen. D.H. Hill is quoted as saying that, "It wasn't war, it was murder."

Lee's army suffered 5,355 casualties (versus 3,214 Union) in this wasted effort, but continued to follow the Union army all the way to Harrison's Landing. On Evelington Heights, part of the property of Edmund Ruffin, the Confederates had an opportunity to dominate the Union camps, making their position on the bank of the James potentially untenable; although the Confederate position would be subjected to Union naval gunfire, the heights were an exceptionally strong defensive position that would have been very difficult for the Union to capture with infantry. Cavalry commander Jeb Stuart reached the heights and began bombardment with a single cannon. This alerted the Federals to the potential danger and they captured the heights before any Confederate infantry could reach the scene.^[65]

Aftermath

The Seven Days Battles ended the Peninsula Campaign. Malvern Hill was not a tenable position to stay in, and the Army of the Potomac quickly withdrew to Harrison's Landing, where it was protected by Union gunboats on the James River. The army was in no condition for a renewed offensive; close to 16,000 men and officers had been killed, wounded, or captured between June 25 and July 1, particularly in the V Corps, which had done the heaviest fighting, while the survivors were extremely tired after a week of fighting and marching with little food or sleep, most of the artillery ammunition had been used up, and the summer weather was taking its toll with the army sick lists getting longer and longer. Meanwhile, the equally-exhausted Army of Northern Virginia, with no reason to remain in the James bottomlands, pulled back to the Richmond lines to lick its wounds.

McClellan wrote a series of letters to the War Department arguing that he was facing upwards of 200,000 Confederates and that he needed major reinforcements to launch a renewed offensive on Richmond. McPherson notes that the maximum number of Army of Northern Virginia troops that Lee could bring was, in fact, 92,000.^[67] By giving him the commands in Northern Virginia, troops from the Washington garrison, and whatever forces could be pulled from the West, he argued that he might have a fighting chance. General-in-chief Henry Halleck replied back that McClellan's requests were impossible and that if the Confederate army were really as large as he claimed, then trying to reinforce him with Pope and Burnside's commands in Northern Virginia was suicide, since the Confederates could easily crush either Union army with overwhelming strength. Halleck also pointed out that mosquito season was coming up in August–September, and to remain on the swampy Virginia Peninsula at that time of the year was inviting a disastrous malaria and yellow fever epidemic. On August 4, the order came down for McClellan to withdraw from the Peninsula and return to the Aquia Creek area at once.^[68]

Both sides suffered heavy casualties. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia suffered about 20,000 casualties (3,494 killed, 15,758 wounded, and 952 captured or missing) out of a total of over 90,000 soldiers during the Seven Days. McClellan reported casualties of about 16,000 (1,734 killed, 8,062 wounded, and 6,053 captured or missing) out of a total of 105,445. Despite

their victory, many Confederates were stunned by the losses.^[69] The number of casualties in the Seven Days Battles surpassed the total number of casualties in the Western Theater of the war up until that point in the year.^[70]

The effects of the Seven Days Battles were widespread. After a successful start on the Peninsula that foretold an early end to the war, Northern morale was crushed by McClellan's retreat. Despite heavy casualties which the less populated South could ill afford and clumsy tactical performances by Lee and his generals, Confederate morale skyrocketed, and Lee was emboldened to continue his aggressive strategy through the Second Battle of Bull Run and the Maryland Campaign. McClellan's previous position as general-in-chief of all the Union armies, vacant since March, was filled on July 23, 1862, by Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, although McClellan did retain command of the Army of the Potomac. Meanwhile, Robert E. Lee embarked on a thorough reorganization of the Army of Northern Virginia, forming it into two corps commanded by James Longstreet and Stonewall Jackson. Lee also removed several generals such as John Magruder and Benjamin Huger who had performed poorly during the Seven Days Battles.^[71]

1. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, p.470
2. [^] [Further information](#): Official Records, Series I, Volume XI, Part 3, [page 238](#).
3. [^] [Jump up to:](#) ^a ^b 104,100 according to Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 195: "on June 26, Porter's corps had 28,100; south of the Chickahominy River, the other four corps had 76,000." Rafuse, p. 221, cites 101,434 Union present for duty.
4. [^] [Jump up to:](#) ^a ^b Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 195: "on June 26, Magruder and Huger had 28,900 south of the Chickahominy; Longstreet, A.P. Hill, D.H. Hill, Jackson, and part of Stuart's cavalry brigade, 55,800; Holmes in reserve, 7,300." Rafuse, p. 221, cites 112,220 Confederate present for duty after the arrival of Jackson's command.
5. [^] [Further information](#): Official Records, Series I, Volume XI, Part 2, [pages 21-37](#).
6. [^] **15,855**1,734 killed8,066 wounded6,055 missing/captured according to Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 345.
7. [^] [Further information](#): Official Records, Series I, Volume XI, Part 2, [pages 502-510](#) and [pages 973-984](#).
8. [^] **20,204** total (3,494 killed; 15,758 wounded; 952 missing/captured) according to Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 343.
9. [^] [Jump up to:](#) ^a ^b Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. xi; Miller, pp. 8–18; Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, p. 5; Eicher, pp. 268–74.
10. [^] [Jump up to:](#) ^a ^b Rafuse, p. 220; Miller, pp. 20–25; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 26; Eicher, pp. 275–80.
11. [^] Esposito, text to map 45 (called Stuart's raid "of dubious value"); Time-Life, p. 25–30; Rafuse, p. 221; Harsh, pp. 80–81; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 18–23; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 195–97; Eicher, pp. 282–83.
12. [^] Eicher, p. 283; Time-Life, p. 31; Rafuse, p. 221.
13. [^] Salmon, pp. 96–97.
14. [^] Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 183; Esposito, map 44; Time-Life, p. 31; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 41–43; Salmon, p. 97.
15. [^] Eicher, p. 282; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 195, 359–63.
16. [^] Eicher, pp. 281–82; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, 195, 364–67.
17. [^] Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 43; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 184.
18. [^] Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 185–87; Time-Life, p. 31; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 45; Salmon, p. 98.
19. [^] Eicher, p. 283; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 47–48; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 187–88.
20. [^] Salmon, p. 98; Eicher, p. 283.
21. [^] Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, p. 63; Eicher, p. 283; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 194.
22. [^] Esposito, map 45; Harsh, p. 92; Eicher, p. 284; Salmon, pp. 99–100.
23. [^] Esposito, map 45.
24. [^] Sears, *Young Napoleon*, p. 205.
25. [^] Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, pp. 66, 88; Time-Life, pp. 34–36; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 62, 80–81; Rafuse, pp. 221–25; Salmon, pp. 100–101; Eicher, pp. 283–84.
26. [^] Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 208–209; Eicher, pp. 284–85; Salmon, p. 101.
27. [^] Kennedy, pp. 93–94; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 183–208; Salmon, pp. 99–101.
28. [^] Time-Life, p. 45.
29. [^] Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 210–26; Kennedy, p. 96; Eicher, p. 285; Salmon, pp. 103–106; Time-Life, p. 45; Harsh, p. 94; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 83.
30. [^] Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 89; Eicher, p. 285; Kennedy, p. 96; Salmon, pp. 104–106.

31. Kennedy, pp. 96–97; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 227–42; Salmon, p. 106.
32. ^ Eicher, p. 287.
33. ^ Salmon, p. 107.
34. ^ Eicher, p. 288; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 289.
35. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 249–51.
36. ^ Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 151; Rafuse, p. 225; Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, p. 88; Esposito, map 46; Time-Life, pp. 47–48.
37. ^ Sears, *Young Napoleon*, pp. 213, 219; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 164–65, 200.
38. ^ Salmon, p. 107; Sears, *Young Napoleon*, p. 216; Rafuse, p. 225; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 156; Esposito, map 46; Time-Life, p. 49; Harsh, p. 95.
39. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 247, 258; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 143; Salmon, p. 108.
40. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 258–59; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 170–74; Salmon, p. 108.
41. ^ Salmon, p. 108.
42. ^ Miller, p. 46; Eicher, p. 290; Salmon, p. 111; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 174.
43. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 261; Salmon, p. 110; Eicher, p. 290.
44. ^ Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, 90; Eicher, p. 290; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 261; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 179–84; Salmon, p. 111.
45. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 265–66.
46. ^ Esposito, map 46; Time-Life, p. 50; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 202; Eicher, p. 291; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 267; Salmon, pp. 111–12.
47. ^ Salmon, p. 112; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 270.
48. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 271; Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, p. 93; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 212–20; Salmon, p. 112.
49. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 269–72; Eicher, p. 291; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 191.
50. ^ Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 222–23; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 274; Salmon, p. 112; Eicher, p. 291.
51. ^ Time-Life, p. 52; Rafuse, pp. 227–28; Eicher, pp. 290–91; Kennedy, p. 98; Salmon, p. 113.
52. ^ Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 231–35; Esposito, map 47; Eicher, p. 291; Salmon, pp. 113–15.
53. ^ Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, pp. 97–98; Time-Life, pp. 52, 55; Rafuse, p. 226; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 251–54; Kennedy, p. 100; Salmon, p. 115; Eicher, pp. 291–92.
54. ^ Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 266–67, 275; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 290; Kennedy, p. 100.
55. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 294; Kennedy, p. 100; Time-Life, p. 56; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 275–80; Salmon, p. 116.
56. ^ Esposito, map 47.
57. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 294–99; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 281; Kennedy, p. 100; Salmon, p. 116.
58. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 300–306; Kennedy, p. 100; Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, pp. 104–105; Time-Life, p. 59; Salmon, p. 116.
59. ^ Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 257, 300; Time-Life, p. 60; Salmon, p. 119; Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, p. 307.
60. ^ Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 307, cites 268 "available for use, not including siege artillery."
61. ^ Time-Life, p. 63; Eicher, p. 293; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 309–10.
62. ^ Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, pp. 109–10; Esposito, map 47.
63. ^ Eicher, p. 293; Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, pp. 110–12.
64. ^ Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, pp. 116–19; Eicher, p. 293; Time-Life, pp. 63, 87–71.
65. ^ Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 381–83.
66. ^ Jump up to: ^a Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 391.
67. ^ McPherson, *Tried By War*, p. 97.
68. ^ Rafuse, p. 231; Burton, *Peninsula & Seven Days*, p. 121; Time-Life, p. 72; Eicher, p. 296.
69. ^ Sears, *Gates of Richmond*, pp. 343–45; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, p. 387.
70. ^ McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, p. 471.
71. ^ Harsh, pp. 96–97; Eicher, p. 304; Burton, *Extraordinary Circumstances*, pp. 391–98; Time-Life, pp. 90–92.

Did you Know ???

Did you know that twice in the past, the Coca-Cola Company has sung the praises of Stonewall Jackson and used his image in Life magazine ads?

During Coke's advertising history, they have frequently used the slogan "The Pause that Refreshes." It is with this slogan that the Company used Jackson as an example. The ad even included the battle flag.

In 1931, here is what the Company had to say in its ad:
 "Stonewall Jackson always got there first. On the march he gave his men rations of sugar and at intervals required them to lie down for a short rest. Thus he marched troops farther and faster than any other general in the field. Since his day all marching troops have been given a short rest period out of every hour."

1931 "Stonewall Jackson taught us what the pause that refreshes really means."

1943 Today the pause that refreshes with ice-cold Coca-Cola is a standby of men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps—and a standby of the great army of men and women war workers. Every time you crave a Coke it tells you all over again what it means to morale.

1918 Back in 1918 our fighting men thrilled to certain things. One was, "The man's 'morale' that comes from a Coca-Cola."

To our fighting men and war workers everywhere that fact has new importance. A short pause helps you in any task. A pause for the energy-giving refreshment of ice-cold Coca-Cola helps you even more.

1918 Back in 1918 our fighting men thrilled to certain things. One was, "The man's 'morale' that comes from a Coca-Cola."

Even with war and so many Coca-Cola bottling plants in enemy-occupied countries, our fighting men are delighted to find Coca-Cola being bottled in so many places all over the globe.

The best is always the better buy!

In 1943, during the height of WWII, the Company revived the ad and updated it in support of the war effort. Once again, the Company sang the praises of Jackson's military genius and quoted the 1931 ad and included images of soldiers from WWI and WWII and adding to the original words of praise "To our fighting men and war workers everywhere that fact has new importance. A short pause helps you in any task. A pause for the energy-giving refreshment of ice-cold Coca-Cola helps you even more."

You might recall in January 2019, this column told the story of the inventor of Coca-Cola, Pharmacist Dr. John S. Pemberton who was also LtCol. John S. Pemberton, CSA, of the 3rd Cavalry BN, Georgia State Guard. His tombstone in Columbus, Georgia bears an oval emblem with crossed Confederate flags, the letters "CSA" and the Masonic emblem. It credits him as the "Originator of Coca-Cola" at the bottom. An amazing legacy that sadly, the Company prefers to pretend never existed. How times have changed. Dr. Pemberton would most certainly have approved of these two ads!

Dr. Pemberton's Life-sized bronze statue stands in the plaza entrance greeting visitors to the World of Coca-Cola Museum in Atlanta, GA. He is also represented inside the museum with another life-sized bronze statue depicting him creating the syrup recipe that would later become the world's most famous soft drink.

Compatriots:

The Forrest Homecoming documentary, covering the reinterment of General and Mrs. Nathan Bedford Forrest, was released to the public during a red carpet premiere at the National Confederate Museum this past Friday. Now that the film has been premiered, it is now available through the SCV Shop.

This DVD, created by the Matthews Film Company, tells the complete story of the Forrest's grave relocation and includes interviews with key individuals and shows original footage from the reinterment services held at the Forrest Boyhood Home and Historic Elm Springs during September 2021.

The price per DVD is \$25 plus processing. At this time, we have a strict limit of five DVD's per customer. To order online, follow this link: (<https://scv.org/product/the-forrest-homecoming-dvd/>). To order by mail, send a check for \$32.75 (\$25 plus shipping/processing) to SCV Sales, PO BOX 59, Columbia, TN 38402 with "Forrest DVD" in the memo line of your check.

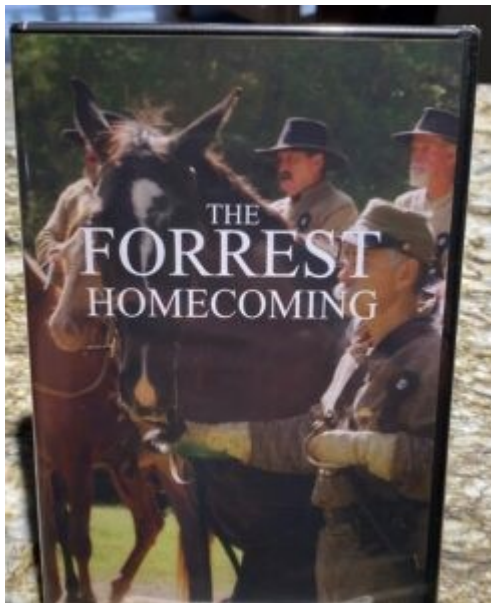
Thank you for your support!
Adam Southern
Executive Director

The Confederate Submarine *Hunley*, the Blue Light, and Its Most Likely Source

By Kim Johnson, June 16, 2022 (originally published June 8, 2020) blueandgrayeducation.org



On the evening of February 17, 1864, 4 miles off the coast of Charleston, the Confederate submarine *H. L. Hunley* became the first submarine in history to sink an enemy warship. But after sinking the USS *Housatonic*, a 1,240-ton screw sloop-of-war, the *Hunley* vanished, lost to the world until found in 1995 by shipwreck hunter and author Clive Cussler. The mystery as to how and why the submarine sank continues to this day. And part of the mystery surrounds the sighting of a blue light by *Housatonic* crewman Robert F. Flemming. Many people believe the blue light was a signal sent by the *Hunley* crew confirming the success of their mission and requesting a light to guide them home.



I think otherwise. I believe another Federal ship is a much more likely source.

Landsman Robert F. Fleming was one of six lookouts assigned to the evening watch (8 p.m.–12 p.m.) on board the doomed *Housatonic* that night. A landsman was the lowest rank of the United States Navy in the 19th and 20th centuries; it was given to new recruits with little or no experience at sea.

Flemming's watch assignment that night was as a lookout on the starboard side of the forecandle, or rather at the front of the ship on the right side. The following is part of his testimony before the official U.S. Navy Court of Inquiry:

Question by the Judge Advocate: Did you see any object on the water approaching the ship just previous to the explosion?

Answer: I did. It was about 8:45 p.m. I saw something off the starboard bow, about two ship's lengths off and reported it to the Officer of the forecandle...By this time the object had got within 30 feet...I ran aft and before I got to my quarters...the explosion took place. Immediately, the ship began to settle by the stern...I then saw the object [the *Hunley*] about six or eight feet from the starboard quarter, apparently stationary and I fired my musket at it.

Question by the Court: Did you see this object at any time after you fired at it?

Answer: I did not...I saw a blue light on the water just ahead of the [nearby rescue ship] *Canandaigua*.

Assuming the blue light Flemming saw did not come from the *Hunley*, what then might have been its source? I have long suspected that the real source was a Union picket boat, a tug, or another larger vessel belonging to the blockading fleet. For proof, I submit the following:

Report of Captain S. C. Rowan (commanding the USS *Ironsides* and senior officer of the blockading fleet at Charleston):

On the loss of the USS *Housatonic*, which was sunk by a torpedo last night, as soon as the signal was made from the *Canandaigua*, "Assistance, in want of," Lt. Commander Belknap went out in a tug [the *Daffodil*].

Log of the USS *Canandaigua*, February 17, 1864:

The tug *Daffodil* from inside the bar communicated with us.

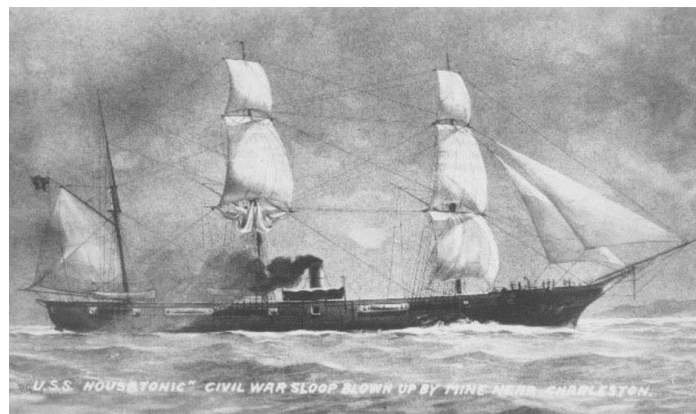
Log of the USS *Wabash*, February 17, 1864:

Tug [the *Daffodil*] came out from inside the bar & communicated with the *Canandaigua*.

I believe the evidence suggests that the *Daffodil* might have been approaching the area of the *Canandaigua* while the crew of the *Housatonic*, clinging to the rigging, was still being rescued. If the *Daffodil* signaled with a blue light, and that seems like a reasonable possibility, then that might have been the light Flemming saw. [Note the *Daffodil*'s deck logs for February 1864 are contained in the National Archives but are currently missing and cannot be found by archives personnel.]

Corporal Daniel McLaurin, 23rd South Carolina, CSA, was stationed at Battery Marshall at the time and had this to say years later: "About sundown the crew went aboard [the submarine] and put out to sea through the inlet ...to search for their prey. The sinking of the *Housatonic* soon followed. We could see the commotion created by the frantic signaling from the various vessels of the fleet."

From this evidence, it seems to me a very good possibility that the blue light most likely came from the tug USS *Daffodil* as it approached the *Canandaigua* and the wreck of the *Housatonic*. The blue light was a recognition signal shown by ships outside the bar to distinguish friend from foe. I think this explanation is a lot more plausible than the belief that the *Hunley* showed a blue light 4 miles out from Sullivan's Island to request that a light be exposed as a guide for its return.



USS *Housatonic*

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