

# MISSIONARY RIDGE

---

## 4TH FLORIDA INFANTRY



---

## FIRST PERSON PACKET

Background information provided by the event organizers to enhance your knowledge of the men you are portraying and provide context for the scenario.

# GENERAL SUMMARY

---

(From the Florida in the Civil War Message Board)

Early in the spring of 1861 ten more companies of volunteers were organized as the 4th Florida Regiment of Infantry and mustered into service July 1, 1861, with Edward Hopkins of Jacksonville, Fla., as Colonel; M. Whitsmith, Lake City, Fla., Lieutenant-Colonel; W. L. Bowen, as Major Lieut. Edward Badger, Adjutant; Capt. James McCay, Quartermaster; Dr. W. S. Weedon, Surgeon; J. M. Kilpatrick, Sergeant-Major; J. P. McLaughlin, Quartermaster-Sergeant; and the following.

## Companies and Captains:

**Company A** - Capt. Charles A. Gee, Gadsden County  
**Company B** - Adam W. Hunter, Franklin County, Beauregard Rifles  
**Company C** - Capt. William H. Dial, Madison County  
**Company D** - William A. Sheffield, Columbia County  
**Company E** - Thomas A. McGhee, Columbia and LaFayette Counties  
**Company F** - James P. Hunt, New River County, (Bradford)  
**Company G** - William Fletcher, Marion and Levy Counties  
**Company H** - W. F. Lane, Washington and Liberty Counties  
**Company I** - Joseph B. Barnes, Jackson County, Dixie Boys  
**Company K** - John T. Leslie, Hillsborough County

Upon the completion of its organization the Regiment was assigned to duty mainly on the Gulf coast, Companies D, E and K being stationed at Tampa Bay; F at Cedar Keys; B, E and I at St. Marks; Companies H and G at Fernandina until the evacuation of that place March, 1862, when they were ordered to Camp Langford near Jacksonville.

Details from Companies F and C, of the 2nd Florida under command of Capt. Walter B. Moore, on July 4, 1861, took the steamer Madison and captured three schooners loaded with railroad irons, and Major Bowen in command of Tampa captured two sloops with their crews.

In May, 1862, the Regiment was reorganized. J. P. Hunt was elected Colonel; W. F. L. Bowen, Lieutenant-Colonel; and Edward Badger Major. Colonel Hunt died September 1, 1862, at Chattanooga, Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen becoming Colonel; Maj. Edward Badger, Lieutenant-Colonel; and Capt. John T. Leslie was promoted Major.

The 4th Regiment became a part of Bragg's Army, being assigned to General Forrest's command; and in this command were engaged at Nashville. On its return to Murfreesboro the Regiment went into camp and remained until late in December, 1862.

On the morning of December 28, 1862, it was ordered to the Lebanon Pike, where it engaged the enemy. On the afternoon of December 28 the 1st, 3rd and 4th Florida were brigaded under Gen. William Preston. This brigade and Palmer's were the last of General Breckenridge's command transferred to the west side of Stone River December 31, and made the final and unsuccessful assault on the Federal center. The 1st and 3rd Florida, under Col. William Miller, gained the cedar brake so prominent in that action; and the 4th, under Colonel Bowen, advanced as far but with much heavier loss. In the engagement the 4th lost 55 killed and wounded. It captured 250 rifles from the enemy.

Ordered back to the east side of the river it was again with Breckenridge January 2, 1863, where it did splendid service; being the last regiment to leave the field and made a gallant fight to save the brigade battery, sustaining heavy loss. First Lieut. S. D. Harris, commanding Co. I, was mortally wounded and left on the field. Sergeant L. N. Miller and Adj. C. C. Burke were also wounded. In this battle, Murfreesboro, the 4th, 458 strong, lost 163 killed and wounded, and 31 missing.

In May, 1863, the brigade, under Gen. M. A. Stovall, was transferred to Mississippi, under General Johnston, to relieve Vicksburg. On July 1 General Johnston reported that "a party of skirmishers of the 1st, 3rd and 4th Florida, 47 Georgians and Cobb's Battery struck the enemy's flank and captured 200 prisoners and the colors of the 28th, 45th and 53d Illinois Regiments.

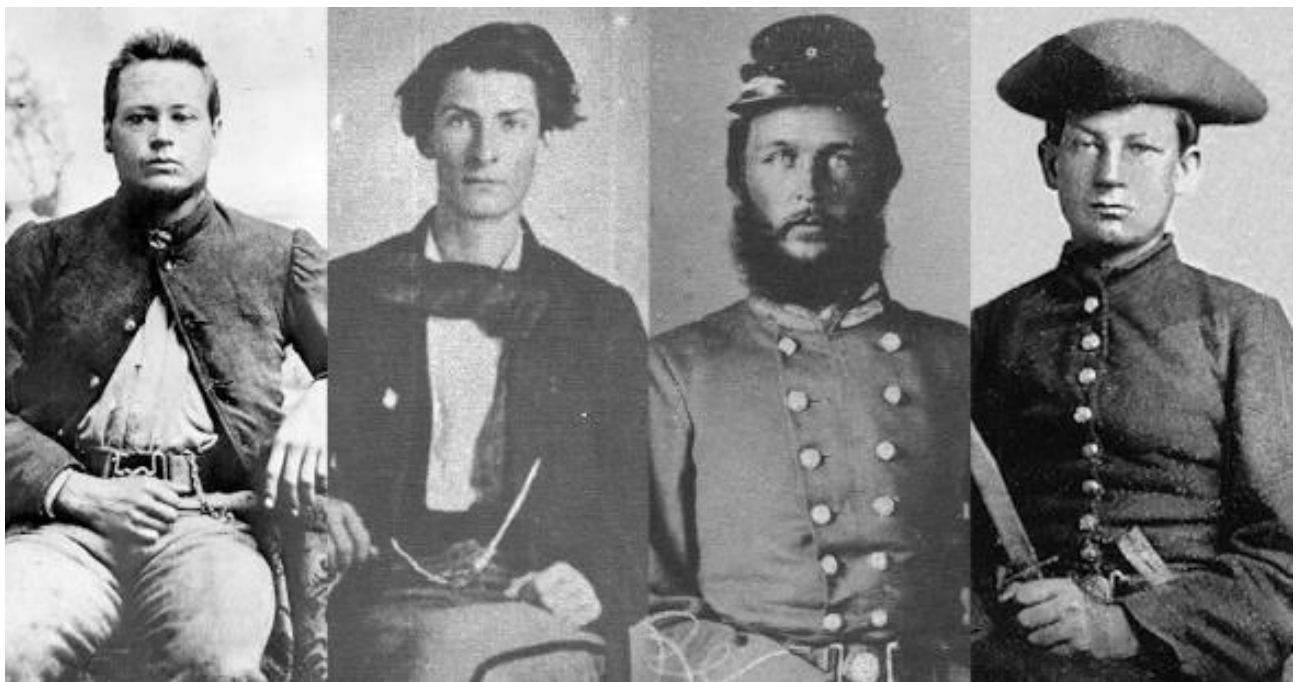
On September 20 the 1st, 3rd and 4th, still with General Stovall, took part in the battle of Chickamauga and again were distrenched.

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

# **BY THE NOBLE DARING OF HER SONS**

## **THE FLORIDA BRIGADE OF THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE**

**By JONATHAN C. SHEPPARD**



**Excerpt of a Dissertation Submitted to the Department of History**

Degree Awarded: Fall Semester, 2008, Copyright © 2008  
Jonathan C. Sheppard, All Rights Reserved

## CHAPTER II

### **“Like Achilles he has girded on his armour”: April - September 1861**

Throughout the spring and summer 1861, Florida armed her sons for war. The basis of the Florida Brigade, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments, mustered into service during this initial wave of patriotic fervor. These three regiments, the bulk of their companies from Middle Florida counties, began serving together in Tennessee in 1862 and remained together until the end. Though they could not know that their common destiny lay at Perryville, Missionary Ridge, and Bennett’s Place, North Carolina, in 1861 the men grew weary guarding the state’s coasts. As Florida’s populace grudgingly abided a Federal presence at Key West, they worried about Federal raids on their coast, and held their breath as conflict loomed at Pensacola.

By noon on January 10, 1861, the ordeal was over and Lieutenant Adam Slemmer could breathe more easily. That morning he oversaw the transportation of his small garrison of artillerymen from Fort Barrancas, near the Pensacola Navy Yard on the mainland, across Pensacola Bay to unoccupied Fort Pickens. The move placed a mile of water between his troops and the secessionists; moreover Slemmer now had the Gulf of Mexico at his back. This meant that the Federal Navy could easily reinforce and supply pentagon-shaped Pickens, which sat amongst sand dunes on the western tip of Santa Rosa Island. The bespectacled Lieutenant hoped that Pickens’ thick walls and heavy ordnance would suffice to discourage an attack by secessionist soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

The next night Alabama state troops arrived at Pensacola and on January 12, together with Florida militia companies, seized the Navy Yard without a fight. Forts Barrancas, whose position commanded the mouth of the bay and McRae, a small installation just opposite Fort Pickens across the ship channel, also fell into the hands of the secessionists. After Lieutenant Slemmer refused several demands for surrender, a few hot-heads among the militia demanded to assault Fort Pickens, but the appointed commander of forces at Pensacola, William Chase displayed caution. A retired Army engineer, Chase had overseen the construction of Fort Pickens, and

---

<sup>1</sup>Johns, *Florida During the Civil War*, 26-27; George F. Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War: A Thorn in the Side of the Confederacy* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 11-14.

though lightly defended, George Pearce argued that the old engineer understood his fort's potential: "Unquestionably, the possibility of heavy casualties resulting from a direct attack by" his "generally poorly trained and badly equipped volunteers was of the utmost importance in any decision to attack the fort."<sup>2</sup>

Chase's decision was upheld by adopted-Pensacola resident and then-U.S. Senator Stephen R. Mallory. The future Confederate Navy Secretary, along with David Levy Yulee and numerous other southern senators, including Mississippian Jefferson Davis, telegraphed Governor Madison Starke Perry on January 18 telling the executive "We think no assault should be made . . . Bloodshed now may be fatal to our cause." Over the next ten days, more troops from Alabama arrived in the Pensacola area; day-after-day the men, standing on the ramparts of Fort Barrancas and McRae, watched Fort Pickens across the blue sheen of the bay.<sup>3</sup>

On January 28, it was discovered that President James Buchanan had ordered reinforcements to the small garrison on Santa Rosa Island. The senators remaining in Washington immediately placed an offer before the lame-duck Buchanan, stating that "the inevitable consequence of re-enforcement under present circumstances is instant war, as peace will be preserved if no re-enforcements be attempted." Buchanan folded, and on January 29 orders went out from the Secretaries of War and the Navy to forces in the Pensacola area, instructing commanders to land the new troops only if Fort Pickens either came under attack or preparations were underway.<sup>4</sup>

The "Fort Pickens Truce" served to dull the sharp calls for fighting at Pensacola. However, as it was attempting to assert its newly-found sovereignty, the Confederacy could not abide the Federal flag flying over its soil. The situation was particularly dire, as Union garrisons blocked both Pensacola and Charleston harbors. Therefore, in early March, despite the uneasy calm, the Provisional Confederate Government, which formed in Montgomery in February, appointed

---

<sup>2</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. I, 444; Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War*, 29.

<sup>3</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. I, 445.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 354-355.

Brigadier General Braxton Bragg to command Confederate forces in West Florida.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, on March 9, 1861, the Confederate Secretary of War dispatched telegrams to the governors of seceded states, calling for troops to report to the Confederacy's vulnerable coastline, with 5,000 designated for Pensacola. In this number, the Confederate War Department required 500 Floridians for service within their state. Governor Madison Starke Perry dispatched the order across the state and almost immediately companies formed and applied for active service. In Jefferson County, the order reached James Patton Anderson.<sup>6</sup>

## II

Above average height and sporting a dark, wiry beard, thirty-nine-year-old James Patton Anderson lived a full life before migrating to Florida in 1857. Born near Winchester, Tennessee in February 1822, Anderson, following his father's death in 1831, lived with his mother's family in Kentucky. As a young man he also lived among northerners, as he attended and graduated in 1840 from Jefferson College in Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania. Following graduation, Patton followed his remarried mother to Hernando, Mississippi, where he served nine months of every year as a deputy sheriff, and spent the summers in Kentucky studying law.<sup>7</sup>

In October 1847, at the height of the Mexican War, the Mississippi governor cut Anderson's newly-established law partnership short, when he asked the young man to form a company for service south of the border. Elected captain, his unit became part of a five-company battalion that departed for Tampico, Mexico in early January 1848. Garrisoned at Tampico, the Tennessean rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, commanded his battalion, and survived a bout of malaria. The Mississippi troops returned home in July 1848 and were mustered out of service. Though

---

<sup>5</sup>James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 267; Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War*, 48.

<sup>6</sup>Richard S. Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels: A Military History of Florida's Civil War Troops".

<sup>7</sup>Richard M. McMurry, "Patton Anderson: Major General, C.S.A." *Blue and Gray Magazine* 1, No. 2 (1983): 10-11; "Sketch of General Anderson's Life," James Patton Anderson Papers, PK Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL. (Hereinafter cited as "Sketch of General Anderson's Life").



Anderson did not see action in the war, Anderson gained invaluable experience in commanding volunteers.<sup>8</sup>

A Democrat, Patton Anderson won election to the Mississippi legislature in 1849 and was seated in January 1850, just as the Compromise crisis was beginning. The new politician allied with another Mexican War veteran and U.S. senator, Jefferson Davis, in combating the proposed compromise. Both were defeated in 1851, Davis while running for Mississippi's governorship, and Anderson for reelection to the state house. Anderson's support of Davis in the fight over the Compromise and during his bid for governor would not go unnoticed by the future Confederate president. In 1853, newly-appointed Secretary of War Davis arranged for Anderson's appointment as a United States Marshal in the Washington Territory.<sup>9</sup>

At thirty-one years old and recently married, Patton Anderson boarded a steamer at New Orleans for Washington Territory. Once in Washington, Patton worked to take an official census and, in his spare time, practiced law. In 1855, the Democrats nominated him to become Washington's non-voting delegate to Congress. Anderson won the election, serving as the territory's delegate until 1857, newly-elected President James Buchanan offered him the position of "Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington." Anderson refused this appointment and instead moved to Jefferson County, Florida to enjoy the climate and manage "Casa Bianca," his aunt's profitable plantation, with 400 acres and 54 slaves.<sup>10</sup>

The immigrant immersed himself in Florida politics, fitting in well with the members of the "South Carolina School." Anderson was a member of Jefferson County's delegation at the Secession Convention in Tallahassee and in February 1861 represented the state in the Provisional Confederate Congress. In between, he had raised a company of volunteers for service at Pensacola. After joining with another unit from Tallahassee at St. Marks, while awaiting a steamer for West Florida, Governor Perry ordered the two companies to return home, as action

---

<sup>8</sup>"Sketch of General Anderson's Life"; McMurry, "Patton Anderson," 11.

<sup>9</sup>"Sketch of General Anderson's Life"; McMurry, "Patton Anderson," 12. In Mississippi, unlike Florida, the Conservatives gained power following the Compromise of 1850 debacle.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.; "Sketch of General Anderson's Life"; Jefferson County, FL Tax Rolls, 1839-1854, 1856-1864, Florida State Archives Microcopy, S28 Roll 33.

was not expected at Pensacola. On March 26, after receiving the Confederacy's request for soldiers, the governor wrote to Patton Anderson, asking the lawyer to raise a company to fulfill a portion of Florida's quota. Across the state, volunteer companies applied to the Governor to become part of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment. Nine companies were chosen to rendezvous at Chattahoochee to form a regiment, elect their officers, and then travel to Pensacola.<sup>11</sup>

### III

Soon after receiving the governor's message, the soldiers of the 10<sup>th</sup> Florida Militia Regiment received orders to assemble at the court house in Monticello. Although the Florida militia went through a reorganization in 1860, and its men elected officers for the companies and regiments throughout the state, Floridians ignored this system as they scrambled to form volunteer units. In Monticello, after the militia formed ranks, Patton Anderson and others gave rousing, patriotic speeches and then called for volunteers. As their members stepped forward to enlist in the company headed to Pensacola, the organized militia units in Jefferson County found themselves gutted.<sup>12</sup>

In Madison on April 2, 1861, "Batchelor," a correspondent traveling in Florida for the *Charleston Daily Courier*, witnessed the ceremony held for Captain Richard Bradford's departing company. The proud "Batchelor" was happy to report to Charlestonians that "the company from this place numbers 80 men, 24 of whom are native Carolinians." At the occasion, women from the Madison Female Seminary presented the Company with a flag; the young ladies requested that the volunteers "preserve it from all strains of cowardice and treachery." Following the flag presentation, the company marched to the Florida Atlantic & Gulf railroad station where local militia fired salutes as the troops boarded the cars for Chattahoochee. The editor of the Madison *Southern Messenger* wrote of the new soldiers, "A nobler band of youths never graced the armies of Rome or Athens or Carthage in their days of renown. . . ." In Apalachicola, too the community

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.; McMurtry, "Patton Anderson," 12; Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War*, 34.

<sup>12</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, March 30, 1861; George C. Bittle, "Florida Prepares for War, 1860-1861" *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 145; For more on the Florida militia in the years before the war see George C. Bittle, "In the Defense of Florida: The Organized Florida Militia from 1821 to 1920" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Florida State University, 1965).



treated volunteers of the Franklin Rifles to a supper and there presented the unit with a flag.<sup>13</sup>

In Tallahassee, “Batchelor” watched a “Battalion of Volunteers” drill in the streets as they awaited the day of departure. The soldiers of one of the two Leon County companies ordered to report to Chattahoochee formed their company in November 1860 and dubbed themselves the “Leon Artillery.” The company, according to member John R. Blocker, met following the state’s secession and “voted to offer our services to the Governor. We were accepted.” Blocker remembered that his company was comprised of all “Tallahassee boys, young, healthy, and many of them wealthy.” Serving in Blocker’s company as privates were George M. Edgar, a V.M.I graduate who taught at the West Florida Seminary, and George Troup Maxwell, formerly a Professor of Obstetrics and diseases of women and children at Oglethorpe Medical College in Savannah.<sup>14</sup>

The majority of the companies that gathered in Chattahoochee during the first week of April hailed from Middle Florida. Of the ten that eventually formed the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment, two originated from Leon, and Franklin, Jackson, Madison, and Jefferson counties each provided one company. This Middle Florida majority became evident, as when the men elected field officers, they chose radical Democrats. Of the remaining four companies, two formed in Alachua County and one each in Gadsden and Escambia. Because the companies were quickly organized, none obtained the number of soldiers officially required under army regulations. As a result, the regiment contained only 700 officers and men when it departed for Pensacola. Also, few

---

<sup>13</sup>William Warren Rogers, “Florida On the Eve of the Civil War as Seen by a Southern Reporter,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 39 (1960), 155; *Madison Southern Messenger*, April 3, 1861, in “Regimental History to Z,” History Vertical Files (copy), Florida State Library, Tallahassee, FL; William H. Trimmer, “A Volunteer in Company B. 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry from Apalachicola,” United Daughters of the Confederacy Scrapbooks, 1900-1935, Vol. 1, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as Trimmer, “A Volunteer in Company B”). The ritual of these ceremonies is described in Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (1943; Reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 20-21.

<sup>14</sup>Rogers, “Florida On the Eve of the Civil War,” 153; John R. Blocker, “Company D, First Florida Infantry” *Confederate Veteran* 20 (1912): 156; n. a. “Col. George M. Edgar” *Confederate Veteran* 22(1914): 85; Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1937), 440-441.

companies possessed uniforms or adequate arms.<sup>15</sup>

Like the soldiers of most Civil War regiments, the volunteers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry elected their noncommissioned and commissioned officers at both the company and regimental levels. As James M. McPherson has written, the practice of using the ballot box in the military became an American tradition in the volunteer ranks because “citizen soldiers remained citizens even when they became soldiers.” Bell Wiley noted that the ability to elect officers “was a privilege jealously cherished by the volunteers, and much ado was made of its exercise.” These early elections became a kind of popularity contest and the men soon discovered if their choice was a wise one. Fortunately for the soldiers, the Conscription Act of 1862 enabled many regiments to reorganize and choose new officers to replace those that proved ineffective.<sup>16</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida chose its officers on April 5, 1861 and to no one’s surprise, elected Patton Anderson as colonel with “no opposition.” For lieutenant colonel, the soldiers chose William Kelly Beard, a thirty-year-old North Carolinian. Raised in St. Augustine and Tallahassee, he was the son of John Beard, a prominent Florida Democratic politician. The younger Beard owned twenty-two slaves in 1860, and prior to the formation of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida operated businesses both in St. Marks and Tallahassee.<sup>17</sup>

Thaddeus A. McDonell of Gainesville became the Major. The only Field Officer native to Florida, the thirty-year-old McDonell was born on Amelia Island but reared in Savannah. The young major was also a rarity by the fact that he owned no slaves. An adventurer, McDonell

---

<sup>15</sup>Nichols, “Florida’s Fighting Rebels,” 8; *Official Records*, series IV, vol. I, 128; J. Patton Anderson to Hon. T. B. Monroe, October 3, 1861. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel # 14, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Hereinafter cited as Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. NA, Washington, D.C.)

<sup>16</sup>McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 128; Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, 19-20; Grady McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat, Vol. 1: Field Command* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 162.

<sup>17</sup>“Sketch of General Anderson’s Life”; Weitz, “The Rise of Radicalism in Antebellum Florida Politics,” 49; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, August 15, 1882; David W. Hartman and David Coles, Compiler and Associate Compiler, *Biographical Rosters of Florida’s Confederate and Union Soldiers, 1861-1865*. 5 Vols. and Index. (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing Co, 1995), I: 2; 1860 U.S. Census, (Slave Schedule), Leon County, Fl; Reel # 110.

traveled to New Orleans for the purpose of joining Narciso Lopez's invasion of Cuba. The young man missed the invasion though, and when word of Lopez's execution reached him in the Crescent City he returned to Florida. In 1857, McDonell began practicing law in Alachua County, and was active in Democratic politics. In the later years of his life, McDonell claimed to have raised the "first company accepted by the Governor of Florida into the Confederate service after the first call for troops had been made." V.M.I. alumnus George M. Edgar, was elected to the rank of Sergeant Major and became the regiment's first drill master.<sup>18</sup>

With the elections completed, the Floridians boarded several steamers for their journey up the Chattahoochee River to Columbus. The steamers were necessary because although two railroad companies, the Florida Atlantic & Gulf Railroad and Florida Railroad, had worked during the 1850s to link East and Middle Florida, no rails were laid westward to unite these regions with West Florida. To further complicate matters, the panhandle's roads remained little more than trails, and marching through would cost significant time. River travel remained the only viable option because no rail connection existed between Middle and East Florida and Georgia. Ironically, the single rail connection that Florida maintained with another state was the Alabama & Florida Railroad, which was intended to carry Alabama goods and cotton to Pensacola and help fasten West Florida's economy to that state. However, in 1861 the road remained unfinished and "it did not run much farther than the [Florida] state line."<sup>19</sup>

Taken north by the chartered steamers *Time* and *William H. Young*, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry reached Columbus, Georgia, on the morning of April 6, 1861. At the River City, the volunteers would board cars for Pensacola. A member of the Jefferson County company, writing as "W.S.," complained that "a more disagreeable trip can hardly be conceived - the accommodation for the men being particularly objectionable." The *Columbus Daily Sun* reported that the new soldiers were "generally a fine looking body and seem to be in excellent health and spirits. They are commanded by intelligent and experienced officers, some of whom, we believe have seen service

---

<sup>18</sup>*Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, March 6, 1901; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 105-106; For McDonell's participation during the secession crisis, see *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, December 8, 1860; "Col. George M. Edgar," 85.

<sup>19</sup>Taylor, *Rebel Storehouse*, 18; Nichols, *Florida's Fighting Rebels*, 7.

on the ‘tented’ field.” The River City’s other paper, *The Daily Enquirer* informed its readers that “most of the companies are uniformed and armed, and have beautiful banners; others have yet to be furnished; and they are generally hardy and fine looking men on whom their country can securely rely.”<sup>20</sup>

Because of the lack of transportation, the men were delayed in leaving Columbus until April 9, when they embarked at the Opelika Depot and traveled west, passing through Auburn and Montgomery, before making the southwest swing toward Pensacola. On April 12, 1861, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment camped near the town of Evergreen, Alabama. As the volunteers bedded down for the night, activity began on the windward beaches of Santa Rosa Island. Launches, rowed from U.S.S. *Brooklyn*, ferried reinforcements in the form of U.S. Marines and artillerymen ashore, thus breaking the Fort Pickens Truce. Though the landing was detected by Confederates, no shooting occurred; several hundred miles to the east though, the night sky over Charleston Harbor shone bright with the bursting of projectiles.<sup>21</sup>

From the moment Braxton Bragg arrived at Pensacola until the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the general worked to improve his positions and ready his troops for war. Throughout the late-spring, Bragg’s soldiers drilled on the parade ground and worked to construct gun emplacements, while the general pondered various ways of seizing Fort Pickens should the need arise. Of the three plans he considered, the general “favored an infantry assault on the fort after its walls had been broken by heavy guns and mortars.” His view was not shared by Confederate President Jefferson Davis, who was unsure Bragg’s attack would carry the fort and “if it failed, the Confederates would be branded as aggressors and have nothing tangible to show for it.” Bragg never received orders to carry out his attack, and therefore Fort Sumter would become the spark

---

<sup>20</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, April 20, 1861; *Columbus Daily Sun*, April 7, 1861; *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, April 9, 1861.

<sup>21</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, April 20, 1861; Trimmer, “A Volunteer in Company B”; Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War*, 64. Pearce noted that Abraham Lincoln decided to reinforce Fort Pickens so to maintain a foothold on southern soil in the likely event Fort Sumter fell. More reinforcements arrived at Fort Pickens on April 16.

for the flames of war and Fort Pickens.<sup>22</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida's soldiers awoke the next morning to find themselves at war, and continued their journey to Pensacola, where on April 19, 1861, they were mustered into Confederate service for twelve months. The regiment was encamped north of the Navy Yard, in what twenty-two-year-old Georgia native Augustus O. McDonell described as "level piece of ground, with dwarf pines, magnolias, and various other shade trees to beautify it." The men dubbed their encampment Camp Magnolia, and amidst swarms of annoying mosquitoes, the volunteers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida were promptly introduced to the life of the soldier.<sup>23</sup>

William Trimmer recalled:

many of us boys imagined they came for a nice easy pleasant time, the heavy details daily imposed on each company soon learned us differently . . . The camp detail was daily kept at work cleaning up the timber, digging up roots of pine trees, leveling the soil and in a few days had prepared a fine parade ground of a few acres. Colonel Patton Anderson had the regiment out for drill at 8 AM and again at 10 AM and at 1 PM. Six hours were daily spent in drilling.

The men worked not only to create a satisfactory camp ground and performed drill, but also toiled at building sand fortifications on the shore of Pensacola Bay. A Quincy newspaper reported in June that, "the drilling has been rigidly enforced, and the result is Florida has a regiment of well disciplined troops . . . prepared to undergo the severest hardships of war." There, through the haze, the men could catch a glimpse of Fort Pickens and their enemies.<sup>24</sup>

Drill became a nearly-everyday necessity for the Civil War soldier, as it helped to instill discipline and instruct the soldiers in military maneuvers. Each moment spent either in company

---

<sup>22</sup>McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 165, 169, 180.

<sup>23</sup>General Orders No. 22, April 19, 1861. General and Special Orders, 1861-1862, Army of Pensacola, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Augustus Oswald McDonell to My Dear Mother, April 28, 1861. Augustus Oswald McDonell Papers, 1861-1864, PK Yonge Library of Florida History. University of Florida, Gainesville, FL. (Hereinafter cited as Augustus Oswald McDonell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.). Augustus O. McDonell was the nephew of Major Thaddeus A. McDonell.

<sup>24</sup>Trimmer, "A Volunteer in Company B"; *Quincy Commonwealth* quoted in *Monticello Family Friend*, June 22, 1861.

or battalion practice helped prepare the regiment for “marching in step, manoeuvring together on the word of a command and forming a front in unison.” Throughout the war, fields near camps were laid bare as the men tramped about, constantly seeking to perfect their ability to move from column to line of battle, maintain their formation during an advance, and dash about as skirmishers. All helped to bring a controlled order to the battlefield, and enabled the men to stand up to the crashing volleys and bayonets of the enemy.<sup>25</sup>

Roderick “Roddie” Gaspero Shaw, a twenty-year-old Quincy resident, was no stranger to tragedy. In 1857, when Roddie was sixteen, both parents and a sister died in a yellow fever epidemic. Roddie and his surviving siblings were reared by relatives, and Shaw enlisted in the Gadsden County Young Guards in 1861. His letters demonstrate that the young man had not lost his sense of humor, as he sarcastically described the hard duty to his surviving sister:

I have a nice time of it now these last hot days working in the sun and especially when digging holes for posts. . . nevertheless I am not one of the Kind to fuss about it. I came for the purpose of making a soldier of myself as long as I was here and lay off the “Gentleman” and “Dandy.”<sup>26</sup>

As spring wore on, Pensacola Bay remained quiet. The soldiers continued to drill and construct batteries for the heavy guns that began arriving in May following the completion of the Alabama & Florida Railroad. Though Fort Pickens’ garrison numbered nearly 1,000 men by mid-May, Bragg continued to plan for an assault. These plans were put on hold indefinitely in late May though, when the Confederate War Department ordered the general to dispatch three regiments to Virginia.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup>Paddy Griffith, *Battle Tactics of the Civil War* (1987. Reprint; New Haven Yale University Press, 2001), 105; Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamison, *Attack and Die: Civil War Tactics and the Southern Heritage* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1982), 49-53.

<sup>26</sup>Roderick G. Shaw to My Dear Sister, May 13, 1861. Roderick G. Shaw Letters, 1861 - 1864. Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.). For mention of the construction of the batteries see both Trimmer, “A Volunteer in Company B,” and Augustus O. McDonell to My Dear Father, April 22, 1861. Augustus Oswald McDonell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>27</sup>Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War*, 76; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 175-177.

In June, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment received its tenth company, the Pensacola Guards, of which the *Pensacola Observer* wrote “In them are centered the bright hopes of the fathers and mothers of our city. They are with a few exceptions all Pensacolians by birth and lineage, but everyone of them are identified with our city and its interests.” Despite this bit of excitement, the inactivity that existed around Pensacola Bay during the Summer jaded the spirits of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida’s soldiers.<sup>28</sup>

Twenty-one-year-old, Tallahassee soldier Thomas Eston Randolph recognized the problems that an attack on Fort Pickens presented to the Confederates, writing home that “in my opinion this will be a second Sebastopol, unless by some means we get a fleet that can drive the yankee ships away, and starve the fort out.” The private also complained “You cant imagine how bad the fleas are in this sand bed, we are literally overrun with them. . . I don’t think any of the plagues which were inflicted on the old Egyptian could have been more terrible than this. I hope we will get through here soon and leave this place.” Thomas’ younger brother William longed for service in Virginia, “the seat of war, where actions are so fierce and frequent.” Loathing the inaction of the Spring and Summer, S. H. Harris argued that the Confederates could have “blowed every” Yankee “off Santa Rosa Island but the mercy goodness of Jefferson Davis would not allow it. I suppose his policy is for a forty year war. . . .”<sup>29</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment not only suffered from boredom that Summer, but due to the quickness with which the companies answered the Governor’s call, a paucity in uniforms, equipment, and weapons manifested itself as well. Upon the regiments’ formation, the companies shouldered a variety of firearms. As William Trimmer related in his memoirs, his company the Franklin Rifles, were issued the Model 1855 Rifle Musket, even while the “Jefferson and Bradford [Madison] Companies drilled with the old flintlock musket. . . .” Before the fall, the Confederate

---

<sup>28</sup>*Pensacola Weekly Observer*, June 9, 1861.

<sup>29</sup>Thomas Eston Randolph to Dear Father, June 28, 1861 and W. D. Randolph to Dear Father, July 23, 1861. Randolph Family Papers. Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as Randolph Family Papers; S. H. Harris to Dear Angie, November 20, 1861. S. H. Harris Papers. Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, VA. (Hereinafter cited as S. H. Harris Papers. MOC, Richmond, VA.). The “Sebastopol” in Thomas Randolph’s letter refers to the Crimean War siege of Sevastopol.



government, in order to standardize the distribution of ammunition, armed nine 1<sup>st</sup> Florida companies with .69 Model 1842 Springfield muskets. The Pensacola Guards were armed with the “Minie musket,” meaning either the .577 Enfield or .58 Springfield Rifled Musket.<sup>30</sup>

Uniforms and accouterments for the soldiers was a different story. Although the Florida legislature allowed \$100,000 in November 1860 to purchase the necessities of war, little action was taken before Florida’s first troops were called up in March 1861. The soldiers did without much of the equipment needed for proper campaigning, including knapsacks, haversacks, and canteens. Not much help was forthcoming from the Confederate government in 1861, and many soldiers had to wait until they encountered Federal soldiers on the battlefield before becoming fully equipped. Captain Alexander Bright of the Pensacola Guards wrote to citizens of that town of the supply difficulties:

It appears from what I can learn from Gen. Bragg that the Confederate States have neither accouterments nor acquipints [sic] for our company at this time . . . . we therefore would respectfully ask you as the Committee of relief to procure as the following articles: 75 cartridge boxes, 75 knapsacks and canteens and tents for our Company that we may be enabled to march to any point that we may be ordered.

Evidently, the Committee made the purchases for a Confederate inspection officer reported that he thought the Guards were “by far the best company in the Florida Regiment.”<sup>31</sup>

## IV

With several thousand Confederate troops at Pensacola, the defense of one of the state’s most populous cities was ensured. However, the more than 1,500 miles of coastline with its countless inlets, bays, and numerous rivers allowing access to the interior of the state caused Florida officials

---

<sup>30</sup>Trimmer, “A Volunteer in Company B”; Monticello *The Family Friend*, October 5, 1861; Patton Anderson to Hon. T. B. Monroe, October 3, 1861. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel # 14. NA, Washington, D.C. See also Jonathan C. Sheppard, “Everyday Soldiers: The Florida Brigade of the West, 1861-1862,” (Unpublished MA Thesis, Florida State University, 2004), 18.

<sup>31</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, October 5, 1861; Bittle, “Florida Prepares for War,” 144; Captain Alexander H. Bright to Missers Cambell, Louge, and Abercrombie, May 31, 1861. Captain A. H. Bright Letter. PK Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL.

to worry. Ex-Whig George T. Ward, who would die commanding the 2<sup>nd</sup> Florida Infantry at Williamsburg, warned in May 1861 that the forces of “the North . . . will be directed against our sea-coast and its property, and they will endeavor to ravage . . . the coast of Florida. The capital of the last-named State is in close proximity to the Gulf-twenty miles by railroad-and in the midst of the most dense negro population and the largest plantations in the state.”<sup>32</sup>

Ward continued in his letter to Secretary of War Leroy Pope Walker, “If the plantations belonging to our Gulf coast are ravaged or deserted, to avoid the plunder of negroes (not to speak of insurrection), the capacity of the country to contribute to the war is at an end.” Though the Confederate Secretary of War might not have heeded Ward’s advice, the possibility of a Federal invasion was very much in the mind of Governor Madison Starke Perry.

In April 1861, soon after Florida responded to the first Confederate troop quota, the government called upon the “Land of Flowers” to raise 2,000 more soldiers to fight for the Confederacy. Using this quota, Governor Perry wished to raise a regiment to represent Florida in Virginia; the War Department accepted the 2<sup>nd</sup> Florida Infantry into its service for this purpose. However, the Governor, also concerned with the defense of the state, wrote on June 1, “We have batteries erected at several points on the coast, requiring at least two regiments to garrison.” To defend the population and property of Florida from incursions from the coast, from this April quota and one issued in June 1861, the state formed the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments.<sup>33</sup>

In June, the Governor’s office began dispatching instructions to volunteer companies throughout the state with instructions to report to Fernandina. There the companies united to create the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment and elect its officers. The regiment that formed on Amelia Island derived five companies from East Florida and four from the Middle region, with two companies each from Duval, Columbia, and Jefferson counties. Madison, St. Johns, and Walkulla counties also contributed volunteers to the new regiment. Hernando County provided South

---

<sup>32</sup>Ridgeway Boyd Murphree, “Rebel Sovereigns: The Civil War Leadership of Governors John Milton of Florida and Joseph E. Brown of Georgia, 1861-1865,” (Unpublished Dissertation, Florida State University, 2007), 34; *Official Record*, series 1, vol. 1, 466.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, Series 4, Vol. 1, 211, 221, 412; Series 1, Vol. 1, 469; Nichols, “Florida’s Fighting Rebels,” 10-12.

Florida's lone company, the "Wildcats."<sup>34</sup>

An interesting element of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry is that several of its companies were established minutemen organizations. The "Florida Independent Blues" from St. Augustine formed in May 1860 in response to the Charleston Democratic convention, and its members belonged to "some of the town's best known families." The unit's commander, John Lott Phillips, was born on the island of St. Helena in 1812 and came to the United States as a young man. A captain in the Second Seminole Indian War, the half-British, half-German Phillips also held numerous public offices in St. Augustine.<sup>35</sup>

The Jacksonville Light Infantry, which became Company A of the regiment, was an even older unit, having been organized in April 1859. The company could also claim the title of best dressed in the regiment, as its members owned uniforms of "blue cloth, with three rows of brass buttons in the front, and high caps with black pompons, also white pants in warm weather, other times blue cloth." The company carried a silk battleflag bearing the slogan "Let Us Alone," presented to it by the ladies of Jacksonville. The Light Infantry were commanded by Dr. Holmes Steele, a newspaper editor and former mayor of the city<sup>36</sup>

The majority of the regiment's companies though, were those raised following secession and the call for volunteers. One such unit, the "Jefferson County Beauregards" organized on April 26, 1861 and promptly elected Daniel Butler Bird, a planter whose holdings included 1,500 acres and 44 slaves, and a Florida Militia Brigadier General, as Captain. A local citizen spoke to the newly-organized company, telling the soldiers, "We are in for the war, and we must act the man . . . We'll teach the fanatics, that we are all true men, That our homes, our fire side and freedom we'll defend." Mustered into state service in mid-May, the local paper reported the "Beauregards"

---

<sup>34</sup>Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels," 17-18.

<sup>35</sup>Coles, "Ancient City Defenders," 65-66; Anthony Joseph Iacono, "So Far Away, So Close To Home: Florida and the Civil War Era" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Mississippi State University, 2000), 53.

<sup>36</sup>*Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, September 26, 1908, quoted in Richard A. Martin and Daniel L. Schafer, *Jacksonville's Ordeal By Fire* (Jacksonville: Florida Publishing Company, 1984), 24.

camped near Monticello “for the purpose of daily drill, until ordered to some point by President Davis.” Numbering sixty-two men, the “Beauregards” received orders to report to Amelia Island in June.<sup>37</sup>

Jefferson County’s other company in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, the “Jefferson Rifles” formed late in 1860 and lost many members to Patton Anderson’s Pensacola volunteer company. The reduced outfit offered its services to Governor Perry on May 6, 1861, hoping for attachment to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Florida Infantry. Instead, in July the state government ordered the “Rifles” to report to Fernandina. Because the company numbered but forty-five soldiers, its commander, William O. Girardeau, the former headmaster of the Jefferson Academy, began a hasty recruiting drive, which included a stop at the nearby Waukeenah Academy. Girardeau spoke to the Academy’s young men during their Summer Examination and seventeen students enlisted. The school’s headmaster, Samuel Pasco, had mustered in that May, and probably had planned to close the school.<sup>38</sup>

The twenty-seven-year-old principal was not a southerner, nor a native of the United States. Born in London in 1834, Pasco’s ancestors hailed from Cornwall, and his father John Pasco worked as a temperance advocate. Young Pasco migrated with his family across the Atlantic to Prince Edward’s Island in 1841; in 1843, the family moved to Charlestown, Massachusetts. Samuel Pasco grew to maturity in Charlestown, developing an affable personality, being described in later years as “genial and social in disposition, and easy to approach.” The young man reached medium height, and carried a head of “raven black hair.” A pair of dark eyes sat above a

---

<sup>37</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, May 4, 1861 and May 18, 1861; Jefferson County Tax Rolls, FSA; 1860 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule), Columbia County, Fl; p. 175, family 57, dwelling 57, lines 35-44 National Archives Microcopy M653, Reel # 109.

<sup>38</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, April 20, 1861, June 29, 1861, and August 10, 1861; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1887. Because antebellum-Florida had only a fledgling public school system, the majority of the education provided to the state’s youths came from academies. These institutions used public examinations at the end of each term to allow the students to demonstrate their knowledge. These ceremonies also included the recitation of speeches and singing of popular songs. For more on these examinations, see Robert C. Crandall, “Academy Education in antebellum Florida, 1821-1860” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Florida State University, 1987). For an example of the examinations, see *Monticello Family Friend*, July 28, 1860.

protruding nose, wide lips, and sharp chin.<sup>39</sup>

The young Englishman received his education at Charlestown High School and graduated from Harvard in 1858. Pasco did not wait long for employment, for as one of his former students noted at Pasco's funeral, Jefferson County's planters, "ambitious for their sons and reaching out for the very best engaged the services of most excellent Harvard to secure them a young man worthy of the work. Samuel Pasco was Harvard's answer."<sup>40</sup>

Arriving in Jefferson County in 1859, Pasco had "never identified himself with any political party, and had not even voted." However, the "two years spent in the intimacy that the warmhearted Southern hospitality soon established between [Samuel Pasco] and the families of his pupils, completely won him over to the cause of the South. . . ." Following the announcement that the "Rifles" were departing for Fernandina, the academy trustees publicly proclaimed of their young teacher "like Achille[s] he has girded on his armor and [is] ready for the fight" and "that should he at any time during the war need assistance, in any way which can be in our power to tender, we will most cheerfully do it. And we hereby assure our young friend that he will always find a home in our families, and a friend in every member of our households."<sup>41</sup>

The "Jefferson Rifles" bivouaced at the Jefferson County Courthouse on the evening of July 23, and made ready to march to the depot the following morning. Lemuel Moody, a plantation overseer in the county, and member of the company, wrote from Monticello that night: "Give my love to all my young friends and tell them that I am" taking "oup Arms a gainst Ole Abe." As the soldiers boarded the train the next morning, Samuel Pasco, writing behind the pseudonym "INOE," recalled that "the manly words of encouragement and advice, the sea of beautiful faces, the bright

---

<sup>39</sup>*Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1887.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*; Gen B. W. Partridge, "Samuel Pasco," in Samuel Pasco, *Private Pasco: A Civil War Diary*. Transcribed by William Pasco and William Gibbons. (Oak Brook: McAdams Multigraphics, 1990), 186 (Hereinafter cited as Pasco, *Private Pasco*).

<sup>41</sup>*Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1887; Samuel Pasco, Jr., "Samuel Pasco (1834-1917)," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 7 (1928): 135; *Monticello Family Friend*, August 3, 1861.

eyes striving to smile in the midst of their tears . . . made our parting easier.”<sup>42</sup>

The journey to Fernandina became a nightmare for the volunteers, as they were confined to two box cars and exposed to almost constant rain and gnawing hunger. “INOE” expressed disappointment that the soldiers had to devour food prepared by the ladies of Monticello on the trains rather than savor the home cooked meals in camp. However, “INOE” admitted to the folks back home, “some of the companies that have arrived since we came who have been so well cared for by the dear ones at home have been nearly starved before they could draw their supplies from the Commissary and cook them.”<sup>43</sup>

On July 25, upon the rendez-vous at Fernandina, the soldiers set about the task of electing their regimental officers, and William Scott Dilworth, then a private in the “Jefferson Beauregards,” with the backing of the Jefferson County and Middle Florida companies, became colonel. Dilworth’s campaign for the position began in May, when the editor of *The Family Friend* wrote a strong piece favoring the lawyer. “We will not pretend to say,” wrote the editor, “that he is thoroughly conversant with military tactics and discipline, but he has the capacity and mind to speedily acquire all necessary information; he is brave and chivalrous, and at the same time, possessed of cool, calculating judgement - all of which is very desirable in a commanding officer.”<sup>44</sup>

Dilworth, a Georgian by birth, was thirty-nine years old that summer. Though Dilworth, who became a widower in 1858, was long an advocate of secession, his ancestors, at least on his father’s side, were loyalists, as his grandfather commanded a Royal Navy frigate during the Revolution. Dilworth himself was born in Camden County, Georgia in May 1822, and his father died that September. He moved to Florida, probably in the early 1840s, where he practiced law

---

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., August 17, 1861; Lemuel Moody to My Dear Sister, July 23, 1861. Lemuel Moody Letters. Collection of Zack C. Waters, Rome, GA. (Hereinafter cited as Moody Letters. ZCW, Rome, GA.).

<sup>43</sup> *Monticello Family Friend*, August 17, 1861.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., May 4, 1861; Nichols, “Florida’s Fighting Rebels,” 17. See also William T. Stockton to Adjutant General Samuel Cooper, August 11, 1861, in Herman Ulmer, Jr., Transcriber. *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869* (Privately Published, 1989), 66-a.

and became involved in Democratic politics. By 1860 Dilworth, who owned 2,200 acres and forty-two slaves, was elected to the state legislature during the 1850s and that same year his name was mentioned at the State Democratic convention for a possible Congressional bid. Though the Democrats chose another candidate for Congress, Jefferson County sent Dilworth to the State Secession Convention in Tallahassee where he voted for disunion.<sup>45</sup>

Little is known, however regarding Dilworth's subordinates. Because of the split in companies from East and Middle Florida though, it appears each region won representation in the regiment's high command. Arthur J. T. Wright, a Georgian residing in Columbia County, became lieutenant colonel, and Madison County's Lucius A. Church won the position of major. Arthur Wright, at age thirty-three, served as a major in a state militia regiment and was a highly prosperous merchant in Lake City. He also gained command experience during brief service in the Third Seminole Indian War. The store-owner owned nine slaves, and represented Columbia County at the Secession Convention, where he cast a vote for secession. Lucius A. Church, a twenty-nine-year-old Georgia native, owned a plantation in Madison County, no doubt given to him by his father. The elder Church served as postmaster of Madison and owned numerous slaves. The newly-minted Major spent one term in the state legislature during the 1850s, and ran unsuccessfully as a Constitutional Union candidate in 1860.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup>Folks Huxford, Complier. *Pioneers of Wiregrass Georgia*. 10 Volumes. (Waycross: Herrin's Print Shop, 1967), 3: 73; *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, March 8, 1851 and June 16, 1860.

<sup>46</sup>Washington M. Ives, Jr., Diary, 1860-1862, December 27, 1860. Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL (Hereinafter cited as Ives Diary. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.); 1860 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule), Columbia County, FL; p. 175, family 57, dwelling 57, lines 35-44 National Archives Microcopy M653, Reel # 109; A.J.T. Wright. Service Records - FL Seminole Wars; National Archives Microcopy S608, Reel # 52. Wright served as a Captain for one month and as Lieutenant Colonel for two; U.S. Census, (Free Schedule), Madison County, FL; p. 163, family 106, dwelling 106, lines 36-40 National Archives Microcopy M653 Reel # 108; Ralph A. Wooster, "The Florida Secession Convention," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (1958): 383; Larry Eugene Rivers, "Madison County, Florida - 1830-1860: A Case Study in Land, Labor, and Prosperity," *Journal of Negro History* 78 (Autumn, 1993): 238; "Representatives by Session, 1858" Vertical Files, Florida State Library; See also C. S. Livingston Letter (copy). Lewis G. Schmidt Research Collection. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, July 31, 1860.



The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment's companies never served together during the unit's time in Florida, save a period just before it departed for active service.. Instead, the various outfits were dispersed to strategic locations on the Atlantic seaboard. Six companies were stationed around vital Fort Clinch on Amelia Island, where the duty was similar to that of the troops at Pensacola. Of the early days near Fernandina, Company C soldier, nineteen-year-old Benton Ellis recalled, "we were being drilled, and were engaged in building batteries of sand, . . ." Two units went to Jacksonville to man an earthwork at the mouth of the St. John's River, and two others garrisoned the Castillo in St. Augustine. In August at these locations, Confederate officers mustered the volunteers into service for twelve months.<sup>47</sup>

## V

While the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida's companies deployed to various locations along Florida's Atlantic Coast, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry's units were scattered to defend vital ports on the Gulf. The latter regiment's companies traveled to their assigned locales during May and June, and the soldiers selected their regimental officers on July 1. Though officers were elected, Confederate officials did not muster the various companies into the Confederate Army until August and September. Until then, the units remained in the service, and pay, of the state.<sup>48</sup>

The 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry maintained the same characteristic of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiments, in regards to its composition, save for one West Florida company. Other than these outsiders, the regiment's Middle Florida soldiers came from Jackson and Franklin counties west of the Apalachicola River, and others contained men from Madison, Suwannee, and Lafayette counties. East Florida provided two Columbia County outfits; New River, [now Bradford] Marion, and Levy Counties contributed as well. South Florida's lone representative in the regiment was a

---

<sup>47</sup>Monticello *The Family Friend*, July 20, 1861; Martin and Schafer, *Jacksonville's Ordeal By Fire*, 33-34; Janet Hewett, Noah Andre Trudeau, and Bryce A. Suderow, eds., *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. 100 Vols (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing, 1994-1998), V: 247-266; T. B. Ellis, Sr., "A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.," 1. T. B. Ellis, Sr., Biographical File, Florida State Library, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>48</sup>Ives Diary, June 11, 1861. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

Hillsborough County unit.<sup>49</sup>

Possibly because of Jackson County's strong conservative population, combined with Columbia County, which gave the majority of its votes to the Constitutional Unionists in the 1860 election, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry selected an ex-Whig and former Constitutional Union gubernatorial candidate Edward Stephens Hopkins as its colonel. "The plough-boy of old Duval," as his supporters dubbed Hopkins, during the 1860 campaign, was at fifty-one, the oldest man to hold a colonelcy in any of the Florida Brigade's regiments during the war. A gaunt-faced gentleman, he possessed long features and a shock of dark hair.<sup>50</sup>

Like Dilworth, the older gentleman possessed little military experience, though Hopkins had volunteered during the Second Seminole Indian War, and then as an elected Brigadier General in the Florida State Militia during the 1850s. The colonel exhibited unquestionable courage though, as in 1839 he fought a savage duel against General Charles Floyd. The two men met on Amelia Island, their choice of weapons: shotguns, pistols, and Bowie knives. Starting with the shotguns, the two continued with the pistols and Bowie knives until one, or both, were dead. They did not need the pistols and Bowie knives though, for after the two antagonists exchanged shotgun blasts neither could continue. While Floyd somehow stayed on his feet, Hopkins collapsed, his body riddled with buckshot.<sup>51</sup>

Born into a wealthy family in McIntosh County, Georgia, in January 1810, the future 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Colonel was, for much of his life, a slave-owning planter. A life-long conservative, Hopkins gained an appointment from President William Henry Harrison as Brunswick, Georgia customs collector, a position he kept until 1844, at which time he migrated to Florida. A State Senator in the 1850s, Hopkins campaigned as the Constitutional Union gubernatorial candidate in 1860. Eager to fight, Hopkins inquired of Secretary of War Walker in May 1861, "If an efficient company is tendered for the war, will they be received and ordered to the frontier on active . . .

---

<sup>49</sup>Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels," 13.

<sup>50</sup>For Jackson County's strong Whig population see Doherty, Jr., *The Whigs of Florida*, 16. See *St. Augustine Daily Examiner*, October 6, 1860 for election results with majorities for Hopkins and Milton; *Cedar Keys Telegraph*, September 15, 1860.

<sup>51</sup>*Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, September 29, 1887.

duty?<sup>52</sup>

Another conservative, Mathew Whit Smith, became the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida's Lieutenant Colonel. Born in Tennessee in 1814, Smith came to Florida as a volunteer during the Second Seminole Indian War and remained. A lawyer in Columbia County, Smith was Lake City's first mayor, and also owned a Jacksonville newspaper. Against secession, he made an unsuccessful bid to represent Columbia in Tallahassee during the convention. However, after the state seceded, Smith, like many other ex-Whigs joined with the disunionists to protect their interests. As soon as the regiment's companies gained their places at points along the Gulf Coast, Smith took command of the Cedar Keys detachment.<sup>53</sup>

A protégé of Smith, Wylde Lyde Latham Bowen, won the position of major of the new regiment. The twenty-two-year-old Bowen hailed from Grainger County, Tennessee, and had graduated from Mossy Creek Baptist College early in 1860. That same year, Bowen read law in the Columbia County law office of M. Whit Smith and Washington Ives, Sr. Following the election, Major Bowen commanded the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry's three companies at Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay.<sup>54</sup>

By the end of September, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment remained dispersed, mainly along the Gulf Coast. Three companies remained at Fort Brooke under Bowen's command, and another three defended the inlet at St. Marks. A single company garrisoned Cedar Keys, and two others

---

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.; Huxford, *Pioneers of Wiregrass Georgia* VI: 212-214; Edward Hopkins to Secretary of War, May 25, 1861. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, M437, Reel # 3. NA, Washington, D.C.

<sup>53</sup>*Tallahassee Semi-Weekly Floridian*, September 11, 1866; 1860 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule), Columbia County, FL; p. 175, family 54, dwelling 54, lines 18-22 National Archives Microfilm M653, Reel # 109; Ives Diary, December 22, 1860. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>54</sup>n.a. "Bowen Line." Bowen Genealogical File, Collection of Zack C. Waters. Rome, GA.; 1860 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule), Columbia County, FL; p. 175, family 54, dwelling 54, lines 18-22 National Archives Microfilm M653, Reel # 109. See also M. Whit Smith letter in Wylde L. Bowen, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Florida, 1861-1865*. Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, D.C. National Archives Microfilm M251 Reel # 52 (Hereinafter cited as *CSR*, with appropriate reel number).

reinforced the garrison of Fernandina.

## VI

As summer gave way to fall, Florida's first volunteers became Confederate soldiers. Drilled in the manual of arms and hardened by the physical labor of clearing ground for camps, constructing batteries, and mounting cannon, the men slowly conformed to military life. As they remained on the coast though, eyeing Union blockading ships and at Pensacola, Fort Pickens, most longed for battle. Though the months ahead answered this wish, time also delivered aggravation, as the Floridians fought against not only the Federal army, but also disease, and their own politicians.

**CHAPTER III**  
**“The war trumpet is sounding its blasts in every direction around us”:**  
**October - December 1861**

Throughout the fall months, Florida’s soldiers remained in their tents attempting to ward off the boredom that threatened to conquer their spirits long before they had a chance to fight the Yankees. During this relatively dull period, the troops experienced only spurts of excitement. Disease claimed its first victims during these months, which, along with inaction, sobered the volunteers’ hearts. Meanwhile, their regimental leaders traded partisan jabs with newly-inaugurated Governor John Milton, over the administration of the war in Florida. With morale low, the thoughts of uniting for Florida remained far from the minds of most.

On Pensacola Bay, the feelings of dissatisfaction at the inactivity and constant boredom were not confined to enlisted men alone. Colonel Patton Anderson and Company I Captain Thompson B. Lamar, the brother of southern statesman, L. C. Q. Lamar, both yearned for action and the chance, possibly, to serve in units from their home states. Writing to a relative in early October, though Anderson praised his men, noting “I have an excellent Regiment here . . . it is well disciplined and drilled,” he expressed his desire to serve at the front. The Kentucky-raised Tennessean confessed, “I am in a perfect fever to get to [Kentucky] in her hour of need . . . If the [President] insists on keeping me here on a peace establishment all winter, I will resign and join Gen. [Simon Bolivar] Buckner’s ranks as a private.”<sup>1</sup>

Even before Anderson’s issued his plea to serve in Kentucky, he and fellow Jefferson County resident Lamar asked permission to raise “strictly a Confederate Regiment - not from any particular state, but from each state.” The two men argued that they were “citizens of Florida but have a very general acquaintance in the States of Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia” and entertained “no doubt that from these States a Regiment can be promptly organized which will enlist for the war.” The two officers intended, as an ad in *The Family Friend* boasted, that the

---

<sup>1</sup>Anderson to Hon T. B. Monroe, October 3, 1861. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel # 14. NA, Washington, D.C.

regiment was meant for “active service” in Kentucky.<sup>2</sup>

Anderson and Lamar attempted to exploit the fact that the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida did not possess the correct number of soldiers required by Confederate Army regulations. Anderson in both letters alluded to the fact that “Death, disease and discharges from other causes have reduced it [1<sup>st</sup> Florida] to a mere battalion.” Writing from Tallahassee, J. H. Randolph explained to Confederate Major George Fairbanks, “I understand there is a plan also on foot to change the Regt which is not full, into a battalion and thus leave the higher officers free to be transferred to other regiments.”<sup>3</sup>

Less than a week after Patton Anderson wrote his request for a transfer to Kentucky, the Colonel came under enemy fire for the first time in his life. During September, Union sailors and Marines carried out two daring raids within Pensacola Bay, burning both a wooden dry dock and the *Judah*, a privateer fitting out for sea. In retaliation, General Bragg ordered a raid against Santa Rosa Island to take place on the night of October 8-9. By September, the number of Union soldiers and Marines on Santa Rosa Island had grown so that many pitched their tents outside the protective walls of Fort Pickens. The 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment, New York Volunteers’ encampment lay nearly a mile from the fort and was plainly seen through Confederate field glasses. Along with Federal artillery batteries, this encampment became the target for Bragg’s forces.<sup>4</sup>

Braxton Bragg’s attack plan called for three ad hoc battalions, consisting of soldiers from the various regiments under his command. Bragg named Colonel Patton Anderson to lead the second battalion, which included 180 soldiers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida, companies of the 7<sup>th</sup> Alabama, and

---

<sup>2</sup>J. P. Anderson and T. B. Lamar to S. Cooper, September 25, 1861. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel # 11. NA, Washington, D.C.; *Monticello Family Friend*, November 21, 1861.

<sup>3</sup>Anderson to Hon. T. B. Monroe, October 3, 1861. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel # 14. NA, Washington, D.C.; J. H. Randolph to My Dear Friend, August 16, 1861. Fairbanks Collection, 1817-1942, Special Collections. Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as Fairbanks Collection, 1817-1942. FSU, Tallahassee, FL.).

<sup>4</sup>Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War*, 110-117; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 192-193; *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 461; John Matthew Brackett, “The Naples of America, Pensacola During the Civil War and Reconstruction,” (Unpublished MA Thesis, Florida State University, 2005), 14.

Louisiana troops as well. The other battalions were led by Colonels James R. Chalmers and John K. Jackson, with Brigadier General Richard H. Anderson in overall command. A smaller, fourth group, under a Lieutenant Hallonquist, was designated to carry out the spiking of cannon and destruction of the enemy's camp.<sup>5</sup>

On the evening of October 8, as soldiers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida readied for dismissal from drill, the captains passed through the ranks of their companies, spreading the word of the impending attack. Each captain was to select eighteen men from their unit, and in the Franklin Rifles, "The orderly sergeant, Abbot, called out: 'All who want to go step out two paces!' At the command nearly the entire company stepped forward. Captain [William] Cropp ordered the married men back . . . these were finally selected and held in readiness." Roddie Shaw, with the Gadsden County "Young Guards" on guard duty at the Navy Yard, related that: "There were men from 6 companies in the reg. the others being on important detached service could not leave their posts."<sup>6</sup>

At Pensacola, around ten o'clock, the raiders, white cloth tied round their right arms to distinguish friends from foe, boarded a motley assortment of vessels for the eight-mile journey to Santa Rosa Island. Reaching their destination just after two a.m., Confederate troops waded ashore several miles from the 6<sup>th</sup> New York's camp. The commanders of the battalions gathered their soldiers and immediately began moving silently westward toward their intended targets.<sup>7</sup>

Chalmers' troops moved along the northern shore of the island, while Patton Anderson's column skirted the Gulf beaches. Colonel John Jackson's men moved over the dunes that formed the topography in the center of the island. The objective of these soldiers was, in the words, of

---

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.; Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War*, 115. Three of the Confederate commanders in the Battle of Santa Rosa Island eventually commanded divisions; Richard Anderson in Longstreet and Hill's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, Patton Anderson in the Army of Tennessee, and James Chalmers in Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry. John K. Jackson later commanded a brigade in the Army of Tennessee.

<sup>6</sup>W. H. Treinner [Trimmer], "Experiences at Fort Pickens, Fla., 1861.," *Confederate Veteran* 19 (1911): 337; Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, October 9, 1861. Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>7</sup>W. J. Milner, "Battle of Santa Rosa Island," *Confederate Veteran* 11 (1903): 20-21; Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War*, 115.



General Richard Anderson to “place their commands, if possible, between Fort Pickens and the camp of the enemy . . . with orders to do whatever damage he could to the batteries, buildings, and camps from which the enemy might be driven.”<sup>8</sup>

Not long after the advance began, the columns on the north and south beaches both encountered Union pickets, and scattered firing began in earnest. The attack might have foundered, but Jackson’s column surged over the dunes and shrubs in the middle of the island, taking the Union skirmishers by their flanks and yelling as they entered the New Yorkers’ camp. As the Federal volunteers retreated from the surprise attack of Jackson’s soldiers, both Anderson and Chalmers’ columns advanced among the tents. Almost immediately the detachment charged with destruction set about their task. Roddie Shaw, watching from the Navy Yard wrote that “the whole encampment was on fire.”<sup>9</sup>

The Floridians moved forward, led by twenty-four-year-old Captain Richard Bradford of Madison. Bradford, a lawyer who had just returned to Pensacola from twenty-days furlough, was surprised by a Private Scott, a New York soldier, as he made his way around the camp’s hospital tent. Unsure of the identity of the soldier in the darkness, Bradford inquired “Who are you?” Scott pointed his firearm at Bradford and replied “I’ll show you who I am,” and fired. Bradford collapsed as the round tore through his chest. As the twenty-four-year-old died, he instantly, as Florida’s first death in the conflict, became a martyr. Among other laurels bestowed upon the deceased Captain, the legislature renamed New River County in Bradford’s honor. The moment after Bradford’s corpse fell onto the sand, several Floridians discharged their own weapons at Scott, killing the unfortunate Federal. Despite the loss of a leader, whom Shaw insisted was “one of the best officers in our reg[iment],” and two enlisted men, several Florida officers stood guard

---

<sup>8</sup>C. Pat Cates, “From Santa Rosa Island to Bentonville: The First Confederate Regiment Georgia Volunteers,” *Civil War Regiments* Vol. 1, No. 4, 48; *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 461.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*; Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, October 9, 1861, Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Several Union accounts assert that the Left Column, that of James Chalmers’ slipped by undetected and flanked the Union line and entered the camp.

around the hospital to ensure its protection.<sup>10</sup>

As the encampment burned around them, troops looted the New Yorkers' baggage, until near daylight when a gun fired from the naval yard signaled the troops to begin withdrawing. As the Confederates departed from the camp, their path was interdicted by United States Regulars, dispatched from Fort Pickens. Possessing rifled-muskets, the Regulars, according to William Trimmer "passed us in the dark posting themselves in a dense thicket to intercept our men who were returning," and a running fight broke out over the four miles from the camp to the boats. Shaw reported that "Our men retreated followed by the regulars. Twice they stood and drove the regulars back . . . ." At one point during the retreat, Willie Denham of Jefferson County went down, shot through the jaw. His brother, Andrew "setting his teeth, . . . leaped over the fallen form and, with irresistible fury, led his followers against the Federals."<sup>11</sup>

With the boats reached, the men scrambled to climb aboard, as rounds struck the water around them. Henry A. Tillinghast, a South Carolina native and Tallahassee clerk, who was described as an "excellent and talented young man," fell dead as he gained the boats. Doctor Cary B. Gamble, surgeon of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida, accompanied the expedition to attend to the wounded. As the raiders reached the invasion beach, the doctor "seized a boat and placing five of our wounded in it put off directly across the bay for our camp, drawing the fire of the fort upon his boat. Five shot (cannon) were fired at him."<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup>Special Orders No. 224, September 7, 1861. General and Special Orders, 1861-1862, Army of Pensacola. NA, Washington,D.C.; Frank Moore, ed. *Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Events, Poetry, Etc.* 12 vols. (1861-1868. Reprint, NewYork, Arno Press, 1977): II: 89.

<sup>11</sup>*Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, October 12, 1861; Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War*, 116; *Washington, D.C. National Tribune*, December 13, 1883; Trimmer "A Volunteer in Company B"; Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, October 9, 1861, Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL; Mrs. Townes Randolph Leigh, "The City of Pensacola, Fla.," *Confederate Veteran* 36 (1928): 253.

<sup>12</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, October 19, 1861; J. H. Randolph to My Dear Sir, October 17, 1861. 1860 US Census (Free Schedule), Leon County, Fl, p. 6; M653 Reel # 108, family 48, dwelling 48, lines 15-27. J. H. Randolph to My Dear Sir, October 17, 1861. Fairbanks Collection, 1817-1942. FSU, Tallahassee, FL.

By eleven a.m. on October 9, the assault force regained Pensacola. Of the nearly 1000 men who participated in the attack, seventeen were killed and thirty-two wounded, including General Richard Anderson. Of the former, besides Richard Bradford and Tillinghast, the Florida regiment also lost Sergeant William Routh, and Privates William Smith, John J. Thompson, Joseph Hale, and Thomas Bond. Eight Floridians suffered wounds during the engagement and twelve were captured in the confusion, including the officers who prevented the destruction of the hospital. The Federal forces on Santa Rosa lost fourteen killed, twenty-nine wounded, and twenty-four missing. Following the disorganized skirmish, Andrew Denham told his brother Willie, “One of us must go into another regiment; I cannot stand that again.” Clearly, the danger posed by battle dawned on these young men, and they wanted to spare their family the burden of mourning two sons killed in the same fight.<sup>13</sup>

Though the small clash jaded the expectations of some of its participants, the majority of the Florida regiment did not even participate in the raid. Roddie Shaw, whose Gadsden County “Young Guards” guarded the Navy Yard magazine the night of the raid complained, “The ‘Y.G.’ wear long faces. It is true they give [us] important posts to guard but they are determined to not let us fight. . . .” S. H. Harris also expressed his displeasure in not participating in the attack, writing General Bragg was “determined that none of us shall ever get in a fight so the next fight I am going to run away.”<sup>14</sup>

The attack also hardened resolve among those who survived, as with veterans of Leon County’s Company A, who published a tribute to its fallen members. The troops claimed “That we have sustained great loss by their death, and that we shall do all in our power to avenge their fall.” Patton Anderson’s desire for a transfer waned after the raid, particularly when Bragg appointed

---

<sup>13</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 462; Mrs. Townes Randolph Leigh, “The City of Pensacola, Fla.,” 253.

<sup>14</sup>Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, October 9, 1861. Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; S. H. Harris to Dear Angie, November 20, 1861. S. H. Harris Papers. MOC, Richmond, VA..

him to command a brigade on October 12.<sup>15</sup>

Throughout the remainder of October, most companies of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida remained encamped near the Navy Yard, though some were always on detached service in the vicinity. In mid-November, ships ferried eight companies from the Navy Yard to Deer Point, the western-most tip of a peninsula on which the government grew live oaks. The point gained importance because of its relatively short distance across the bay to Pensacola. Bragg dispatched the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida to the location, to establish a Confederate presence and ward off any Union attempt to place batteries on its shores. Choosing a position near the Live Oak Plantation, the Floridians cleared land for a new camp, which lay surrounded “on three sides” by a “jungle of brambles and marsh that is impassable, and the fourth side . . . protected by entrenchments.” The Floridians dubbed their new home Camp Bradford and built huts to shelter themselves from the winter elements.<sup>16</sup>

## II

On Amelia Island, three hundred miles east of Pensacola, and at other scattered locations along the state’s Atlantic coast, the neighbors and relatives of the Pensacola volunteers struggled through the fall to become soldiers. Besides the daily routines of drill and manual labor, tedium remained the norm. “INOE” wrote from near Fernandina, “We are still leading a life of comparative inactivity; while the war trumpet is sounding its blasts in every direction around us.”<sup>17</sup>

The majority of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment was stationed on the sixteen-mile long Amelia Island, where its soldiers protected the mouth of the St. Mary River’s from seizure by the Federal navy. Fort Clinch, an unfinished masonry fortification situated on the northern tip of the island, near the town of Fernandina, guarded the large bay and thus became the central focus of the island’s defenses. Planned sand batteries along the island’s eastern shore, would increase the

---

<sup>15</sup>*Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, November 2, 1861; *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 751.

<sup>16</sup>General Orders No. 128, November 14, 1861. General and Special Orders, 1861-1862, Army of Pensacola, NA; *Atlanta Daily Intelligencer* quoted in *Monticello Family Friend*, December 7, 1861.

<sup>17</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, October 19, 1861. Thomas Eston Randolph to Dear Father, December 3, 1861. Randolph Family Papers. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

Confederates' ability to ward off attacks.<sup>18</sup>

One problem that plagued the newly minted 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida remained a paucity of trained officers able to lead the volunteers through the manual of arms. Colonel William S. Dilworth, who matured into an able administrator during the months spent on Amelia Island, wrote to Secretary of War Leroy Pope Walker and Florida congressmen just a few days after his election as colonel, pleading, "I have no drill officers. My regiment is comprised entirely of citizens. I would be glad to have two drill officers attached to this regiment immediately."<sup>19</sup>

Apparently the drill officers did not arrive quickly enough, and the elected officers had a rough time both in learning and teaching maneuvers. Lemuel Moody, the Jefferson County overseer, wrote from Fernandina in August, "We have the poorest set of field officers in the Southern Confederacy." A month later though, "INOE" related that "Our officers have had little or no assistance in drilling the company, and have had to depend on their books, but in spite of their disadvantages, the company has gradually improved. . . ." A visitor to the Jefferson Rifles' camp the same week agreed with INOE's assessment, writing:

On my arrival, Lieut. [Matthew Harvey] Strain was drilling the [Jefferson] Rifles, which he done with military skill. Afterwards I learned that he was an excellent drill officer. I saw this company also drilled by Lieut. [Charles] Johnson, who acquitted himself with credit, throwing the company into different positions, with ease; but above all, the privates presented the most interesting appearance; the step was regular and quick, and every man seemed to pride himself in presenting a soldier-like appearance.<sup>20</sup>

Another annoyance to Colonel Dilworth was the necessity of dividing his soldiers' time between manual labor and drill. While Amelia Island was recognized as a strategic location, panic mongers, chiefly governor-elect John Milton and ailing-Brigadier General John B. Grayson, the newly-appointed commander of the Department of Middle and East Florida, made desperate

---

<sup>18</sup> n. a. "Section 103 Detailed Project Report and Environmental Assessment: Fort Clinch Nassau County, Florida." PK Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL.; *Richmond Dispatch*, March 18, 1862.

<sup>19</sup> *Official Records*, series I, vol. I, 471.

<sup>20</sup> *Monticello Family Friend*, October 19 and 26, 1861; Lemuel Moody to My Dear Sister, August 27, 1861. Moody Letters. ZCW, Rome, GA.

assertions that the Federals were constantly plotting to seize the island. Grayson wrote of Amelia Island soon after his assumption of command, “The batteries are incorrectly put up and not finished. The enemy can land where they please . . . Florida will become a Yankee province unless measures for her relief are promptly made.” John Milton complained to Stephen R. Mallory, then Confederate Secretary of the Navy, “at Fernandina . . . I am informed even the cannon have not been mounted, and dissipation and disorder prevail.”<sup>21</sup>

Regardless of the pleas for Floridians to unite behind secession, the first fall of the war demonstrated that disagreements remained among the state’s citizens. John Milton, whose inauguration occurred on October 7, 1861, became the chief antagonist of the volunteers’ efforts. Milton used his position to attack not only political opponents, chiefly Edward Hopkins and other conservatives, but also those who disagreed with his judgement. Milton did not confine his hostility to parlors in Tallahassee, but libeled volunteer officers to the Confederate authorities in Richmond. Governor Milton accused fellow Democrats William Dilworth and A.J.T. Wright of “habitual intemperance,” and argued this transgression caused demoralization among the soldiers. Later, Governor Milton conceded that Dilworth was “improving, and will, I think, make an efficient officer.”<sup>22</sup>

In spite of Milton’s criticism of his performance, Colonel Dilworth performed an admirable job for the Confederacy at Fernandina. During September, the colonel established work details to construct batteries and to mount cannon. For some of the soldiers, the manual labor seemed demeaning, particularly with an officer, in the words of Samuel Pasco, “continually reminded us that we were only a set of ignorant plough boys whom he was trying to make something of.”

---

<sup>21</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 276; 287-288. Fifty-four-year-old John B. Grayson, a Kentuckian, graduated from West Point in 1826 and served on Winfield Scott’s staff during the Mexican War. In 1861, he held the position of Chief Commissary, which he resigned. He reported to Florida in September and died of “disease of the lungs” in Tallahassee on October 21, 1861. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 115-116.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 301; Boyd Murphree, whose dissertation compares the wartime administrations Joe Brown and John Milton, writes that Milton “disdained those volunteer Confederate officers who neglected to respect his authority as Florida’s commander in chief. See Murphree, “Rebel Sovereigns,” 60.

Benjamin W. Partridge, a fifteen-year-old, former student in the Jefferson Rifles wrote “We have been right hard at work and now I think the meanest place in the S.C.[Southern Confederacy] is safe.”<sup>23</sup>

Colonel Dilworth, in an attempt to provide his volunteers more time to learn the art of soldiering, issued a plea to East Floridians, asking for “at least sixty able negro men, in order to complete our defences.” The Colonel wrote that for his soldiers:

To carry on this work, drill has been almost entirely neglected. Men who never before have been accustomed to work, have been handling the spade, the shovel and the wheelbarrow, with a hearty good will that would astonish their friends at home. After working night and day for a considerable time . . . they are becoming exhausted.<sup>24</sup>

Nearly 120 slaves, dispatched by owners in Marion and Alachua counties, arrived on Amelia Island soon after. These forced-laborers were put to work mounting cannon at both Fort Clinch and the sand batteries. Meanwhile, Colonel Dilworth, in the words of one visitor, spent his days “actively engaged and bending every energy of his mind to the accomplishment of the important work before him.” Yet the colonel still had his miscues, as on a cool night in mid-October when after seeing what he perceived as a rocket fired from the blockaders, ordered his soldiers from their tents. The tired men stumbled from their blankets formed ranks, preparing to proceed to their batteries. Benjamin Partridge wrote that “in about an hour the Col came back come to find out it was only a meteor.”<sup>25</sup>

Besides training his soldiers as infantrymen, Colonel Dilworth, after his proposal to form an artillery battalion fell through, also had the task of making artillerymen of his Florida volunteers.

---

<sup>23</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, October 19, 1861; Benjamin Waring Partridge to Dear Mother, October 13, 1861 (copy). Lewis G. Schmidt Research Collection. Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL. Originals in Benjamin Waring Partridge Papers. Special Collections Department, Duke University, Durham, NC. (Hereinafter cited as Lewis G. Schmidt Research Collection. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.).

<sup>24</sup>*Richmond Dispatch*, October 12, 1861.

<sup>25</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, October 19 and 26, 1861; Benjamin Waring Partridge to Dear Brother Billy, October 20, 1861 (copy). Lewis G. Schmidt Research Collection, FSA, Tallahassee, FL.).



In November 1861, a Federal squadron under the command of Samuel duPont seized Port Royal, South Carolina with its excellent anchorage. Confederate positions along the South Atlantic seaboard, fearing they were the next target of this menace, doubled their efforts in preparing for an attack, which they believed was inevitable.<sup>26</sup>

That same month, in order to better coordinate the seacoast defenses, the Confederate War Department created the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida, and placed in command a general whose earlier campaign in western Virginia was less than successful. General Robert E. Lee, to bolster the Fernandina defenses, immediately ordered Confederate Navy Lieutenant William A. Webb to Amelia Island to begin training the infantrymen in the art of gunnery. Dilworth responded weeks later, that he was “drilling at the guns as much as possible.”<sup>27</sup>

Even as his soldiers picked up the ramrod and sponge for training with artillery, the former lawyer spent his time thinking of ways to increase their effectiveness should Federal troops make a landing. Dilworth recognized that the terrain of the island was perfect for sharpshooting and fighting a delaying action, but his men were armed with “the condemned and imperfect ‘U.S.’ muskets, utterly unfit,” for the type of fighting he intended to pursue. Dilworth requested rifled-muskets for his companies, which Confederate Ordnance Chief Josiah Gorgas approved, and promptly forwarded. By the time winter descended upon Florida and the troops huddled in palmetto shacks for comfort, Colonel Dilworth conceded, “God knows I have worked harder here

---

<sup>26</sup>For more on the saga of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Special Battalion, see Don Hillhouse, *Heavy Artillery and Light Infantry: A History of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Special Battalion and 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry* (Jacksonville, 1992). This fiasco was the result of political infighting between Governors Milton and Perry and the conservative Hopkins family.

<sup>27</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 312; R. E. Lee to Col. Dilworth, November 12, 1861. Letters Sent and Endorsements, Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, 1861-1862. NA, Washington, D.C.; W. S. Dilworth to R. E. Lee, November 27, 1861. Letters, Telegrams, and Reports November 1861-May 1862, Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, 1861-1862. NA, Washington, D.C.

than I ever did in my life, and that my only motive has been to serve my country.”<sup>28</sup>

### III

Though the minor problems on Amelia Island caused John Milton sleepless nights, the principal causes of the governor’s anger came about because of the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment, and the newly-instituted 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry. Milton thought that both regiments, commanded by ex-Whigs, were formed illegally, or at least should hold new elections. That fall, the executive wrote spiteful correspondence to Richmond regarding the two units and their commanders. The conflict Milton waged on paper, possibly caused the recipients to question Florida’s commitment to the cause.

As the state’s infantry regiments guarded vital points on the state’s coastline, lawyer William George Mackey (W.G.M.) Davis wrote to the secretary of war: “I propose to raise a Regiment of mounted men for the service of the Confederate States. The men to be mounted in Virginia if preferred by you and to be enlisted in Florida and the part of Georgia bordering on Florida.” Leroy Pope Walker honored Davis’s request, and the middle-aged conservative began the process of mustering cavalry companies into service.<sup>29</sup>

Middle and East Florida communities responded to the call, and citizens would soon hear the tramp of horse hoofs in nearby fields as the men practiced various cavalry maneuvers. The majority of companies that constituted the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry Regiment were raised in East Florida, with Leon County provided Middle Florida’s only representatives. Some of the companies formed during the spring and had remained in state service while awaiting assignment

---

<sup>28</sup>W. S. Dilworth to Major Josiah Gorgas, November 15, 1861. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel # 17. NA, Washington, D.C.; Benjamin Waring Partridge to Dear Mother, November 1861 (copy). Lewis G. Schmidt Research Collection. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 317.

<sup>29</sup>WGM Davis to Honorable L. P. Walker, September 3, 1861. Letters Received, Secretary of War, National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel #8. NA, Washington, D.C.

to a regiment.<sup>30</sup>

The recruiting process took up much of September and October, and it was not until January 1862 that the regiment obtained ten companies. During 1861, the new organization was continually referred to as a battalion, and Judah P. Benjamin, then acting secretary of war, commissioned W. G. M. Davis, who reportedly donated as much as \$50,000 for its fitting out, as the battalion's Lieutenant Colonel. Davis, a forty-nine-year-old Virginian settled in Apalachicola during Florida's territorial days and gained a reputation as "a lawyer of eminent legal attainments. . . ." During the antebellum period, Davis practiced also law in Tallahassee, and despite never actively pursuing political office, was selected to represent Leon County in the state's Secession Convention. An owner of four slaves, Davis, at the January summit, supported a proposal to delay secession at least until Alabama and Georgia acted. After this attempt at moderation failed, Davis submitted to the obvious and cast a pro-vote.<sup>31</sup>

The battalion's appointed major, George Troup Maxwell, was a veteran of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment's early days in Pensacola. A native of Bryan County, Georgia, the thirty-four-year-old Maxwell was educated at the Chatham Academy in Savannah, and then earned his M.D. from the University of the City of New York in 1848. Maxwell practiced in Tallahassee for nine years, where he served as captain of the Tallahassee Guards militia company.<sup>32</sup>

A surgeon at the Key West Marine Hospital from 1857-1860, Maxwell returned to Tallahassee early that crucial election year. For a brief time before secession, Dr. Maxwell taught Obstetrics at the Oglethorpe Medical College in Savannah. *The Florida Sentinel* indicated the people of the state capital held Maxwell in high regard, as when he left Tallahassee for Savannah, the editor

---

<sup>30</sup>Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels," 16; Ives Diary, May 25 and October 19, 21, and 22, 1861. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>31</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. LIII, 203; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, (1959. Reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 69; Wooster, "The Florida Secession Convention," 384; *Chattanooga Daily Rebel*, November 22, 1862; See also "To the Voters of Leon," in the *Floridian and Journal*, December 22, 1860, for Davis's position on secession.

<sup>32</sup>"Col. George Troup Maxwell." Maxwell Mss. Collection of Zack C. Waters. Rome, GA.

noted “He has the warm personal regard of troops of friends here, among all classes, who love him for his elevated character, his many eminently social qualities. . . .”<sup>33</sup>

As the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry companies mustered into Confederate service, John Milton went on the offensive against Davis’s battalion. After the death of General Grayson in October, Brigadier General James Trapier took command of the Department of Middle and East Florida. The governor wrote to Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin, assuring the adopted Louisianan that “I venture the prediction that in less than two months, he will be more anxious to get rid of what is known as Davis Cavalry Regiment . . . It will prove useless and vastly expensive.”<sup>34</sup>

The major reason that John Milton, one of Jefferson Davis’s and the Confederacy’s strongest supporters, was unwilling to support a cavalry battalion was due to the expenses that the people of Florida would incur. Furthermore, Milton argued that Davis’s recruitment competed with state-raised infantry units, wooing away volunteers who were “now in favor of riding into service.” Another argument against the regiment, in Milton’s eyes at least, was that it was led by an ex-Whig. He confessed in a January 1862 letter, “Patriotic statesmen who witnessed the untiring, however feeble and unsuccessful, efforts of Mr. W. G. M. Davis to prevent Florida from seceding and vindicating fearlessly and gallantly her rights, cannot appreciate the favor which the Confederate Government. . . have conferred upon Mr. W. G. M. Davis.”<sup>35</sup>

John Milton, though, was alone in his complaints, at least as far as the Confederate government was concerned. General Trapier refused to endorse the governor’s argument, writing instead that “I need as part of my force to do the duty of scouts and patrol parties ten companies of mounted men.” The general also wrote in January 1862, that one debate over the regiment lay in the fear that the horses would “‘absorb all the corn in Fla.’ It may be so,” Trapier continued

---

<sup>33</sup>*Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, July 31, 1860; Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1937), 440-441.

<sup>34</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. LIII, 206.

<sup>35</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. LIII, 206-207; series I, vol. VI, 290. James H. Trapier, an 1838 graduate of West Point, resigned from the army in 1848 and until secession lived in his native state of South Carolina. The Confederate War Department appointed Trapier to the Department of Middle and East Florida on October 21, 1861. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 309-310.

“but if Florida is invaded I expect to make good use of this arm; and shall not therefore dispense with it unless specifically ordered to do so.” In January 1862, the battalion gained its ninth and tenth companies, and the Confederate War Department designated the unit a regiment. There was little more John Milton could do to prevent its formation.<sup>36</sup>

## IV

In the heyday of antebellum Florida, cotton bales lay stacked on Apalachicola’s wharves, awaiting shipment to factories in the north or Europe. Cotton brokers at the port, which flourished at the mouth of its namesake river, bought thousands of pounds of the crop grown not just in Middle Florida, but in Alabama and Georgia as well. Though the river provided an outlet for cotton and other exports, it could just as easily serve as a route for invasion.<sup>37</sup>

The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment, with its assignment to guard vital points on the Gulf Coast, dispatched companies to Apalachicola to prevent such a move by the enemy. During the fall, Milton, who took a special interest in the port as his plantation in Jackson County was near the river, grew aggravated at Edward Hopkins’s defensive arrangements. The governor had no qualms about attacking the efforts of his former political opponent, and the fiasco at Apalachicola demonstrated the disharmony that remained among Florida’s citizens.<sup>38</sup>

Colonel Edward Hopkins accompanied three companies to Apalachicola soon after the regiment mustered in that September. At the port, the colonel faced a difficult problem, for two channels, flowing between several barrier islands allowed access to St. George Sound. The citizens of the town constructed a battery on the mainland which, theoretically, could “command

---

<sup>36</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. LIII, 211; Brigadier General J. H. Trapier to Captain T. A. Washington, January 15, 1862. Letters Sent, Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, February to July 1862. NA, Washington, D.C.

<sup>37</sup>Joseph D. Cushman, Jr., “The Blockade and Fall of Apalachicola, 1861-1862” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 41 (1962): 39; Lynn Willoughby, “Apalachicola Aweigh: Shipping and Seamen at Florida’s Premier Cotton Port” *Florida Historical Quarterly* vol. 69 (1990): 184.

<sup>38</sup>Cushman, Jr., “The Blockade and Fall of Apalachicola, 1861-1862,” 41.

the several approaches to the town.”<sup>39</sup>

Hopkins, determined to prevent Union ships from entering the bay, angered Apalachicola citizens when he dismantled the mainland battery and transported the cannon to nearby St. Vincent Island. From that barrier island, the colonel apparently hoped to challenge blockaders and demonstrate a show of force in the area. The plan was sound in theory, as Hopkins probably understood the disaster that would befall the port if Federal vessels brought it under their guns.

The problem with Hopkins’ plan though, was that he proposed to defend only the west pass channel, situated between St. Vincent and St. George islands, leaving the other, between the eastern tip of St. George and Dog Island, open to enemy ships. Therefore, if east pass fell, then Confederates on St. Vincent would suffer the severance of their supply line. Then, Apalachicola would fall, and the Federals might also net nearly three hundred prisoners who would find themselves stranded on the island.

To defend himself against criticism regarding his decision, Hopkins wrote to Judah P. Benjamin: “It would be well for the Department to examine the Coast Survey of 1858, which proves that it [west pass] is the only inlet worthy of notice.”<sup>40</sup> Despite this assurance, Governor Milton continued to believe Apalachicola might succumb to the enemy. He wrote to President Jefferson Davis of the problem: “I regret to say that Colonel Hopkins’ military ability is much doubted by many worthy citizens, and unpleasant circumstances have consequently occurred, which I apprehend will result unhappily.”<sup>41</sup>

The Governor requested President Davis transfer Hopkins, with his companies, to St. Marks, rather than allow the strained relationship between the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida and the civilians to continue. Edward Hopkins did not help his cause when he failed to effectively discipline the companies at Apalachicola, as one officer complained “he cannot even drill a squad of men.” Hopkins,

---

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 39-40; *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 286; Murphree, “Rebel Sovereigns,” 59.

<sup>40</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 286; Cushman, Jr., “The Blockade and Fall of Apalachicola, 1861-1862,” 41; Murphree, “Rebel Sovereigns,” 59.

<sup>41</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 291; Edward Hopkins to Secretary of War, October 24, 1861. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel #14. NA, Washington, D.C.

according to Governor Milton, also went absent without leave in October to visit Tallahassee. The governor, in his characteristic personal assaults, whimpered to Davis that Hopkins' election to colonel was illegal because only eight companies voted, and one "commanded by a nephew of Colonel Hopkins. . . ." <sup>42</sup>

Pressing his attack on Hopkins, and the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, possibly in an attempt to obtain commissions for friends, Milton asked Davis to consider reorganizing not only the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, but also the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, and "reserve to yourself the appointment of field officers, and appoint such as are known to you, or such as I may recommend." Milton pushed his argument of a shake up of the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, by attacking Hopkins' subordinates, writing of Wylde L. L. Bowen, that he was a "major of no military education, and if I am informed rightly, on an accidental visit to Florida." He also informed the president that M. Whit Smith was "said to drink to great excess." Milton was mistaken regarding Bowen, but his accusation of the former's mentor was not far from the truth. Augustus "Guss" Henry Mathers, one of 4<sup>th</sup> Florida's Assistant Surgeons wrote from the Cedar Keys, "Colo Smith is not here . . . and the post would not be worsted if he never Came back it would have gotten rid of another drunken-no-Count-man, for such he is." <sup>43</sup>

By the end of October, Milton, after failing in his attempts to secure commissions for his appointees, requested that the Confederate War Department assign Hopkins and the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida away from Apalachicola. By early November, the colonel complied with his new orders and removed his companies to Amelia Island. The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida's contingent at St. Marks departed as

---

<sup>42</sup>Drysdale to Milton, October 31, 1861, quoted in Murphree, "Rebel Sovereigns," 61; *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 301-302.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*; Franklin A. Doty, ed. "The Civil War Letters of Augustus Henry Mathers, Assistant Surgeon, Fourth Florida Infantry, C.S.A.," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (1957): 105. One source often utilized when discussing Hopkins and Apalachicola is the manuscript of Reverend Mr. Richardson, who left a colorful account of the undisciplined soldiers garrisoning the town. Richardson mentions M. Whit Smith in his account, but Smith commanded at Cedar Keys during the fall and probably never visited Apalachicola. His other accusations are suspect as well.

well, leaving Apalachee Bay under the protection of state troops.<sup>44</sup>

## V

During the final months of 1861, as Florida placed more men in uniform, problems arose, due to a fear that the Federal navy would exploit the poorly defended coastline and launch raids against the state. That year at least, these fears failed to materialize, yet Floridians at least began their preparations for the possibility of an invasion. The various strategies of how to implement these plans, created problems between newly-inaugurated Governor John Milton and the elected officers of Florida's regiments. During the fall, Milton quarreled with every colonel in the state, save Patton Anderson, whom he revered.

These disputes, the roots of which could be traced back, in most cases, to pre-war political affiliations, made for disorganization within the state and interfered with the regiments' assigned tasks. The squabbling also served to embarrass the state and made Confederate officials question the ability of the state to contribute. Only when the regiments' departed from the state and left the altercations behind would they free themselves from the disharmony that had plagued Florida's antebellum history.

---

<sup>44</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 302, 304; Ives Diary, November 13-14, 1861. FSA, Tallahassee, FL. Milton placed state troops at Apalachicola under his friend, and aide-de-camp, Richard Floyd. "By letter," the governor wrote, "he is to defend the place, if attacked, to the last extremity."



**CHAPTER IV**  
**“Its Flag Will Show Where The Fight Was Hottest”:**  
**January - April, 1862: West Florida and Shiloh**

As the Yankee and Rebel armies in the East spent the winter of 1861-62 in relative inactivity, the fighting continued elsewhere. Union offensives, mainly in the form of joint-operations carried the war to the Confederate coastline. Crucial gains were made on the Atlantic and in the Gulf of Mexico, yet the most important coordinated attack occurred inland. Here in February, Ulysses S. Grant's bold move up the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers seized the momentum for the Federals in the Western Theater and exposed the heartland of the Confederacy to invasion. This latter offensive rattled the Southern people and then gave way to the carnage of Shiloh, where Floridians learned of the horrors of war. Back home, their kin and neighbors laid down their implements of peace and raised even more regiments, eager still to take part in the conflict.

**II**

On the morning of February 15, 1862, Confederate troops smashed into Union picket lines near vital Fort Donelson, situated on the Cumberland River. Donelson, the sole barrier between the Union fleet and the important manufacturing center of Nashville, contained a garrison of 21,000 Confederate soldiers; they found themselves surrounded by General Ulysses S. Grant's Federal army. Already, Fort Henry on the Tennessee River had capitulated, opening that waterway to the Federal navy. In order to maintain their hold over the Cumberland River, and hence Nashville, Fort Donelson became a critical point for the Confederates .<sup>1</sup>

Recognizing though, that losing both the fort and thousands of troops might have severe repercussions for the Confederate cause, an attack was planned to open a route by which the beleaguered garrison might reach safety. That way, if the fort fell, at least, the troops might survive to fight again. The morning offensive succeeded in opening the road to Nashville. Yet, owing to the ineffectiveness of the fort's commanders, no breakout took place and Grant's forces

---

<sup>1</sup>Steven E. Woodworth, *Nothing But Victory: The Army of Tennessee, 1861-1865* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 94; For the botched Confederate defense of Kentucky and East Tennessee, see Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Army of the Heartland, The Army of Tennessee, 1861-1862* (1967. Reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2001).

soon turned the tide on the attackers, ending any chance of escape. Though the Confederates might have still evacuated some troops from the position, the two ranking-generals at the fort fled, leaving General Simon Bolivar Buckner to surrender the garrison the next day.<sup>2</sup>

Already, the threat to Fort Donelson had precipitated a retreat into Tennessee by the Confederate army occupying Patton Anderson's beloved Kentucky. In early March, Albert Sidney Johnston's jaded and tired force finally halted at Corinth, Mississippi and combined with troops led by P.G.T. Beauregard to prepare to defend West Tennessee and the Mississippi Valley. But the damage was done, as Nashville, along with Middle Tennessee and Kentucky, were lost. Following the Federal forces' stunning successes on the two rivers, the Confederacy scrambled to reverse its ill-fortunes.

In Marianna, Florida, after Fort Henry's loss, Confederate District of Florida Judge Jesse Johnson Finley sat at his desk and put pen to paper. Though the judge turned forty-nine the previous November, he was determined not to let his age keep him from the army. In fact, Finley's appearance did not match his age, as he looked years younger, with a head of dark hair. The judge did, though, have a tendency to be overweight, and it showed in his round face, and this heightened his youthful appearance. He addressed the paper to Judah P. Benjamin and announced: "I have been in doubt as to whether it was proper for me to continue my present position (Judge of the District of Florida) or whether it was my duty to enlist a corps of men for the war . . . Our late reverses at Fishing Creek, at Roanoke Island and on the Tennessee River, have ended this doubt." The judge asked for permission to raise a company of infantry for the war.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Woodworth, *Nothing But Victory*, 106, 113. General Albert Sidney Johnston, commanding the Confederate army in the Western Theater ordered the breakout. See Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 121; For more on the failed breakout and poor Confederate leadership at Fort Donelson, see Steven E. Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals: The Failure of Confederate Command in the West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1990), 82-84

<sup>3</sup>J. J. Finley to Hon. J. P. Benjamin, February 12, 1862. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437 Reel # 28. NA, Washington, D.C. Finley was referring to the Battle of Fishing Creek, fought on January 19, 1862, which caused the loss of eastern Kentucky, and the fall of Roanoke Island, February 8, 1862, that cost the Confederates Hatteras Inlet.

Like Patton Anderson, Jesse J. Finley hailed from Tennessee, born in Wilson County in 1812. Educated in Lebanon, Tennessee, Finley commanded a volunteer company in Florida in 1836 during the Second Seminole Indian War and then returned to Nashville to read law. Widowed soon after, Finley migrated to Grenada, Mississippi, where he practiced law and toyed with the thought of moving to Texas. He traveled to Arkansas instead, where, as a Whig, he gained election to the state senate. However, he relinquished this seat soon after to move to Memphis to resume practicing law. Politics intervened once again, and Finley was elected mayor and during his time there, became widowed once again. Seeking a fresh start, the future general moved to Florida in 1846, following the end of his term.<sup>4</sup>

In Florida, Finley returned to politics and remarried. Whigs of Jackson County elected him to the Florida Senate in 1850, where he introduced and supported a bill that allowed the people of Florida to elect their judges. In 1853, Governor William Mosley appointed him to complete an unfinished term as Western Circuit Judge, a position he occupied until 1861. The judge had, in his own words, remained true to his conservatism in 1860, voting “for John Bell for President and Edward Everett for Vice President.” After Lincoln’s election, Finley began advocating secession, “believing . . . that it was a peaceful remedy.”<sup>5</sup>

The company Finley proposed to raise, came in response to another Confederate War Department call for troops, this one coming on February 2. Florida, under this newly-imposed quota, would furnish two regiments and a battalion to fight for the duration of the war. The troops would rendez-vous at preselected locations and there “be clothed, supplied, and armed at the expense of the Confederate States.” Furthermore, each enlistee received a \$50 bounty for

---

<sup>4</sup> n. a. “Jesse Johnson Finley Biographical Sketch.” Finley Family Papers. Museum of the Confederacy. Richmond, VA. (Hereinafter cited as Finley Family Papers. MOC, Richmond, VA.); J. J. Finley to Much Revered Father, September 30, 1839. Finley Family Papers. MOC, Richmond, VA. See also Warner, *General in Gray*, 89.

<sup>5</sup>“Jesse Johnson Finley Biographical Sketch.” Finley Family Papers. MOC, Richmond, VA.; James M. Denham, *Rouge’s Paradise: Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1861* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997), 29; *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, November 30, 1850; Jesse Johnson Finley to His Excellency, Andrew Johnson, June 14, 1865. “Case files of applications from former Confederates for Presidential pardons.” M1003 Reel # 15.

volunteering. From this request came the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments, and companies such as Finley's applied for service within these new units.<sup>6</sup>

While the 5<sup>th</sup> Florida soldiered in Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, the 6<sup>th</sup>'s destiny lay in the west. The regiment contained a strong West Florida flavor, as seven of its companies originated in that region. Gadsden County, just east of the Apalachicola River, provided three companies as well. The various units were ordered to bivouac at the Chattahoochee Arsenal in late March, where the regiment entered a camp of instruction. Because of West Florida's strong conservatism, the soldiers elected ex-Whigs as their officers.<sup>7</sup>

Jesse J. Finley, well known to the soldiers from his days riding the circuit, became colonel. Angus D. McLean, from Walton County, thanks to the efforts of his numerous kin and Knox Hill Academy classmates, gained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. An educated young man, McLean turned twenty-six years old in 1862 and had earned a law degree from Cumberland University in Lebanon, Tennessee.<sup>8</sup>

Daniel Lafayette Kenan, who preferred to be called Lafayette, gained the majority of the votes for Major. Kenan, though born in North Carolina in 1825, came to Florida with his family at the age of six. Thirty-seven years old in 1862, Major Kenan possessed sharp features and a high forehead, exposed by a receding hairline. Married with a house full of children, Kenan was a wheelwright and carriage maker by trade. A devoted Whig, he also represented Gadsden County in four state legislative sessions during the 1850s. Kenan's peers wrote of his character as one being "generous, benevolent, patriotic, and public spirited . . . at all times manifesting a lively interest in all public enterprises pertaining to the prosperity and happiness of the

---

<sup>6</sup>*Official Records*, series IV, vol. I, 902-903.

<sup>7</sup>*Columbus Daily Sun*, June 17, 1862; For the voting habits of West Florida see both the *St. Augustine Examiner* October 13, 1860, and *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, October 13, 1860. Besides Finley and Kenan, two company commanders, Whigs Samuel B. Love and Robert H. M. Davidson, served terms in the State legislature. Captain Henry O. Bassett was previously Sheriff of Jackson County, see Denham, *A Rouge's Paradise*, 221.

<sup>8</sup>McKinnon, John L. *History of Walton County*, (Privately published, n.d.), Chapter XXIV. Angus McLean had an extensive family in Walton County, including the McKinnons.

community. . . .” In their choice, the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida’s soldiers could not have done better.<sup>9</sup>

At the Chattahoochee Arsenal, some of the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida volunteers could not believe the situation for which they had enlisted. Angus Gillis, a soldier in Company H, wrote to a relative “You ought to have seen us cooking I have seen, and” helped “cook several meals victuals but know no more about it than when I cooked the first.” Another 6<sup>th</sup> Florida mess, the small group in which the soldiers prepared food and ate, solved that problem early on:

Each one had his special instructions to give to the other, but our combined culinary knowledge is not sufficient for the beaking [sic] of bread . . . A few days ago we came to the conclusion that we would not do for cooks and we sent to Tallahassee and hired a boy.<sup>10</sup>

The soldiers at the arsenal woke at daylight, and drilled for three hours each day. Colonel Finley took the discipline of his regiment seriously, writing to his superior in the Department of East and Middle Florida, “I can usefully employ as many as six drill officers in the Regiment; being anxious to hasten its instruction, so as to make it capable of being handled in the field at the earliest possible convenience.” To make better officers of the elected civilians, these gentlemen held their own drill session at ten a.m. and a regimental dress parade held every evening at five. “So you see,” wrote A. G. McLeod, “we have but little time to spare, especially the officers.” Another soldier wrote of the intense training, “I reckon, we will get pretty well up on the traid be fore we leave camp.”<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Alvaretta Kenan Register, Compiler, *The Kenan Family and Some Allied Families of the Compiler and Publisher* (Statesboro, GA: Kenan Print Shop, 1967), 27-30; “The Memorial Resolution on the Life and Character of Daniel Lafayette Kenan.” Washington Lodge No. 2, Quincy, Fla, February 8, 1884. Kenan Biographical File. Collection of Zack C. Waters, Rome, GA.

<sup>10</sup>Angus I. Gillis to Dear Aunt, May 1, 1862 and M. M. Gillis to Dear Aunt, February 7, 1862. McLean Family Papers. PK Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL. (Hereinafter cited as McLean Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.)

<sup>11</sup>J. J. Finley to Brigadier General Joseph Finnegan, April 29, 1862. Confederate Secretary of War, Letters Received. National Archives Microcopy M410 Reel # 18. NA, Washington, D.C.; A. G. McLeod to My Dear Aunt, April 27, 1862. McLean Papers, PKY, Gainesville, FL.; William A. Scott to Mr. J. C. McKenzie, April 10, 1862. William Hugh Tucker, ed., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901* (Privately Published, 2004), 76.

### III

The soldiers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida were certainly well-trained by early 1862, having endured months of drill in the manual of arms. Its ranks included soldiers who had heard the whistle of enemy minie bullets, and others like Roddie Shaw who hoped to one day see battle. During the winter months the regiment underwent a transformation as a period of reenlistment began in Bragg's Pensacola Army.

Most of Bragg's soldiers mustered in for a twelve-month enlistment. The general, fearful of his command going home at the end of their terms, asked his veterans that November to reenlist for the war. The general appealed to the soldiers' sense of unit pride, claiming that if the soldier did not reenlist, he would join a new unit and be thrown in "with strangers and raw men, where he will have to go through all the drudgery of elementary instruction . . . All his former acquaintances and *esprit de corps* will be lost, and he will be looked on as a raw recruit instead of a veteran." Bragg announced that he would grant furloughs to every man who reenlisted, and regiments that maintained companies of sixty-four or more officers and men were allowed to retain their old organization. Immediately, the Pensacola soldiers began deciding whether they would sign on for the war or take their chances in other units.<sup>12</sup>

The opinion of the soldiers on reenlisting varied greatly. William D. Randolph wrote home, "I think I wont join the infantry again for a million a minute and expenses paid." His brother, Thomas Eston, assured their father, "You need feel no uneasiness about my enlisting again, at least while I am here. I have seen enough of the 'Pomp and circumstance of war.'" Samuel H. Harris, though, who wrote that he would run away during the first fight, had a change of heart, confessing "I am willing for me to join for the war but not under our present officers . . . I expect to be a soulder the ballance of my life and if this war closes any time soon I will be very arguably disappointed." Still, he decided to soldier in a different regiment and did not reenlist in

---

<sup>12</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 770-771.

the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida.<sup>13</sup>

Many of the officers in the regiment, either disillusioned at the prospects of war or physically unable to continue, planned to retire at the end of their enlistment. As a result, a game of persuasion and politics took place, as the officers who intended to remain coerced men from the lame-duck companies to enlist in their own units so as to boost their numbers over the minimum. Of this practice, William D. Randolph wrote, “the officers or at least the most of them are very busy trying to raise companies out of the Regt. for the war. a good many of the men have already joined and more are joining every day.” By January, some companies had met their quota, and the men were allowed to take their furloughs. Meanwhile, other officers still sought out volunteers for their companies so that they might keep their commissions.<sup>14</sup>

W. Capers Bird, the younger brother of Captain Daniel Bird, was one officer who had trouble obtaining enough soldiers for his company. Bird entreated “his fellow citizens of Jefferson County to come forward and enroll their names, and enable him to swell the ranks to one hundred.” He enticed new recruits with the promise that “the position that the Regiment will occupy is delightful and it is the post of honor.” Bird’s company, whether through the flowery rhetoric or by other means, eventually received its required numbers.<sup>15</sup>

## IV

By early March 1862, General P. G. T. Beauregard ordered Braxton Bragg to proceed with his Gulf Coast forces to Corinth. As regiments prepared to leave their positions on the coast, furloughed Floridians returned to their post on Deer Point. They rejoined comrades, such as Roddie Shaw, Samuel H. Harris, and the Randolph brothers, who refused to soldier in the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida. In all, more than three hundred 1<sup>st</sup> Florida veterans reenlisted out of the 600 soldiers that remained with the regiment at the end of 1861. Also by March, because of Patton

---

<sup>13</sup>Wm. D. Randolph to Dear Father, December 18, 1861. Randolph Family Papers. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; S. H. Harris to Dear Angie, December 9, 1861. S. H. Harris Papers. MOC, Richmond, VA.

<sup>14</sup>Wm. D. Randolph to Dear Father, December 18, 1861, and Thomas Eston Randolph to Dear Ma, January 23, 1862. Randolph Family Papers, FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>15</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, February 8, 1862.

Anderson's elevation to brigade command, Lt. Col. William Kelly Beard commanded the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida.; Major Thaddeus McDonell served as the regiment's executive officer.<sup>16</sup>

As Bragg hurried to Corinth, he left behind Brigadier General Samuel Jones, to command on the Gulf, and forward troops to the vital rail junction at Corinth. With the Pensacola Army being dispatched to the front to defend the Mississippi River Valley, Pensacola itself became expendable. On March 6, General Jones ordered Lt. Col. Beard to hold a portion of his troops ready to evacuate their position on Deer Point and proceed to locations up East Bay by steamer, destroying industries that might aid the enemy. On March 10, as the last major elements of Bragg's force departed Pensacola, Beard was ordered to carry out his order. That night he burned saw mills and steamships, and then marched overland to Pollard, Alabama. At the same time, remaining 1<sup>st</sup> Florida companies on Deer Point were ordered to defend that location against enemy attacks, and "reflect credit upon themselves and their state." Days later, these eight companies of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Regiment joined Beard at Pollard.<sup>17</sup>

On March 16, as the Floridians marked time at Pollard, an order arrived that required Beard to proceed with his soldiers to Corinth. General Jones wrote that Braxton Bragg was "anxious to have the Floridians with him." Bragg's anxiety would remain a while longer, for damage to a rail line between Mobile and their final destination delayed the Floridians until late in the month. They finally detrained in Corinth on March 28. While the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida's reenlistees made their way to the front, the soldiers whose enlistments ended in early April, proceed to Montgomery for mustering out.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup>Numbers taken from Special Order No. 1, April 1, 1862. Orders of Patton Anderson's Brigade, Army of Mississippi, 1862, NA; Patton Anderson to Hon. T. B. Monroe, October 3, 1861. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel # 14. NA, Washington, D.C.; Thomas Eston Randolph to Dear Father, December 3, 1861. Randolph Family Papers. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>17</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 843-844, 848-850, 855-857.

<sup>18</sup>Brigadier General Samuel Jones to Lt. Col. Beard, March 16, 1862, Brigadier General Samuel Jones to Captain T. J. Myers, March 25, 1862, and Brigadier General Samuel Jones to Maj. Gen. Braxton Bragg, March 26, 1862. Letterbook. Braxton Bragg Papers, 1833-1879. MSS 2000, Microfilm Edition. Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.



Upon their arrival at Corinth, Lt. Col. William Kelly Beard's tenure with the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry ended, as Braxton Bragg appointed him acting inspector general of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Corps, Army of the Mississippi. By default, Major Thaddeus McDonell, the young lawyer from Alachua County, became commander of the renamed 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion. Containing four companies, on paper the battalion numbered 328 soldiers, it was assigned to Patton Anderson's Brigade of Daniel Ruggles' Division in Braxton Bragg's 2<sup>nd</sup> Corps. The Floridians joined the 17<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Louisiana Infantry Regiments, the Confederate Guards Response Battalion, and the 9<sup>th</sup> Texas Infantry in Anderson's unit. The brigade also included the 5<sup>th</sup> Company of the New Orleans-raised Washington Artillery.<sup>19</sup>

## V

There was not much time to acquaint themselves with their new comrades in Albert Sidney Johnston's newly-designated Army of the Mississippi, for the enemy was near and Confederate plans for an attack were afoot. To support a Union strategy in the west of clearing the Mississippi River of Confederate control after the fall of Fort Donelson, Major General Henry W. Halleck commanding the Federal Department of Missouri, decided to use Grant's victorious army to seize Corinth from the Confederates. As Larry Daniel has pointed out, control of Corinth, with its rail junction, meant that Memphis would fall, and with it the river forts to the north of the important town. Though the original move up the Tennessee River was meant only to target the rail lines that passed through Corinth, the plan soon evolved into one where the army would encamp in southwest Tennessee at Pittsburg Landing, situated near small Shiloh Church and twenty or so miles from Corinth. Once Grant's force consolidated its numbers, a

---

<sup>19</sup>Special Orders No. 27, March 28, 1862. Orders and Circulars of the Army of the Mississippi, 1861-1865. NA, Washington, D.C.; Special Orders No. 1, April 1, 1862. Orders of Patton Anderson's Brigade, Army of Mississippi, 1862. NA, Washington, D.C.. The Battalion's companies were commanded by William G. Poole, a Tallahassee merchant, T. Sumpter Means and Oliver P. Hull, both Alachua County physicians, and Capers Bird, who owned a plantation in Jefferson County.

movement toward the rail lines would begin.<sup>20</sup>

As the Federal army gathered on the banks of the Tennessee River, General Albert Sidney Johnston adopted the plan of his second-in-command, P. G. T. Beauregard, for dealing with this incursion into Confederate territory. After moving into position near the Federal encampment, the 40,000 soldiers of the Army of the Mississippi would strike for Pittsburg Landing, cutting the Federal army off from the river and its supplies. Once stranded in the wilderness of West Tennessee, Grant's army would have to surrender.<sup>21</sup>

Late on the afternoon of April 3, the Army of the Mississippi began a disorganized march toward the Federal encampment. Comprised mainly of raw soldiers, poor roads and confused marching orders hampered the army's progress. When the army deployed to attack on the morning of April 5, rain caused another delay. Not until the morning of April 6 could the army launch its attack. As dawn broke, Federal patrols bumped into Rebel picket lines and firing began in earnest. In Bragg's 2<sup>nd</sup> Corps, which occupied the second line of the Confederate battle formation, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida's 250 soldiers waited for their opportunity to move forward.<sup>22</sup>

General William Hardee's 1<sup>st</sup> Corps moved forward just after 5:30 a.m., pushing through the Union patrols and into Federal encampments just south of Shiloh Church. Bragg's soldiers were close behind, Lt. Col. Beard delivering the order to Patton Anderson to advance at 6:15 a.m. "As I rode down the lines" Beard later wrote, "I shook hands with many of them . . . . All seemed filled with bright hopes - anxious to win a name and place in their Country's gratitude."

---

<sup>20</sup>Larry J. Daniel, *Shiloh, The Battle That Changed the Civil War* (1997. Paperback edition, New York: Touchstone, 1998), 73-74; Woodworth, *Nothing But Victory*, 138; Henry Halleck's Department of Missouri also included Tennessee and Kentucky west of the Cumberland River; Ulysses S. Grant, due to Halleck's jealousy, did not command the initial move up the Tennessee River. Instead, Major General C. F. Smith led Grant's force until an injury and intervention by Abraham Lincoln placed Grant back in command.

<sup>21</sup>Daniel, *Shiloh*, 119; See also Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 160-161.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 155-156; Daniel, *Shiloh*, 120, 127, 143-147. Both Larry J. Daniel and Steven E. Woodworth both point out in their respective works that the elements of the Federal army aware of activity in their front, due to the ill-discipline of Confederate units, and some officers conducted patrols to investigate. As a result of this diligence, some regiments were in line ready to receive the attack, rather than being caught by surprise.

The Floridians, along with the other regiments of Patton Anderson's brigade, moved forward on the line of the Pittsburg-Corinth Road.<sup>23</sup>

The Florida soldiers splashed through Shiloh Branch, a stream overgrown by thickets, but dominated by high ground occupied by the 53<sup>rd</sup> Ohio's camps. Already, a portion of Brigadier General Patrick Cleburne's brigade had attacked this position, with the 6<sup>th</sup> Mississippi suffering severe casualties in the assault. Though Cleburne's men succeeded in breaking the Union line above the stream, their attack stalled and Anderson's troops move to support the attack. The Floridians pushed through what Lt. Col Beard referred to as "a deep ravine where from the nature of the wood we could do nothing," and halted.<sup>24</sup>

The confusion resulted from two factors, namely that the Federal artillery fire was heavy and accurate, and because of it 1<sup>st</sup> Florida suffered the loss of their commander. As Major Thaddeus McDonell led his soldiers into the bog, a shell fragment ripped his thigh open. As litter bearers bore McDonell from the field, command of the battalion devolved upon Captain Bill Poole of Company A. A Marylander, Poole was twenty-seven years old in 1862, and the co-owner of a successful import company in Tallahassee. His only prior leadership experience though was as the foreman of Rescue No. 1, a volunteer Engine and Hose Company in the capital city.<sup>25</sup>

Taking command, Poole could not make his battalion to move against the heavy Federal artillery fire; instead, the Florida soldiers remained in Shiloh Branch, hugging the muddy bank, trying desperately to avoid the shell and canister flying overhead. The Floridians, shocked at the

---

<sup>23</sup>William K. Beard to "My Dearest Lettie," April 12, 1862. Volume 2 United Daughters of the Confederacy, Florida Division Scrapbooks, 1900-1935, 12 Volumes. Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL. The movements of Hardee and Bragg's troops indicate that the Confederate plan to drive Grant's army away from the river fell apart early due to how Johnston and Beauregard deployed their forces.

<sup>24</sup>Daniel, *Shiloh*, 158-159; Woodworth, *Nothing But Victory*, 160; Beard to "My Dearest Lettie," April 12, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. 2. FSA, Tallahassee, FL; *Official Records*, series I, vol. X, 496-497.

<sup>25</sup>Beard to "My Dearest Lettie," April 12, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. 2, FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, March 6, 1901; 1860 US Census (Free Schedule), Leon County, Fl, p. 18; M653 Reel # 108, family 176, dwelling 176, line 28; *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, January 7 and October 6, 1860.

ferocity of the battle, remained in the ravine as some of Anderson's other troops forced their way through the first camp and surged forward toward Shiloh Church. Lt. Col. Beard wrote that "some Regiments seemed indisposed to advance as rapidly as necessary but were soon reassured by the dauntless bravery and personal courage of Gen. Bragg." It could be that Bragg, still anxious to have the Floridians with him, had to coax the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida from the safety of Shiloh Branch, for the battalion did not rejoin the brigade until it passed Shiloh Church.<sup>26</sup>

By 9:30 a.m., the Federal volunteers just north of Shiloh Church found themselves fighting a delaying action across a field near the intersection of the Pittsburg-Corinth and Purdy-Hamburg Roads. At the time, Colonel Ralph Buckland's Ohio Brigade, though much reduced by stragglers, poured a destructive fire into the onrushing 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion. Leading Company A, twenty-year old 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. Lawrence "Laurie" Anderson encouraged his soldiers to move forward. A student in Tallahassee before the conflict, Anderson was a favorite of the battalion. He died in that field, after a bullet shattered his brow and passed "entirely" through his head. In addition to Anderson, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion lost many effective leaders in the mid-morning assault, including a captain and four lieutenants, all wounded in the attack.<sup>27</sup>

Though the assault on the Federal position faltered due to heavy fire, Confederate forces pushing northward to the right of Anderson's line succeeded in collapsing the Federal line. However, because of the influx of troops behind William Hardee and Braxton Bragg's attacking forces, and the Federal soldiers' natural inclination to retreat toward the boats, swinging the

---

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 502-504; Beard to "My Dearest Lettie," April 12, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. 2. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, March 6, 1901.

<sup>27</sup>Daniel, *Shiloh*, 178-183; Beard to "My Dearest Lettie," April 12, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. 2. FSA, Tallahassee, FL; *Official Records*, series I, vol. X, 504-505; 1860 US Census (Free Schedule), Leon County, Fl, p. 15; M653 Reel # 108, family 122, dwelling 122, lines 8-11. New Orleans *The Daily Picayune*, April 23, 1862. Compare casualty list with Special Orders No. 1, April 1, 1862. The wounded included Captain T. Sumpter Means (Co. B), 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. John T. Miller (Co. B), 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. W. W. Tucker (Co. C), 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. E. C. Stevens (Co. B), and 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. Oliver P. Hull (Co. D), who died later, of his wounds. Orders, Patton Anderson's Brigade, Army of Mississippi, 1862. NA, Washington, D.C.. As demonstrated in Daniel, the fighting at Shiloh, influenced by both the terrain and poor management by Confederate commanders, lost all tactical quality and devolved into blunt frontal attacks.

Union army like a gate toward the landing, rather than away from it. Therefore, Anderson's brigade moved in a northeastly direction during the day and that afternoon came face-to-face with a strong defensive line cobbled together by Brigadier Generals Benjamin Prentiss, Stephen Hurlbut, and W. H. L. Wallace. The line, which took form along what came to be called the "Sunken Road," was dubbed the "Hornet's Nest" by Confederates, because of the ferocity of the combat.<sup>28</sup>

Against this line, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion made its last attack of the day, advancing across a cotton field in several attacks against the strong Federal line. Here, Brigadier General Patton Anderson wrote, "the enemy's canister was particularly well directed, and the range being that of musketry, was well calculated to test the pluck of the sternest." Directly opposite the Floridians, holding their portion of the defensive line, lay two Iowa regiments. At one time, the Floridians and Iowans were kindred spirits, as their two territories joined the Union together in 1845. Now they attempted to kill each other.<sup>29</sup>

Lt. Col. James C. Parrott, commanding the 7<sup>th</sup> Iowa Infantry, wrote that his regiment, "advanced to the edge of a field, from which position we got a view of a portion of the rebel forces." The Iowans "remained in that position until 5 p.m., holding the rebels in check and retaining every inch of ground it had gained in the morning." Colonel James Tuttle, commanding the brigade of Iowans recalled proudly that the Confederates were "each time baffled and completely routed." Near sundown, the Federal troops holding the right of this strong line began to give way to fresh Confederate attacks, creating a salient which the Confederates slowly collapsed.<sup>30</sup>

As daylight faded, the Army of the Mississippi captured nearly 2,300 of Prentiss's defenders, but the victory was in vain, for throughout the afternoon the Union soldiers delayed the Confederates, giving Grant time to devise a defensive line on a ridge not far from Pittsburg Landing. The salient also claimed the life of Albert Sidney Johnston, who, while leading an

---

<sup>28</sup>Daniel, *Shiloh*, 202-204; Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 163-164.

<sup>29</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. X., 498. See Daniel, Map 9, 205.

<sup>30</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. X, 149-150; Daniel, *Shiloh*, 236-237.

attack on the right, was mortally wounded. Dying minutes later from the loss of blood, command passed to Beauregard, who called a halt to the day's fighting after a few scattered attempts against Grant's new line.<sup>31</sup>

Anderson's brigade spent that night in an abandoned Federal camp. Rain fell, soaking the soldiers who could not find a tent. Around them lay a battlefield where "the scene was a most horrible one. The dead and dying and wounded lay scattered all over the field, and horses, wagons, tents torn to pieces, and all other evidence of terrible strife." At Pittsburg Landing that night the activity never ceased, as steamboats made trip after trip across the Tennessee River, bringing the soldiers of Don Carlos Buell's Department of the Ohio onto the battlefield.<sup>32</sup>

On the morning of April 7, Captain Bill Poole, unable to speak due to the yelling of commands over the volume of fire the day before, relinquished command to Captain Capers Bird. Shortly after, Grant's force, along with elements of Buell's army surged forward in a savage counterattack. During the day, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion, along with the remainder of the Army of the Mississippi, was pushed back across the battlefield of the previous day, occasionally launching their own counteroffensives. That afternoon though, fearing the army might disintegrate, Beauregard ordered a retreat to Corinth.<sup>33</sup>

## V

Over the next few days, the Army of the Mississippi straggled into Corinth to count its losses and mend its wounds. When Captain Poole sat on April 12 to write his version of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion's part in the battle, subsequent roll calls and brigade surgeon Cary Gamble's casualty report informed him that 2 officers and 14 enlisted men were dead, and the wounded numbered fifty-seven. These losses amounted to thirty percent of the 250 soldiers that marched forward on

---

<sup>31</sup>Ibid. 226, 236-237; Daniel and Connelly both agree that Beauregard called a halt to the fighting due to the fatigued and disorganized state of the Confederate army. Also, Daniel writes that Beauregard believed fire from river gunboats would inflict terrible casualties on his soldiers. See Daniel, *Shiloh*, 251 and Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 169.

<sup>32</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. X, 505; William K. Beard to "Dearest Lettie," April 12, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. 2. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>33</sup>Daniel, *Shiloh*, 290.

the morning of April 6.<sup>34</sup>

The Floridians' sixteen dead were only a small-fraction of the 1,723 Confederates killed in the battle. On April 7, Capers Bird, the officer who asked the men of his hometown to join his regiment, joined the 8,404 rebels who sustained wounds. Though total Union casualties numbered over 13,000 when the killing ended, the Federal army remained at Pittsburg Landing, convalescing and waiting for the order to advance on Corinth and finish the campaign began that winter.<sup>35</sup>

The Battle of Shiloh made veterans of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion soldiers who had not fought on Santa Rosa Island. Some, such as Lawrence Matthews, found that active soldiering was much more taxing than the sentinel duty at Pensacola. Matthews, a resident of Pensacola, wrote after Shiloh that "the duties were too severe and altogether beyond my powers of endurance. . . ." For the most part though, the soldiers performed well, and for the first time in the war brought Florida, because of the service of her soldiers, positive attention as a state across the Confederacy. Patton Anderson wrote in his official report of the fight, "the desperation with which," the Floridians "fought brings new luster to the arms of the State they represented, and paints imperishable fame upon the colors they so proudly bore." Lt. Col. Beard immodestly wrote of his former regiment, "It has won for itself an enviable reputation and done credit to the state. Thank heaven the old 1<sup>st</sup> has shown what it could and would do in time of need. Its flag will show where the fight was hottest."<sup>36</sup>

Nearly a month after the Battle of Shiloh, in the first wave of unit consolidations imposed upon the army, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion, by Special Orders. No. 51, merged with the two-

---

<sup>34</sup>Beard to "Dearest Lettie," April 12, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. 2. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>35</sup>*New Orleans The Daily Picayune*, April 23, 1862; *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, April 22 and 29, 1862. Mark Mayo Boatman, III, *The Civil War Dictionary* (1957. Reprint; New York: David McKay Company, Inc, 1988), 757.

<sup>36</sup>Lawrence H. Matthews to "Sir," July 1, 1862. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel # 61. NA, Washington, D.C.; *Official Records*, series I, vol. X, 502; Beard to "Dearest Lettie," April 12, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. 2, FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

company Confederate Guards Response Battalion. The Guards, a New Orleans-raised unit also suffered heavily at Shiloh and Bragg in an attempt to provide the two units with strength enough to render effective service on the battlefield, created the Florida and Confederate Guards Response Battalion. Under the command of Major Franklin Clack of the Guards and Response Battalion, sickness prevented the new unit from ever maintaining more than 190 soldiers for duty during any time that spring.<sup>37</sup>

## VI

Following a decline in Confederate morale in the aftermath of the disasters at Forts Henry and Donelson, the casualties of Shiloh shocked the Confederacy. In Florida, the loss was magnified coming as it did on the heels of the invasion of the state's shores. However, the people of Florida could be proud of their little band that advanced through the thickets and ravines of Shiloh and earned a token of respect from their commanders and fellow soldiers. In the months ahead, more of their fellow Floridians would join them in the Western Theater, embellishing the name of Florida and enduring more of the savagery of war.

---

<sup>37</sup>Joseph H. Crute, Jr., *Units of the Confederate Army* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition; Gaithersburg, MD: Olde Soldier Books, 1987), 156-157; Special Orders No. 51, 2<sup>nd</sup> Corps, Army of the Mississippi and Special Orders No. 6, Brigadier General Patton Anderson, May 1, 1862. Also, Morning Reports May-June, 1862. Orders of Patton Anderson's Brigade, Army of Mississippi, 1862. NA, Washington, D.C.



**CHAPTER V**  
**“To Maintain Inviolate the Sacred Honor of Florida”:**  
**January - May 1862: East Florida**

In March, as the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment departed Pensacola for Corinth and the troubled situation in the West, a malaise descended upon Florida. The strike on the state’s coast that John Milton long feared came to fruition that month, as a joint army-navy operation moved on Fernandina. Coming soon after the attacks on Forts Henry and Donelson, the invasion lowered Floridians’ morale and caused some to question the Confederate government’s request to transfer troops from the state.

The attack on Fernandina came during a renewed series of coastal offensives by the Federals, intended to close Southern ports to blockade runners and at the same time secure bases of operations for blockaders. Already in 1861, the mouth of Hatteras inlet and Port Royal, South Carolina had been seized. The 1862 attacks worked to build on these earlier successes, and achieved a quick victory with the capture of Roanoke Island on February 8, 1862. The conquering of Roanoke allowed the Federal army to occupy several North Carolina ports and netted 2,675 prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

Amelia Island, with its fine harbor, offered a Roanoke-like opportunity to the Federals, as the Confederate force occupied an offshore position that the Union Navy might easily isolate. Brigadier General Horatio G. Wright looked to make a strike against Florida, suggesting on January 31, “to land on Amelia Island to engage and cut off, if possible, the retreat of the rebel force.” Wright planned to hold the enemy in place with an amphibious landing, even as a flotilla of warships “pushed as rapidly possible up the Amelia River [Nassau Sound] past Fernandina, to intercept the retreat of the rebels, to prevent the destruction of the railroad bridge, and to save any rolling stock of the road . . . .”<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 370-373.

<sup>2</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 220; Horatio G. Wright later commanded VI Corps in both the Armies of the Potomac and Shenandoah.

## II

Even before the Yankee fleet appeared off Amelia Island, the Confederates were already making arrangements for the post's evacuation. Though on February 14, General Robert E. Lee, commanding the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, discussed the possibility of strengthening its garrison, five days later he wrote Brigadier General James Trapier advising a different strategy. "The force that the enemy can bring against any position where he can concentrate his floating batteries," argued Lee, "renders it prudent and proper to withdraw from the islands to the main-land and to prepare to contest his advance into the interior." Looking to Roanoke Island as an example, Trapier concurred and advised Lee that his force "was not well equipped nor armed," and had but "a short supply of ammunition and heavy ordnance." On February 24, Trapier obtained permission to evacuate the island, with General Lee insisting that the former save the cannon for use elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

One reason why the force on Amelia Island was not generally well-equipped, was because in January the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, armed with rifled-muskets, was dispersed to various locations in the state. Five companies were transported to the Cedar Keys to meet a supposed threat there, and the Jefferson County units were dispatched to New Smyrna to guard the offloading of shipments brought in through the blockade. Sickness also created problems for the officers on the island, Communicable diseases, obtained from the close living in the camps, and standing shoulder-to-shoulder during drill, spread through the ranks quickly. Other ailments, caused by poor sanitation facilities, plagued the men as well.<sup>4</sup>

Measles, mumps, and pneumonia made their appearance on Amelia Island in early 1862 causing numerous deaths and filling the hospitals with the sick. Assistant Surgeon "Guss"

---

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 380, 393, 399; Brigadier General J. H. Trapier to Captain W. H. Taylor, February 1862. Letters, Telegrams, and Reports Nov 1861 - May 1862. Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, 1861-62, NA, Washington, D.C.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Brig. Gen. J. H. Trapier to Captain T. A. Washington, January 22, 1862; Augustus Henry Mathers to My Dear Wife, January 27, 1862, in Doty, ed., "The Civil War Letters of Augustus Henry Mathers," 118; Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels," 18; Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 247, 251; Larry J. Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 64.

Mathers wrote home during the evacuation, “Death is making a broad road through the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment I think they have lost thirty or forty men Since they landed here.” At nearby Callahan, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry suffered similarly, where in early February “in one company of 70 men, 23 were laid up as shown by the sick report.” After the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida’s Jefferson County companies departed from Fernandina in January to guard Mosquito Inlet near New Smyrna, Lemuel Moody conveyed “I am sick know with measles. . . I am staying at the hotell[.] Nailly all ower company is down know with measles. they was only thirty-five sick this morning.” In Lake City, Washington Ives scribbled in his diary “Nearly every day there is a death at one of the Hospitals.”<sup>5</sup>

So on March 2, as the rush to remove the guns and soldiers from Amelia Island continued, and at a time when sickness hit several Confederate regiments hard, twenty-seven Federal ships appeared off Amelia Island. Much of the evacuation had proceeded well, as “Guss” Mathers related, “they are dismounting and Sending the Guns away now all the horses have bin Sent away and the work of tearing every-thing up is now going on. . . . the Vast amount of work that has bin don is now but a wreck and all the work that is now going on is to destroy and pull down.”<sup>6</sup>

Out of thirty-three cannon mounted on the island, eighteen had been removed and the remainder spiked. Colonel Edward Hopkins, overseeing the retreat, also saw to it that trains carried civilians to safety. At two p.m. on March 3, the last remaining 4<sup>th</sup> Florida companies retreated from the island and set fire to the railroad bridge. In tribute to Colonel Dilworth, a *New York Times* correspondent wrote after surveying the island following its capture, “The fortifications were very strong . . . Had the enemy chosen to make any resistance we must have

---

<sup>5</sup>Augustus Henry Mathers to Dear Wife, February 27, 1862, in Doty, ed., “The Civil War Letters of Augustus Henry Mathers,” 122-123; William T. Stockton to “My Darling Wife,” February 16, 1862, in Herman Ulmer, Jr., transcriber, *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869* (Revised Edition; Privately Published, 1989), 91 (Hereinafter cited as Ulmer, Jr., trans., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton*); Lemuel Moody to Dear Sister, February 16, 1862. Moody Letters, ZCW, Rome, GA.; Ives Diary, March 15, 1862. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 417.

<sup>6</sup>Augustus Henry Mathers to Dear Wife, February 27, 1862, in Doty, ed., “The Civil War Letters of Augustus Henry Mathers,” 123.

suffered severe loss in an attack.” To add insult to injury, two weeks after Fernandina’s fall, several companies of the 4<sup>th</sup> New Hampshire occupied Jacksonville.<sup>7</sup>

Though General Lee had ordered the evacuation of the position, General Trapier and Colonel Hopkins became the scapegoats for Amelia Island’s loss. Though Colonel Hopkins saved his regiment and most of the equipment on the island, editors throughout the Confederacy wrote scathing columns blaming him for the loss of another coastal installation. The *Savannah Republican* raged “the men were eager for a fight, but were held back by their commanders,” and that “much was lost owing to the inefficiency of the Colonel in command.” Hopkins, perhaps overcome by the stress of the operation and stung by harsh criticism, remained sick in Lake City for the remainder of the month. James Trapier asked for, and was granted, a transfer to the Army of the Mississippi.<sup>8</sup>

### III

As the Federal forces consolidated their hold on Amelia Island, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry’s mission changed considerably. General Trapier had stationed the majority of the unit in Nassau County the previous January because “the site was favorable as a Camp of instruction, that, they could be more cheaply supplied than at any other point, and . . . be” within “supporting distance of Fernandina . . . .” Three companies were encamped at Camp Mary Davis, just south of Tallahassee, where they could guard against coastal incursions against the capital. While the regiment spent the winter on the drill field, its troops were suddenly charged with scouting the Atlantic shore and watching for any activity on Amelia Island. Upgraded to a regiment with the addition of two companies in December, W. G. M. Davis became Colonel, G. Troup Maxwell

---

<sup>7</sup>*New York Times*, March 11, 1862 and March 15, 1862; *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 93-95;

<sup>8</sup>*Savannah Republican* quoted in the *Columbus Daily Sun*, March 15, 1862; Ives Diary, March 21, 1862. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 413.

gained promotion to Lieutenant Colonel, and William Tennent Stockton was appointed Major.<sup>9</sup>

Major Stockton brought a new caliber of discipline to the regiment, a quality taught on the Hudson. A native of Pennsylvania, Stockton graduated eighth in the United States Military Academy's Class of 1834, and was commissioned as a Brevet 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant of Artillery. After service at the Augusta Arsenal and at Fort Wood, Louisiana, he was transferred to Pensacola, where he performed surveying duty. Stockton also served at Tampa, where he was engaged in the early Second Seminole Indian War Battles of Camp Izard and of Oloklikoha. He resigned his commission on May 31, 1836 though, and settled in Quincy where he eventually purchased a plantation and managed a post road service. Commissioned a captain in 1861, he spent that year in East Florida mustering state troops into the Confederate service.<sup>10</sup>

Given the task as drill instructor of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, Stockton began putting the troopers through their paces. "My work is very arduous," he assured his wife, "for the training of 500 raw men whose officers know very little, and the men less, is a very different thing from drilling my own Company. But they shall learn. I have a school of the officers every night to recite from their books. Some of them are dull enough." That same month he wrote "Yesterday, 22<sup>nd</sup>, I had a review of the command. It was admirably done and I am well satisfied with the service I have rendered."<sup>11</sup>

The intense training was very necessary, for in January a group of Florida politicians passed a

---

<sup>9</sup>Brigadier General J. H. Trapier to Captain T. A. Washington, January 15, 1862. Letters, Telegrams, and Reports Nov 1861 - May 1862. Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, 1861-62, NA, Washington, D.C.; *Supplement to the Official Records - Records of Events*, V: 137.

<sup>10</sup>Bvt. Major General George W. Cullum, *Notices of the Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point From 1802-1867, Vol. 1* (Revised Edition; New York: James Miller, Publisher, 1879), 447; M.S. Perry et. al., to Hon. L. P. Walker, March 25, 1861, in Ulmer, Jr., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton*, 57-b. The Battle of Camp Izard was fought on February 28, 1836 near the Withlacoochee River. The Oloklikoha may refer to Peliklakaha, a Seminole village burned on March 31, 1836. Among Stockton's classmates at West Point were Gabriel Paul and Goode Bryan who fought against each other in Virginia.

<sup>11</sup>William T. Stockton to "Ju Stockton," February 2 and 23, 1862, in Ulmer, Jr., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton*, 83, 93.

resolution requesting that Trapier transfer the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry to Sidney Johnston's Kentucky army. General Lee wrote to Trapier, concurring with the transfer, but to do so only "if you can without impairing the efficiency of your command." The request was formalized on February 18, 1862 when Judah P. Benjamin wrote to General Lee to "order the cavalry regiment of Colonel Davis from Florida to Chattanooga immediately to report to A.S. Johnston." The capture of Amelia Island put a stop to this movement though, and the regiment remained at Callahan monitoring the Yankees on the island.<sup>12</sup>

With the threat that Amelia Island and Jacksonville's capture posed to East Florida, soldiers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry who hailed from this region penned a protest to the governor, explaining why they would not go to Tennessee. Written by Captain Noble Hull, the document was dispatched to Governor Milton and in part read, "A few weeks ago, we were perfectly willing to go anywhere ordered but, Sir with the enemy all around . . . our homes and families threatened we cannot think of leaving the State unless there is an Army left here sufficient to protect our families and interests." Governor Milton, once determined to see the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry disbanded, wrote back sternly:

If the First Florida Cavalry Regiment should refuse to obey or resist the order the regiment would be dishonored and disgraced and payment refused for past services. . . I repeat hasten to the Battlefield where victory will insure the Independence of the Confederate States of America and in the achievement of . . . a Victory let Florida be distinguished by the noble daring of her Sons.<sup>13</sup>

Milton's letter either inspired or coerced the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry's soldiers to accept their orders for deployment to Albert Sidney Johnston's western force. However, further

---

<sup>12</sup>R. E. Lee to General J. H. Trapier, February 13, 1862. Letters Sent and Endorsements, Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, 1861-1862, NA, Washington, D.C.; *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 390; For an example of the actions WGM Davis pursued against the Union forces on Amelia Island see *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 132-133.

<sup>13</sup>Noble Hull to Gov. Milton, March 14, 1862 and John Milton to Dear Sir, March 17, 1862. John Milton Letterbook, 1861-1863, Governor's Office Letterbooks, 1836-1909 Vol. 6, RG 101 Series 32, FSA, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as John Milton Letterbook, 1861-1863, FSA, Tallahassee, FL.).

development on the Florida coast caused another delay.

## IV

In January 1862, Brigadier General Trapier dispatched the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry's Jefferson County companies to New Smyrna on Florida's Atlantic coast to guard vital munitions run through the Federal blockade. Under the command of Major John Barnwell, a South Carolina officer and friend of Trapier, the soldiers were dispatched up the St. John's River and then marched overland to their destination. The Floridians remained at New Smyrna several weeks, "eating," wrote Lemuel Moody, "oysters and oranges and fish," while the blockade runner *Kate* made several dashes in from Nassau and discharged many tons of arms and equipment, including "6,000 Rifles, 50,000 lbs. of powder, 600,000 Cartridges, gun caps, blankets . . . sufficient to equip an army of 6000 men complete." Because of Florida's poor transportation network, with no rails and few roads leading to the coast, the equipment was stored near the beach until the government could gather adequate wagons to move the precious cargo.<sup>14</sup>

Situating their camp on the mainland so as to guard both the mouth of the inlet and Mosquito Lagoon, the Confederates kept a constant vigil out to sea. However, Major Barnwell seemed unconcerned with the possibility of a Federal attack on his position. The Jefferson County companies, armed with Enfield rifles, gave the Major confidence that he could hold out against all odds. "If the enemy does find us out and make a boat attack," Barnwell wrote rather nonchalantly, "I shall whip them, as the rifles can range beyond the river[Lagoon], and I have never seen such shots as these Floridians. . ." Undoubtedly upset at his station on the Florida coast, the Major added as an afterthought in parentheses: "(about all this country is worth for)."<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>Lemuel Moody to Dear Sister, March 1, 1862. Moody Letters. ZCW, Rome, GA; Major John G. Barnwell to Maj. R. A. Anderson, February 2, 1862. Letters, Telegrams, and Reports, Nov. 1861 - May 1862. Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, 1861-62, NA, Washington, D.C. For a manifest of *Kate*'s cargo, see *Official Records*, series IV, vol. I, 895.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

On March 23, sailors and Marines from the Union gunboats *Penguin* and *Henry Andrews*, rowed through the inlet in an attempt to disrupt the Confederate operations. Piloted by a runaway, five launches rowed ashore on the mainland, and the Federals advanced inland, Dan Bird and William Girardeau's companies secure in concealed positions, took them under fire. The rebels succeeded in driving the sailors back across the Lagoon, killing seven and taking three prisoners.<sup>16</sup>

The thwarting of this attack, which occurred just as the Confederates prepared to move the arms northeast to the railroad at Gainesville, caused Colonel Dilworth to believe that the Federals in Jacksonville would advance on Baldwin to cut the railroad there. This bold move might result in the capture of the weapons and munitions, or at least cause the Confederates to continue transferring the shipment north by horse and wagon to interdict the movement of the weapons. Because of this development, Colonel Dilworth ordered the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry to Baldwin where they would remain until the weapons safely left the state.<sup>17</sup>

## V

As the Jefferson County companies of the 3<sup>rd</sup> guarded New Smyrna, the remainder of the regiment joined the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry at Baldwin to prevent any attempt on the munitions convoy. The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida encamped at Sanderson, thus providing a mobile reserve on the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad. Colonel William Dilworth, understanding that an assault to retake Jacksonville might result in heavy casualties, instead instituted a campaign of harassment, mainly seeking to overwhelm enemy pickets and discourage any thoughts of an inland advance. One raid, taking place on the night of March 25, saw thirty-nine

---

<sup>16</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 111-112.

<sup>17</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. LIII, 240-241 and vol. VI, 417-418. According to A. B. Noyes, the munitions were transferred overland to Ocala, and then to Gainesville on the Florida Railroad. From there, trains carried the cargo to Baldwin, where the shipment was placed on Florida Atlantic and Gulf line cars, for movement to Madison. Here, the weapons and equipment were hauled overland to Georgia and other rails. Federal interdiction of the line at Baldwin meant a time-consuming overland journey from Ocala to Madison.



Floridians dispatched to assault an outpost near Brick Church at LaVilla. In a violent exchange of gunfire, five 4<sup>th</sup> New Hampshire soldiers were killed, and three Yankees were seized. In the skirmish, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida lost its first soldier to enemy fire, when Lt. Thomas Strange, of the Columbia and Suwannee Guards, was mortally wounded. These skirmishes and active patrols continued throughout the last week of March and first of April, until on April 9, the Federal army evacuated Jacksonville. Upon leaving Jacksonville, the 4<sup>th</sup> New Hampshire was transferred to defenseless St. Augustine, where it began the continuous Union occupation of the Ancient City.<sup>18</sup>

## VI

With the munitions being transported north, and as the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry prepared to move to the front, the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry organized in Gainesville. Created to complete the February quota, the state united nine militia companies that had been organized in late 1861 and early 1862, and for good measure added a Florida Coast Guard company stationed near Tampa. The regiment drew two companies each from Alachua, and Marion counties; Bradford and Putnam contributed one apiece. The South Florida frontier districts of Manatee, Sumter, and Hillsborough each provided companies of hardened Indian fighters as well. Likewise, a number of exiled-Key West residents soldiered in the Coast Guard unit, Company K. Due to its soldiers hailing from strong Democratic regions, it was to no one's surprise when ex-Governor Madison Starke Perry was elected Colonel.<sup>19</sup>

Leaving the Governor's office in October 1861, after an extended term due to Florida's

---

<sup>18</sup>Martin and Schafer, *Jacksonville's Ordeal By Fire*, 84-85; Brig. Gen. J. H. Trapier to Major T. A. Washington, March 28, 1862. Letters, Telegrams, and Reports, Nov. 1861 - May 1862. Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, 1861-62, NA, Washington D.C.. *Official Records*, series I, vol. VI, 131-132. Ives Diary. March 20 and April 23, 1862. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>19</sup>Crute, *Units of the Confederate Army*, 77. For more on South Florida and the Third Seminole Indian War, see Brown, Jr., *Peace River Frontier*.

secession, Madison Starke Perry returned to his Alachua County plantation for several months of peace. At forty-eight years old, the former executive remained an imposing figure, though his once lantern jaw had given way to a sag. Born in the Lancaster District of South Carolina, Perry migrated to Alachua County where he owned a plantation near Micanopy. A strident Democrat, Perry had long been active in Florida politics, and he served as a state senator both in 1850 and 1855 before winning the governorship in 1856. The ex-governor constantly worried about his health, and wrote in July after arriving in Tennessee, "I regret that I ever consented to take charge of the Regt."<sup>20</sup>

The man elected Lieutenant Colonel furnished the leadership that the oft-sick Perry could not. Robert W. Bullock, a pudgy, ruddy-faced North Carolinian who called Ocala home, was thirty-three years old in 1862. A resident of Florida since 1844, Bullock served as Clerk of the Court in Marion County, and in 1860 practiced law with St. George Rogers, a future Confederate Congressman. During the 1850s, the young man had married, dabbled in entrepreneurship, and captained a mounted company during the Third Seminole Indian War. His biographer writes that Bullock was "popular and respected in Marion County," and this high regard carried over to other companies of the 7<sup>th</sup> when election time came.<sup>21</sup>

Tillman Ingram, a cousin and political crony of Madison Starke Perry became the Major. A native of South Carolina, the thirty-nine-year-old Democrat had served in the state house in the 1856 and 1858 sessions, and in the state senate in 1860-1861. The owner of a plantation he dubbed "Oak Hall," Ingram in 1856, won the bid for, and constructed,

---

<sup>20</sup>"Florida Senators By District." Vertical Files. FSL, Tallahassee, FL; Madison Starke Perry to My Dear Wife, July 15, 1862. Madison Starke Perry Papers, 1860-1862. PK Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL. "Madison Starke Perry." Biographical Packets. PK Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL; Zack C. Waters, "'In the Country of an Acknowledged Enemy': The 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Regiment in East Tennessee," unpublished paper in author's possession. Perry's health declined during the war, and he died in Spring 1865.

<sup>21</sup>Zack C. Waters, "'Through Good and Evil Fortune': Robert Bullock in Civil War and Reconstruction," *Proceedings of the 90<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society at St. Augustine*, May 1992 (Tampa, 1993), 136-137; S. D. McConnell to My Dear Mamy, May 7, 1862. McConnell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

Alachua County's new courthouse.<sup>22</sup>

As the majority of the regiment converged on Camp Lee, situated just outside Gainesville, the companies of former-Judge James Gettis and educator Robert Blair Smith, both remained on duty at Tampa. The soldiers in Gainesville had an easier time than their comrades in the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida, for rather than sleeping in tents, which had not been provided, the soldiers were quartered in houses, and for a time enjoyed beds and fresh sheets. Captain Samuel D. McConnell, the Ocala lawyer, commanded Company G in the new regiment. At twenty-eight, the Georgia native had previously served as Principal of the East Florida Seminary and just before secession began practicing law. Married the previous summer, the Captain's wife was expecting their first child. McConnell spent an uneasy and stressful April, waiting for news from his wife, and putting his soldiers through the basics of drill.<sup>23</sup>

In Tampa at the encampment of Company K, the scene was livelier. Robert Watson, a twenty-seven-year-old naturalized citizen originally hailing from the Bahamas, had worked in peacetime as a carpenter in Key West. Because of his known southern sympathies, and because Federal troops held onto the installations on the small island, Watson left in late 1861, and the following spring found himself a member of the Coast Guard, and then Company K, whose members called themselves the "Key West Avengers."<sup>24</sup>

Though drill remained the order of the day for the new soldiers, the former- Key West men found time for hunting, boat races, and harassing their comrades. In one instance, a

---

<sup>22</sup>"Florida Senators by District." Vertical Files. FSL, Tallahassee, FL; "Florida Representatives by Session," Vertical Files. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Sanchez Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville., FL.

<sup>23</sup>"S. D. McConnell," *Biographical Souvenir of the States of Georgia and Florida*, 533; Samuel D. McConnell to My Dear Mamy, April 3, 1862. McConnell Papers, PKY, Gainesville, FL. See Robert Blair Smith to Rev. J. F. Crowe, September 5, 1858. Duggan Library, Archives of Hanover College. Hanover, Indiana.

<sup>24</sup>R. Thomas Campbell, ed., *Southern Service on Land and Sea: The Wartime Journal of Robert Watson, CSA/ CSN* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2002), xi (Hereinafter cited as Campbell, ed., *Southern Service on Land and Sea*).

Private John Pratt, was found sleeping with a slave woman employed in cooking for the company. Watson and others rode the unfortunate Pratt, straddling a fence post, down to the shore and dumped him into the waters of Tampa Bay. Watson wrote “We then gave him a lecture, told him what it was done for, and that if he was caught doing the like again that we would give him thirty nine lashes.”<sup>25</sup>

Throughout the remainder of April and early May, the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida’s companies remained at Camp Lee near Gainesville and at Tampa Bay. As those soldiers were introduced to the army, their fellow Floridians in the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry, and 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiments prepared to leave Florida for active service. Though some in the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida hoped to remain in the state to stay close to loved ones, it was not to be. The 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiments were also, despite their limited training, ordered to Tennessee.

## VII

Even before Albert Sidney Johnston’s force moved forth from Corinth on the march to Shiloh, Jefferson Davis’ had dispatched a letter to the Confederate Congress implying “. . . in order to maintain which we are now engaged all persons of intermediate age not legally exempt for good cause, should pay their debt of military service to the ardent and patriotic.” Afraid that more regiments would follow the example of some 1<sup>st</sup> Florida soldiers, and depart for home at the end of their enlistments, what the president wrote next, injected a new concept into American society. He did so in order to raise more troops for the Confederate cause. Davis continued in his letter “I therefore recommend the passage of a law declaring that all persons residing within the Confederate States, between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years, and rightfully subject to military duty. . .”<sup>26</sup>

In response, the Confederate Congress, on April 16, passed a law that acted on Davis’s recommendations and more. Congress not only required the service of all eligible men

---

<sup>25</sup>April 4, 10, and 29, 1862, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service on Land and Sea*, 30-33.

<sup>26</sup>McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 429-430; *Official Records*, series IV, vol. I, 1031.

between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, but extended the enlistment terms of all twelve-month men to three years “from their original date of enlistment.” The law provided some incentive to these soldiers, for it allowed them to reorganize for the war, which meant electing new regimental and company officers. Furthermore, the law allowed a grace period for those who did not want the label of conscript, permitting them to voluntarily join an existing organization.<sup>27</sup>

The law came at a vital time, for in late-April, the weight of another disaster was felt by the fledgling nation. In gathering reinforcements for Albert Sidney Johnston’s army, Pensacola was not the lone Gulf port to lose its garrison. The much more important city of New Orleans lost many of its defenders to Corinth, as well as its small fleet of gunboats, which were dispatched to defend Memphis. On the night of April 24, Flag Officer David Farragut’s West Gulf Blockading squadron steamed past the forts near the mouth of the Mississippi, and dropped anchor with the city under their guns.<sup>28</sup>

Like so many other regiments who were ready to go home when their enlistments ended, the Conscript Law saved the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments, whose men grumbled among themselves and to their relatives at home about their dissatisfaction, . Colonel William S. Dilworth, fearing his men would not reenlist because of the concern of being relegated to duty in Florida, wrote to Adjutant General Samuel Cooper, “I apply for authority . . . to raise a regiment for the war and have it ready by the time my present term of service expires. . . .” At New Smyrna, Benjamin Waring Partridge, a private in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida’s Jefferson Rifles, apparently put off by his commanding officer, expressed his opinion that “I don’t expect many of the Jefferson Rifles will reenlist under Captain [William O.] Girardeau.” At Jacksonville, where the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida encamped following the Federal evacuation, Georgian Seaborn Harris avowed in May, “I am afraid the same man

---

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 1095-1096, 1098.

<sup>28</sup>McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 419-420.

will be our Colonel again.”<sup>29</sup>

## VIII

As the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida remained behind to reorganize, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry finally departed for Tennessee after yet another postponement. Colonel W. G. M. Davis related on April 24 that “I shall leave here as soon as my Regiment is paid off and all the absent men are collected which will be the first of May. I have had a good deal of sickness in my Regt. since I came to East Florida, and but for such causes I would have been in Georgia on my way.” Also during April, the decision was made to dismount a portion of the regiment.<sup>30</sup>

Governor John Milton alluded to the possibility in his reply to Noble Hull, that the dismounting occurred at the behest of the Confederate authorities, as its military leaders wished “to receive you as an Infantry Regiment at Chattanooga. I entertain no doubt that as an Infantry Regiment, you would render more service to the country with less fatigue to yourselves and much less expense to the Government.” Another theory is that the troopers made this decision on their own, as Robert E. Lee wrote on March 4 “if the Regt wishes to go into service dismounted, provided their arms are suitable, I know of no objection.” In the fashion of the legions raised by Wade Hampton and William Phillips, three of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry’s companies remained mounted, while seven converted to infantry. Both battalions moved north, on, or around May 1, and arrived in Tennessee during the first of June.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup>Colonel William S. Dilworth to General Samuel Cooper, February 8, 1862. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. National Archives Microcopy M437 Reel #42. NA, Washington, D.C.; Benjamin Waring Partridge to Dear Mother, February 15, 1862. (Copy), Lewis G. Schmidt Research Collection. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Seaborn D. Harris to Dear Bro, May 3, 1862. Harris’ Civil War Records. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>30</sup>W. G. M. Davis to John Milton, April 24, 1862. John Milton Letterbook, 1861-1863. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>31</sup>Robert E. Lee to Gen. J. H. Trapier, March 4, 1862. Letters Sent, Department of South Carolina, and Georgia, February-July, 1862. NA, Washington, D.C.; Nichols, “Florida’s Fighting Rebels,” 48.

As the troopers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry rode and marched from the state, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment gathered at Midway, a station on the Florida, Atlantic, and Gulf Railroad between Tallahassee and Quincy, and prepared to depart for Corinth. Here, women from Monticello presented the unit with a regimental flag, which an anonymous soldier declared would “come back victorious, or will be stained with the rich blood of many a brave Floridian.” At Midway also, the soldiers, under the provision of the Conscription Act, elected new officers. William S. Dilworth remained the regiment’s colonel, and after Lt. Col. A. J. T. Wright resigned, Lucius Church succeeded him as second-in-command. In Church’s place, Edward Mashburn became major. Also, several company officers quit or failed to gain reelection, including the Jefferson Rifles’ William O. Girardeau. The regiment then marched to Chattahoochee on July 11, and loaded onto four steamers for the journey to Columbus, Georgia. The soldier who wrote the anonymous letter to the *Floridian and Journal* declared the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida left:

to represent Florida on a new and untried field of action. We go to illustrate *her* upon the bloody fields of Tennessee and Kentucky, and when we meet the enemy face to face, then we will think of our sunny “Land of Flowers,” think of loved ones left behind, and it will nerve our arms with strength, inspire our hearts with courage, and enable us to maintain inviolate the sacred honor of Florida.<sup>32</sup>

Private Edward Clifford Brush, a seventeen-year-old former student in the St. Augustine Blues, was one of two hundred soldiers crowded on the lower deck of the *William H. Young*. Angry at the steamers’ cramped quarters, the young man blamed the problem on a policy that “none but Commissioned officers are allowed on the upper deck.” Disembarking at Columbus on May 12, the soldiers marched through the city and made a favorable impression on the populace. “They are armed mostly with Enfield rifles and sabre bayonets,” wrote the editors of the *Columbus Daily Sun* “and bear evidence of having been well drilled and disciplined for service.” Boarding cars for the supposed

---

<sup>32</sup>*Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, June 7, 1862; Edward Clifford Brush Diary, May 5-8, 1862. Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, VA. (Hereinafter cited as Edward Clifford Brush Diary. MOC, Richmond, VA.); Mrs. O. F. Wiley, “Edward Clifford Brush,” *Confederate Veteran* XL (1932): 144.

journey to Corinth, one of Company C, the Hernando County “Wildcats,” “had a wild cat skin stuffed and placed at the head of the engine which bore us to Montgomery.” By May 26, the regiment, again traveling by ships, this time down the Alabama River, reached the wharfs of Mobile, where it remained for nearly the next two months.<sup>33</sup>

As the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida departed the state, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment, encamped near Jacksonville also prepared to repair to Corinth. Recruits, called into service by the Conscription Act, filed into its camp to join, one being eighteen-year-old Washington Ives, Jr. Ives, a native Floridian was reared in Lake City, where his father practiced law with M. Whit Smith. In 1861, during the initial rush to join the colors, Ives remained in school in Jacksonville, and though he had the chance to join a company that attached itself to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Florida, wrote “I do not think I shall join a military company for yet awhile for I have the honor to be the last boy who kept his name to the Lake City Guards which was got up in January.” Back in Lake City in April 1862, he received news of the Conscript Act and a week later traveled to Jacksonville to join a company of the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida. He enlisted in Captain William H. Dial’s Madison County company and began his service on April 28.<sup>34</sup>

## IX

Before the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida could leave the state, the regiment reorganized and experienced several changes in its command structure. In the first and foremost of these electoral decisions, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida soldiers replaced Edward Hopkins with James Hunt, a young Bradford County lawyer. Hopkins probably knew his defeat was eminent, for he wrote “I am desirous of going into active service if defeated in the election . . . Full returns have not

---

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., May 12, 1862; *Columbus Daily Sun*, May 13, 1862; Ellis, Sr. “A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.,” 2. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; W. C. Middleton Diary, May 26, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. V. FSA, Tallahassee, FL. The Army of the Mississippi, P. G. T. Beauregard commanding, evacuated Corinth on the night of May 29-30, due to pressure by several Federal armies and the unhealthiness of the area. The army retreated fifty miles south to Tupelo and Jefferson Davis, incensed over the retreat and holding old grudges against Beauregard, replaced him with Braxton Bragg. The soldiers in route to Corinth were diverted elsewhere.

<sup>34</sup>Hartman and Coles, *Biographical Roster of Florida’s Confederate Soldiers*, I:390; Ives Diary, May 3, 1861 and April 22, 24, and 28, 1862. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.



as yet been received, but judging from the fate of company officers who performed their duty, it is by no means unlikely. And a reelection under the circumstances would not be agreeable.” Hopkins lost, and fellow conservative Mathew Whit Smith resigned. Major Wylde L. L. Bowen was elected lieutenant colonel and the regimental adjutant, Edward Badger won election as Major.<sup>35</sup>

Edward Nathaniel Badger would prove himself as one of the most reliable and effective officers in the Florida Brigade. Born in South Carolina in January 1841, Badger resided in Ocala with his father, Dr. James Badger, and attended the East Florida Seminary located in that town. He left school in October 1856 during the Third Seminole Indian War and, lying about his age, enlisted in a volunteer cavalry company. In early 1861, Badger joined Lieutenant Colonel Angus McLean as an alum of the Cumberland University Law School. After spending a year as the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida’s adjutant, Badger, at age twenty-one, became its third-in-command.<sup>36</sup>

With their elections completed, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida departed Jacksonville and arrived in Chattahoochee on June 7. Boarding the reliable *William H. Young* and another steamer, the *Munnerlyn* on June 11, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida reached Chattahoochee on June 12. The ever observant editor of *The Daily Sun* recorded, “It is due to the regiment to state that during their stay in this city, the deportment of the men generally, has been characterized by gentility and good breeding . . . A regiment as jealous of its reputation for good behavior, may justly excite expectations of brave deeds upon the fields of battle.” Arriving in

---

<sup>35</sup>Edward Hopkins to the Hon. Sec. of War, [Probably May] 15<sup>th</sup> 1862. Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, National Archives Microcopy M437, Reel # 52, NA, Washington, D.C.; Nichols, “Florida’s Fighting Rebels,” 45.

<sup>36</sup>Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, Francis P. Fleming, ed., (Atlanta: The Southern Historical Association, 1902), 421-422; Edward N. Badger. Service Records - FL Seminole Wars, National Archives Microcopy, S608, Reel# 57, FSA, Tallahassee, FL. Emily Badger Green, *The Badger Family* (Privately Published, 1945), 2-4.

Mobile on June 21, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida pitched their tents near the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida.<sup>37</sup>

## X

By 1862, having performed garrison duty on the Atlantic Coast for the past year, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, and 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments was more than ready for active service. Freed from the relative boredom of coastal duty, the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiments had also ridded themselves of incompetent officers, replacing them with former Lieutenants and non-commissioned officers who had demonstrated ability. While the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry moved directly to the front, active service eluded the infantry. Rather than becoming engaged in a battle immediately, they would languish in Mobile throughout June and most of July, performing tiresome sentry duty. Yet whatever their obligation, like the men of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry, the soldiers would try not to embarrass their state, and strove to prove the capability of Florida's troops.

---

<sup>37</sup>“Transportation Receipt,” in James P. Hunt *CSR* Reel # 54 ; B. L. Rice to Mother, June 8, 1862. B. L. Rice Letters. Florida State Library, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as B. L. Rice Letters. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.); Columbus *The Daily Sun*, June 12 and 13, 1862; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Mother, June 26, 1862. Washington M. Ives Papers. Florida State Library, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.).

**CHAPTER VI**  
**“Our cause is just and we need not fear defeat.”:**  
**The Floridians’ Rationales For Fighting the Civil War**

By late-spring 1862, more than 10,000 Floridians had enlisted in the Confederate Army. Each newly-minted soldier had his own motive, or motives, for participating in a rebellion against the Federal government. The historian Chandra Manning, after completing extensive research, asserted that the war’s combatants were willing to fight because they “recognized slavery as the main reason for the war. . . .” Emboldened by their interpretations of the most crucial issue of their day, Northern and Southern boys surged forth to battle. Though less than two percent of 78,699 white Floridians owned slaves, these citizens and their non-slaveholding neighbors maintained a “conviction that survival - of themselves, their families, and the social order - depended on slavery’s continued existence.”<sup>1</sup>

Southern society was based upon the bedrock of human bondage; simply stated, for these Americans, the ultimate goal in life was to achieve, and maintain, slave owner status. Jesse J. Finley, as a young lawyer in Mississippi, embodied these ambitions when he spoke of removing to Texas. “West of the Sabine,” the Tennessee-native wrote “they can make four thousand pounds of cotton to the acre.” The whole country he believed, promised “individual prosperity.” Because of the black race’s degradation, even poor whites in the South were assured that they “could never fall into the lowest social stratum no matter how frequently they move, geographically or economically.” In the same vein, slavery ensured segregation, thus making certain blacks could never interact with the white race on the basis of equality. St. Augustine citizens railed against even this possibility in a manifesto published in December 1860. In part, the East Floridians argued that “the Northern people under the influence of the evil spirit of Abolitionism, have resolved to emancipate our slaves, placing them upon equality with ourselves, our wives and our

---

<sup>1</sup>Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over*, 4, 32; James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 19-20.

daughters.”<sup>2</sup>

The Florida press had, particularly since John Brown’s failed October 1859 raid, stressed the evils of the Republican Party and their supposed designs to end slavery. With a Republican triumph almost certain in the 1860 election, editors worked at a feverish pace to make Floridians aware of the danger the new party represented. Holmes Steele, the editor of the Jacksonville *Standard*, asserted that “a large majority of the people of the North are hostile to the institutions of the South, . . . in other words the South shall not expand in the territories, that [slavery] shall ultimately be destroyed in the States, that it is in their power to do it, that it must be done. . . .” In the week before the November election, the St. Augustine *Examiner* explained to its readers of the forthcoming watershed vote: “The danger is imminent to our Southern institution. It is not to be disguised that the election of a Black Republican Abolitionist President is a foregone conclusion.”<sup>3</sup>

Samuel Pasco the Massachusetts-raised school teacher, was obviously influenced by the periodicals and consequent debates. He held contempt for these “Yankee hirelings who put themselves side by side with the African negro to put down free men . . . .” S. Darwin McConnell, who in 1860 gained acceptance to the Florida Bar, wrote to his fiancé of the crisis: “I think the South has submitted to the North long enough, and if there is ever to be disunion, the time has come. I know it is a serious matter, but I am of the opinion that we of the South will be better off by it.”<sup>4</sup>

During November and December 1860, voters in communities across the peninsula convened meetings for the purpose of endorsing secession. The men, many of whom

---

<sup>2</sup>Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over*, 34, 38; J. J. Finley to Most Revered Father, September 30, 1839. Finley Family Papers. MOC, Richmond, VA.; *St. Augustine Examiner*, December 22, 1860. Hinton R. Helper, in his *The Impending Crisis* published in 1857, argued the evils of this class system imposed by slavery. See McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 199-200.

<sup>3</sup>*Jacksonville Standard*, December 6, 1860; *St. Augustine Examiner*, November 3, 1860.

<sup>4</sup>August 14, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 148; S. D. McConnell to My Dear Eloise, November 12, 1860. McConnell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

would soon shoulder arms against their former countrymen, placed their convictions in elaborately-worded, yet oft fallacy-filled documents. These proclamations, which listed grievances against the Republican Party and the North, essentially conveyed the ideals for which the Confederate soldiers fought. In Wakulla County, the citizen committee claimed they were “willing to remain in the Union so long as we can have our constitutional rights and our interests are protected, and the fugitive slave law strictly enforced in all the free States and agitation of the slavery question in Congress to cease.” The Southerners warned “without this we are for immediate secession.” Voters in Cedar Keys came to the consensus that Florida’s departure from the Union was necessary because that course of action exhibited “the only feasible method of resisting successfully the aggression of the North, upon our domestic institutions and sacred Constitutional Rights.”<sup>5</sup>

The majority of the Floridians who met to discuss the ills of the country - like those who gathered in St. Augustine - believed the wags who claimed Abraham Lincoln’s “whole political life, has been devoted to this crusade against Slavery.” Hamilton County’s committee, like the Ancient City’s residents, thought that the “election of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin to the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States ought not to be submitted to.” The Florida Baptist Convention provided religious conviction to the state’s citizens, denoting “the Christian as well as the political welfare of our whole population, and more especially of our slaves, deem it proper . . . to express a cordial sympathy with, and hearty approbation of those who are determined to maintain the integrity of the Southern states. . . .”<sup>6</sup>

Both slave owners and non-slave holders joined the Confederate military during the course of the war. In examining the rosters of regiments that eventually became a part of the Florida Brigade in conjunction with corresponding census records, not surprisingly, one finds that most of the enlistees did not own slaves. These men who did not directly

---

<sup>5</sup>Tallahassee *The Floridian and Journal*, December 8, 1860; Cedar Keys *The Telegraph*, December 11, 1860.

<sup>6</sup>*St. Augustine Examiner*, November 17, 1860; *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, December 8 and 22, 1860.

practice slavery went to war instead to preserve the social order that assured poor whites they would never, as long as slavery remained in place, occupy the lowest caste in Southern culture. These volunteers also joined the army to protect their families against the supposed attempt of the Republican government's aims to let "loose four millions of slaves upon us unrestrained, who will at once, embark in the work of murder and rapine." Essentially, these soldiers went to war to maintain white supremacy in the South.<sup>7</sup>

The historian James McPherson estimated that one-third of all Confederate soldiers hailed from slave owning households. In the ranks of the Florida Brigade, however, the number of men who owned human chattel was considerably lower than McPherson's appraisal. The Florida Brigade's soldiers who did own slaves were counted among the state's 1,150 citizens (sixty percent of the total number of slave owners) who held title to "nine slaves or less." S. Darwin McConnell, whom the 1860 Census (Slave Schedule) listed as the owner of two servants, was typical of the slave holders who enlisted in the Florida regiments. Very few gentlemen who owned large numbers of slaves went to war. Instead, these plantation sires dispatched their heirs - teenagers and young men in their twenties - to fight the Yankees. It was unusual to find planters like Daniel Bird, who owned 44 slaves, serving in the Florida Brigade.<sup>8</sup>

Besides the few who called themselves planters, Florida Brigade's citizen-soldiers represented numerous peacetime occupations. Most had followed agriculturalist pursuits before the conflict, working either subsistence farms in West Florida, growing cash crops in the countryside north of Monticello or along the Peace River, or raising citrus trees near

---

<sup>7</sup>*St. Augustine Examiner*, December 22, 1860.

<sup>8</sup>McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, xi; Rivers, *Slavery in Florida*, 34; 1860 U.S. Census, (Slave Schedule), Florida; National Archives Microcopy M653 Roll #110 ; Data on Florida Brigade slave owners abstracted from Hartman and Coles, *Biographical Rosters*, I: 25-31, 47-65, 273-284, 305-314; 337-348, 450-458; II: 580-589, 725-733, 743-751; IV: 1330-1339, 1386-1392; 1860 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule), Alachua, Putnam, Jackson, Hamilton, Leon, Jefferson, Suwannee, Lafayette, Columbia, Nassau, St. Johns, Marion, Sumter, Hillsborough, Gadsden, Manatee, New River, Duval, Santa Rosa, and Walton Counties, Fl. National Archives Microcopy M653, Reels # 106, 107, 108, 109; 1860 U.S. Census, (Slave Schedule), Florida. National Archives Microcopy M653 Reel # 110.

the Atlantic. Landless individuals also participated in farming before the war, by hiring their labor out to local landowners. Some soldiers had toiled for long hours before hot forges, and others turned scraps of wood into furniture and assisted in constructing houses. Also included in the Florida Brigade's ranks were masons, painters, printers, mechanics, and tailors. They were community leaders who served their counties as elected officials; they were ministers, who navigated their flocks through the world's trials and tribulations. Attorneys, physicians, merchants, and school teachers represented the professional classes in the regiments. Academy students, as well as medical apprentices and legal scholars, also comprised a sizeable minority of Florida's soldiers. The soldiers had worked in these jobs, and also in many unnamed lines of employment prior to the war's beginning.<sup>9</sup>

An observer might have noticed of the Florida regiments that mustered in 1861, that the soldiers were generally younger than their counterparts from other Confederate states. Bell Wiley estimated in his *Life of Johnny Reb*, that Rebels "within the 18-29 range was approximately four-fifths of the total" number of soldiers in his sample, and James McPherson wrote that in his analysis of Rebels, the average age at the time of enlistment was 26.5. In some Florida companies, men between the ages of 18 and 29 represented less than sixty percent of the total number of soldiers. Quite a few had been born in the 1820s, while many had just entered their formative years as their state seceded.<sup>10</sup>

When Gadsden County soldiers marched toward Chattahoochee in April 1861 to become the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry's Company G, the soldiers' average age was but twenty-three. The average age of soldiers in Hillsborough County's own 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, Company K, raised in June 1861, was twenty-two. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida's Company B, comprised of the

---

<sup>9</sup>Occupation Data abstracted from Hartman and Coles, *Biographical Rosters*, I: 25-31, 47-65, 273-284, 305-314; 337-348, 450-458; II: 580-589, 725-733, 743-751; IV: 1330-1339, 1386-1392; 1860 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule), Alachua, Putnam, Jackson, Hamilton, Leon, Duval, Jefferson, Manatee, Suwannee, New River, Lafayette, Columbia, Nassau, St. Johns, Marion, Sumter, Hillsborough, Gadsden, Santa Rosa, and Walton Counties, Fl. National Archives Microcopy M653, Reels # 106, 107, 108, 109.

<sup>10</sup>Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 331; McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, viii.

Ancient City's elite was young as well, with "16 of the men . . . under the age of 17." The Blues' ages averaged to 24.<sup>11</sup>

Florida's citizens who enlisted in 1862, following the passage of the Confederate Conscript Act, were closer to McPherson's average than their neighbors and kin who joined the service during the war's first days. The 6<sup>th</sup> Florida's companies surveyed maintained an average age of twenty-five, as did South Florida's 7<sup>th</sup> Florida's Company E. The average age of soldiers serving in Robert Bullock's and S. Darwin McConnell's 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Company G was twenty-seven.<sup>12</sup>

Though the regiments belonged to Florida in name, the units' troops were a motley assortment, having been born in the Deep South - namely South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama - and migrated to Florida in the 1830s and 1840s in search of cheap land and fortune. Joseph Glatthaar, in his study on the Army of Northern Virginia, estimated that "eighty percent of the men who would ultimately serve in the army in Virginia and who entered the service in 1861 were born and lived in the same state." The Florida Brigade certainly did not mirror Lee's vaunted force in this statistic. Instead, the Florida regiments' makeup was very similar to Texas's Confederate outfits, for like Florida, the Lone Star State was relatively young and had served as a haven for immigrants since the 1820s. The historian Richard Lowe, writing about Walker's Texas division which served in the Trans-Mississippi, discovered that "almost half of the men in the division (47.2 percent) had been born in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, or South Carolina."<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>1860 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule), Gadsden, Hillsborough, Lafayette, Sumter and St. Johns Counties, Fl. National Archives Microcopy M653, Reels # 106, 107, 108, and 109; Coles, "Ancient City Defenders," 73.

<sup>12</sup>1860 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule) Santa Rosa, Hillsborough, Manatee, Gadsden, Hamilton, Liberty, Jackson, Putnam, New River, Walton, Sumter and Marion, Fl. National Archives Microcopy M653, Reels # 107, 108, 109. Richard Lowe, in *Walker's Texas Division, C.S.A.*, wrote that his research into the soldiers who joined after the Conscription Act's passage, were "older than the typical Confederate or Union soldier. . . ." See page 21.

<sup>13</sup>Joseph T. Glatthaar, *General Lee's Army: From Victory to Collapse* (New York: The Free Press, 2008), 36; Lowe, *Walker's Texas Division*, 21;



The 1850 census showed that eighty-six percent of Alachua County's residents were born outside the state. These numbers correlated with the statistics for Alachua County's Company H, 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry, in which eighty-two percent of the soldiers claimed locations outside Florida as their birthplaces, with Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina natives alone accounting for seventy-one percent. In the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida's "Union Rebels," raised in Walton and Santa Rosa counties, of the soldiers whose birthplaces are known, less than half claimed Florida. Alabamians composed thirty-seven percent of the company and North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi all had representatives.<sup>14</sup>

The Jefferson Rifles contained one of the highest numbers of Florida natives, and yet locally born soldiers still numbered less than half of the company's men. The St. Augustine company, with its soldiery descended from Minorcan and English colonists, contained a high percentage of Florida natives in its ranks. At least sixty-seven of eighty-five men who listed their birthplaces, were born within the state. On the opposite end of the spectrum, of the sixty-nine men in the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida's Company G also found in the 1860 census, only ten were native Floridians.<sup>15</sup>

With Florida's secession on January 10, 1861, the state's men joined pre-existing militia companies, or formed new units. With the Confederate call for troops later that year and into the next, recently-raised Florida regiments absorbed the militia companies. S. Darwin McConnell, who joined a local cavalry company in early 1861, informed his fiancé "our State is but thinly settled, and would need the services of every man who is able to do military duty, so that I would expect to do service if there is any necessity for it." He added jubilantly: "We of the South have not sought it, and blame can not rest upon us. Our cause is just, and we need not fear defeat." Michael Raysor, a Jefferson

---

<sup>14</sup>Caudle, "Settlement Patterns in Alachua County, Florida, 1850-1860," 435-436; 1860 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule) Alachua, Suwannee, Santa Rosa, and Walton Counties, Fl. National Archives Microfilm M653 Reels # 109.

<sup>15</sup>U.S. Census, (Free Schedule) Jefferson, St. John, Manatee, New River, Lafayette, and Hillsborough Counties, Fl. National Archives Microfilm M653 Reels # 106, 107, 108, and 109; Coles, "Ancient City Defenders," 65.

County Rifle, wrote to his wife “you know the situation of our country and somebody will have to do the fighting and it is as much my duty to defend our state as any body else.”<sup>16</sup>

The concept of defending a Confederate nation, constructed as a slave-holding sovereignty, played on the thoughts of many Floridians. In 1864, Sergeant Archie Livingston expressed his reasons for fighting in a letter to his father: “My duty at present is in the field of practical service . . . Our country is in imminent danger, requiring a faithful discharge of service from every young man.” Roddie Shaw declared in 1862 “My country needs my services and till peace is declared I expect to remain with the Army.” Archie Livingston’s cousin, John L. Inglis, wrote to his extended family in Madison County, “. . . the many kindnesses that I have received at your hands . . . constantly reminded me that in Madison I have something in reality to Battle for, besides Principle, Justice, and Self Government.”<sup>17</sup>

Theodore, yet another of the Livingston clan, wrote with a touch of melancholy in 1864 that he thought the war was waged to remove the Republican government from power: “Every one thinks we will be successful in the end, but a dear bought victory. . . We that are left will have life to begin anew & God grant that we may select leaders, whose judgement will change this Republican Government & . . . political tricksters will not be allowed.” Francis Nicks, a 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida private, also saw the Lincoln Administration as the stumbling block to Southern security, and penned “news every Person I hear Speake of it sais it will last as long as Lincoln’s administration last I hope the old rascal will die.” A 6<sup>th</sup> Florida soldier, Charles Herring, simply wrote that he would gladly die,

---

<sup>16</sup>S. D. McConnell to My dear Eloise, January 12, 1861. McConnell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, August 4, 1861. Raysor Family Correspondence, PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>17</sup>Archie Livingston to My Dr Father, March 23, 1864, in Coski, ed., “I Am In For Anything For Success,” *North and South* 6 (2003): 80; Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, December 16, 1862. Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; John L. Inglis to My Dear Cousins, Wm & W Vann, January 16, 1864. Livingston/ Inglis Letters. Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, VA. (Hereinafter cited as Livingston/ Inglis Letters. MOC, Richmond, VA.).

ironically, “in the discharge of my duty as a lover of freedom.”<sup>18</sup>

Young and old, rich and poor, and having turned their backs on a variety of occupations, Florida’s citizens joined the Confederate Army to maintain slavery’s position within Southern society. Though hailing from different backgrounds, in slavery all found a common ground for fighting; they enlisted to protect their property, to keep slaves from obtaining equality with whites, and to prevent poor whites from falling to the lowest rung of the social ladder. They could not have imagined how hard the fight would be though, and the ultimate toil it would take on their lives.

---

<sup>18</sup>Theodore Livingston to Dear Sister Scotia, December 12, 1864. Livingston/ Inglis Letters. MOC, Richmond, VA.; Francis R. Nicks to Dear Mike, March 9, 1863. Francis R. Nicks Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Charles S. Herring to Dear Mother & family, March 15, 1863, in William Hugh Tucker, ed., and trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 92.

## CHAPTER VII

### “I Am Now As You Know in the Enemys Country”: June - August, 1862

Major General Henry Halleck’s arrival at Pittsburg Landing signaled the completion of the Federal concentration at that place. On April 29, more than 90,000 Union soldiers began the twenty-mile march toward the important rail junction of Corinth. Halleck, unwilling to suffer a surprise Confederate attack like Grant had experienced at Shiloh, entrenched his army each night, and as a result, the large force spent the first three weeks of May covering the ground between Pittsburg Landing and their destination. When the Federals finally reached Corinth and began settling in for a siege, General P. G. T. Beauregard decided to sacrifice the town in order to save his army. During the night of May 29, the Confederate force slipped away under the cover of darkness, marching fifty miles southward to the town of Tupelo.<sup>1</sup>

Though the retreat cost Beauregard his command, for the soldiers in the ranks the retreat was a godsend. Corinth, during the month following Shiloh, turned into a sanitation nightmare and sickness abounded. Private William D. Rogers, an Alabama-born, Milton resident serving in the Florida and Guards Response Battalion described the new encampment as “a beautiful place and I think it is very healthy, also splendid water two things that we were sadly in want of at Corinth.” The army’s bout with sickness continued at Tupelo, where the consolidated battalion suffered seven deaths and listed no less than 164 as ill throughout June.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the problems at Corinth and Tupelo with sickness, Patton Anderson, as well as

---

<sup>1</sup>Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 176; Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 176-177; Woodworth, *Nothing But Victory*, 207.

<sup>2</sup>William D. Rogers to [?], Undated. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.); Morning Reports, Fla. and Confed. Guards Response Batt. Orders of Patton Anderson’s Brigade, Army of Mississippi, 1862. NA, Washington, D.C.. Larry J. Daniel, in *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, makes a case that the suffering at Corinth appeared terrible to the soldiers because of its scale. Daniel demonstrates that there were in fact more sick cases at Tupelo than at Corinth.

other brigade commanders, used the time to transform their veterans into even better soldiers. After the disorganized fighting at Shiloh, more drill became necessary, and Patton Anderson at least, gave his soldiers all they could stand. Beginning at five a.m. during the week, the soldiers drilled for two hours, then came back after breakfast for another hour-and-a-half of company level instruction. In the heat of the afternoon, the men drilled in regimental and brigade formations for two hours before concluding with a dress parade. Anderson ordered that “regimental commanders . . . establish schools for instruction for officers and non-commissioned officers,” and those sergeants and corporals “found to be incapable of drilling squads will be reported to” their superiors, and if necessary they would “be reduced to the ranks, and their places filled with more efficient men.”<sup>3</sup>

## II

For the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida at Mobile, the duty was no less strenuous. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida arrived at the Mobile docks in a heavy downpour; Colonel Dilworth, despite his exceptional performance while in Florida, failed to impress his soldiers once in Mobile. In the words of Company F 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant Jacob E. Mickler, “he went to the hotel and left us all night and a day in the rain on [the] Mobile Wharfs.” Because of reasons that remain unknown, Mickler related that regional differences still occurred in the regiment, as he asserted of Dilworth “the Officers from the east look upon him with disgust and also some from the west.”<sup>4</sup>

Despite its original orders to reinforce the Army of the Mississippi at Corinth, with the evacuation, the regiment was detained at Mobile, and encamped on the westside of the

---

<sup>3</sup>General Orders No. 6, June 13, 1862. Orders of Patton Anderson’s Brigade, Army of Mississippi, 1862. NA, Washington, D.C.

<sup>4</sup>Jacob E. Mickler to My Darling Wife, July 19, 1862, in David J. Coles and Zack C. Waters, eds., “Indian Fighter, Confederate Soldiers, Blockader Runner, and Scout: The Life and Letters of Jacob E. Mickler,” *El Escrivano* 34 (1997): 43 (Hereinafter cited as Coles and Waters, eds., “The Life and Letters of Jacob E. Mickler”). Middleton Diary, May 25-26, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. V, FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

city. Twenty-two-year-old Private William C. Middleton of the Blues had injured his leg while in Montgomery, and this ailment caused him to miss drill and guard duty. He jotted in his diary, “We sick are having a fine time, though some are too sick for any enjoyment.” While waiting for his leg to heal, Middleton took in the city, where he dined on oysters and enjoyed a show at a theater.<sup>5</sup>

On June 8, orders arrived for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida to dispatch a guard detail to the city each night for the purpose of serving as military police. Ordered to report each evening at five p.m., the soldiers’ duty lasted twenty-four hours. Thereafter, each afternoon, a sergeant’s guard consisting of three corporals and twenty-one men marched into Mobile for service. A few weeks later, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida had one hundred of its number acting as police in the city. This duty did not suit the Floridians’ at all, particularly the long hours without sleep.<sup>6</sup>

Lt. Jacob Mickler complained “I do not like the duty Darling [of] guarding the City of Mobile and Yankee prisoners. It is very unpleasant unless you capture them yourself.” Michael O. Raysor, a twenty-six-year-old farmer serving in the Jefferson County Rifles noted of the time spent in Mobile “we had to stand guard and do police duty in the city of Mobile and guard Yankee prisoners that we come on guard duty and could not stand up at all.” Willie Bryant of the Jacksonville Light Infantry concurred, adding “the duties are pretty tough, for this warm weather.”<sup>7</sup>

The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, arriving in Mobile after an uneventful journey, pitched their tents within a few miles of their neighbors and kin. Soon Colonel James Hunt’s regiment was

---

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., May 26-29, 1862.

<sup>6</sup>Special Orders No. 127, June 8, 1862. General and Special Orders, 1861-1862. Department of Alabama and West Florida. NA, Washington, D.C.; Jacob E. Mickler to My dearest Wife, June 25, 1862, in Coles and Waters, eds., “The Life and Letters of Jacob E. Mickler,” 41.

<sup>7</sup> Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, June 30, 1862. Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Willie Bryant to Dear Davis, June 15, 1862, in Arch Fredric Blakey, Ann Smith Lainhart, and Winston Bryant Stephens, Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles: Civil War Letters of the Bryant-Stephens Families of North Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.), 122 (Hereinafter cited as Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens, Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*).

assisting the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida in policing the city. New soldier Washington Ives vented to his sisters, “I am under such discipline that I can’t leave the lines 2 hours in a day and am kept drilling or standing guard that I just can get along, and manage to sleep enough. . . .”<sup>8</sup>

In spite of the fatigue experienced by the soldiers because of their new responsibilities, pride prevailed on the days before July 4, which the men spent brushing their uniforms, polishing their brass buttons and cleaning their weapons. On Independence Day, the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments along with the remainder of the now-called Army of Mobile, paraded down the streets of the city to celebrate their former country’s separation from England. Michael O. Raysor recalled “it was a grand sight thousands of spectators but just as we got in the town good they came up a heavy rain and give us a good ducking the streets was awful mud, they was one continual slough slough in mud and water all the time but we were every day soldiers and therefore we did not mind it.”<sup>9</sup>

The soldiers’ spirits were dampened by the sickness which prevailed in Mobile as much as it did in Corinth during those months. In Mobile, some illnesses might have been caused by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida remaining in the rain during the night they arrived. Michael O. Raysor believed that “the cause I think of my getting sick was that our Regt had to perform so much duty .” Lemuel Moody lamented that “I have had the diarrhea nairly every since we have bin in Mobile it has all most beome cronik.” Washington Ives informed his family that “at one time in Mobile as many as thirty of our company were on the sick list in a day and 7 men died in the reg’t during its stay. . . .” During July’s third week, it appeared the regiment’s health improved, for a visitor to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida’s camp wrote that only thirty of the regiment’s members were on the sick list.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Sisters Katie and Fanny, July 6, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.; Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, July 6, 1862. Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., June 30, 1862; Lemuel Moody to Dear Sister, July 16, 1862. Moody Letters. ZCW, Rome, GA; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Mother, July 20, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, July 26, 1862.

### III

Not a week had passed following the successful completion of the campaign to take Corinth, when President Lincoln used telegraph wires to press his western generals for a drive on Chattanooga. Lincoln had long advocated an advance into Tennessee's mountainous region because he thought its people had little in common with the remainder of the Confederacy and that their allegiance remained with the Union. In fact, the majority of its citizens worked small farms, and felt snubbed by the slave-owning aristocracy in Middle and West Tennessee. The folk in the Appalachian Mountains perceived a further ignored by Governor Isham Harris in May, when he "had attempted to undermine the results of the February vote against separation, and they characterized his use of the legislature to pass the ordinance of secession rather than calling a state convention to decide the issue, as unconstitutional."<sup>11</sup>

One had to look no further than the June 1861 secession vote results, as East Tennesseans condemned the measure by a vote of seventy to thirty percent, to understand where the region's sympathies lay. Because of the strong Unionist sentiment in the area, Lincoln wished to occupy it as soon as possible, "because he was eager to show all potentially loyal Southerners that they would have the effective support of the national government in opposing the 'slave-ocracy' that had stampeded their states into rebellion." Federal military planners viewed the area as important because of the Tennessee and Virginia Rail Road. The seizure of these rails, which after the fall of Corinth represented the only continuous east-west rail line of the Confederacy, would severely injure the South's already-deficient transportation capability. On June 18, as the Florida regiments made their way to the front, a Union division occupied Cumberland Gap and threatened to

---

<sup>11</sup>Noel C. Fisher, *War At Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerilla Warfare in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 20, 31-32.



push into the East Tennessee Valley.<sup>12</sup>

In Middle Tennessee, following the fall of Nashville, one of Don Carlos Buell's divisions advanced to the Tennessee River at Bridgeport, but there halted to wait for the remainder of the army. In June, Halleck informed Buell of the opportunity that existed of satisfying not only Lincoln's wish of occupying Tennessee, but of launching a fatal strike at the heart of the Confederacy. "Old Brains" Halleck lectured his subordinate: "After considering the whole matter I am satisfied that your line of operations should be on Chattanooga and Cleveland or Dalton . . . By moving on Chattanooga you . . . are on the direct line to Atlanta." Halleck thus ordered Buell to march overland, rejoin his advanced division, and then occupy Chattanooga. In mid-June, Buell's Army of the Ohio ponderously began its advance into the hills of northern Alabama. East Tennessee's Confederate defenders numbered but a few thousand soldiers, and were stretched thin to watch both Cumberland Gap and Chattanooga. These soldiers were commanded by a soldier whom the Floridians called one of their own: Edmund Kirby Smith.<sup>13</sup>

During June as the situation in East Tennessee became critical, and the front at Tupelo quieted as summer approached, reinforcements were directed to the mountains to help fend off Buell's advance. The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, dismounted, having arrived at Chattanooga in early June and moved immediately ten miles west of Chattanooga to the Narrows. Dubbed the "Canyon of the Tennessee," here the river tightened between Walden Ridge and Lookout Mountain, creating a hazard for boatmen and a scene of natural beauty for spectators. Stationed atop of the southern wall of the canyon, Raccoon

---

<sup>12</sup> McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 283; Woodworth, *Nothing But Victory*, 65; Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*. 3 vols. (1958. Reprint: New York: Vintage Books, 1986), I: 559. Kenneth Noe, *Perryville: The Grand Havoc of Battle* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 28. For more on Lincoln's policy toward Southern Unionists, see David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party In the Secession Crisis* (1942. Reprint, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962). As Steven E. Woodworth notes in *Jefferson Davis and His Generals*, Cumberland Gap was easily outflanked by various mountain passes, thus it was abandoned by the Confederates.

<sup>13</sup> *Official Records*, series I, vol. XVI, 9; Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 188-189.

Mountain, the regiment was charged, according to Major William Stockton, with “holding the mountain passes to prevent the enemy from crossing the Tennessee between Chattanooga and Bridgeport, i.e., to the same side on which Chat. is.”<sup>14</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry’s troopers gained national recognition for its service on the river, as it fought several small, but violent actions with Federal soldiers. Columns in the *Richmond Dispatch* noted on two occasions instances where Davis’s men both beat back probes and conducted patrols across the river. Major Stockton wrote that the soldiers were “shooting at each other . . . every day.” Though at one time a professional soldier, Stockton pondered “this deliberate shooting at human beings, as coolly as it[if] they were only a large species of game and quietly taking arms & equipment, as one would the hide and venison.”<sup>15</sup>

To reinforce the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments were given orders to report to the threatened front. Braxton Bragg transferred a small division to Chattanooga as well. “We leave for Tennessee today” wrote Charles Herring of the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida’s Company G, “All in good of life and high spirits talking to th[eir] sweet[hearts] as like they would be back in two weeks. . . Oh I hear the boat coming. I must close.” Lt. Hugh Black, a Liberty County politician serving in Company A, penned a quick note to his wife: “We are now loading the boat to leave for Tennessee . . . I cannot leave without causing a difficulty and therefore I will go but will not be gone very long before I return perhaps to remain . . . I hope that you will reconcile yourself to your fate.”<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>William T. Stockton to “My dear wife,” June 13, 1862, in Ulmer, trans., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 115; J. Leonard Raulston and James W. Livingood, *Sequatchie: A Story of the Lower Cumberland* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1974), 21.

<sup>15</sup>*Richmond Dispatch*, June 18 and 24, 1862; William T. Stockton to Dearest Ju, June 21, 1862, in Ulmer, trans., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 117.

<sup>16</sup>Charles Herring to Dear Mother & family, June 11, 1862, in William Hugh Tucker, ed., and trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 81; Hugh Black to Dear Wife, June 13, 1862, in, Elizabeth Caldwell Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family in Florida during the War Between the States, 1862-1864* (privately published, Newbury, 1998), 34 (Hereinafter cited as Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*).

The 6<sup>th</sup> Florida arrived in Columbus on June 16, just days after the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, and by June 18 were in Chattanooga. Lt. James Hays in Company D recalled with pleasure the rail journey: “After we left Columbus, nearly every house we passed they were out with their handkerchiefs waving and hollering, throwing bokaies[sic] and apples into the cars as we would pass by. From Atlanta to this place beat all . . . They were perfect swarms of young ladies standing on the road with their flags flying.” For Hugh Black, the rail ride was more tedious, for northwest of Chattanooga, “the car that myself and the remainder of our company was in ran off the track and very near crushing the whole concern to atoms.”<sup>17</sup>

A letter to the Columbus *Daily Sun*, which maintained a circulation in West Florida, noted that during its journey north, the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida had “been complimented for the quiet and gentlemanly deportment of both officers and men.” Immediately dispatched to the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry’s location, the men were held in reserve during a June 21 reconnaissance across the river. Soon after, Kirby Smith dispatched the regiment to Knoxville, intending it to help defend that point against a Federal advance from the mountains. Arriving in the East Tennessee town, the Floridians found the greeting very cold, a stark contrast to those cheers received during their rail journey through Georgia. A. G. Morrison informed a friend, “The yankees are all over this portion of the country, and there are many citizens here who are no better than them. The ladies in town are howllowing out Confusion to Jeff Davis, history to Abe Lincoln.”<sup>18</sup>

The 7<sup>th</sup> Florida came on quickly, departing from camps near Jacksonville, where the majority spent the early days of June, and from Tampa. Captain McConnell told his wife

---

<sup>17</sup>James Hays to My dear wife, July [?] 1862. James Hays Letters, United Daughters of the Confederacy Bound Typescripts, Vol. IV, 9-42. Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, GA. (Hereinafter cited as James Hays Letters, UDC Bound Typescripts, IV:9-42. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.); Hugh Black to Dear Mary A. Black, June 22, 1862, in Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 34; Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers: Their Expectations and their Experiences* (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1988), 64-65.

<sup>18</sup>*Columbus Daily Sun*, June 26, 1862; A. G. Morrison to Mrs. Margaret, July 1, 1862, in Tucker, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 80.

“My regiment is ordered to Tennessee, and will start tomorrow for Tallahassee, and remain near there until fully equipped.” The 7<sup>th</sup> soon embarked on the overworked Chattahoochee River steamers and reached Columbus on June 14-15, where they waited several days while the men were uniformed. A wag in Company H, known as the “Marion Hornets,” wrote lightly of his regiment’s marches in verse, noting of the stop in the River City, “Here it were well I should not tell/ All the things in this place done./ How the soldiers act is a fixed fact-/ All should their actions shun. Some drinking hard, some standing guard,/ Much money spent for naught./ With frolic, fun, the day begun,/ With it the time was fraught.” Company K, after having to move from Tampa to Chattahoochee, did not reach Columbus until July 11, and the fun continued. Robert Watson wrote of his stay in the city, “took several drinks, ate supper, and passed the evening among the ‘Ladies.’”<sup>19</sup>

When the regiment’s main body arrived in Chattanooga on June 25, it was immediately rushed to reinforce the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry. With six Florida regiments now stationed throughout the Western Theater, from Corinth to Mobile and in Middle Tennessee, the editor of the *Columbus Daily Sun* who witnessed the majority of these soldiers march through his city paid tribute to the “Land of Flowers.” “The patriotic little State,” he proclaimed “with a voting population not exceeding 12,500 now has in the field over 10,000 men . . . Not only has she furnished these troops, but she has given the hated Yankees evidence of prowess and gallantry of our sons. . . .”<sup>20</sup>

#### IV

---

<sup>19</sup>Samuel D. McConnell to My darling wife, June 12, 1862. Samuel D. McConnell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; n.a., *Adventures of the Marion Hornets, Co. H, 7<sup>th</sup> Regt. Fla. Vols.* Knoxville: Published for the author, 1863, 6. Original held in the Eleanor S. Brockenborough Library, Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, VA.; June 13, 1862, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service on Land and Sea*, 43; Robert Bullock to “Amanda Waterman Bullock,” June 25, 1862. Robert Bullock and Amanda Waterman Bullock Papers. Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, GA. (Hereinafter cited as Robert and Amanda Waterman Bullock Papers. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.).

<sup>20</sup>*Columbus Daily Sun*, June 26, 1862.

On the banks of the Tennessee, the soldiers of the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida pitched their tents near those of the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry, at a point appropriately named Camp Kirby. The trip north from Florida, much of it spent in open cars, caused a bout of very noticeable sickness in the regiment. Captain McConnell wrote from the Tennessee River, “Mr. Watkins, the Orderly Sergeant of my company died at Columbus last week. He was left there sick as the Regt. passed through. Some of my men are still behind as also members of all the companies.” Lieutenant Colonel Bullock ruefully informed his wife “the health of the Regt is very bad - now about two hundred of six hundred on sick report.” Colonel Perry, who did not join the regiment until it readied for departure at Chattahoochee, was appalled at amount of sickness: “I have witnessed more suffering since I took charge of the Regt. than in my. . . . previous life. My feelings are hourly harrowed up by the suffering which in many instances I am unable to alleviate.”<sup>21</sup>

In addition to grappling with the sickness within the regiment, there also remained the business of the Yankees across the river. “We are on the banks of the Tenn River & the enemy on the opposite side,” Lt. Col. Bullock informed his wife. His friend from Ocala, Samuel D. McConnell, remarked of the new camp, “The enemy’s forces are encamped on the opposite side of the river several miles off but near enough for their drums to be distinctly heard. Their camps can be seen from the top of a high hill near this place.” Upon their arrival, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry extended their lines westward along the river, guarded against crossings near Bridgeport, Alabama. On July 4, as the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Regiments tramped through the muddy streets of Mobile, the 7<sup>th</sup> Regiment departed from the Narrows, and also moved to Knoxville. The regiment’s poet composed “Oh, Muses, give me your aid;/ Again we’ll travel on;/ We left Camp Kirby, where we stay’d,/ One Fourth of July morn,/ And the ‘Hornets’ took the cars,/ Hunting, still hunting, for the wars.” Nearly a month behind their comrades, Company K finally detrained at Knoxville

---

<sup>21</sup>Samuel D. McConnell to My darling wife, June 23, 1862. Samuel D. McConnell Papers, PKY; Robert Bullock to “Amanda Waterman Bullock,” June 28, 1862. Robert Bullock and Amanda Waterman Bullock Papers. GDAH, Atlanta; Madison Starke Perry to My Dear Wife, July 15, 1862. MS Perry Letters, 1860-62. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

on August 2.<sup>22</sup>

With the arrival at Chattanooga of John McCown's division from Tupelo, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, dismounted, was withdrawn from its exposed position in the van of Kirby Smith's force and ordered to Knoxville. Once there, Colonel W. G. M. Davis took command of a newly-organized brigade consisting of the three Florida regiments and also including the Marion Artillery, a Florida battery.. The troopers could be proud of their work, as they had gained both a reputation and experience on the banks of the Tennessee. However, it had taken more than just the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry to scare Don Carlos Buell into halting his forces before reaching Chattanooga.<sup>23</sup>

The route of advance assigned to Buell ran parallel to the Memphis and Charleston Railroad that lay in the hills of northern Alabama. This rail line was, for several reasons, entirely inadequate and could in no way support the operations of a major offensive. For one, when, in early June, as Buell prepared to move his force east, "Only two locomotives and a dozen box cars operated between Corinth and Tuscumbia." Because of the poor condition of the Memphis and Charleston, Buell's "army would be forced to repair the railroad until it reached Mitchel in northern Alabama. . . ." On June 12, Buell communicated to Ormsby Mitchel that for the advance to continue, rail links to several depots, including Nashville, were needed. Work parties then began repairing the Nashville and Chattanooga and Nashville and Decatur Railroads.<sup>24</sup>

Besides spending valuable time in making the railroads acceptable for carrying

---

<sup>22</sup>Robert Bullock to Amanda Waterman Bullock, June 28, 1862. Robert Bullock and Amanda Waterman Bullock Papers. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; Samuel D. McConnell to My darling wife, June 23, 1862. Samuel D. McConnell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL. *Adventures of the Marion Hornets*, 8; August 2, 1862, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service on Land and Sea*, 45.

<sup>23</sup>Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 192; Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels," 49; Waters, "In the Presence of an Acknowledged Enemy," 6.

<sup>24</sup>Larry J. Daniel, *Days of Glory: The Army of the Cumberland, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 93; Stephen D. Engle. *Don Carlos Buell: Most Promising of All* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 258; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series I, vol. XVI, part II, 17.

munitions and rations, General Buell also had to construct defenses to cope with roving Confederate cavalry who were constantly considered a threat to the newly-operational rail lines. To contend with the menace, “Blockhouses were built along the Nashville and Chattanooga route while stockades were constructed on the Memphis and Charleston line . . . All of this took time, energy, and manpower.”<sup>25</sup>

Until these lines were completed, Buell refused to conduct an active offensive toward Chattanooga, and instead inched his army along the repaired rail line. On July 12, Federal work gangs put the last touches on the Nashville and Chattanooga line, which joined the Memphis and Charleston at Stevenson, Alabama. The next day, Confederate horseman Nathan Bedford Forrest wrecked this line near Murfreesboro, causing a week of delays. By the time Buell moved forward again, the van of the Army of the Mississippi detrained in Chattanooga, its soldiers eager to change the fortunes of war in the West.<sup>26</sup>

## V

Because their relationship had been strained since an exchange of words in the aftermath of First Manassas, Jefferson Davis used Beauregard’s abandonment of Corinth as an excuse to sack the Louisiana-born general. When Beauregard departed Tupelo to rejuvenate his health at an Alabama spa, the Confederate president used the opportunity to promote Braxton Bragg to command the Army of the Mississippi. William D. Rogers, serving with the Florida and Confederate Guards Repsonse Battalion, noted of the change, “I think Old Bragg will take us where the Yanks are at least he says so, he says he intends to take Cincinatti [sic] to pay for New Orleans.”<sup>27</sup>

On June 20, Bragg assumed command the Army of the Mississippi and began contemplating his options. A march to retake Corinth was immediately discounted, for

---

<sup>25</sup>Earl J. Hess, *Banners to the Breeze: The Kentucky Campaign, Corinth, and Stones River* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 11.

<sup>26</sup>Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, 1: 561-562; Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 201-202.

<sup>27</sup>Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 179-181; William D. Rogers to Dear Jimmy, July 12, 1862. William D Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

good water between the two towns was scarce, and the Rebels lacked the number of wagons needed to move supplies. Furthermore, Grant's Army of the Tennessee still occupied northern Mississippi. During July, an idea for an offensive in Middle Tennessee took form, as pleas from Kirby Smith to Bragg for more reinforcements pointed to a relocation to Chattanooga as Bragg's base of operations. Bragg understood, because of McCown's transfer at the beginning of the month, such a movement was possible. Orders to move were passed to nearly 30,000 soldiers stationed at both Tupelo and Mobile.<sup>28</sup>

On July 22, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion, separated five days earlier from their New Orleans comrades, boarded a southbound train in Tupelo. The journey took the four small companies to Mobile, and then north to Montgomery via Alabama River steamers which newly-promoted Lieutenant Augustus McDonell called "anything but a pleasant one." The Gainesville merchant remarked that when the veterans reached Montgomery and were back in civilization, they could not stand the temptation of the city. "Notwithstanding the General order forbidding the officers and men from leaving their Commands," McDonell wrote, "mostly 2/3s of them . . . ran the Blockade and went up to the city and had a gay time generally. Some of them got Slighty inebriated and talked too much thereby letting the cat out of the bag."<sup>29</sup>

While the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion's deployment to Chattanooga was accomplished with relatively few hindrances, the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida's soldiers less fortunate. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida departed from Mobile on July 20, embarked on the steamer *R. B. Taney*. Throughout July 21, the vessel steamed against the current, slowly making headway toward Montgomery. For the majority of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida's soldiers, crowded onto the *Taney's* decks, the voyage was uncomfortable. At one point during the first night, William Middleton recalled all were awoken to "shrieks . . . and the cry of a man overboard, the boat stopped but the man was not found." While this event unnerved the soldiers, the next morning they stirred

---

<sup>28</sup>Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals*, 131; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 261, 268; Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 196-197.

<sup>29</sup>*Supplement to the Official Records*, V: 188; Augustus O. McDonell Diary, August 10, 1862. Augustus O. McDonell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.



to find the ship hard aground on a mud flat. To lighten the *Taney* so that it might float free with the tide, Middleton wrote the regiment took “two hours getting off,” and the men “had to go ashore and walk through the swamp a mile.” Rejoining the ship, the men finally reached Montgomery seventy-eight hours after leaving Mobile. Once the regiment boarded the cars at Montgomery, only two days were needed to travel from the former Confederate capital to Chattanooga.<sup>30</sup>

The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida suffered even more after it entrained on July 22. Seventy-five miles south of Montgomery, Washington Ives remembered, disaster struck as “the car on which Capt. Miot’s co. was, broke down and if it had held on to the engine would have killed us all, but thanks to Providence I escaped unhurt, and the Engine tore loose and ran down the road leaving ½ the regt. in a deep Clay Cut at 2 A.M.” He continued, “I tell you it was quite a scene . . . lights dancing here and there men calling others to find out who had been killed etc.” Two of Ives’s comrades died in the wreck and a number were wounded. Once the regiment’s injured were tended to, the soldiers continued to Montgomery, where having not eaten for more than a day, Colonel James Hunt allowed the regiment time to prepare rations. For this act of compassion, and for delaying their movement to Chattanooga, Hunt found himself under arrest once the regiment reached its destination.<sup>31</sup>

Departing Montgomery, the journey became more bearable for the Floridians. With their train halted in Marietta, Georgia, “some young Ladies in a piazza fronting . . . the Depot sang several war songs such as Maryland, Bonnie Blue Flag, and Cheer Boys Cheer. The Singing was excellent. (As we came along some apples and peaches also minature Con. flags were thrown to us, and at every sight of a female Cheer after Cheer echoed from the cars.” The 4<sup>th</sup> reached Chattanooga on July 25, and camped near the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida. Washington Ives announced his arrival in Chattanooga to the family by writing “I

---

<sup>30</sup>Middleton Diary, July 20-25, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. V. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>31</sup>Washington M. Ives to Dear Father, August 10, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

am now as you know in the enemys country.”<sup>32</sup>

Once bivouacked at Chattanooga, despite more drill, the Floridians found time to enjoy themselves while exploring Lookout Mountain and the surrounding countryside. Lt. Jacob Mickler, who would soon obtain his discharge from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida’s Company A, described the region to his wife: “You can Darling from Mount Lookout see 4 different states - namely North Carolina - Georgia - Alabama and Tennessee. It is Darling the highest mountain in the South.” Washington Ives spent the better part of one day visiting “the Saltpetre Cave in Lookout Mountain . . . the Cave is miles deep (on a level) and the entrance is just on the R. R. which runs on the foot of the Mount . . . I would not go far into the Cave because some of the avenues are not yet explored.” Willie Bryant of Company A hiked “Look Out Mountain . . . and tho a very fatiguing trip on foot, enjoyed it, and got a good dinner too.” Lt. McDonell also made the trip up the mountain, noting as he sat on a ledge, “beneath are little farms and beautiful plots . . . with little farm houses which gives the whole a picturesk view.”<sup>33</sup>

## VI

While the Army of the Mississippi assembled at Chattanooga, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion gained reinforcements. During the summer months, Shiloh casualties, including Major Thaddeus McDonell and Captain Capers Bird, returned to the ranks. McDonell and Bird both endured a rather harrowing convalescence. Taken to a makeshift hospital in Huntsville, the two men began their recovery, but were made prisoners of war by Ormsby Mitchel’s division. Exchanged in May, they rejoined their old command in time for the

---

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Jacob E. Mickler to My Darling Wife, July 28[?], 1862, in Coles and Waters, ed., “The Life and Letters of Jacob E. Mickler,” 44; Washington M. Ives to Dear Father, August 10, 1862 and to Dear Sister Katie, August 17, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL; Willie Bryant to Dear Davis, August 16, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens, Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 138; Augustus O. McDonell Diary, August 17, 1862. Augustus O. McDonell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

movement to Chattanooga.<sup>34</sup>

Joining the battalion in Chattanooga as well were six West Florida and Alabama companies commanded by Lieutenant Colonel William Miller, and known collectively as the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Battalion. Formed in 1861 and early 1862, the companies were for a year, in the state' service, and garrisoned different points in West Florida. In February, Colonel Miller petitioned, and received permission from, the Confederate War Department to raise a regiment. By June, the enterprising Miller had gathered together the six state companies and formed a battalion.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Battalion was, for a time, stationed just north of Pensacola, which the Yankees had occupied following the Confederate evacuation of the city. That same month, Governor John Milton applied to newly -appointed Secretary of War, George Randolph, asking to consolidate Miller's troops with the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion. Randolph granted Milton's request on July 5, and soon the battalion began its own trip to Chattanooga.<sup>35</sup>

A New Yorker by birth, William Miller was reared in Louisiana and had attended Louisiana College. The Colonel was regarded by many as a man of "fine education," and gained praise for his high "attainment in Mathematics." A Mexican War volunteer, he soldiered under Zachary Taylor, where he "had acquired some knowledge of Military Service. . . ." Migrating to Florida in 1850, he settled in Milton where he read law and managed a saw mill. In politics, Miller was a staunch Democrat, and had represented

---

<sup>34</sup>"T. A. McDonell," *Biographical Souvenir of the States of Georgia and Florida* (Chicago, IL, USA: F.A. Battery & Company , 1889), 545; *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, June 7, 1862.

<sup>35</sup> John Milton to George W. Randolph, June 21, 1862. John Milton Letterbook, 1861-1863. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebel's," 47.

Santa Rosa and Escambia Counties at the 1860 Florida Democratic Convention.<sup>36</sup>

Miller's companies were comprised of West Floridians and Alabamians, with companies coming from Santa Rosa and Walton Counties and from Alabama's Conecuh and Escambia Counties. This was the second year of soldiering for the men from Walton County, though the first had been spent within fifty miles of their homes. Comprised of Scots-Irish Presbyterian kinfolk and Knox Hill Academy classmates, the soldiers were stationed at Camp Walton near East Pass on the Gulf. There, they were to protect Choctawhatchee Sound against Yankee incursions. Daniel G. McLean wrote regularly from Camp Walton, noting in August 1861, "We are all well & well satisfied; with the exception of 3 or 4 back woods fellows." Later, he sadly informed friends at home:

When we first came down here we were mighty good . . . We would read our Bibles twice a day & would not play cards or do anything of the sort. After a while we got to reading only once a day & then we got so we only read at Sundays . . . I have positively not played cards but four times since I came & that was when I just came but some of the rest are playing all the time.<sup>37</sup>

Formed into the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Battalion under William Miller in April 1862, the soldiers saw little action, other than obstructing the Escambia River and destroying the recently completed Florida and Alabama Railroad from Pensacola to the Florida-Alabama line. If the soldiers had not suffered previously from disease, they certainly did at Camp Pringle near Bluff Springs, Alabama. Daniel G. McLean, appointed as a hospital steward bemoaned "Everyone here is sick nearly & dying. No pleasure only when we are sleep . . .

---

<sup>36</sup>Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 217; S. R. Mallory to Jefferson Davis, August 12, 1863, in William Miller, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Generals and Staff Officers and Non Regimental Enlisted Men*. Record Group 109, NA, Washington, D.C. National Archives Microfilm M331 Reel # 178 (Hereinafter cited as *CSR of Generals*, with appropriate reel number); *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal* June 16, 1860.

<sup>37</sup>*Supplement to the Official Records*, V: 183-188; McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, Chapter XXXVII. D. G. McLean to Miss Maggie McKenzie, August 2 and October 14, 1861, in Tucker, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 71, 73. For more on immorality in camps, see Bell I. Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, 36-38, 50.

Hardly notices a man dying, at all; never think about going to see him buried & it is only about 150 yds to the grave yard.” They escaped the unhealthiness of Camp Pringle in early July and made their way to Chattanooga.<sup>38</sup>

There, on August 15, 1862, the four company 1<sup>st</sup> Florida, and six company 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Battalions consolidated. In an instant, the grizzled veterans of Shiloh whom Washington Ives described as looking “completely wild,” and the raw West Floridians, became comrades. The fused-command was renamed the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment, and like its predecessor, it contained reduced numbers. Lt. Col. Miller became Colonel in the new organization, and Major Thaddeus McDonell gained promotion to Lt. Col of the regiment. Glover Ailing Ball, who possibly served as the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Battalion’s Executive Officer, was appointed Major. Ball, a twenty-eight-year-old Connecticut Yankee, made a striking appearance in his uniform, standing 5' 10 ½” with a head of black hair. Reared in Tallahassee after his father migrated south, first to Georgia and then to Florida, Ball was a painter by trade; he had no previous military experience.<sup>39</sup>

## VII

Together in Chattanooga, the Floridians found time to visit friends and family in the regimental camps. They were there, though, for the business of soldiering, not socializing, and on August 17, elements of Bragg’s army began crossing the Tennessee and rumors abounded of a pending offensive. Already on August 12, W.G.M. Davis’s brigade, with the whole of Kirby Smith’s Army of East Tennessee, had begun its march north into the Cumberland Mountains. The soldiers assumed that the day would soon come when they

---

<sup>38</sup>H. W. Reddick, *Seventy-seven years in Dixie: The Boys in Gray of 61-65* (Published by the Author, 1910), 12-13 (Hereinafter cited as Reddick, *Seventy-seven years in Dixie*); Daniel G. McLean to Miss Maggie, June 20, 1862, in Tucker, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 79.

<sup>39</sup>*Supplement to the Official Records*, V: 183; For the regiment’s numbers, see Washington M. Ives to Dear Father, August 24, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL., and Daniel G. McLean to Miss Maggie, June 20, 1862, in Tucker, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 79; Glover A. Ball, CSR Reel # 24; 1860 US Census (Free Schedule), Leon County, Fl, p. 26; M653 Reel #108, family 227, dwelling 227, lines 10-12.

would test their mettle on the battlefield. Inwardly, they probably maintained fears of how they might act in combat. Outwardly, like Washington Ives, many proclaimed that when the time came “Florida will not be ashamed of her sons. . . .”<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup>Washington M. Ives to Dear Father, August 10, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

## CHAPTER VIII

### “Another Luminous Page to the History of Florida”: September -October 8, 1862

The Kentucky Campaign, waged during the late-summer and early fall of 1862, was designed to liberate Middle Tennessee, but a poor command structure and unbounded ambition carried the Confederates into the Bluegrass. While their fellow Floridians earned laurels fighting in Virginia, the soldiers of the Western Theater regiments viewed this as their chance to prove themselves on the battlefield. Most would be disappointed. Though the majority did not participate in any battles, the campaign's hardships served to harden the Florida troops and in the end produced better soldiers.

## I

Braxton Bragg and Kirby Smith sowed the seeds for a Kentucky invasion at a meeting held in Chattanooga on July 31, between the two Confederate generals. The commanders agreed that after Kirby Smith flanked Cumberland Gap, thereby forcing the Yankees to abandon the strategic pass, the Army of the Mississippi and Kirby Smith's Army of East Tennessee would destroy Buell's force somewhere in Middle Tennessee. After Buell's destruction, the two armies advance into the Bluegrass, and liberate the state from Federal domination.<sup>1</sup>

While Bragg hoped to deal with Buell's force, much pressure came for a march into Kentucky. Bluegrass politicians, living in exile within the Confederacy, attempted to convince the general that Kentuckians wished to secede, but first needed the Union army removed from their state. Kentucky cavalier John Hunt Morgan, leading one of Bragg's cavalry brigades, informed his superior after returning from a raid in his home state that its citizens would rise to support the Confederacy in the event of an invasion. Morgan estimated thousands of Kentuckians would willingly join Bragg's force.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 272; Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 209; Noe, *Perryville*, 32; Woodworth, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals*, 137.

<sup>2</sup>Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 197-198; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 273-274; Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, I: 576.

Bragg's plan contained a fatal flaw, because he and Kirby Smith commanded separate departments. Only when their armies united would Bragg have any mandate over the Army of East Tennessee. While Bragg waited for his wagon train and artillery, which moved overland through Alabama to reach Chattanooga, Kirby Smith's force began its march toward Cumberland Mountains. The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry's three mounted companies, attached to the van of the offensive, prepared for hard-riding and possible fighting. On August 13, Kirby Smith's cavalry slipped undetected into the mountains southwest of Cumberland Gap. Behind the cavalry column, the gray infantry plodded along on dusty roads, wondering what their destination might be.<sup>3</sup>

Colonel W. G. M. Davis's Brigade, attached to Brigadier General Henry Heth's small division, departed Knoxville also on August 13. Robert Watson and Company K, having arrived in East Tennessee only a week earlier, wrote hastily, "We took up our line of march at 5 P.M. for Kentucky via Big Creek Gap. We have no tents in future and have to carry our knapsacks, rifle, forty rounds of ammunition, haversacks and three days provisions, and canteens." The Florida soldiers, unfamiliar with long, trying marches, particularly in the uneven topography of East Tennessee, found the first few days demanding to say the least. "We marched until midnight," Watson penned before dozing off, "when we halted and turned in, every man in the Regt. completely used up." The aspiring Byron in Company H rhymed "For day and night we traveled on,/ O'er mountains high and steep,/ 'Neath the hot rays of August sun,/ O'er rivers dark and deep."<sup>4</sup>

The column tramped north over a series of ridges and reached Big Creek Gap on August 17. Hugh Black, 6<sup>th</sup> Florida lieutenant, wrote from the pass, "the road from

---

<sup>3</sup>McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 273; Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 211.

<sup>4</sup> Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, I: 583; August 13, 1862, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service on Land and Sea*, 46; n.a. *Adventures of the Marion Hornets*, 11. MOC, Richmond, VA. A Virginian, Heth served in Western Virginia in early 1862 and during the winter months of 1863 transferred to the Army of Northern Virginia. On the morning July 1, 1863, Heth's Division, in the van of A. P. Hill's Corps, encountered John Buford's cavalry outside Gettysburg. The resulting skirmish became the first action in that pivotal battle.



Knoxville to this place was the dustiest road that I ever saw, It was just like marching through a solid bed of ashes and the heat was very great. . . .” The soldiers found no solace at Big Creek Gap. Though the gap offered passage through the Cumberland Mountains, the soldiers would find it difficult to traverse. A Confederate Army engineer described the gap, as a “second-class wagon road . . . ,” that provided access into Kentucky, though the journey was portrayed as “rough, rocky and steep.”<sup>5</sup>

The Floridians suffered particularly on the passage, as Kirby Smith assigned Heth’s Division the responsibility of guarding the army’s wagon train. Lt. Col. Robert Bullock portrayed the crossing as “the hardest trip I ever made in my life.” He reported that the Florida soldiers “had to delay, waiting for the wagons, and pulling them up the mountains.” Lieutenant Hays noted “there have been three companies of our Regiment working all day rolling wagons over the mountain, we put over two hundred . . . We are the blackest lot you ever saw for we havent shifted our clothes since we left Knoxville.”<sup>6</sup>

Long before Kirby Smith’s infantry reached the gaps, his flying cavalry column, John Scott commanding, entered London, Kentucky. This small-hamlet, located thirty miles from the Kentucky-Tennessee border, sat astride Daniel Boone’s Wilderness Road, along which Kentucky’s early settlers had traveled, and on which Cumberland Gap’s supplies now flowed. Not only did this fast strike cut Cumberland Gap’s lifeline, but Scott also seized 160 supply-laden wagons. A day later, Kirby Smith’s infantry reached Barbourville, ten miles south of London, where they too captured an unsuspecting Yankee supply train.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>Hugh Black to Dear Wife, August 15, 1862, in Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 37-38; Major George B. Davis, Leslie J. Perry, and Joseph W. Kirkley, *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*. Capt. Calvin D. Cowles, compiler. (1891-1895. Reprint; New York: Barnes and Noble Publishing, 2003), Plate 95: 3

<sup>6</sup>Robert Bullock to My Dear Wife, August 21, 1862. Robert Bullock and Amanda Waterman Bullock Letters. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; James Hays to My Dear Wife and Children, August 20, 1862. UDC Typescript. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 212.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

During the week long mountain passage, the soldiers survived on both the rations in their haversacks and on produce from nearby fields and orchards. Lt. James Hays explained “the men drew only beef and bread enough for one meal per day, and that was all they got, and some days they could not get bread and had to live on ground corn without salt - it is a wonder they all didn’t die. . . .” Lt. Hugh Black survived on “roasting ears. . . .” At Barbourville, the captured Federal supplies provided some soldiers with “coffee and sugar which” Lt. Black explained, “added a great deal to our comfort.” Alex McKenzie, Jr., also a 6<sup>th</sup> Florida soldier, wrote “Since we arrived in Ky. We have faired exceedingly well. This is undoubtedly the finest county in the World. Small grain & fruit in abundance & the finest stock I recon in the southern states.”<sup>8</sup>

The dusty roads that Kirby Smith’s Army used to enter the Bluegrass became littered with the infirm and tired. The hard marching over the rough terrain accounted for many of these, causing blistered feet, sore muscles, and breathing problems. The climate in the mountains also created various sicknesses among the soldiers. James Hays observed of the weather, “the days are as warm as it is in Florida; at nite it is nearly cold enough for frost.” The 7<sup>th</sup> Florida established a hospital in Boston, Kentucky, where the regiment deposited its sick.<sup>9</sup>

Robert Watson, who developed a severe fever at Big Creek Gap, was counted among the number of sick, as were several other “Key West Avengers.” The soldiers survived on forage for nearly two weeks before a Federal patrol discovered the stricken Rebels. The Federals, unable to care for their new prisoners, promptly paroled the Floridians. During the first week of September, Watson and several others, feeling well enough to walk and understanding they could not fight again until exchanged, Watson and many others began

---

<sup>8</sup>James Hays to [?], [Undated Letter Fragment]. UDC Bound Typescripts, IV: 9-42. GDAH, Atlanta, GA; Hugh Black to Dear Wife, August 17, 1862, in Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 39; Black’s Reminiscences, Ibid; Alex McKenzie, Jr., to Dear Pa, Oct 4, 1862, in Tucker, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 87.

<sup>9</sup>Sunday, August 17 - Sunday, September 7, 1862, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service on Land and Sea*, 47-48.

the trek south to Knoxville. For these men, avenging Key West would have to wait.<sup>10</sup>

While Kirby Smith allowed his soldiers a week's rest at Barbourville, he implemented a change in strategy as well. Though he sat astride the Cumberland Gap's supply line, the Union division there had food enough to last a month. George Morgan, the Federal commander, also determined to hold out as long as possible. Kirby Smith, unwilling to besiege the strategic pass, informed Bragg he needed to move farther north to obtain supplies. In reality, Kirby Smith moved his army toward Lexington to please Jefferson Davis, who still believed that "Kentucky's heart was with the South. . . ." Kirby Smith, hoping to lend the liberation of Davis's native state, had designs for an invasion even before he promised to cooperate with Bragg in Middle Tennessee.<sup>11</sup>

On August 25, following the week of rest, Kirby Smith put his aptly renamed-Army of Kentucky in motion on the Wilderness Road, moving toward the heart of the Bluegrass, with Colonel W. G. M. Davis' Brigade occupying a position near the rear of the column. Excitement arose the next day when the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Regiments, with the Florida-raised Marion Artillery, were dispatched to Williamsburg, a village fifteen miles to the southeast to deal with a supposed threat to the Confederate flank. Hugh Black wrote after the campaign that the diversion was caused by "a few stragglers," but the regiments remained at Williamsburg until August 28 before finally marching to rejoin the army.<sup>12</sup>

In an attempt to catch up with the main force, Colonel W. G. M. Davis pushed his Floridians hard up the Wilderness Road. The movement was in vain, for marching on the morning of August 30, the men heard the distant rumble of cannon ahead on the pike. The firing originated from Richmond, a town south of Lexington. There, Kirby Smith was winning a stunning victory against a cobbled-together force of raw Union regiments. By sunset, Kirby Smith's army had routed the enemy, killing and wounding more than one

---

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.; James Hays to My Dear Wife and Children, August 20, 1862. UDC Bound Typescripts, IV: 9-42. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>11</sup>Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 200, 209.

<sup>12</sup>Nichols, "Florida's Fighting Rebels," 51; Hugh Black Reminiscences, in Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 30.

thousand Federals, while capturing 4,000. The Army of Kentucky's casualties numbered just over 450 killed and wounded. The Floridians arrived after the battle ended, despite a futile forced march that covered "36 hours and only rested one hour . . . to get into the fight. . . ." <sup>13</sup>

When the tired Floridians marched past the battleground the following day, the untested Floridians encountered terrible sights and sounds. The 7<sup>th</sup> Florida's poet put the dismal scene in verse, recalling "Ah, saddening sight! - stretched o'er the ground/ Lay victims of the fight,/ In death's embrace -the ghastly wound/ Too hideous for the sight;/ And horses scattered here and there/ Did thus the fate of battle share." Davis's Brigade, united once again at Richmond, entered Lexington on September 5, where they were greeted with, in the words of Major Stockton, "cheers, with smiles, with tears of joy." <sup>14</sup>

Davis' Floridians did not remain long in Lexington, for Kirby Smith, having acted on impulse in rushing to seize the Bluegrass, found himself in enemy territory and unsure of what to do next. Kenneth Noe, the foremost historian of the Kentucky Campaign, noted "a strange and sudden reversal occurred as Kirby Smith abandoned the offensive and mentally dug in . . . Clearly he had never considered what to do once Lexington was in his hands." Rather than fall back toward Cumberland Gap and besiege the Union division, or march toward Middle Tennessee to support Bragg, he decided to occupy the region and wait for recruits to flock to the Confederate cause. Colonel W. G. M. Davis's troops occupied Kentucky's capital, Frankfort, and remained there for the next month. Of the occupation duty in the capital, the 7th's artist wrote "Oh, Frankfort! governmental seat,/ thou burial place of Boone,/ Thou echoed'st to the soldier's feet/ At midnight, morn, and

---

<sup>13</sup>Boatman, III, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 697-698; C. O. Bailey to Dear Father, October 15, 1862. Bailey Family Papers. PK Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL. (Hereinafter cited as Bailey Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.)

<sup>14</sup> n. a., *The Adventurers of the Marion Hornets*, 15; William T. Stockton to "Darling Wife," September 5, 1862, in Ulmer, Jr., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton*, 133.

noon,/ And muskets, on thy pavements hard,/ Rang as the Hornets kept their guard.”<sup>15</sup>

## II

John Calvin Brown, wearing the wreathed stars of a Confederate general on his collar, was glad to breathe freely once more. Captured at Fort Donelson the previous February, the black-bearded Tennessean had been exchanged in early August, and on the last day of that month gained his Brigadier Generalcy. Thirty-five years old, before the war Brown read law and voted for the Constitutional Union ticket in 1860. Returning to the army, Bragg assigned the lawyer-turned-warrior to the 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade in Patton Anderson’s Division. A future-Tennessee governor, Brown displayed courage and demonstrated a knack for leadership on the battlefield. Brown, who led his troops from the front, was wounded several times before the conflict ended. The Tennesseans’s new brigade contained only three regiments: the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry and 41<sup>st</sup> Mississippi Infantry.<sup>16</sup>

Brown’s infantry was a mixed bag of experience, determination, and green volunteers. The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry provided his veterans, as many of the regiment’s soldiers had fought at Shiloh. The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida also contained the untested West Florida companies recently arrived in Tennessee. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry, though well-disciplined, remained unbloodied and its soldiers were anxious to prove their mettle. The Madison County planter Lucius Church would command the regiment during the campaign, as Colonel William S. Dilworth had been “put under arrest on some trivial grounds and this act of injustice” caused him to miss the campaign. The 41<sup>st</sup> Mississippi organized earlier that summer and remained an unknown quantity because of a lack of training. Battery A, 14<sup>th</sup> Georgia Artillery Battalion, an outfit formed and armed in April and May 1862, was also

---

<sup>15</sup>Connelly, *Army of Heartland*, 217-218; Noe, *Perryville*, 40-41; C. O. Bailey to Dear Mother, October 31, 1862. Bailey Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; n. a., *The Adventurers of the Marion Hornets*, 17.

<sup>16</sup>Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 91; Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 35-36.

assigned to the brigade.<sup>17</sup>

On August 19, Brown's Brigade, serving in General Patton Anderson's Division of Major General William J. Hardee's Right Wing, received orders to strike camp and prepare rations for an imminent movement. The next afternoon, the regiments formed columns, and marched through Chattanooga. Washington Ives, watching from the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida's encampment painted the scene for his father: "It would have made you feel proud to have seen the gallant 3d Fla. leave its encampment on Wednesday evening to cross the River, its rank and file was 600 strong and it looked nearly as large as a brigade, as they left their Band struck up a martial air." Brown's three regiments crossed the Tennessee on ferries and started into the foothills of the Cumberland Plateau.<sup>18</sup>

On the Tennessee River's north bank, the soldiers faced ground similar to that which their comrades encountered weeks earlier outside Knoxville. Like their fellow Floridians in Davis's Brigade, they were unfamiliar with the mountainous topography. The steep grades were foreign to those soldiers, as their state's highest point reached only two hundred feet above the sea level.

Willie Bryant blamed the tough marching on the soldiers "being overloaded in our anxiety to carry luxuries. . ." Like many other volunteers had already discovered, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida men found the added weight of extra clothing and unnecessary nicknacks hampered their progress. As a result, parting with such items became quite easy on the road north of Chattanooga. W. C. Middleton, the twenty-five year-old serving in the St. Augustine Blues recalled in his diary, "the road all the way was strewn with old clothes,

---

<sup>17</sup>Crute, *Units of the Confederate States Army*, 94, 187; William Raulston Talley, "William Raulston Talley Memoir," 41-42. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; *Monticello Family Friend*, November 8, 1862. Bird Biographical File. Keystone Genealogical Society. Monticello, FL; Washington M. Ives to Dear Father, September 12, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL. Colonel William S. Dilworth did not return to the regiment until November 1862. The author could not find any documentation regarding this arrest. However, both Pasco, writing as "INOE," and Washington Ives confirm this occurrence.

<sup>18</sup>Middleton Diary, August 19, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. V. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Washington M. Ives to Dear Father, August 24, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL..

and blankets, and sick old men.” Twenty-year-old Benton Ellis, a former student in Company C wrote years later, “my brother Jimmie and I . . . had not gone three miles before we discarded the blankets and knapsacks and made the campaign with the clothing we had on us, in fact we left everything except our shirts and pants, shoes and hats.” Brown’s brigade remained encamped several miles north of the river for a week, waiting for the army to gather for the coming campaign.<sup>19</sup>

The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida remained as spectators during this time, observing from their camps near Lookout Mountain, as various commands departed for the campaign. By orders of General Bragg, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida remained in Chattanooga where they formed, with several other regiments, a “base of operations,” under the command of General Sam Jones, who incidentally had directed the evacuation of Pensacola months earlier. It is likely General Bragg detained the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida because both its Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel were dangerously ill. Lt. Col. Wylde L. L. Bowen survived to fight another day, but the young lawyer James Hunt succumbed to an unknown sickness. The regiment, numbering only 483 privates for duty, rather than preparing for a battle with Buell’s army, spent the last weeks of summer in routine and boring work guarding commissary stores near Chattanooga.<sup>20</sup>

Braxton Bragg’s Army of the Mississippi assumed the offensive on August 29, when his columns advanced northeastward over a precipitous height known locally as Walden Ridge. A northeastward extension of Lookout Mountain, the ridge loomed over Chattanooga from a distance and through the haze of midsummer, its heights seemed an inviting bluish-green. A closer inspection, though, revealed less-inviting ground that would trouble the inexperienced campaigners. The ridge towered 1,000 feet above the

---

<sup>19</sup>Willie Bryant to My dear Mother, August 24, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens, Jr., eds, *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 139; Middleton Diary, August 21, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. V. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Ellis, Sr., “A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.,” 2. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>20</sup>Washington M. Ives to Dear Father, August 24, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XVI, part II, 761-762; Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 223.

surrounding countryside, with many points rising above 2,000; the roads remained in poor condition, often ascending steeply to the summit. At its base, just miles north of Chattanooga, Willie Bryant described the obstacle as “a perpendicular cliff. . . .”<sup>21</sup>

Braxton Bragg, with news that Kirby Smith had occupied Lexington, decided he would not fight the decisive battle in Middle Tennessee. Understanding that to defeat Buell’s force he needed Kirby Smith’s assistance, his divisions would march into the Bluegrass. Once the two armies united, combined with the thousands of Kentuckians who would undoubtedly flock to the Confederate banner, he would defeat Buell. James Lee McDonough noted in his work on the campaign, once Bragg made the decision to move to Kentucky, because he had no direct control over Kirby Smith, the two generals would make “no unified movement and” have “no clearly defined objective.”<sup>22</sup>

Twenty-five year old 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant John Livingston Inglis of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida’s Company D was of Scottish heritage, though he had been born in England. Immigrating to the United States during the 1850s, he found his way to Florida where he had relatives who lived in Madison County. Inglis, though, made his own home in Wakulla County, where he managed a small iron works. Enlisting as a private in 1861, he was elected sergeant during the first company election, and then during the reorganization became 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant. Inglis’s sleepy eyes masked a strong intellect, and his strong jaw remained hidden beneath a neatly trimmed goatee.<sup>23</sup>

The Scot, marching with his regiment, described his physical condition after a few days’ marching as “feet blistered, shoulders sore and worn out.” William Raulston Talley,

---

<sup>21</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, August 29, 1862 (copy). Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as John Livingston Inglis Diary (copy). FSU, Tallahassee, FL.); Raulston and Livingood, *Sequatchie*, 16; Willie Bryant to My dear Mother, August 24, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., *The Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 139.

<sup>22</sup>Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 222; Noe, *Perryville*, 41; James Lee McDonough, *The War in Kentucky* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 82.

<sup>23</sup>R. Don McLeon, “Capt. John L. Inglis.” *Confederate Veteran* 25 (1917): 517. See also *Confederate Veteran* 22 (1914): 159.



a cannoneer in Battery A, 14<sup>th</sup> Georgia Artillery Battalion, explained when writing his memoirs “the road we were traveling was rough and soon we got to places real steep and as the horses would stall the infantry were detailed all along the road at the steep places to help push our guns up. . . .” Benton Ellis recalled one man “had to carry a large rock and when the mules, after a desperate struggle would move a short distance and stop, we had to scotch the wheels with the rock.” Willie Bryant wrote simply, “What we have suffered on this march those only can know who have experienced it, it is impossible to describe it, or for the mind to realise it by description . . . thousands have ben left sick at houses and hospitals established along the road. . . .”<sup>24</sup>

The Florida regiments descended from Walden Ridge into the Sequatchie River Valley where the soldiers earned a brief rest at Dunlap. One problem that plagued the Confederate and Union soldiers alike during the late summer campaign was the lack of water on the Cumberland Plateau. Drought served to dry the region’s creeks and what little water lay stagnant, covered with green film and filled with bacteria. John Livingston Inglis simply denoted the lack of fluids by writing “water scarce.” The hot, dry dust of the mountain roads filled the soldiers’ mouths, making the situation worse. “East Tenn,” declared Willie Bryant, “is booked in my memory as the most abominable section of the country I have known.”<sup>25</sup>

Once Brown’s Brigade reached Sparta, which Sam Pasco described as “quite a little place,” the outlook brightened. The infantry still marched between ten and twenty miles each day during that second week in September, but the movement culminated with the crossing of the Cumberland River on September 10. There, the men had an opportunity to wash the grime and dirt from their clothing and bodies. The fertile countryside through

---

<sup>24</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, August 30, 1862 (copy). FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; William Raulston Talley, “William Raulston Talley Memoir,” 44. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; Willie Bryant to My dear Bro., September 14, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., *The Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 148.

<sup>25</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, September 9, 1862 (copy) FSU; Willie Bryant to My dear Mother, September 7, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., *The Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 145.

which the army passed provided forage and drink. Charlie Hemming, a teenager soldiering in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, described the landscape as one in which “the corn was in tassel and the red apples, in the orchards and fields on the roadside, made a picture not to be forgotten. Everywhere the people turned out, en masse, to give us food, or to cheer the passing army.” Sam Pasco wrote of the view as the regiments descended the Cumberland Plateau as being “most beautiful and picturesque.”<sup>26</sup>

On September 12, as his division crossed the Kentucky state line, Patton Anderson finally returned to the land he cherished. The Floridians expressed astonishment at the state’s political division. From town to town, the Army of the Mississippi did not know which type of response their liberating columns would evoke. Samuel Pasco noted that Barron County, just north of the state line, “is strongly for ‘Union’ and the family who lived where we camped have all their sympathies enlisted on that side.” Yet the next day, citizens of Glasgow, situated only one county north, “enthusiastically cheered,” and “flags and snow white handkerchiefs waved. Shout after shout went up from the stalwart soldier as he witnessed this demonstration of fidelity to our cause.”<sup>27</sup>

While resting at Glasgow after completing a forced march during the night of September 15-16, the regiments were roused to their feet again and many empty stomachs may have tightened as they marched toward the rail town of Munfordville. Lt. John L. Inglis confessed that as the column trudged toward the sound of firing artillery, he was “afraid to be about in first fight.” The attraction of capturing an isolated Union garrison brought James Chalmers’s brigade to Munfordville. Strategically situated on the Green River, the Louisville and Nashville’s tracks passed through the town, though this railroad did not figure into Bragg’s invasion plan. The town’s defenders, numbering nearly 5,000,

---

<sup>26</sup>September 7,9, and 10, 1862, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 1, 2; Charles C. Hemming, “The War of 1861 And Its Causes,” 57. Charles C. Hemming Papers. PK Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL. See also Daniel G. McLean to Miss Maggie Kate McKenzie, January 30, 1863, in Tucker, Trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849 to 1901*, 91.

<sup>27</sup>September 13, 1862, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 3. ; Augustus O. McDonell Diary, September 14, 1862. Augustus O. McDonell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

were entrenched in strong, yet badly placed fortifications on the river's south bank. Expecting an easy victory, Chalmers marched on Munfordville, where he suffered a repulse with the loss of 280 casualties. Bragg, incensed at this defeat, decided to take the entire Army of the Mississippi to the town to avenge Chalmers's loss.<sup>28</sup>

Arriving at Munfordville on Monday afternoon following the Sunday battle, Lt. Augustus McDonell described, "our . . . men were soon placed in position so as to command every point of the enemies fortifications. Gen. Bragg then . . . demanded a surrender of the place, which was refused." The Federal commander, Colonel John Wilder, who would later gain fame commanding an elite brigade of mounted infantry, asked for proof that Bragg maintained superior forces surrounding the fortifications. As daylight faded and twilight engulfed the opposing foes, Samuel Pasco laid down on a blanket, "anticipating a fight in the morning."<sup>29</sup>

The next morning, as back east Joe Hooker's troops slammed into "Stonewall" Jackson's Corps near a small church on the west bank of Antietam Creek, Wilder's paroled men marched from their fortifications. In order to convince the Yankee colonel of Bragg's dominant numbers, the previous evening Wilder was led on a tour of the Rebel lines. The sight of the Army of the Mississippi arrayed for battle caused the colonel to concede defeat. As sunlight struggled to break through an overcast sky Bragg's soldiers, the Floridians included, lined the road to watch their former countrymen pass.<sup>30</sup>

John L. Inglis, who described his own soldiers as "ragged, barefooted . . . hungry," with "skins dark and burnt," could not help but note of the surrendered Yankees, "they looked fat, clean and had new uniforms." Pasco concurred, as he admiringly wrote in his

---

<sup>28</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, September 16, 1862 (copy). FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; James Lee McDonough, *The War in Kentucky: From Shiloh to Perryville* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 158, 172; Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 228. In 1861, while a Colonel, Chalmers' led one of the columns during the attack on Santa Rosa Island.

<sup>29</sup>Augustus O. McDonell Diary, September 16, 1862. Augustus O. McDonell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; September 17, 1862, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 4.

<sup>30</sup>McDonough, *The War in Kentucky*, 180.

own diary, “they looked fine in their blue uniforms.” Young W. C. Middleton commented of the Union soldiers that they were “well dressed” and “well feed[sic] . . . what a contrast to our ragged, foot-sore, and weary soldiers who marched for weeks over mountains and valleys on very short rations.” As the Federals passed, both Inglis and Pasco remembered the atmosphere turned festive, with Inglis writing “our men and they joking each other, our bands played ‘Get Out of the Wilderness,’” and “‘Ain’t I Glad.” The surrender also became an opportunity to gain equipment the Floridians had tossed away while crossing the mountains. Pasco observed that “quite a trade in canteens sprung up as they passed.” The English-born principal “bought a Yankee overcoat and india rubber cloth . . . .”<sup>31</sup>

Braxton Bragg gained a hollow victory at Munfordville, for the detour caused a postponement in joining with Kirby Smith’s Army of Kentucky. For a time shortly after Munfordville, Bragg believed that his army would fight the decisive battle of the campaign on the Green River’s banks. As the Army of the Mississippi accepted the surrender of Wilder’s garrison, Don Carlos Buell’s Army of the Ohio was encamped at Dripping Springs, only thirty miles to the southwest. The Federal general at the time did not know his counterpart’s intentions, “believing that the secessionists would either swing back and attack Nashville from the north. . . .” Thinking that Buell’s army remained at Bowling Green, “Bragg . . . ordered his army . . . to concentrate at Munfordville. They would use Wilder’s works to anchor an imposing defensive line, one that would shred Buell’s army. . . .”<sup>32</sup>

Bragg remained in position at Munfordville for two days, all the while his infantry tensely waiting for what was certain to be a fight. Samuel Pasco who served during the campaign as General Brown’s brigade clerk, decided that he would not miss the battle. Pushing aside his paperwork on the morning of September 18, he left headquarters to

---

<sup>31</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, September 17, 1862 (copy). FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; September 17, 1862, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 4. Middleton Diary, September 17, 1862. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. V. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>32</sup>Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 228, 230; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 119, 121; Noe, *Perryville*, 72.

“take part in the anticipated fight.” He found the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, “in line of battle on a high hill,” but rather than engaging the Yankees, he and his comrades “sat and talked till dusk.” Lt. Inglis continually walked the line behind his company as he “got anxious for their approach,” reminding his untested Floridians “to not waste a shot, be sure of hind sight and only fire when distance and aim was sure as for . . . a deer.”<sup>33</sup>

The battle for Kentucky was not to be waged on the banks of the Green River; Bragg changed his mind. Rather than attempt to fight Buell with inferior numbers, the Confederate general would move east and finally unite with Kirby Smith before giving battle. Kenneth Noe summarized the decision as a correct one, adding “Buell easily could have flanked Munfordsville without giving battle at all. Had he gotten in Bragg’s rear at Elizabethtown, there would have been no junction with Kirby Smith, and probably no further Confederate advance as well.” This decision had the adverse effect in that it allowed Buell’s army, which had suffered from the same, harsh marching conditions as their rebel foes, an open road to Louisville. At any rate, Bragg’s men left their entrenchments on September 20, and moved toward Bardstown, where supplies from Kirby Smith awaited.<sup>34</sup>

From the outset, the Floridians and all of Bragg’s men enjoyed themselves at Bardstown, a small village where numerous roads converged. Though maintaining a spur to the Louisville and Nashville railroad, the town had been bypassed by a new railroad that was to connect Louisville to Cumberland Gap. Despite Bardstown’s decline, it remained important to Braxton Bragg because of its distance, only thirty miles, from Louisville. From the hamlet, Bragg could both watch Buell’s army, and maintain excellent communications with Kirby Smith. During the brief two weeks that the Army of the

---

<sup>33</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, September 18, 19 and 20, 1862 (copy). FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; September 18, 1862, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 4.

<sup>34</sup>McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 288-290; Noe, *Perryville*, 73; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 124. According to his biographer, Bragg made this decision because his army was low on rations and Buell maintained a supply depot at Bowling Green, south of Munfordville. Connelly writes that Bragg’s intelligence failed him at a critical moment causing him to believe Buell was indeed flanking his position.

Mississippi encamped in its fields and meadows, “a brief summer love affair between the town and the army” developed “that lasted at least until overwhelmed merchants closed their doors rather than accept Confederate money.” The drawback to the town was a common complaint that summer, as “little water remained for the soldiers to drink but the warm, muddy pond water they had grown accustomed to.”<sup>35</sup>

The Floridians reached Bardstown on the afternoon of September 24, and encountered the “streets lined with citizens,” and the bands struck up “‘Dixie’ and ‘Bonnie Blue Flag. . . .’” The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida soldiers, despite their bedraggled state, snapped to attention at the edge of town and displayed the discipline that the *Columbus Daily Sun* had praised. John L. Inglis explained “men came up took places. Colors unfurled, Bayonets fixed, ‘Right Shoulder shift,’ dressed files, Bands to front, and fine order and . . . at a quick swinging step we went through B. Town.” The soldiers soon discovered even the Unionists were cordial, as a family named Grigsby one evening, invited the Florida regiments’s field officers for dinner. Colonel William Miller, Lt. Cols Thaddeus McDonell and Lucius Church, as well as the Bird brothers and Augustus McDonell, arrived to find “a very nice dinner prepared for us.” Brown’s Brigade encamped several miles from town on the Louisville road, there to serve as pickets giving first warning of any advance.<sup>36</sup>

The combination of poor water and foraged food caused many Floridians to spend the Bardstown respite in one of the hospitals established in the town. Charles Hemming spoke for hundreds of his comrades when he recalled subsisting on “roast corn and ripe pumpkin, of which the fields by the road were full.” He continued, “this diet made me sick, as well as many others. . . .” Lieutenant Henry Reddick, serving in the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida became ill and was confined to an infirmary housed in a school. He was joined by numerous other 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida soldiers, including Michael Raysor, a member of the “Jefferson County Rifles.” The strenuous marching and poor conditions caused one 3<sup>rd</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup>Noe, *Perryville*, 99.

<sup>36</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, September 24, 1862 (copy). FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; Augustus O. McDonell Diary, September 26, 1862. Augustus O. McDonell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Reddick, *Seventy-seven years in Dixie*, 15.

Florida soldier to remark “more than half our Regiment is left behind and they will be a long time catching up.”<sup>37</sup>

### III

On October 1, a distraught and nervous Bragg finally caught up with Kirby Smith, meeting with the East Tennessee commander in Lexington. Bragg made this trek across the heart of Kentucky for several reasons, the least of which being the Kentuckians who did not rally to the Confederate cause as expected. Despite several efforts by Bragg to encourage enlistments, none had worked so far, and the general turned to the Confederate Conscription Act, to induce Kentuckians to enter the service. To enable this legislation to take effect in Kentucky, Bragg decided he would need to install a pro-Confederate government, and by coincidence the Richmond-recognized Kentucky governor, Richard Hawes, had traveled north with the Army of the Mississippi. Bragg also made the journey to Lexington determined to bring Kirby Smith’s army to Bardstown.<sup>38</sup>

From Lexington, Bragg and Kirby Smith traveled to Frankfort, intending to inaugurate Hawes. They made this journey knowing that already, Buell’s army, rested and reinforced, though suffering from discord among its generals, had departed Louisville searching for a fight. Assuming Buell’s main target to be Frankfort, Bragg decided to give battle north of Bardstown; hence he ordered his chief subordinate, Major General Leonidas Polk, to move the Army of the Mississippi in preparation for a strike on the Army of the Ohio as it moved east. Believing that the enemy columns were marching on Bardstown, Polk disobeyed Bragg and retreated east to Danville. This move left Kirby Smith’s troops at Frankfort exposed and necessitated a withdrawal, but before this

---

<sup>37</sup>Hemming, “The War of 1861 And Its Causes,” 58. Charles C. Hemming Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Reddick, *Seventy-seven years in Dixie*, 15; Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, December 21, 1862. Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Theodore Livingston to Dear Parents, October 11, 1862. Livingston/ Inglis Letters, MOC, Richmond, VA.

<sup>38</sup>McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 296-297; McDonough, *The War in Kentucky*, 199; Noe, *Perryville*, 104. Noe claims that Bragg began second guessing himself following the Munfordville incident and, losing control over the campaign, became irascible.

occurred Bragg doggedly went to the capital on October 3 with the intention of placing Hawes in the gubernatorial seat.<sup>39</sup>

Col. W. G. M. Davis' Brigade still garrisoned the capital when Bragg and his entourage reached the city. On October 4, Bragg saw Hawes's inauguration through to completion. Even as the citizens gathered for the event, they could hear the distant sounds of artillery. A soldier in the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida, writing on the day of the festivities recorded, "I hear them now, cannonading at Shelbyville. I expect a hot time this evening or tomorrow. Jenerals Braggs and Buckner is in town. A Governor of Kentucky was appointed and today innaugaurated." Davis's brigade would have to wait for a fight, for Kirby Smith's troops departed the town that evening. The jester in the Marion Hornets made light of the evacuation, writing "They made a Governor, - at least/ They partly made him, - and a feast,/ That is, when he was half installed/ They stopped to take their dinner, And e're the crowd was called/ Old Bragg shook like a sinner;/ And quickly sprang into the saddle-/ And then began the great "Skeddadle!"<sup>40</sup>

While Davis's Brigade withdrew to Versailles, General John C. Brown's Floridians and Mississippians departed from Bardstown early on the morning of October 5, leaving many of their sick comrades. The troops made a series of night marches, always forming their columns after midnight and moving until the next afternoon. Meanwhile, Bragg lacking good intelligence, could not determine which Federal column comprised Buell's main body. This problem was multiplied by the fact that when Bragg ordered the two armies to

---

<sup>39</sup>McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 300-301, 307. Bragg's biographer argues that had Polk moved north, even as late as October 4, the combined Armies of the Mississippi and East Tennessee might have succeeded in destroying a portion of Buell's force as it was badly divided in its march across Kentucky. Larry Daniel in his masterful history of the Army of the Cumberland (known at this time as the Army of the Ohio), acknowledged this possibility. See Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 141.

<sup>40</sup>?? McKenzie to Dear Pa, October 4, 1862, in Tucker, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 87; n. a. *The Adventures of the Marion Hornets*, 19.



converge at Harrodsburg, Kirby Smith refused and “kept his army so that it could protect the approaches to Lexington.” Searching for an opportunity to attack, Bragg believed he discovered one on October 7. Major General William J. Hardee, a veteran soldier, most known to the men in the ranks as the author of the manual many drilled to, reported from Perryville that only an isolated portion of Buell’s force trailed Polk’s force. Bragg ordered the Army of the Mississippi to concentrate in that small town to crush the minor arm of Buell’s army moving upon them. This was not only an opportunity, but it became necessary to halt this unknown force from threatening Bragg’s left flank and moving to cut him off from Tennessee. Bragg ordered an early morning attack on October 8, after which the Army of the Mississippi would move to join with Kirby Smith to confront the remainder of Buell’s army.<sup>41</sup>

The Floridians in Brown’s Brigade had already reached Harrodsburg on the afternoon of October 6, and the soldiers had dispersed into their messes for dinner. Edward Clifford Brush wrote in his diary that he and his comrades feasted on turkey before dozing off around midnight. Less than two hours later, the soldiers were roused from their blankets and with dazed and sleepy expressions formed a column facing west toward Perryville. Brush, attached to the ordnance wagons penned, “The troops made all haste towards Perryville where the enemy is supposed to be.” John Livingston Inglis described the men, though very tired marched “on in fine spirits . . . men joked, and hoped to be first in.”<sup>42</sup>

Brown’s Brigade arrived in Perryville on the morning of October 7, having only passed through the town thirty-six hours earlier. John Inglis wrote of his affection for the town as its “people all kind to us. Lots of Whiskey offered but officers emptied it all out.” He described the village of 500 souls as being in “fat country.” Not only would the soldiers

---

<sup>41</sup>Noe, *Perryville*, 130-132; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 308-311; McDonough, *The War in Kentucky*, 204.

<sup>42</sup>Noe, *Perryville*, 132; Edward Clifford Brush Diary, October 7, 1862. MOC; John Livingston Inglis Diary, October 7, 1862 (copy). FSU. James M. McPherson in *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought The Civil War* (New York: Oxford: 1998), 37, makes the point that this pre-battle revelry was simply a way to relieve nervousness.

have “plenty to eat,” but several creeks near the town contained pools of precious water. Upon arrival, Patton Anderson’s brigades were divided, with two brigades, including Brown’s positioned north of the town, while two others were to guard the extreme left of the army. Before going to sleep, Edward Brush wrote, “A general engagement is expected tomorrow.”<sup>43</sup>

## IV

On the morning of October 8, Bragg arrived at Perryville incensed that Polk and Hardee had not launched the ordered attack. Already before dawn, the firing began as the Army of the Ohio’s I Corps moved on the small town and its water. The Union soldiers deployed on a series of ridges overlooking Doctor’s Creek, which contained small pools of water. It was this position that Bragg hoped to envelop with a flanking attack by Major General Benjamin F. Cheatham’s Tennessee Division. Cheatham’s soldiers would “attack in echelon, brigade by brigade.” Once this division achieved in breaking the Federal line, “Hardee then would advance his divisions into the fleeing blue mass to finish the job.”<sup>44</sup>

Waking up that Wednesday morning, the Floridians rolled up their blankets and stacked them along with their knapsacks before forming ranks. Thomas Benton Ellis, assigned to the brigade’s wagons, left his post so that he might fight alongside his brother. He wrote in his memoirs, “I deserted my position . . . and set out to find my company and did find it in line of battle. . . .” At eleven a.m., Brown’s Brigade marched to a ridge west of Perryville, where the “corn had been cut down,” and the men laid down on the eastern face awaiting for the order to advance into the fray. In front, the ridge descended steeply into an irregular, grassy valley, before sloping upward again. Beyond this knoll, the ground gave way to form a v-shaped depression, a portion of which had given way, forming a small sinkhole. Across this second valley, and plainly visible from the Rebel

---

<sup>43</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, October 6, 1862 (copy). FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; McDonough, *The War in Kentucky*, 202-203. Edward Clifford Brush Diary, October 7, 1862. MOC, Richmond, VA.

<sup>44</sup>McDonough, *The War in Kentucky*, 221-222; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 147-149; Noe, *Perryville*, 172.

lines, the Union forces occupied a formidable ridge. To Brown's front-right and left, Palmer's Battery, 14<sup>th</sup> Georgia Artillery, and Charles Lumsden's Alabama battery unlimbered and prepared to fire on the Federal position.<sup>45</sup>

The artillery duel began just after noon, and the Floridians and their Mississippi comrades endured the most terrible effects of this ensuing artillery duel. Solid shot rolled over the hill and onto the soldiers, while shells burst over their heads, showering them with metal. The men instinctively pressed themselves flat against the ground, but the regiments still took casualties. Samuel Pasco, writing to *The Family Friend* ten-days after the battle, described the bombardment as "perhaps the most severe fire of artillery . . . of the war." Willie Bryant explained the terror to his mother: "for an hour we fired we lay on the ground under a hill exposed to shot and shell which killed and wounded several." Colonel William Miller wrote years after the fight, "some fragments of bursting shells fell among us wounding several of our men."<sup>46</sup>

By 1:00 p.m., the firing to the north raged heavily. Rather than hit the Federal flank, Cheatham's force instead struck the blue line head on, and the battle dissolved into a slugfest with heavy casualties. With the Tennesseans engaged in combat that one veteran described as "the very pit of hell," Bragg ordered Brown's brigade into the fight. The command "'Attention,' rang along our line," John L. Inglis wrote, "up jumped the 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade, Genl. B lined us up as if on drill, drew his sword, and with the command, 'forward, guide right, march,' we stated from a march to a trot." Captain Holmes Steele, a former Mayor of Jacksonville and first commander of Company A 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, served as

---

<sup>45</sup>Ellis, Sr., "A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.," 2. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; William Raulston Talley, "William Raulston Talley Memoir," 47. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; Noe, *Perryville*, 172, 217, 238.

<sup>46</sup>Sam R. Watkins, "*Co. Aytch:*" *A Side Show of the Big Show* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1962), 63; Noe, *Perryville*, 238; *Monticello Family Friend*, November 8, 1862. Bird Biographical File, Keystone Genealogical Society, Monticello, FL; Willie Bryant to My dear mother, October 11, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 158; General William Miller, "Report of General Miller to Anna Jackson Chapter United Daughters of the Confederacy." UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. I. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 73.

the regimental adjutant at Perryville. In an account given after the war, Steele proudly noted, “It would have done your soul good to have seen with what martial tread the brave 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida marched by the side of the gallant and tried 1<sup>st</sup> and the no less gallant 41<sup>st</sup> Mississippi. Under a terrific fire of shot and shell the 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade marched to the position assigned them. . . .”<sup>47</sup>

As the sounds of battle raged around them, the soldiers surged forward, hats pulled down low, sweaty palms gripping the stocks of their weapons. Some of the regiments’s men remained behind, for in the valley “there were many black locust thickets” and the hard marching had disintegrated their footwear. One who ignored the briars was fifteen-year-old Francis Rutledge Gould of the St. Augustine Blues, who went into the fight despite his lack of shoes. The soldiers of the 1<sup>st</sup> who experienced Shiloh were probably more reserved marching toward the Federal line, for veterans were, James McPherson writes, “no longer . . . anxious for the fray.” However, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida soldiers like young Francis Gould, were eager to prove their worth and participate in a fight. Two authors, writing of the World War II combat experiences, noted that raw volunteers were “not at all prepared for the nightmare experiences in store for them.”<sup>48</sup>

As the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida surged forward, the troops began yelling, mimicking the actions of another brigade the soldiers watched advance earlier in the day. Their emotions got the better of the volunteers and the trot turned into a run. Soon, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida’s soldiers were “into brambles, high as our heads, and in horrible bad order.” General Brown, riding forward, ““cussed us for being too quick, dress up or you will be cut to pieces in such

---

<sup>47</sup>Connelly, *Army of the Heartland*, 263-264; John Livingston Inglis Diary, October 8, 1862 (copy). FSU; Holmes Steele, “Battle of Perryville Oct. 8<sup>th</sup> 1862,” in Maxwell Mss. ZCW, Rome, GA. Steele’s memoir was probably based on the report describing the regiment’s part in the battle. Though incomplete regarding some aspects of the battle, because of the lack of a 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida report, it remains an invaluable document.

<sup>48</sup>General William Miller, “Report of General Miller,” 2. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. I. FSA, Tallahassee, FL; *Chattanooga Daily Rebel*, November 7, 1862; Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 88; McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 44; and Roy P. Grinker and John P. Spiegel, *Men Under Stress* (Philadelphia, 1945), 44, quoted in McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 32.

order,”” As the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida reformed ranks and marked time under fire, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida and 41<sup>st</sup> Mississippi finally caught up to their position and the brigade continued its advance. The soldiers trudged up the knoll; upon reaching the top, they viewed the ridge, one hundred yards away, which marked the Union position. Soon, the firing began in earnest.<sup>49</sup>

The veteran boys in blue holding the ridge belonged to the brigades of Colonels Leonard Harris and William H. Lytle, both part of General Lovell Rousseau’s division. Supported by three veteran batteries, the line was indeed formidable. Already, the Federals had dispersed an attack by Colonel Thomas Jones’ Mississippians, who left his dead and wounded strewn on the western slope of the ridge and in the valley. Rousseau’s Midwesterners faced a disadvantage since the engagement with Jones’ troops had somewhat depleted their ammunition. Despite this hindrance, the Yankees were determined to hold their position. A savage contest ensued.<sup>50</sup>

The fight, which began around 1:30 p.m., lasted until 4:30 and consisted of a series of sharp firefights, each followed by an advance by Brown’s Brigade. At least three of these charges were repulsed, and a period of reorganization followed before the Confederates tried again. This cycle repeated itself throughout the afternoon.<sup>51</sup>

Young Charles Hemming was wounded in the right arm by shell fragments not long after the firing started and sank into the tall Bluegrass, stunned and unable to move. “Dan Byrd[sic] of Monticello, ran and picked me up and gave me some brandy from his flask;

---

<sup>49</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, October 8, 1862 (copy). FSU, Tallahassee, FL; *Monticello Family Friend*, November 8, 1862. Bird Biographical File, Keystone Genealogical Society, Monticello, FL;

<sup>50</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XVI, part I, 1033; Noe, *Perryville*, 218, 240.

<sup>51</sup>The time for the beginning of the assault is surmised from Willie Bryant and Theodore Livingston’s letters and the Holmes Steele report. Livingston and Bryant give the times for the attack at 1 and 2 p.m. respectively, while Steele gives 12:30. More than likely this is the time the brigade came under fire from the artillery. I base my account of the way in which the battle raged on the Livingston letter and Hemming memoir. While Livingston writes several charges occurred, Hemming alludes to at least two. Steele also records that Brown’s brigade was partially withdrawn to replenish its ammunition.

then having my shoulder tied up, he sent me to the rear.” Hemming recalled that the walk back to the field hospital was terrifying, for “I got with many others directly in the line of falling bullets . . . They seemed to go by like a swarm of singing bees, and I expected any minute to be struck again, but I got through without any accident.” Benton Ellis suffered an injury to his left elbow not long after the entering the fight. He continued loading and firing his weapon until departing to assist a wounded comrade leave the field.<sup>52</sup>

John Love McKinnon, serving in the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida, also fell wounded. Having sustained an injury in his left arm, McKinnon lay on the field through much of the engagement wondering, “ ‘Is this the glory of the bloody battlefield we read of in books?’ ” While lying in the grass, he watched as a shell exploded above General Brown’s mount, killing the unfortunate animal and severely wounding the general. Command passed first to Colonel William F. Tucker of the 41<sup>st</sup> Mississippi, and then after his wounding, to Colonel Miller. The Colonel, one of his soldiers recalled, “where the balls fell thickest his commanding form was to be seen, cheering on his men by voice and example.”<sup>53</sup>

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, an early death unnerved the troops, particularly those from Madison County. Thomas Mosely, a twenty-two-year-old teacher serving in Madison County’s Company G, was promoted to acting-Sergeant Major of the regiment only that morning. When cresting the hill that put the Floridians and Mississippians in full view of the Federal line, a bullet shattered his forehead. Archie Livingston, a cousin of John L. Inglis and Company G soldier, wrote that none died that day “more loved than Thos Mosely.” In time, the fight grew so intense that the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida’s entire color guard became casualties. The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida’s banner was lifted by a staff officer who bore it through the remainder of the engagement. Willie Bryant “had many narrow escapes, men shot down on every side of me, balls striking near me and once as I lay on the ground taking aim a ball so filled my

---

<sup>52</sup>Hemming, “The War of 1861 And Its Causes.” Charles C. Hemming Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL; Ellis, Sr., “A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.,” 3. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>53</sup>John Love McKinnon, *A History of Walton County*, Chapter XXXIX; *Monticello Family Friend*, November 8, 1862.

eyes with dirt as to blind me for some time. . . .”<sup>54</sup>

As late afternoon arrived, the brigade’s ammunition supply ran low and the regiments partially withdrew to meet the ordnance wagons that rushed onto the field to resupply the fighting men. Before withdrawing to meet the wagon train, officers ranged the length of the line rummaging through the cartridge boxes of the dead and the wounded. While exposing himself to handout cartridges, Captain Capers Bird received his second wound, this time a severe injury to his thigh; Captain William Poole suffered likewise. Major Glover Ball also fell while performing this task, a bullet having passed through his neck.<sup>55</sup>

Edward Clifford Brush arrived on the battlefield with the ordnance train. “On our way thither,” Brush later recorded, “the shell fell around us like rain . . . I assisted in getting one or two of the members of our company who were wounded a comfortable place in a barn near by - It is truly an awful sight to witness.” By the time the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida withdrew back down the hill to replenish its cartridges, Major Edward Mashburn and Captain Daniel Bird commanded the regiment; Lt. Col Church had gone down early in the fight with a chest wound. The company commanders were killed and wounded in great numbers during the sharp exchange of fire. By late afternoon, Lt. Inglis fought through the pain of a broken collar bone to command his men. Every commissioned officer in the St. Augustine Blues was wounded on the battlefield, the most severely injured being Lt. Irvine

---

<sup>54</sup> Archie Livingston to My Dear Mother, October 27, 1862, in John M. Coski, ed., “‘I Am In For Anything For Success.’”<sup>77</sup>; Theodore Livingston to Dear Parents, October 11, 1862. Livingston/ Inglis Letters, Livingston/Inglis Letters, MOC, Richmond, VA.; Willie Bryant to My dear mother, October 11, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 158; *Monticello Family Friend*, November 8, 1862; Hartman and Coles, *Biographical Roster of Florida’s Confederate Soldiers*, I: 39; 1860 US Census (Free Schedule), Madison County, FL, p. 26; M653 Reel #108, Family 59, Dwelling 59, lines 17-24. Thomas Mosley, whose father was a Methodist minister, served as a lieutenant in the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida. He reenlisted in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida as a private.

<sup>55</sup> General William Miller, “Report of General Miller,” 3. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. I. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, November 11, 1862.

Drysdale, who lost an eye.<sup>56</sup>

With their cartridge boxes refilled by 4:30 p.m., Colonel Miller's troops returned to the arduous task of displacing Lytle's men from their position. The Rebels now had a numerical advantage, for Generals Patrick Cleburne and Dan Adams' brigades were moving up on the left, and S. A. M. Wood's regiments surged past on the Floridians' and Mississippians' right. With ragged firing coming from the Union lines, Miller ordered an advance and the brigade started down the eastern face of the hill. Holmes Steele remembered "The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida moved down upon them directly in their front while the 41<sup>st</sup> Miss. and a Tennessee Regt. approached them on their flank." After Miller's men fired a concentrated volley at the 10<sup>th</sup> Ohio from the base of the ridge, the lone regiment of Lytle's brigade to resist the assault, the Confederates surged up the trying slope. "Here it was close to each other," John L. Inglis recalled, "in among the guns, we jumped on them downed the gunners and chased the 10<sup>th</sup> Ohio as they fell back, but few of them left." Here, the raw Floridians demonstrated their inexperience with battlefield conditions, for in firing at the fleeing Buckeyes they hit some of their comrades in the 41<sup>st</sup> Mississippi who had moved across the Florida regiments' front during its successful flanking attack.<sup>57</sup>

Following the last assault, which Theodore Livingston labeled "a most desperate charge," the regiments paused to reorganize. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida lost a promising officer during the final attack, when Captain Daniel Bird fell with a shot through the heart. The heir of an old South Carolina family, Bird's uncle had been Preston Brooks. In the 1840s, future-Confederate Senator Louis T. Wigfall killed Bird's half-brother in a duel. Now, Daniel Butler Bird too was dead, his life ended by a Yankee bullet. Bird's soldiers carried

---

<sup>56</sup>Edward Clifford Brush Diary, October 8, 1862. MOC, Richmond, VA.; *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, November 11, 1862.

<sup>57</sup>Noe, *Perryville*, 265-266; Holmes Steele, "Battle of Perryville Oct. 8<sup>th</sup> 1862," in Maxwell Mss. ZCW, Rome, GA.; General William Miller, "The Report of General Miller," 3. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. I. FSA. Tallahassee, FL; John Livingston Inglis Diary, October 8, 1862 (copy). FSU, Tallahassee, FL; Theodore Livingston to Dear Parents, October 11, 1862. MOC, Richmond, VA; Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 339.



his body to a nearby farmhouse “but whether the Yankees buried our dead or not we dont know.”<sup>58</sup>

Despite their losses, Miller’s regiments followed Patrick Cleburne’s brigade as it moved past to continue the pursuit, which after a mile, was ended by the settling darkness. Theodore Livingston came to better understand the harshness of war during the chase: “As we drove the Yankees off the field, of course we had all their dead and nearly all their wounded. Poor fellows as I passed them, some were dying and others begging for water and asking for their wounds to be bandaged.” Willie Bryant wrote jubilantly however, “we . . . made the Yanks ‘skedaddle’ in good style; they can’t stand our charges and yell unless they have a much superior force.”<sup>59</sup>

As night came the men, drained of emotion, bivouacked where the pursuit had ended, and while removing the wounded, many rifled the Federal dead for rations and trinkets. “Some of the Boys could find sardines, Butter, and crackers,” described Theodore Livingston, “and every good thing showing what a difference in our living and theirs.” “I was too busy attending the wounded on the battlefield that night to get many trophies,” explained Willie Bryant weeks after the initial shock of the fight had worn off, “but I have . . . a good pocket knife, and a canteen and tin cup . . . I also have a haversack with some parchd. coffee and hard bread.”<sup>60</sup>

While disturbing the dead to obtain victuals occurred, many remained too shocked at the sight of the battlefield to think about picking the pockets of the deceased. Edward

---

<sup>58</sup>*Monticello Family Friend*, November 8, 1862. Bird Biographical File, Keystone Genealogical Society, Monticello, FL; John Livingston Inglis, “Commander Florida Division, U. C. V.,” *Confederate Veteran* 22 (1914): 159; General William Miller, “Report of General Miller,” 3. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol I. FSA, Tallahassee, FL; Livingston/Inglis Letters. MOC, Richmond, VA.; Holmes Steele, “Battle of Perryville Oct. 8<sup>th</sup> 1862,” in Maxwell Mss. ZCW, Rome, GA. Daniel Bird’s brother Pickens died at Cold Harbor in June 1864.

<sup>59</sup>Theodore Livingston to Dear Parents, October 11, 1862. Livingston/Inglis Letters. MOC, Richmond, VA.; Willie Bryant to My own dear Mother, November 1, 1862. Stephens Family Papers, 1850-1930. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*; Willie Bryant to My own dear mother, November 1, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 167; Noe, *Perryville*, 312.

Clifford Brush remembered that the “dead and wounded are lying on the field in every direction. The wounded groaning and begging for help.” A horrified Theodore Livingston could pen only that “Men were laying every three or four steps, shot every way imaginable . . . You could see blood, blood everywhere.” John L. Inglis tried to forget “the groans of the dying and the cries for water of the wounded. . . .”<sup>61</sup>

That evening, Bragg received intelligence that the remainder of Buell’s force was arriving on the battlefield. Though he had mauled a Federal corps on the eighth, he believed his force was not ready to continue the fight the next day, particularly against unfavorable odds. He ordered a retreat to begin after midnight, the objective of the movement being Harrodsburg where he could easily rendezvous with Kirby Smith’s divisions. The truth is, Buell’s entire army had been within the sound of the guns during the battle, but due to a phenomenon known as “acoustic shadow,” the sounds of the battle bent back to earth, and Buell only three miles away heard nothing. This freak occurrence saved Braxton Bragg at a time when his cavalry had failed him.<sup>62</sup>

At their advanced positions the Floridians did not receive word of the retreat until 2:00 a.m., when “the men were quietly aroused, formed in line and without noise moved over the battlefield. . . .” The brigade began marching at 3:00 a.m., with John Livingston Inglis swaying painfully on the back of a captured mule. The hasty retreat angered many of the Floridians as they had dumped their knapsacks, haversacks, and blankets at the sight of the previous night’s camp, now there was no time to return to gather their belongings. Clothing, food, and personal belongings were all lost, according to Willie Bryant, due to the “bad management of the Officers in command.” With a full moon casting its glow upon the battleground, and Federal pickets only a quarter-mile distant, William Miller’s

---

<sup>61</sup>Edward Clifford Brush Diary, October 8, 1862. MOC, Richmond, VA.; Theodore Livingston to My Dear Parents, October 11, 1862. Livingston/Inglis Letters. MOC, Richmond, VA.; John Livingston Inglis Diary, October 8, 1862 (copy). FSU. Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>62</sup>Noe, *Perryville*, 312-313, 421; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 319-320.

brigade slipped away to the northeast.<sup>63</sup>

## V

The Battle of Perryville cost the Florida regiments dearly. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida began the fight with 275 soldiers, while the 1<sup>st</sup> mustered only 167 the morning of the battle. The latter regiment endured casualty numbers similar to those suffered by the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Battalion at Shiloh. Twelve died on the battlefield and fifty-three suffered wounds of varying severity. The regiment listed six as missing. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida lost fourteen killed in action and eighty-six incurred injuries. Four more did not answer roll call that evening and were presumed captured. Twenty-six of the two regiments' wounded died of their injuries. Union fire greatly depleted the Floridians' officer corps during the contest, as many captains and lieutenants were either killed or severely wounded.<sup>64</sup>

However, non-combat fatalities cost the units far more than the Perryville engagement. In the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments, thirty soldiers died of various diseases. Moreover, 133 soldiers were captured after Union soldiers came upon the numerous makeshift hospitals Bragg left along his line of march. W. G. M. Davis's Floridians suffered even greater losses. The 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry and 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry Regiments lost forty men to illness during the invasion. A further 170 became Union prisoners.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup>General William Miller, "Report of General Miller," 4. UDC Scrapbooks, Vol I. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; John Livingston Inglis Diary, October 8, 1862 (copy). FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; Willie Bryant to My own dear Mother, November 1, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, Stephens Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 167.

<sup>64</sup>*Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, November 11, 1862; *Monticello Family Friend*, November 8, 1862. The 41<sup>st</sup> Mississippi carried 427 soldiers into the fight and suffered 90 casualties, see Noe, *Perryville*, 371. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, the lieutenant colonel, three captains were wounded as well as six lieutenants One captain was killed. The 1<sup>st</sup> lost its Major, two captains and four lieutenants, all to wounds.

<sup>65</sup>Hartman and Coles, *Biographical Roster of Florida's Confederate Soldiers*, 1-137, 260-458; Waters, "In the Country of an Acknowledged Enemy": The 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Regiment in East Tennessee," 8. Unpublished Mss. in author's possession; Charlie C. Carlson, *The First Florida Cavalry Regiment, CSA* (New Smyrna: Luthers, 1999), 28-30.

The Floridians and their fellow soldiers in both armies accomplished an incredible feat by just enduring the terrible conditions of the Kentucky Campaign. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments covered, by the measure of various company clerks, at least 700 miles. Davis's troops marched just over 600; all suffered under a hot sun, withstood rough terrain, and bore it all despite a lack of water.<sup>66</sup>

John C. Brown's troops learned of the terrors of the battlefield, and performed relatively well. Willie Bryant proudly noted that during the fight he "felt considerably excited and a *little* dread, at first, but no fear, . . . impartially, I am satisfied with myself." Many others also felt pleased, as they had finally, after a year of inaction, experienced the combat for which they had volunteered. Many more battles would follow. Kentucky had served to transform the surviving Floridians from inexperienced volunteers to seasoned campaigners. In the words of Holmes Steele, the soldiers at Perryville, indeed both Florida brigades had "covered themselves with glory and have given another luminous page to the history of Florida." The men would have proudly agreed with this remark and remained ready to do their duty.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup>*Supplement to the Official Records*, V: 249, 315.

<sup>67</sup>Willie Bryant to My dear mother, October 11, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 160; Holmes Steele, "Battle of Perryville Oct. 8<sup>th</sup> 1862," in Maxwell Mss. ZCW, Rome, GA.

**CHAPTER IX**  
**“Our Company and Regiments Mourns The Loss of Their Very Best”:**  
**October 9, 1862 - January 10, 1863**

The fall months of 1862 witnessed the Confederate tide recede from Kentucky and culminated with the Battle of Murfreesboro. This time might have been one of recovery and wisely used to recoup the losses suffered in the Kentucky Campaign; indeed Davis's Floridians in East Tennessee did earn a respite during December. The suspension of campaigning for Colonel William Miller's troops though was short-lived; before 1862 ended the troops were again engaged in heated combat. The troops passed the holidays away from family and friends, casualties mounted, and yet another retreat was ordered. Small wonder that morale plummeted as winter approached.

**II**

At Harrodsburg while Bragg and Kirby Smith pondered their next move surgeons, their assistants, and town's people cared for the several thousand wounded. Injured Lt. John Livingston Inglis, riding upon a saddle of blankets on a mule's back passed through the town on the morning of October 9, and stared with horror at the “piles of amputated limbs at Houses used for Hospitals. . . waggon loads of them both Yank and Confed.”<sup>1st</sup> Florida soldier John Love McKinnon, wounded in the arm at Perryville, found himself in one of the hospitals. Late in life, he maintained gratitude for Harrodsburg, whose “good ladies came to the hospital day after day, taking to their homes such wounded soldiers as could be moved . . . and they never forgot to care for those who had to remain.”<sup>1</sup>

When on October 10, Bragg ordered a withdrawal southward to Bryantsville to protect his lines of communication and retreat, the majority of the wounded remained in Harrodsburg. The next day, Bragg made the decision to abandon Kentucky entirely, and the Rebel columns retired to the southeast. The region of southeastern Kentucky through

---

<sup>1</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, October 9, 1862. FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; John Love McKinnon, “History of Walton Country, Chapter XXXIX.

which the army passed was barren of food, causing a paucity of rations. To make matters worse, the weather worsened steadily during the last-half of the month; when combined with the poor state of the soldiers' clothing it made for intense suffering.<sup>2</sup>

Lieutenant Inglis wrote the men's daily ration during the retreat consisted of one piece of hardtack, which the soldier's supplemented with corn and acorns. Others risked punishment by stealing livestock to obtain sustenance. The first snows fell as the columns cleared the Cumberland Mountains and marched toward Knoxville. The Floridians, the majority of whom had never experienced such low temperatures, were particularly effected. Samuel Pasco, who had the benefit of headquarters wagons and cabins in which to sleep wrote during the cold snap, "we have to build large fires to keep warm. The men are very destitute of clothing & shoes & there is much suffering in consequence."<sup>3</sup>

During the last week in October, an intense snowstorm hit the East Tennessee Valley, dumping several inches of snow onto the Floridians and their comrades. Archie Livingston explained that the storm "found many, many soldiers entirely unprepared for the occasion. Numbers were without shoes & blankets and only clothed by a shirt and [pair of] pants of thin material and even unprotected by a tent or tent Fly." Willie Bryant complained that "being without tents," the cold "gave us fits. . . ." The soldiers, despite an order condemning its practice and promising penalties, stripped nearby fields of wooden fence rails to use as firewood.<sup>4</sup>

While Colonel William Miller's Brigade encamped near Knoxville, newly-promoted Brigadier General William G. M. Davis's 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments bivouacked just to the northeast at Blaine's Crossroads. The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry had

---

<sup>2</sup>McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 321; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 167.

<sup>3</sup>John Livingston Inglis Diary, October 16, 1862. FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; Edward Clifford Brush Diary. October 17, 1862. MOC, Richmond, VA.; October 16 and 24, 1862, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 9;

<sup>4</sup>Archie Livingston to My Dear Mother, October 27, 1862, in Coski, ed., "I Am In For Anything For Success," 76; Willie Bryant to My own dear Mother, November 1, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 167; October 26, 1862, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 12;

remained at Cumberland Gap, collecting stragglers as they arrived, and dispatching them to their units. Before the month was out, Davis's infantry would join the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry in the mountains. Casmero O. Bailey, an Alachua County resident serving in the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida, wrote on October 31, that "Maj [Tillman] Ingram came back from Knoxville and he brought the order for us to go to Cumberland Gap. . . I expect we will see a hard time of it at the gap but I am in hopes we will not have to stay there all winter." Major Stockton wrote of his soldiers' attitude after hearing the news that they "hate awfully the idea of going back to the mountains." Captain S. Darwin McConnell wrote after spending a week in the higher altitudes "In the Gap is the coldest place imaginable."<sup>5</sup>

### III

In Knoxville, Colonel Miller's soldiers, during the first days of November, had a brief hiatus before their next move. Their spirits rose with the temperature and tents were distributed. Willie Bryant contemplated the Kentucky Campaign with its many hardships and commented "I think I may now say I have gone thro' everything which I will ever have to endure in the service, and . . . I feel no uneasiness for the future." Samuel Pasco was encouraged by the sound of "church bells ringing in town," and described spending the nights listening to regimental bands playing "as we smoke our pipes."<sup>6</sup>

For some, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, the return to Knoxville meant an end to their soldiering days. The April Conscription Act allowed non-conscripted men under eighteen and over thirty-five years of age, who had originally enlisted for one year, to obtain their discharge. The soldiers whose ages were above the limits established by the Draft Law and had

---

<sup>5</sup>General Order, October 18, 1862. Records of the Department of East Tennessee. Orders and Circulars, 1861-1864. NA, Washington, D.C.; William T. Stockton to "Ju Stockton," October 21, 1862 and October 28, 1862, in Ulmer, Jr., trans., *The Letters of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 138; Casmero O. Bailey to Dear Mother, October 31, 1862. Bailey Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL. Samuel D. McConnell to My darling Wife, November 12, 1862. McConnell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; *Chattanooga Daily Rebel*, November 22, 1862.

<sup>6</sup>Willie Bryant to My own dear Mother, November 1, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 168; November 2, 1862, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 14.

enlisted for three years, had to remain in the service. Though the 1862 Conscription Act set July 16 as the date for discharge, W. C. Middleton wrote Colonel Dilworth informed the eligible soldiers “they had to remain until the 5<sup>th</sup> of August.” During the rush to prepare for, and then rapidity with which the Kentucky Campaign progressed, the regimental clerks had little time to deal with the bureaucracy. So the last days of October and the first half of November saw a flurry of discharges signed and a number of Floridians headed home.<sup>7</sup>

Samuel Pasco wrote on October 29, “they are beginning to discharge the non-conscripts,” many of who had studied under the former-principal at the Waukeelah Academy. Pasco related that a Board of Examination sat and acted upon all of the discharge applications. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida all who applied were discharged, amounting to the loss of 56 men. Edward Clifford Brush, the sixteen-year old veteran of Perryville was released from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Company B on November 1, and departed for home the next day.<sup>8</sup>

By the time the last of the qualified applicants obtained their discharge on November 18, the Floridians serving in the renamed Army of Tennessee, were encamped near Tullahoma. General Braxton Bragg had decided to “invade Middle Tennessee” even before he departed from Kentucky, and during the first weeks in November shuttled his troops toward the Volunteer State’s most vital region. Bragg ordered this move so as to claim the Kentucky Campaign had liberated at least a portion of Middle Tennessee, and to

---

<sup>7</sup>*Official Records*, series IV, vol I, 1099; Richard Lowe, *Walker’s Texas Division C.S.A. Greyhounds of the TransMississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 26; Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, 331. Middleton Diary. July 16, 1862, UDC Scrapbooks, Vol. V. FSA, Tallahassee, FL. Only the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments and 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry discharged non-conscripts. The 1<sup>st</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments had enlisted for three years.

<sup>8</sup>October 29, 1862 and November 17, 1862, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 13; Edward Clifford Brush Diary. November 1 and 2, 1862. MOC, Richmond, VA.



secure the foodstuffs of the area.<sup>9</sup>

Colonel William Dilworth joined the brigade briefly during its journey, even assuming command of the unit for a few days. News arrived however, informing the Colonel of the death of one of his children, and he was given the opportunity to return to Florida to gather his regiments' absentee soldiers. Dilworth and a small staff that included Samuel Pasco departed for Florida on November 28. They would not return to their regiment until February.<sup>10</sup>

Once in Middle Tennessee the Kentucky Campaign veterans reunited with the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry. The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, commanded since the death of James Hunt by Colonel Wylde L. L. Bowen, along with the Chattanooga garrison, advanced into Middle Tennessee that October under the command of Brigadier General Nathan Bedford Forrest. Forrest's joint- cavalry and infantry force was dispatched to Middle Tennessee to keep the area free from Union forays from Nashville. To complete this objective, they occupied Murfreesboro, a small town of four thousand which sat astride the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, thirty miles from the Tennessee capital. Washington Ives described the village as being "as pretty a town as I been in yet it is built around the court house Square . . . the same form as Lake City but the buildings are brick, the Town Clock on the CH can be heard to our camps, the spires of two churches can also be seen one spire is covered with a bright metal and glitters beautifully in the sunlight." Ives and his fellow soldiers would come to know the town and surrounding countryside well, as they would fight twice in the immediate area before the war ended.<sup>11</sup>

In late October, reinforcements arrived at Murfreesboro in the form of a veteran

---

<sup>9</sup>Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* (1971. Reprint; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 14-15; Peter Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die: The Battle of Stones River* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 7-8.

<sup>10</sup>November 15, 16, 23, and 27, 1862, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 17-19.

<sup>11</sup>Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 7; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 14; James Lee McDonough, *Stones River: Bloody Winter in Tennessee* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980), 3; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Father, October 27, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL. In June 1862, Forrest attacked and defeated Murfreesboro's Union garrison.

division commanded by a former- United States Vice President. The Floridians would come to respect and admire General John C. Breckinridge, whom they would serve under for the next year and a man many had voted for in the 1860 Presidential election. Breckinridge, a Kentuckian by birth, was forty-one that year, and had, in his twenties, entered the political arena. By profession a lawyer and also a strident Democrat, Breckinridge had served in both the Kentucky legislature and the U.S. House before being elected to the vice presidency in 1856. Dark-haired with a piercing stare, and in the process of growing a handlebar moustache, the former politician had served at Shiloh and then led an unsuccessful attempt to liberate Baton Rouge. Arriving in Knoxville too late to participate in the Kentucky Campaign, Bragg dispatched the Kentuckian and his troops to Murfreesboro.<sup>12</sup>

Breckinridge absorbed the Chattanooga garrison into his division and in December his troops, part of Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk's Corps, were encamped just north of the town. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, still serving with Patton Anderson's Division in General William Hardee's Corps, were advanced west of Murfreesboro to Triune. At that location, they would defend against any possible Federal attempt to flank Bragg's position. This alignment changed on December 12 when Patton Anderson's division was disbanded to "achieve greater numerical balance" in the Army of Tennessee's two corps. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments gained transfer to Breckinridge's Division and were brigaded with the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, 20<sup>th</sup> Tennessee, and 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Infantry Regiments. The two regiments did not move to join Breckinridge at Murfreesboro though, and remained at Hardee's position through the end of the month.<sup>13</sup>

Braxton Bragg assigned Brigadier General William Preston, another Kentuckian, to command this new brigade. Thin, with graying hair, the forty-seven-year-old Preston held a Harvard law degree, and after fighting in Mexico spent the 1850s in politics, his service

---

<sup>12</sup>Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 82-83; Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 34; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 14.

<sup>13</sup>Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 38-40; *Official Records*, series I, vol XX, part II, 439, 447-448, 456.

culminating with an appointment as President Buchanan's "minister to Spain." A brother-in-law of Albert Sidney Johnston, Preston served on the former's staff until Johnston's death at Shiloh. The brigade was Preston's first command assignment since the evacuation of Corinth; he like Breckinridge would soon become a thorn in Braxton Bragg's side.<sup>14</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida and the venerable 20<sup>th</sup> Tennessee represented Preston's veteran troops. Organized during the spring of 1861, the 20<sup>th</sup> Tennessee had been bloodied at both Fishing Creek and Shiloh, and served with Breckinridge at Baton Rouge. The 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina was a new regiment, and like the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida had never experienced a battle. Wright's Tennessee Battery was attached to the brigade as well.<sup>15</sup>

Before this reorganization, tensions between Colonel William Miller and Lt. Col. Thaddeus McDonell reached a breaking point. McDonell harbored resentment against Miller for obtaining the Colonelcy of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida. The Alachua County lawyer requested a reassignment to a military court on December 5, saying in part, "the Regiment to which I belong is reduced in effective strength to the size of a company, and that the Colonel commanding the Regiment although possessing good sound qualities is totally ignorant of military tactics. . . ."<sup>16</sup>

This personality conflict was solved that month, as Braxton Bragg found a place for McDonell on his staff. While the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida's numbers did not correspond with McDonell's low estimate, in November the regiment counted only 247 soldiers present; due to the Kentucky casualties it can only be assumed that the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida's strength was very similar. Other regiments in the Army of Tennessee had similarly shrunk in size, diminishing their effectiveness on the battlefield. Braxton Bragg, faced with the predicament of having many regiments severely under strength, instituted a consolidation

---

<sup>14</sup>Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 246.

<sup>15</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part II, 456; Crute, Jr., *Units of the Confederate Army*, 241, 294, 315.

<sup>16</sup>T. A. McDonell to Braxton Bragg, December 5, 1862. Thaddeus A. McDonell *CSR* Reel # 27.

policy for his army.<sup>17</sup>

Sometime in December, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments were united under the overall command of William Miller. The order, if similar to that of an edict combining two Tennessee regiments, called for the organization of the Florida regiments “into one organization of ten Companies,” and though “the Regts and the Companies of each Regt will be mustered for pay seperately - for all other purposes the united Regts shall be considered one organization. . . .” The ten companies of each regiment were likewise consolidated, so that each regiment formed a battalion of five companies. As a result of the consolidations, ranking commissioned and non-commissioned officers remained in place. Excess officers became supernumeraries, and were usually sent home until casualties necessitated their return to duty.<sup>18</sup>

This consolidation helped to fasten the bond between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments, that first developed during the Kentucky Campaign’s hardships. This union which fused the two regiments, also symbolically joined the state’s regions, as soldiers from all four areas would now fight side-by-side under the same officers and beneath one banner. There was little time to familiarize themselves with each other though, for the holiday season came on quickly and so did the Yankees.

## IV

Nearing Christmas, packages began arriving in the Floridians’ camps, sent by family and friends back home. Many soldiers had written in October, alerting their loved ones to the harsh conditions in Tennessee and requesting certain items of clothing. Archie

---

<sup>17</sup>William Miller to [?], November 17, 1862. Letters Received, Confederate Adjutant General. National Archives Microcopy M474, Reel # 36, NA, Washington, D.C.

<sup>18</sup>Though the specific order combining the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Regiments has long since disappeared, Special Orders No. 132, June 6, 1863. Orders and Circulars of William J. Hardee’s Command, February 1863-March 1865. NA, Washington, D.C., was used as the basis for piecing together the consolidation process. Special Orders No. 1, December 19, 1862. Orders and Circulars, Department of Tennessee, 1862-1865. NA, Washington, D.C., contains the first mention of the regiments having been consolidated. For the consolidation of companies see Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 32, 47.

Livingston asked his mother from Knoxville, “please get our woolens ready so as soon as we learn of our destination you can send on.” B. L. Rice of the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida asked for new pants, for his current pair were “badly worn.” Willie Bryant having been transferred to Company H, 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, had no qualms regarding warm clothing, for “a good supply will soon be sent from Monticello for the two companies in this regmt. and I being in one come in for a share if I need any thing.” Washington Ives added “If the Ladies of Florida make up clothing for any troops I think the 4<sup>th</sup> ought to be remembered, for we nearly freeze, and do as much as any regiment now out.”<sup>19</sup>

Reid Mitchell, in his influential work *Civil War Soldiers*, wrote that volunteers “felt a particularly acute grievance when it seemed that members of their own local communities did not respect their efforts.” Florida’s soldiers certainly had no reason to feel injured regarding the state’s lack of interests during the winter of 1862-63, or at anytime during the conflict for that matter. Florida’s women whether working in sewing societies or alone, putting their needles and thread to work early in the war and by 1862 had produced all types of clothing. In the year following the dispatching of Florida’s sons to the Western Theater, her daughters “produced 3,735 pairs of cotton drawers, 2,765 cotton shirts, 169 woolen jackets and coats, 809 woolen pantaloons, and 1,000 pairs of cotton socks.” The soldiers’ mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters also labored in the kitchen, preparing food to dispatch to the front; their fathers and brothers often sent pocket knives and toiletry items. This home front patriotism served to aid all of the state’s soldiers, and fastened the attachment between the state’s citizens and her fighting men.<sup>20</sup>

The packages, arriving either by express or from the hands of returning comrades,

---

<sup>19</sup>Archie Livingston to My dear Mother, October 27, 1862, in Coski, ed., ““I Am In For Anything For Success,”” 77; B. L. Rice to Mother, December 14, 1862. B. L. Rice Letters. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Willie Bryant to My dear Mother, November 14, 1862, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 170; Washington Ives to Dear Father, November 29, 1862. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>20</sup>Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 66; Tracy J. Revels, *Grander in Her Daughters: Florida’s Women During the Civil War* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 20-22; Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, 99, 113;

found their way to the Murfreesboro encampments in time for Christmas. The couriers and soldiers found the army preparing winter quarters, and discovered a relaxed attitude that had filtered downward from General Bragg. One historian noted that “Bragg’s camp hardly resembled that of an army scarcely thirty miles from a superior enemy.” The Army’s officers held numerous parties and Major General Leonidas Polk, the Episcopal Bishop of Louisiana, officiated at General John Hunt Morgan’s wedding. Captain Jacob A. Lash, a 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Captain, informed his wife of a party thrown by Breckinridge’s division on Christmas Eve. He noted “We are all invited to attend it is expected that all the Elite of the citty will be out.”<sup>21</sup>

Others managed to find some joy that Christmas Season, which for some was their first away from home. Alcohol remained both popular for celebrating the holiday and as a remedy for dulling homesickness. Near Murfreesboro, Washington Ives gained a swallow of Colonel Wylde Bowen’s ginger punch. Henry T. Wright, a 1<sup>st</sup> Florida lieutenant, remembered gathering with numerous comrades on Christmas Eve and “drank 3 ½ buckets full (or empty) of nog.”<sup>22</sup>

At Triune, William D. Rogers, a sawyer in civilian life, celebrated Christmas a day early. On December 24, his new clothing arrived from home and that evening “took a good wash all over, and next morning shaved and dressed up. . . .” He related “everything fit the nicest you ever saw, couldn’t have been made to fit any better if they had been cut by a tailor . . . I have no other clothing now except one jacket but what was made at Home. . . .” He wrote that his mess celebrated on Christmas Day by having “a first rate

---

<sup>21</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 42; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 31; Jacob A. Lash to Missouri Tyson Lash letter fragment, undated. Jacob A. Lash Letters (photocopy). Collection of Zack C. Waters, Rome, GA. (Hereinafter cited as Jacob A. Lash Letters (photocopy). ZCW, Rome, GA.). Lash’s letter probably described the Christmas Eve party hosted by Louisiana and Kentucky officers.

<sup>22</sup>Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, 96; Washington M. Ives to Sisters Fannie and Florence, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Henry T. Wright to Dear Laura, January 22, 1863. Henry T. Wright Letters. Special Collections. Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as Henry T. Wright Letters. FSU, Tallahassee, FL.).

dinner which consisted of Bake Goose, Beef Steak, fresh Pork, sweet and Irish potatoes corn bread” and “biscuit. . . .”<sup>23</sup>

Benton Ellis and his brother James’ packages arrived on Christmas Day containing clothing, shoes, and socks. The boys also received good food and promptly “invited the whole company to dine with us which they readily accepted.” On Christmas night, after the soldiers had bedded down for the evening, a few ungrateful scoundrels, on whom the reason for the season had been lost, stole what food remained. Years later, Benton would only say “I was hurt and disgusted.”<sup>24</sup>

## V

Benton Ellis was fortunate to be spending the holidays among his thieving comrades. One of several thousand prisoners of war captured during the Kentucky Campaign, Ellis spent November and December in returning to his regiment. The Army of the Ohio, as well as the Federal division occupying Cumberland Gap netted stragglers along the roadside and became the keeper of Confederate sick and wounded in several Kentucky towns. Around 250 Floridians were taken prisoner during the offensive, most were transported to Louisville soon after their capture.<sup>25</sup>

In July 1862, Union and Confederate negotiators decided upon an agreement by which prisoners might be exchanged. Under these accords, “captured soldiers were to be paroled and sent back within ten days and were to remain out of service pursuant to the terms of their paroles until exchanged.” The negotiators designated Vicksburg to serve as

---

<sup>23</sup>William D. Rogers to Dear Father and Mother, January 22, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>24</sup>Ellis, Sr., “A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.,” 3. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>25</sup>The numbers of captives from each regiment is as follows: 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, 81; 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry, 52; 7<sup>th</sup> Florida, 50; 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, 60; and 6<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry 79. The source for the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Infantry, 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, and 6<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry was Hartman and Coles, I: 1-137, 260-365 and II: 578-679. The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry numbers came from Carlson, *The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry Regiment, CSA*, 28-30, and the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida’s from Waters, ““In the Country of An Acknowledged Enemy.’ The 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiment in East Tennessee,” 8. Unpublished Paper in possession of the author.

the intermediary point for the trading of prisoners. While paroled, soldiers were not allowed to participate in any form of military activity. Confined outside Knoxville after receiving his parole, Robert Watson became disgusted with the inactivity, and wrote to fellow-Key West resident and now-Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory for relief. Watson related that Mallory replied “the authorities have aright to keep us here until exchanged. . . .” Receiving a pass to visit Atlanta, Watson and a comrade went to Florida instead, determined to spend the winter in warmer climes.<sup>26</sup>

For the Floridians captured at the height of the campaign, those well enough to travel soon reported to Louisville to be exchanged. Both Henry Reddick and Benton Ellis recalled rough treatment at the hands of the Federal guards there, with Reddick being searched and “losing everything” but his “clothes.” Ellis remembered becoming angry at having his pocket knife and tobacco confiscated.<sup>27</sup>

The paroled prisoners found even worse conditions at Cairo, Illinois, where they were confined for a short time before being shipped on to Vicksburg. John Love McKinnon, captured at Harrodsburg, described the prison at the Southern Illinois port as being a “low, wet place with but little shelter, cold drizzly rain, or hominy snow falling all the time, no place to make a fire to warm by . . . no blankets of any kind to sleep on.” Ellis called Cairo, the “dirtiest and filthiest place I ever saw.” McKinnon wrote that a local Free Mason took pity on Confederate Order members and provided “a good load of blankets for us all. This was quite a treat and we blessed him.”<sup>28</sup>

The first batch of paroled prisoners from Kentucky arrived in Vicksburg by steamer in November, and more arrived throughout the last days of fall. Samuel Harris, the 1<sup>st</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup>Gerald K. Prokopowicz, “Word of Honor: The Paroles System in the Civil War” *North & South* Vol. 6, No. 4 (May 2003): 26; *Official Records*, series 2, vol. 4, 267-268; Wednesday, October 4 and 16, 1862, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 50. The Union also confined its paroled soldiers to camps, see Prokopowicz, “Word of Honor,” 29.

<sup>27</sup>H. W. Reddick, *Seventy-seven years in Dixie*, 18; Ellis, Sr., “A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.,” 2. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>28</sup>McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, XXXIX; Ellis, Sr., “A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.,” 2. FSL, Tallahassee.



Florida veteran who had declared that he expected “to be a soulder the ballance of my life,” had reenlisted the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida in 1862. Captured in Lexington, Harris was sick with a number of ailments; he died a paroled prisoner on a ship bound for Vicksburg.<sup>29</sup>

Able-bodied exchanged prisoners such as Thomas Benton Ellis reported for duty at Murfreesboro immediately, while those wounded “received furloughs” home. Michael Raysor, taken at a Bardstown hospital, had not recovered sufficiently to return to duty. The Jefferson County planter spent Christmas in a Chattanooga hospital and only on December 29, was he able to return to his regiment.<sup>30</sup>

## VI

On the day after Christmas a cold front passed through Middle Tennessee, bringing rain and plummeting temperatures. That same day, Major General William Starke Rosecrans, who had replaced the bungling Don Carlos Buell as commander of the Army of the Ohio, pushed southeast from Nashville. Rosecrans was driven by the Lincoln Administration to attempt an early winter campaign. The President’s fortunes had declined somewhat during the fall due to both the Democrats making gains in the midterm elections and grumbling over the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. By Christmas the ever-cautious Rosecrans decided the flow of supplies through Nashville were sufficient enough to permit a strike at Bragg’s force.<sup>31</sup>

Characteristically, Rosecrans marched the three corps of his retitled Army of the Cumberland, toward Murfreesboro over separate roads, intending to confuse Bragg over his true intentions. The Confederate general, because of the poor work of his cavalry, for a full day could not determine his foe’s destination. Finally on December 27, he ordered

---

<sup>29</sup>Hartman and Coles, I: 51.

<sup>30</sup>Ellis Sr., “A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.,” 3. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, December 21 and 29, 1862. Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part 2, 453. See also *Chattanooga Daily Rebel* January 22, 1863 for the publication of Exchange Notice No. 4.

<sup>31</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 44; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 193-195; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 48; McDonough, *Stones River*, 65.

his army to concentrate at Murfreesboro. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, with Hardee's Corps at Eaglesville, broke camp and began their twenty-five mile march early on December 27. The trek was undertaken, in the words of Henry T. Wright, "through mud knee deep, to say nothing of the creeks and sloughs which . . . ran across our path." William Rogers complained "it took us two days to get there the roads were so bad. . . ."<sup>32</sup>

Tramping into Murfreesboro on December 28, Colonel Miller's regiment found the Army of Tennessee arrayed for battle to the northwest of Murfreesboro. Bragg's force deployed on both banks of Stones River, a narrow stream that meandered from the southwest before entering an oxbow curve which sent its flow toward the northwest. The land on either side of the river consisted of cultivated fields and cedar groves. Breckinridge's Division was encamped just east of the river, his four brigades forming the right flank of the army. General Patrick Cleburne's men formed to the former-Vice President's rear. Over the next few days, Rosecrans' force slowly moved into position directly opposite Bragg's lines, the blue infantry stretching for more than two miles west from Stones River. On December 30, Bragg held a council of war at which he expressed his intention to attack the following morning. The general intended to strike at the Federal right with overwhelming force and roll it back onto Stones River. Cut off from his supply lines, and with his back against the river, Rosecrans would have to surrender. While Cleburne's division moved to the west bank of Stones River to participate in the early morning assault, Breckinridge's troops remained in place.<sup>33</sup>

Before daylight the next morning, Hardee's and Polk's divisions slammed into the Federal right. Washington Ives wrote later of the morning's fight, "the fighting is . . . generall . . . and You can hear the cheering on both sides and [see] the smoke, the

---

<sup>32</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 44, 46; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 55; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 346; Henry T. Wright to Dear Laura, January 23, 1863. Henry T. Wright Letters. FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; William D. Rogers to Dear Father and Mother, January 22, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>33</sup>Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 59, 76; McDonough, *Stones River*, 79; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 350; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 52.

fighting is a mile W. of us The Cannons seem as if they never will stop.” By early afternoon, Bragg had, in the words of novelist-historian Shelby Foote, pushed the Federal army back “three miles . . . until now the Union line of battle resembled a half-closed jackknife, most of it being at right angles to its original position.” The Confederates though had failed to seize the Nashville Pike, Rosecrans’s supply route which bisected the battlefield from northwest to southeast. If the Union line were a gate, Bragg launched his late-morning and mid-afternoon assaults at the post and hinges; a knoll of cedars known to locals as the Round Forest.<sup>34</sup>

Bragg’s first attacks against the Round Forest came with units of Polk’s Corps; the Bishop launched the assaults in brigade strength, making them easy pickings for the Union defenders. Midwestern infantry from Colonel William B. Hazen’s brigade comprised the main force that held the strategic grove, though during the day a number of Union regiments assisted in its defense. These men were assisted in their defense by several artillery batteries. By midday of December 31, these Union soldiers had repulsed two brigades of Mississippians and Tennesseans, leaving the surrounding cotton fields covered with dead and wounded Rebels.<sup>35</sup>

Determined to throw more troops at the salient in the afternoon, Bragg turned to his only uncommitted troops: Breckinridge’s Division. Bragg had attempted to commit these soldiers earlier in the fight, but Breckinridge argued of a Federal buildup on his own front and refused to release his brigades to the west bank of the river. By early afternoon Breckinridge realized no threat existed and complied with Bragg’s latest order to advance two brigades to attack the Round Forest.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup>Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 83, 150-151; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, II: 89.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid, 92; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 360; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 151, Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 216; McDonough, *Stones River*, 132-136.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 136-140; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 358-360; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 160-161; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 59-60. Breckinridge’s error helped magnify the dislike between Breckinridge and Bragg, which had simmered since the Kentucky

General Breckinridge first dispatched Daniel Adams and John K. Jackson's brigades to assist in attacking the position. These units attacked around two p.m., and were slaughtered, Adams command losing 544 casualties and Jackson's 303. Just as these two brigades ended their failed attempt, William Preston and Joseph B. Palmer's soldiers had crossed Stones River were aligning for their own try at the strong Union line. Washington Ives explained that he had listened to the previous attacks on Hazen's line, and that the sounds of battle seemed "as regular and quick as touching the two lowest keys on a Piano, and the cannon are firing as fast as you can think." The Floridians would enter this inferno soon enough, for around two p.m., an "aid rode up to Gen Preston and I suppose ordered us into action . . . we were ordered to load, when Col Bowen gave us all directions about how to aim etc. . . ." The regiments, "waded the River about half leg deep and Double quicked to where they were fighting."<sup>37</sup>

While the veteran 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida and 20<sup>th</sup> Tennessee had experienced destructiveness and confusion of battle before, the scenes of the smoky battlefield were new to the soldiers of the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida and 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina. Washington Ives expressed horror at viewing "ambulances . . . crossing" Stones River "with the wounded, . . . a little Soldier . . . was in one of the ambulances and appeared to be hit in four or five places his back I think was broken, but he bore it like a man, except as the wagon would jolt he'd groan. . . ." As the 4<sup>th</sup> formed its battle line, Ives, looking forward to the cotton field saw "the first dead man I had seen, lying on his back with a cannon ball hole through his breast which I could stick my head in."<sup>38</sup>

General Preston's Brigade was directed to advance parallel to the Nashville Pike,

---

Campaign.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.; William C. Davis, *Breckinridge: Statesman, Soldier, Symbol* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), 338; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part I, 681; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; William D. Rogers to Dear Father and Mother, January 22, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>38</sup>Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

directly at Hazen's Federals. Preston deployed his brigade with Colonel Miller's 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, 531 strong, on the far left; the 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina extended the line to the east. The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, fielding 458 soldiers, and led by twenty-two-year-old Colonel Wylde Bowen and twenty-one-year-old Lieutenant Colonel Edward Badger, came next. The 20<sup>th</sup> Tennessee, bloodied at Fishing Creek and Shiloh stood on the brigade's right flank. Ives remembered "as soon as we were formed we marched straight forward, and then the Yankees began to play their Battery upon us."<sup>39</sup>

As the brigade moved to the northwest, Colonel Miller's 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida were taken out of the attack almost immediately. Having to realign its formation to move past a regiment which blocked its path, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> peeled off to the west. This meant it would soon gain the cover of a large cedar forest, but also opened its right flank up to a severe punishment from the Union guns. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> reached the safety of the cedar grove very quickly, and tried to advance beyond the forest. Severe fire forced them back, and Miller was content to hold his position. The Perryville veterans lost nineteen of their number on December 31, including two killed, thirteen wounded, and two missing. William D. Rogers related that although the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida suffered little, "every other Regt in our Brigade got into it pretty deep and suffered severely."<sup>40</sup>

The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida and 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina advanced through the cotton fields just south of the Round Forest, and over the dead and wounded of previous assaults. To their right rear sat the elevated bed of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad, which both regiments had just crossed. Up ahead, through the smoky haze, the Florida soldiers glimpsed the dark ruins of the Cowan House, and could make out the picket fences that surrounded the property. The soldiers reached the Cowan House ruins in good order, but had to break ranks to pass through the fence and did so "amid a most galling fire of grape, bomb-shell,

---

<sup>39</sup>Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 164; *Official Records*, series I, part XX, vol. 1, 812, 815, 817; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>40</sup>*Official Records*, series I, part XX, vol. 1, 814; William D. Rogers to Dear Father and Mother, January 22, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

and canister.” Indeed, Captain Jerome Cox, commanding the 10<sup>th</sup> Indiana Battery explained that by the time Preston’s Brigade made its assault, his “ammunition was exhausted, with the exception of canister . . . We held our fire until they were within 400 yards, when we could completely see the devices on their colors. We completely broke up their lines and scattered them in great disorder over the field in front.” The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida’s flag, described by a 60<sup>th</sup> N.C. officer as “the largest flag I have ever seen” and with “crimson . . . so bright that it could be seen for five miles,” probably drew the attention of the Yankee cannoneers.<sup>41</sup>

Passing through the fence in droves; companies became intermingled and it became utter chaos to try to reform their companies once past the Cowan property. Washington Ives complained that it did not help that the 60<sup>th</sup> N.C. “crowded us so that we were all . . . out of place an then” six “Co’s of the 60<sup>th</sup> Turned an ran like sheep.” At the same time these two regiments fell apart maneuvering around the Cowan House, the 20<sup>th</sup> Tennessee faded toward the river where it found “protection” in a “neck of wood along the river bank.”<sup>42</sup>

After making their way through the fence and around various outbuildings on the property with mounting casualties, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida tried to reform its line and someone gave the order to fire. As the regiment threw a few scattered volleys at the Yankees, the number of dying and wounded grew. Ives watched fellow Company C soldier John McKinney fall with a piece of metal through his throat. McKinney “fell on [Ives’s] feet and the blood spirted in a stream about as large as my forefingers, poor fellow, he could not speak though, but grabbed at the wound and tried to raise up.” A fragment partially dismembered color guard member Seth Osborne’s left foot. 4<sup>th</sup> Florida soldier W. M.

---

<sup>41</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part I, 477, 818; James M. Ray, “The Flags of the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida regiment,” (photocopy). Mss. in author’s possession.

<sup>42</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part I, 812, 816, 819; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 166. Three companies of the 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina advanced past the Cowan House, seven did not.

Jones wrote that Osborne “sat up, took out his pocket knife and cutting off his foot which was held by a muscle, he crawled back of the line.”<sup>43</sup>

Seeing the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida reeling at this unleashed violence, and realizing the madness of remaining as targets for the Union artillery, a mounted General Preston braved the intense fire, and rode toward the 4<sup>th</sup>’s color bearer. Seizing the banner, the old politician yelled over the din “Forward Fourth Florida,” and made his way toward the woods where the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida had found protection. The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida and four 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina companies followed. Riding beneath one of the cedars, a branch knocked the flag from Preston’s grip. Color Sergeant William Jackson had followed Preston closely, and picking up the dropped banner “exclaimed ‘General, command me. I will carry the flag wherever you wish.’” Their adrenaline pumping, their faces darkened by powder, the Floridians and North Carolinians could breathe more easily after reaching the forest. Save for some sporadic firing, this last advance ended the first day’s fighting at Murfreesboro.<sup>44</sup>

In their first fight, the untried 4<sup>th</sup> Florida was asked to assault a heavily defended position which veteran troops had failed to reach in three previous attempts. The Cowan House had sown confusion in the ranks as the troops tried to pass through the yard and around outbuildings and reform. The Union batteries played havoc on the regiment from the moment the attack began, and particularly as it tried to rally after the period of disorganization. The failed assault cost the regiment six killed, fifty wounded, and a single soldier missing. Preston’s Brigade lost a total of 163 during the December 31 attack on the Round Forest. The survivors, their trousers wet from crossing Stones River, bedded down for an uncomfortable New Year’s Eve among the dead of both armies.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part I, 477; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; “Breckinridge’s Division Charges; 4<sup>th</sup> Fla. Receives Baptism of Fire,” *Atlanta Journal*, September 28, 1901.

<sup>44</sup>Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 165; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; “Breckinridge’s Division Charges; 4<sup>th</sup> Fla. Receives Baptism of Fire,” *Atlanta Journal*, September 28, 1901.

<sup>45</sup>*Official Records*, series I, part XX, vol. 1, 679; “Breckinridge’s Division Charges; 4<sup>th</sup> Fla. Receives Baptism of Fire,” *Atlanta Journal*, September 28, 1901.

With the coming darkness, the temperatures sank; as the lines remained close together the commanders allowed no fires. On top of this discomfort, the soldiers had dropped their knapsacks and blankets before going into action. Washington Ives wrote the 4<sup>th</sup> “broke Ranks to sleep on arms, but it was very little sleeping that any of us did for I like to have died of Cold, my teeth chattered all night we, did not have our blankets and the ground was . . . frozen.” W. M. Jones remembered that “I was nearly frozen as I lay on the ground that night among the dead. . . .” William D. Rogers complained that “we had a cold time for we were too close to the enemy’s lines to have a fire and it was freezing weather.”<sup>46</sup>

As the soldiers shivered beneath the cedars, at midnight 1862 passed quietly into 1863. The previous year had begun with high hopes, with the Floridians guarding their state’s coast. Over the past twelve months they had witnessed the Federal occupation of portions of their state, become combat veterans, and hardened themselves to the rigors of soldiering. On the night of December 31, most soldiers were more concerned with their present predicament than worry themselves with the future. Little would they realize, but 1863 would bring hardship and death; neither would help bring the conflict to a close.

Braxton Bragg believed that 1863 would dawn with a Confederate victory. On New Year’s Eve, the Army of Tennessee had pushed the Federal line back to within sight of the Nashville Pike, but could not seize the vital roadway. Still, cavalry intelligence led the commanding general to believe Rosecrans was preparing to retreat. When it appeared the Army of the Cumberland would remain on the battlefield, Bragg faltered; Thomas Connelly surmised that “Bragg’s entire strategy for Murfreesboro had been to force Rosecrans to retreat in a single day’s action. . . Evidently he had prepared no plans in case there should be a second day’s battle.” Yet, Rosecrans had decided, at a meeting of his corps commanders early that morning, to remain in position. Throughout the day,

---

<sup>46</sup>McDonough, *Stones River*, 152; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; “Breckinridge’s Division Charges; 4<sup>th</sup> Fla. Receives Baptism of Fire,” *Atlanta Journal*, September 28, 1901; William D. Rogers to Dear Father and Mother, January 22, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.



“sharpshooters harassed the enemy’s pickets, and there were sporadic exchanges of artillery, a few of them rather fiercely contested.”<sup>47</sup>

On the morning of January 1, the Floridians awoke to the welcome news that they could build fires; later, a detachment brought their blankets from the opposite bank of the river. Discomfort remained as Federal artillery batteries threw shells into the forest throughout the day. The exploding shells brought cedar branches down on the soldiers, and wounded two 4<sup>th</sup> Florida men. Lieutenant Seaborn Harris, who had declared the previous May he would serve no longer under Colonel Hopkins, could stand no more. Walking to the edge of the wood, Harris stood defiantly in the open while he lit “a straw in a stump hole on fire with which to light his pipe.” As he did so, a shell fragment passed through his coat, missing the dauntless officer by inches. Harris pulled up his coat and peering through the hole at the Yankee lines exclaimed, “I will make you pay for that.”<sup>48</sup>

## VII

The Floridians remained on the west bank of Stones River until two p.m., on January 2. The previous day, a portion of Lieutenant General Polk’s Corps advanced into the Round Forest, which Rosecrans had abandoned to shorten his line. Now, Bragg feared that Federal troops on Stones River’s east bank would rain artillery fire down on the exposed position. The general believed that he needed to eliminate this threat and called upon Breckinridge, whose division had suffered only slightly on December 31, to make the assault.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup>Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 174; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 62; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 218; McDonough, *Stones River*, 166.

<sup>48</sup>Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; “Breckinridge’s Division Charges; 4<sup>th</sup> Fla. Receives Baptism of Fire,” *Atlanta Journal*, September 28, 1901. Harris was a twenty-four-year-old native of Merriwether County, Georgia. See 1850 U.S. Census, (Free Schedule), Merriwether County, Ga; p. 339, family 1330, dwelling 1330, lines 18-24 National Archives Microcopy M432 Reel # 77.

<sup>49</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 62-63; McDonough, *Stones River*, 175; McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg, Field Command*, 366; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 177, Davis, *Breckinridge*, 340.

Breckinridge immediately launched a protest, claiming “he was certain Rosecrans was heavily placed on the bluff on the side of the river opposite the proposed line of attack. The ground was higher than his, and his artillery could hit him in front and flank, turning the attack into disaster.” The commanding general could not be swayed from his decision, and ordered the Kentuckian to attack at four p.m. General Polk would initiate the attack fifteen minutes earlier by placing artillery fire on the Federal position. Bragg, the old-artilleryman that he was, ordered Breckinridge’s artillery to assume an offensive role as well, following the infantry into battle to support the attack.<sup>50</sup>

At two p.m., Preston’s Brigade left the cedar forest that had sheltered the men for the past two days and countermarched to Stones River’s eastern bank. Breckinridge formed his division into two lines. Like their division commander, none of Breckinridge’s brigade commanders possessed professional military training, and in fact, each had practiced law before the war. Brigadier General Roger Hanson’s Kentucky Brigade, which would gain fame during the conflict as one of the Confederacy’s best, took position in the front line. Gideon Pillow, a political general and Mexican War veteran with a poor service record, aligned his Tennesseans next to Hanson’s troops. Colonel Randal Gibson, serving in place of a wounded Daniel Adams, and Preston’s men formed ranks two hundred yards to their comrades’ rear.<sup>51</sup>

At four p.m., Breckinridge’s 4,500-man division began their attack; Benton Ellis recollected the divisional commander “rode down” Preston’s line “and made a speech to us and told us to keep good order and charge like men. . . .” Their advance would take them through open fields toward the ridge on which Colonel Sam Beatty’s two thousand-Federals waited. Beatty’s line, its right flank resting on Stones River, stretched northeast along the ridge. The Kentuckians and Pillow’s Tennesseans quickly overran the Federal

---

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 341; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 63; McDonough, *Stones River*, 177-179; McWhiney and Jamieson, *Attack and Die*, 60.

<sup>51</sup>Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Davis, *Breckinridge*, 342; Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 104-105, 123-124, and 241. Cozzens gives the distance between the lines as 150 yards.

line, forcing the Yankees back in confusion. As the Confederates streamed over the ridge, hell exploded in their faces. Larry Daniel wrote that John Mendenhall, the Army of the Cumberland's artillery chief gathered fifty-seven guns on the western bank of the river; soon the gunners were firing at a rapid pace at Breckinridge's soldiers.<sup>52</sup>

William Rogers confessed that the battle was so terrible, that he "never" wanted "to go into another such a fight as long as I live." The Confederates pursued the retreating Federals through the heavy artillery fire; their objective now McFadden's Ford where the enemy was crossing the river. Overhead, shells from Breckinridge's artillery which had taken position began an unequal contest with the massed Federal guns. To Breckinridge's right a brigade of Federals remained on the east bank firing into the Rebels flank. As the units approached the river, Miller's 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida became intermingled with Pillow's men, while the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida lay prone and waited while the first line engaged the enemy.<sup>53</sup>

Under the cover of the artillery fire, numerous Union brigades crossed the river in a counterattack. The Kentuckians, with their commander Roger Hanson mortally wounded, fell back in the face of this onslaught; Pillow's troops began giving way as well. W. M. Jones reported "the Fourth Florida was lying down when the other regiments passed back over it." Bowen corroborated this statement, adding that only after the regiments ahead of the 4<sup>th</sup> retreated did the men fire "with that deliberate accuracy that characterizes the Florida woodsman. . . ." The Tennessee-native explained that he "determined to hold as long as practicable, that if possible, we might form a nucleus upon which to rally the

---

<sup>52</sup>Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, II: 99; Cozzens, *No Place to Die*, 175, 185-186; McDonough, *Stones River*, 182, 188-189; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 221; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 65.

<sup>53</sup>William D. Rogers to Dear Father and Mother, January 22, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 187, 191, 194-195; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part I, 815, 817; "Breckinridge's Division Charges; 4<sup>th</sup> Fla. Receives Baptism of Fire," *Atlanta Journal*, September 28, 1901; Ellis, Sr., "A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.," 4. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

broken line. . . .”<sup>54</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida remained in line as well, firing at the advancing Federals. Lt. Albert Livingston, another of the Madison County brothers, attested that the fighting on the banks of Stones River was “much nearer . . . than at Perryville [and] at one time were only about 40 or 50 yards apart.” Benton Ellis wrote that as the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida troops tried to stem the tide, he “heard a ball strike some of the boys . . . It was dear boy Jimmie that received that bullet in his right groin; but he said nothing but kept shooting.” Eighteen-year-old James Light Ellis was captured during the attack and died in a Federal field hospital on January 19.<sup>55</sup>

On line with the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, the regiment’s color bearer William T. Jackson suffered a wound in the left shoulder which thereafter limited the usage of his left arm. The 4th’s banner was raised by three other men, all of whom successively fell either killed or wounded. Finally, John A. Mathis seized the flag and carried it to safety. Washington Ives related “the nearest the Yankees came to getting me was shooting a hole in my pants and cutting hair off my right temple.” Despite men falling all around him, the young Columbia County man wrote that he “did not feel any different while under fire than I do at any kind of work. I took 20 deliberate shots picking my man every time, and one time I saw the man fall, but the others I could not see on account of the smoke. . . .”<sup>56</sup>

Some soldiers in the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida expended their forty rounds that afternoon on the river;

---

<sup>54</sup>Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 222; McDonough, *Stones River*, 198; “Breckinridge’s Division Charges; 4<sup>th</sup> Fla. Receives Baptism of Fire,” *Atlanta Journal*, September 28, 1901; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part I, 816-817.

<sup>55</sup>Albert Livingston to My Dear Mother, January 12, 1863. Livingston/ Inglis Letters. MOC, Richmond, VA.; Ellis, Sr., “A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.,” 4. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Hartman and Coles, *Biographical Roster of Florida’s Soldiers*, I: 441.

<sup>56</sup>Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sisters F & F, January 14, 1863 and Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sister Kate, September 29, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; “Breckinridge’s Division Charges; 4<sup>th</sup> Fla. Receives Baptism of Fire,” *Atlanta Journal*, September 28, 1901. J. M. Ray wrote in “The Flags of the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida regiment,” that the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida’s flag had two streamers attached at the top of the staff; one was inscribed “In God We Trust” and the other “4<sup>th</sup> Fla.” The latter was severed by fire and captured by an Ohio Regiment.

Ives, fired twenty times using a .69 smoothbore which “got so dirty that I head to tear Cartridge and wet every load of Buck and Ball. . . .” W. M. Jones got off eighteen rounds before the regiment began to fall back. The firing was so heavy from both sides Lt. Albert Livingston exclaimed “it did not look as if one would Escape.”<sup>57</sup>

As the Yankee counterattack became too much for the Floridians and their comrades; a pell-mell retreat to the rear began. Benton Ellis explained that the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida “made several stands” as they retreated up the ridge and down the opposite slope. Fleeing as fast as his feet would carry him, William Rogers confessed when the withdrawal began “I was badly scared my back itched the whole time, But thank god I escaped untouched.”

Passing over the ridge, Colonel Bowen came upon Preston’s Brigade artillery, Wright’s Tennessee battery, then commanded by Lieutenant John W. Mebane. The battery had remained to cover the retreat of the division and soon the enemy had closed within deadly range. As twilight came on, young Bowen rallied his soldiers around the guns and sought to buy time for the artillerymen to limber their pieces. The Colonel wrote that while protecting the battery, his “command sustained its heaviest loss.” Ives estimated that the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida held its ground for fifteen minutes, buying the time for the Tennesseans to move their guns to safety. When the regiment was ordered to fall back, the Yankees “were in 40 yds of its left and 85 of its center.” Left near the battery’s former position was a mortally wounded Seaborn Harris, who had vowed to pay the Yankees back for his ruined coat. He, like James Ellis, died at a Federal hospital.<sup>58</sup>

4<sup>th</sup> Florida Major John Lesley asserted in his report, that when his regiment finally

---

<sup>57</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part II, 817; Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 195; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Parents, January 22, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; “Breckinridge’s Division Charges; 4<sup>th</sup> Fla. Receives Baptism of Fire,” *Atlanta Journal*, September 28, 1901; Albert Livingston to My Dear Mother, January 12, 1863. Livingston/ Inglis Letters. MOC, Richmond, VA. Buck and Ball, a combination of a .69 round and three buckshot, was commonly used in smoothbore muskets during the Civil War.

<sup>58</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part II, 817, 824; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Parents, January 22, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; “Breckinridge’s Division Charges; 4<sup>th</sup> Fla. Receives Baptism of Fire,” *Atlanta Journal*, September 28, 1901.

retreated that it was “the last to leave the field.” Washington Ives substantiated this claim, writing home that “the 4<sup>th</sup> was the last on the field and few as it was it kept back about 40 times its number of Yankees until the other confed regts had got out of the most danger.” The Federals continued to fire on the rebels as they broke for the safety of their own line. Washington Ives running for his life, halted suddenly “as a man right ahead of me got his brains shot out and I was so close behind him that if I had not stopped I’d have fallen on his body.” General Preston managed to rally his brigade near the unit’s original position to resist the Yankee advance, but darkness was falling fast and the pursuit soon ended.<sup>59</sup>

## VIII

That evening the regiments mustered for roll call to determine the casualties suffered during the disastrous attack. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida mustered 456 officers and men for the January 2 fight and lost five killed outright and seventy-three wounded. Colonel William Miller was numbered among the latter, being “severely wounded in the hand. . . .” William Rogers wrote that the Colonel suffered the painful loss of a thumb and was furloughed. The injury ended his tenure with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida Infantry. Forty-one soldiers were listed as missing, but most of these, like James Ellis had been too badly wounded to retreat and were left on the field. The total losses for both days combat was 138 of the 531 soldiers present for duty on December 31.

Murfreesboro served to effectively decimate the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry. The second day’s action cost the lives of twenty-eight soldiers and seventy-nine sustained wounds during the seventy minute fight. Thirty were missing that evening, bringing the number of casualties suffered that day to 137. B. L. Rice would never need the pants he requested from his mother, for he was one of those mortally wounded on January 2. Of the 458 who formed for battle on December 31, 194 were either killed or wounded; among Breckinridge’s nineteen regiments engaged that day, the 4<sup>th</sup> suffered the most killed and the second-highest number of casualties taken. The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida never fielded more than 300 soldiers in

---

<sup>59</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part II, 813, 818; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Parents, January 22, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

a fight again.<sup>60</sup>

On the morning of January 3, Braxton Bragg decided to retreat from Murfreesboro; that evening his troops were marching south. William D. Rogers who had retreated from Shiloh and Perryville informed his parents with disgust that Murfreesboro was “called a drawn battle, but I think we were whipped.” Washington Ives, who passed through his first trial-by-fire at Murfreesboro disagreed, arguing “. Our Army is not whipped, we killed more Yank’s than they did Conf[ederate]s but we were worn out.” Lt. Augustus McDonell penned in his diary “It was rainy yesterday when we started back and it continued raining the wind blowing very hard all night - marched twenty miles through it.” At any rate Lt. Albert Livingston was correct when he soberly told his mother, “Many of our brave men were killed at the fight near Murfreesboro our company and regiments mourns the loss of their very best.” Preston’s Brigade reached Tullahoma on January 7, and in that vicinity, the Army of Tennessee halted.<sup>61</sup>

By January, the Floridians in both Bragg and Kirby Smith’s armies were in winter quarters. In three months between October and January, both the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida were bloodied at Murfreesboro, making veterans of the green soldiers of the latter regiment. One positive that came from that battle is that Colonel Wylde Bowen and

---

<sup>60</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part II, 679, 815, 817; General William Preston to Hon. James Seddon, July 14, 1863, in Miller, *CSR of Generals* Reel #178; William D. Rogers to Dear Father and Mother, January 22, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Hartman and Coles, *Biographical Rosters*, I: 456. Joseph D. Crute writes that the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida lost 42% of its strength at Murfreesboro, while the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> suffered 26% losses. See Crute, *Units of the Confederate Army*, 74, 76. Colonel Miller gained promotion to Brigadier General in August 1864 and commanded the District of Florida until the end of the war. See Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 218.

<sup>61</sup>Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 200; William D. Rogers to Dear Father and Mother, January 22, 1863. William D. Rodgers Letters, 1861-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Parents, January 22, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; January 4, 1863. Augustus O. McDonell Diary. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Albert Livingston to My Dear Mother, January 12, 1863. Livingston/ Inglis Letters. MOC, Richmond, VA.; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 69. Cozzens writes that Bragg feared Rosecrans received reinforcements and this spurred the need for a retreat. See Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die*, 200.

Lt. Col. Ed Badger gained valuable combat leadership experience. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida lost its only experienced Colonel in the fight, and would soon find themselves again commanded by Colonel Dilworth, who had not participated in an engagement yet. There was no joy as the soldiers prepared their log huts, for Washington Ives described the soldiers as “worn out and down hearted.” Daniel G. McLean in the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida explained “I never think of peace now.” At its outset, 1863 looked glum for the Floridians in the Western Theater. Soon though, nature’s cycle would cause winter to give way to spring: the snow would melt, the roads would harden, and a new campaigning season would begin.



**CHAPTER X**  
**“I expect we will stay here all winter:”**  
**Tennessee, Winter-Spring 1863**

In the week following the Murfreesboro battle, Braxton Bragg shepherded his battered Army of Tennessee southeastward, away from the scene of carnage. William Rosecrans's Army of the Cumberland, occupied in burying the dead and tending to the wounded of both armies, was in no condition to pursue. General Bragg halted the retreat within the Highland Rim, “an oval belt of steep ridges,” that surrounds Middle Tennessee, the northern edge of this geographical feature “contains a broad series of ridges which reach elevations of thirteen hundred feet.” Bragg chose this location not only because it appeared easily defensible, but also due to the rich Duck and Elk River Valleys which lay within the sheltered region. The general planned to allow his troops to live off Middle Tennessee foodstuffs that winter. Bragg made the railroad town of Tullahoma his headquarters and General William Hardee's Corps encamped nearby. Soon after the army established their quarters, Daniel McLean informed a relative “I expect we will stay here all winter, if we are not run off by the yankees.”<sup>1</sup>

The beginning of 1863 found the Department of East Tennessee's soldiers deployed along the vital railroad that snaked through the valley in a generally southwest to northeast direction. With terrible weather making a crossing of the Cumberland Mountains by a large number of troops impossible, the Federals in Kentucky posed little threat to the Confederates. Yet that winter, the rebels would find trouble in the form of East Tennessee Unionists and deserters.

The winter of 1862-63 marked the first that the Florida regiments had spent away from their home state. Whether performing manual labor at Tullahoma or scouring Appalachian hollows for Tories, these troops remained active that winter. The respite from Union threats allowed the regiments to hone their discipline, and all spent countless hours on the

---

<sup>1</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 24, 113-115; D. G. McLean to My Dear Aunt, January 28, 1863. McLean Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL. Connelly argues that Confederate Commissary Bureau agents combed this region for Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, leaving Bragg's force shorthanded.

drill field. For Davis's Brigade, the months saw two critical command changes and the majority of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida's soldiers underwent their baptism of fire. In spite of the winter lull that halted most major military operations, the Florida soldiers found the hiatus provided no break from the rigors of soldiering.

## II

General William J. Hardee's 11,000 soldiers limped into Tullahoma during the second week of January following a stressful march through harsh weather. In other winter quarters during the war troops usually constructed crude cabins to escape the elements; at Tullahoma the Floridians lived in their tents, albeit with quickly fashioned chimneys attached for warmth. Seasonable storms swept through the area during the winter bringing rain, and then as the temperatures fell, snow. Lt. Henry Wright marveled at the climate's "changeableness, last week it was so cold that creeks were all frozen and snow covered the ground. Today it is so warm that even a light coat is . . . apprehensive." 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida soldier Francis Nicks complained "this is the worst country I ever saw in my life it rains all the time and when it ain't raining it is snowing." Daniel G. McLean declared that the worst part about the wetness was that "the ground gets so muddy. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

By the time the Army of Tennessee entered the winter encampment at Tullahoma, the troops had long ago devoured the provisions that arrived at Murfreesboro in time for Christmas. The Floridians's fare that winter consisted of army rations, meaning "Fresh pork, meal occasionally a little molasses and salt . . ." Daniel G. McLean lamented the meals, remembering that "When we were on the march we could occasionally get a chicken or Irish potatoes, Turkey, or something of the sort and make a little change. . . ."

---

<sup>2</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part II, 503; Daniel G. McLean to Miss Maggie Kate McKenzie, January 30, 1863, in Tucker, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 91; Francis R. Nicks to Dear Mike, March 9, 1863. Francis R. Nicks Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Henry T. Wright to My Dear Laura, February 13, 1863. Henry T. Wright Letters. FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; D. G. McLean to My Dear Aunt, January 28, 1863. McLean Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL. Larry J. Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee: A Portrait of Life in a Confederate Army* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 87; For more on Civil War winter encampments, see Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, 59-62.

Florida's citizens continued supporting their soldiers in the field as McLean, a West Florida soldier, pointed out that "some of the fellows from East Fla, get any quantity of . . . eadibles from home." Washington Ives wrote home that "I long for fish birds and oysters I could almost shed tears I wanted some so bad, and Eggs." Ives asked his parents "to raise as many chickens and Gardens in Fla as is possible," to supply the state's soldiers, for he avowed that it was "camp fare that is killing off . . . many good soldiers."<sup>3</sup>

The number of sick did increase during the Middle Tennessee encampment, in fact, the Army of Tennessee's hospitals recorded 137,000 patients during the first five months of 1863. Daniel G. McLean, who served as an orderly in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida's hospital, noted "we average 4 to 5 a day sent to the Hospit. generally have Pneumonia." This was not uncommon as Joseph Jones explained this disease "prevailed to the greatest extent in the more elevated and northern regions of the Southern Confederacy, and in the armies which were subjected to the severest labors, privations, exposures." The Army of Tennessee's soldiers were certainly subjected to exposure at Tullahoma and the stress and tiring nature of the Murfreesboro Campaign probably contributed as well. When the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida shifted their camp to a muddy, bare field in early February, Lt. Gus McDonell bemoaned "We had sickness enough before the change, but I'm confident it will . . . double."<sup>4</sup>

Benton Ellis, suffering from an attack of acute rheumatism, spent several weeks in a Georgia hospital. Washington Ives in the weeks following the Murfreesboro retreat told his parents "I am poor, being reduced by sickness." Ives's ailments included a severe cold

---

<sup>3</sup>D. G. McLean to My Dear Aunt, January 28, 1863. McLean Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Parents, January 22, 1863. Washington M. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>4</sup>Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, 73; D. G. McLean to My Dear Aunt, January 28, 1863. McLean Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Daniel G. McLean to Miss Maggie McKenzie, January 30, 1863, in Tuckers, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849 to 1901*, 91; Joseph Jones, *Medical and Surgical Memoirs* (New Orleans, 1876-1890), I: 650-666, quoted in Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 255; Augustus O. McDonell Diary, February 10, 1863. Augustus O. McDonell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

and jaundice, but he found his sickness had strengthened his bonds with his comrades. The young man related that his messmate Sam Sessions “has acted a brothers part by me in my sickness.” Though his condition improved briefly at the end of January, in February Ives was confined to a Georgia hospital. Obtaining a furlough, he would not return to his regiment until July.<sup>5</sup>

### III

Near Cumberland Gap in November, General Davis’s 1,800 soldiers, with no tents and poor clothing endured miserable conditions. Despite the necessity for the Confederates to guard the strategic pass, the Floridians wished they could depart the mountains before winter arrived. Early in the month, 6<sup>th</sup> Florida private A. G. McLeod believed, “one thing I know, if we are stationed anywhere up here many will not survive the winter The Snow was six inches deep here last Saturday and Sunday. . . .” Colonel J. J. Finley, dissatisfied with his regiment’s station, pleaded with Adjutant General Samuel Cooper that “we are now here without tents and without axes and tools for building huts - and I really wish an easier and less exposed service for my poor men.” Major William T. Stockton reported “all heart & interest in the Regt. is departed. We seem to be dumped down here, without tents, food almost, cooking utensils . . . feed for our horses.” Lt. Col. Robert Bullock found Cumberland Gap disagreeable because he felt it “out of the world as far as

---

<sup>5</sup>Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, 73; Daniel G. McLean to Miss Maggie McKenzie, January 30, 1863, in Tuckers, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849 to 1901*, 91; Joseph Jones, *Medical and Surgical Memoirs* (New Orleans, 1876-1890), I: 650-666, quoted in Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 255; T. B. Ellis, Sr., “A Short Record of T. B. Ellis, Sr.,” 4. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Pa, January 26, 1863. Washington M. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL. “Travels of the 4<sup>th</sup> Fla.,” Ives Diary. FSA, Tallahassee, FL. Madison County soldier Sam Sessions was twenty-two in January 1863 and became Washington Ives’s closest friend in th 4<sup>th</sup> Florida. See Hartman and Coles, *Biographical Rosters*, I: 395.

Civilization and society are concerned.”<sup>6</sup>

During the first week in December the Floridians received the welcome order that moved the regiments’ southwestward to Knoxville, the so-called “metropolis of East Tennessee.” The forty-five-mile march to Knoxville became one of the roughest endured by Davis’s soldiers during the entire war. As told by the Marion Hornet poet “at morn the road was icy hard, ’Twas slippery mud at noon, Each must his steps with care regard, Or muddied he was soon.” Lt. James Hays confessed to his wife “it was the worst traveling I ever saw . . . you don’t know anything about cold weather.” Lt. Col. Bullock felt ashamed that:

I have read about soldiers of the Revolution being tracked in the snow by the blood that came from their bare feet, but I always thought it was an exaggeration; but I am now convinced that it was true, for I saw on the march from the Gap here, any quantity of blood that came from the feet of the men who had no shoes . . . their feet so badly cut up by the rocks and frozen ground. . . .<sup>7</sup>

A principal threat to Confederate forces in the East Tennessee Valley in 1863, came from loyal Tennesseans’ active resistance. The region’s Unionists had not always advocated violence, in fact, following the 1860 Presidential election and the Lower South’s secession these citizens had favored a moderate approach in opposing a government they believed only a few would control. Pressed on by dynamic and earnest leaders such as William G. “Parson” Brownlow, the populations’ conservative element believed that East Tennessee’s elitists, along with “demagogues from lordly cotton

---

<sup>6</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part II, 412; A. G. McLeod to Dear Mother, November 1, 1862. McLean Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; J. J. Finley to My dear Sir, November 13, 1862, in G. Troup Maxwell CSR Reel #3; William T. Stockton to “Ju Stockton,” undated letter, in Ulmer, trans., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton*, 142; Robert Bullock to My own dear darling, December 8, 1862. Robert and Amanda Waterman Bullock Letters. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>7</sup>Robert Tracy McKenzie, *Lincolmites and Rebels: A Divided Town in the American Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 7,13,19; n.a. “The Adventures of the Marion Hornets,” 30; Lt. James Hays to My Dear Wife, December 8, 1862. UDC Bound Typescripts, IV: 9-42. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.;

plantations had brought on the conflict and, in the Confederacy, were creating the aristocracy they had long desired.” Brownlow preached to his followers that in the Confederacy “only slaveholders would be allowed to vote. . . .”<sup>8</sup>

By no means were the East Tennessee citizenry abolitionists. Many were, like Preacher Brownlow, in favor of the institution. The difference that existed between the East Tennesseans and pro-slavery Southerners in the Cotton States was that the region’s ex-Whigs “still believed it possible to protect slavery within the Union.” Before Fort Sumter, four-fifths of the region’s voters cast their ballot against a proposed secession convention; East Tennessee’s votes, combined with moderates across the state, doomed the measure to failure.<sup>9</sup>

However, when after Confederates fired on Fort Sumter and President Lincoln ordered the loyal states to provide 75,000 volunteers to put down the rebellion, the Tennessee legislature “approved a declaration of independence from the United States, . . .” When Tennessee’s voters approved this step on June 9, East Tennessee conservatives agreed to meet in Greeneville on June 17, where instead of calling upon violence to throw off Confederate rule, they dispatched a committee to “present a memorial to the Tennessee legislature requesting that East Tennessee and the Unionist counties of Middle Tennessee be allowed to form a separate state.” The legislature turned down this offer on account of the vital railroad that passed through the region.<sup>10</sup>

During the early summer of 1861, Confederate authorities adopted a lenient attitude toward the Unionists, and refused to station many troops in the region. Yet in August, reinforcements moved into the area, and East Tennessee’s Confederate District Attorney charged more than one hundred local citizens under the newly passed Alien Enemies Act.

---

<sup>8</sup>Jonathan M. Atkins, *Parties, Politics, and the Sectional Conflict in Tennessee, 1832-1861* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 250; McKenzie, *Lincolmites and Rebels*, 44;

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 38-39, 60, 64.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 70; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 39, 41. Atkins, *Parties, Politics, and Sectional Conflict in Tennessee, 1832-1861*, 253.

The final breaking point came in November, when, in anticipation of a Union invasion, East Tennessee Tories burned five railroad bridges between Chattanooga and Bristol. After Confederate soldiers carried out a harsh retaliation against suspects, the violence increased as “Unionists would operate in smaller-bands, seek limited objectives, and rely on the weapons of ambush, harassment, and intimidation to achieve their purposes.” Into this whirlwind were thrust Davis’s Floridians.<sup>11</sup>

Historian Noel Fisher wrote that “a favorite tactic was to snipe at marching Confederate troops from the sides of narrow, wooded roads.” Davis’s Brigade first encountered these mountain guerillas during the Kentucky Campaign. As the regiments marched through the Cumberland Mountains, bushwhackers fired several shots into the columns, surprising the men. Lt. James Hays elaborated that the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida marched into an ambush five miles from Barbourville, Kentucky; the Floridians repulsed the Unionists, killing two and seizing five prisoners. Lt. Col. Bullock wrote that his regiment killed five bushwhackers and captured twenty-two. The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, dismounted, also suffered at the hands of the insurgents as William Stockton reported early losses in the march as “one killed & 4 wounded.” “We, the Southern Army,” Stockton explained “was presented as cruel & brutal. Robbers was the best name we received.”<sup>12</sup>

Though the winter weather precluded an invasion by a sizeable Union force, this did not stop small scale Federal raids from exacting a toll on the region. In late-December, a thousand blue-clad cavalymen emerged from the Cumberland Mountains and wreaked havoc upon several trestles and munition depots in the extreme northeastern tip of the state. Davis’s Florida Brigade, due to this incursion and the continued Unionist menace,

---

<sup>11</sup>McKenzie, *Lincolmites and Rebels*, 88-89, 93, 98; Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 50, 54, 61.

<sup>12</sup>Fisher, *War at Every Door*, 69; James Hays to My Dear Wife and Children, August 20, 1862. UDC Bound Typescripts, IV: 9-42. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; Robert Bullock to My Dear Wife, August 21, 1862. Robert and Amanda Waterman Bullock Letters. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; William T. Stockton to My dearest wife, August 22, 1862, in Ulmer, trans., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton 1845-1869*, 124.

spent the winter dispersed along the railroad, charged with guarding essential bridges.<sup>13</sup>

General W. G. M. Davis and newly-promoted Colonel G. Troup Maxwell's 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry encamped at Strawberry Plains, an obscure depot fifteen miles northeast of Knoxville that gained importance because of the nearby 1,600 foot Holston River bridge. The majority of Colonel J. J. Finley's 6<sup>th</sup> Florida was stationed at Strawberry Plains as well. The 6<sup>th</sup> Florida's Company H engaged in "building a stockade and guarding the Hiawassee Bridge. . . ." near Charleston on the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad. Private A. G. McLeod enjoyed the time spent at this pleasant community, writing "we have been invite[d] to a party one or two nights every week since we came here."<sup>14</sup>

Seven 7<sup>th</sup> Florida companies were stationed ten miles from the Virginia border, where the soldiers stood a watchful sentinel over the rebuilt Watauga River bridge, one of those spans burned during the December raid. Casmero Bailey delighted in being stationed in a region where "we have butter eggs chickens and etc." Meanwhile, Captain S. Darwin McConnell commanded a battalion that gaurded Loudon, a town thirty-miles southwest of Knoxville. Dispatched to this new posting a week before Christmas, and though feeling esteemed at being chosen to command such a vital location, Captain McConnell confided that he would "prefer the pleasure of seeing my wife and child to all such compliments."<sup>15</sup>

By January 1863, the conflict between the Confederates and the Tories had reached a

---

<sup>13</sup>For more on Colonel Samuel P. Carter's December raid and the Confederate reaction, see *Official Records*, series I, vol. XX, part I, 88-131. For Davis's Brigade's dispersal see S. Darwin McConnell to My darling wife, December 19, 1862. McConnell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL., and William T. Stockton to "Ju Stockton," January 23, 1863, in Ulmer, trans., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 175. Regarding the fortifications built by the Florida troops at various locations in East Tennessee, see *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part II, 742-743.

<sup>14</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part I, 385; *Supplement to the Official Records*, V: 303-309, 311-315, 317-318; A. G. McLeod to Dear Aunt Nancy, January 19, 1863. McLean Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>15</sup>*Supplement to the Official Records*, V: 322-332; C. O. Bailey to Dear Mother, February 1, 1862. Bailey Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; S. Darwin McConnell to My darling wife, December 19, 1862. McConnell Letters. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; n. a. *The Adventure of the Marion Hornets*, 30-31.



viciousness previously not witnessed in the Appalachians. Though General Davis and his Floridians spent much time building stockades and blockhouses for the purpose of safeguarding the railroad, unfortunately, they became embroiled in this rancorous conflict that winter. Evidence regarding the full degree to which these troops were involved remains sketchy, however, it is safe to say that these troops did create some hardships for the region's Unionists.

Perhaps the most infamous incident to emerge from the Appalachian conflict remains the Shelton Laurel Massacre. Confederate deserters and Unionists set in motion the series of events on January 8 when a party raided Marshall, North Carolina in a search of salt. Much needed during the winter months when residents cured meat for the next year, a severe shortage of the preservative caused it to be "hoarded by the loyal Rebels and kept from the hands of the poor rural mountaineers suspected of Union sympathies." Lt. James Hays wrote that "some of the citizens came down to Knoxville and reported how they were doing and asked for help, . . ." and on January 17, General Heth, then commanding the Department of East Tennessee, dispatched General W. G. M. Davis into North Carolina to investigate.<sup>16</sup>

General Davis's force included 200 Floridians, and also the 64<sup>th</sup> North Carolina and Colonel William Thomas's Legion; both units contained soldiers native to the Great Smoky Mountains. Departing from Strawberry Plains, the expedition had but a short march before reaching the French Broad Turnpike, which passed directly through the troubled area. Lt. Hays recorded that upon leaving, General Davis had remarked "that he never would take a prisoner, so I guess they will fair rough if they come up with them." If he indeed spoke these words, Davis would soon come to rue them. In his official orders, Davis used a softer language, requesting his subordinate commanders to "pursue and arrest every man in the mountains, of known bad character. . . ." The former-lawyer gave

---

<sup>16</sup>John C. Inscoe and Gordon B. McKinney, *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia: Western North Carolina in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 118; Phillip Shaw Paludan, *Victims: A True Story of the Civil War* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 81-83; Lt. James Hays to Miss Sally Ann Hays, January 20, 1863. UDC Bound Typescripts, IV: 9-42. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.

explicit instructions for “all the citizen prisoners to be turned over to the civil authorities of Madison [County].”<sup>17</sup>

General Davis, after establishing his headquarters at the antebellum resort town of Warm Springs and sorting through the evidence, concluded very quickly that “there is no organization in the mountains of armed men banded together for the purpose of making efforts to destroy bridges or to burn towns,” and that “the attack on Marshall was gotten up to obtain salt, for want of which there is great suffering in the mountains. Plunder of other property followed as a matter of course.” The raiders aimed part of this plundering against the homes of soldiers serving in the 64<sup>th</sup> North Carolina, including that of its colonel, Lawrence Allen. Historian Phillip Shaw Paludan asserts that General Heth provided explicit instructions to the 64<sup>th</sup>, saying “I want no reports from you about your course at Laurel. I do not want to be troubled with any prisoners and the last one of them should be killed.” Using harsh methods of interrogation, Allen’s Tarheels rounded up fifteen suspects and several days later executed these men.<sup>18</sup>

General Davis and his Floridians had remained near Greeneville, Tennessee and Warm Springs, North Carolina, for the majority of the operation, and it is unclear as to whether the commander knew of the transgressions. Davis wrote at the time that “Col. [L. M.] Allen’s Sixty-fourth North Carolina Regiment and the men of his command are said to have been hostile to the Laurel men. . . .” but this probably refers to the bad blood that existed among the regions’ citizens regarding the policy of secession. When in February, after North Carolina Governor Zebulon Vance heard of the massacre and demanded an inquiry, Davis explained that he knew “nothing of the facts, the transaction having taken place before I was placed in command of the troops operating in North Carolina.” He was in fact, probably still at Greeneville sifting through evidence when the massacre occurred.

---

<sup>17</sup> Paludan, *Victims*, 27 and W.G.M. Davis to His Excellency Zebulon B. Vance, January –, 1863, in *Official Records*, series I, vol. XVIII, 810-811, quoted in Paludan, 89; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XVIII, 810; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XVIII, 853 and series II, vol. V, 841.

<sup>18</sup> Paluden, *Victims*, 88, 90, 93, 97.

Because Davis's wartime papers have not survived the Florida general's role in the Shelton Laurel Massacre may never be known. It might safely be assumed though that the Floridians who participated in the expedition did not take part in the violence.<sup>19</sup>

The January expedition marked only one of two times that winter that the Floridians penetrated into the Great Smoky Mountains in search of Unionists. In late February, General Alfred E. Jackson, commanding in place of an absent General Davis, led a brigade-sized force into the Shelton Laurel area to forcibly remove Tories and their families. General W. G. M. Davis suggested this policy in January, writing to Governor Zebulon B. Vance:

I have proposed to allow all who are not implicated in any crime to leave the State and to aid them in crossing into Kentucky . . . They will be driven to do so from necessity, as I learn our troops have consumed all the corn and meat in the settlement. If the people alluded to agree to emigrate I will cause them to be paid for their property used by our troops.<sup>20</sup>

General Jackson's troops, which included elements of the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida and 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, set out from Limestone Depot on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad and entered the mountains in three columns, each converging on the Laurel River Valley. The expedition traversed very treacherous terrain, and the march coincided with some of the worst weather to hit the region that winter. Dr. Henry McCall, an Assistant Surgeon in the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry accompanied his regiment, and wrote on March 1 "it commenced snowing and sleeting . . . the sleet cut & struck our faces, was very cold. . . ." These poor conditions occurred while the soldiers had "some steep and difficult ascents to make, a horse could not have gone where we went indeed a cat would have thought it a hard trip." Lt. Hugh Black remarked that "the last day of February and the first day of March I did

---

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 118-119; *Official Records*, series II, vol. V, 858 and series I, vol. XVIII, 853. My analysis of Davis's innocence is derived from Paludan's excellent study of the Shelton Laurel Massacre and his conclusion that General Henry Heth ordered the harsh retaliation.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 811; *Supplement to the Official Records* V: 312; For a listing of Jackson's command that participated in the raid, see *Official Records*, series I, vol., XXIII, part II, 711.

the hardest traveling and traveled the shortest distance that I ever did in my life.”<sup>21</sup>

The Confederates swept through the Laurel River Valley “hunting bushwhackers as the Tories there are called,” and implementing Davis’s policy of removal. Lt. Charles Herring wrote that the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida “caught several & burned and destroyed every thing in the mountains as we went, collected the families & sent them out. The girls would curs and blagarde uss ahead of any thing I ever heard befor.” The 6<sup>th</sup> Florida’s Company F’s clerk recorded his unit “made a march of twenty-one miles over the mountains” and on March 8, arrived at Strawberry Plains, “making a distance traveled of 200 miles.” Despite these efforts, the Confederates would never quell Unionist sentiment in the North Carolina Mountains. As this expedition neared its conclusion, General Daniel Donelson, then commanding the Department of East Tennessee noted that General Davis’s command “is necessarily in a scattered and bad condition. . . .”<sup>22</sup>

#### IV

While W. G. M. Davis’s troops engaged in chasing bushwhackers and standing sentinel over the East Tennessee railroad, the Floridians in Bragg’s Army of Tennessee remained equally active. Those soldiers’ days were spent in erecting breastworks and fortifications and tramping across muddy drill fields. These soldiers had not cared for either during the first year of the war and their attitude had not changed.<sup>23</sup>

Francis R. Nicks, who served in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, wrote home that his regiment was continuously “building batteries and shoving breastworks up and cutting hammock preparing to have a fight. . . .” Lt. Gus McDonell complained that this labor came before

---

<sup>21</sup>March 1, 1863, in Henry McCall Holmes, *Diary of Henry McCall Holmes Army of Tennessee Assistant Surgeon Florida Troops with Related Letters Documents, Etc.* (State College, Mississippi, 1968), 16 (Hereinafter cited as Holmes, *Diary of Henry McCall Holmes*); Hugh Black to Dear Wife, March 16, 1863, in Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 44.

<sup>22</sup>Holmes, *Diary of Henry McCall Holmes*, 16; Charles S. Herring to Dear mother & family, March 15, 1863, in Tucker, ed., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 92; *Supplement to the Official Records*, V: 312; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part II, 662.

<sup>23</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part II, 617.

everything, including worship. McDonell recorded that on one Sunday morning, as the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida slogged through water that was sometimes waist-deep, the troops came across General Hardee. The corps commander took pity on his soldiers and allowed them to take the day off. McDonell wrote the soldiers “could not resist the temptation to hollow” and the yell “echoed over hill and valley as they marched back to camp on double quick time.” William D. Rogers assured his father that “if old Rosy runs afoul of us here behind our breastworks which extends about ten miles he is certainly gone under.”<sup>24</sup>

Larry Daniel notes that at Tullahoma the Army of Tennessee “underwent a period of intensive refresher training and refinement of skills.” Private William D. Rogers wrote that his consolidated company was detailed as sharpshooters and “drill every day in Skirmish Drill. I like the drill very well but I don’t know whether I will like the mode of fighting.” Samuel Pasco, who returned from Florida with regimental absentees in February, wrote the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida held target practice during the winter hiatus. The officers, in addition to drilling their soldiers, in their spare time reviewed the various manuals. The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida’s Sergeant Major Roddie Shaw, who enlisted in that regiment in the fall of 1862, wrote that “day after day I sit under my fly . . . studying tactics . . . I have to study very hard to go through on Battalion drill, and should I ever be promoted I will have use for it in passing the proper examination.”<sup>25</sup>

The soldiers’s sweat and hard work on the drill field paid off on March 23 when General Breckinridge held a review of his division for Generals Hardee and Polk. Part of the ceremony included a contest to determine Breckinridge’s finest regiment. The 1<sup>st</sup> and

---

<sup>24</sup>Francis R. Nicks to Dear Mike, March 9, 1863. Francis R. Nicks Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Augustus O. McDonell Diary, February 23, 1863. Augustus O. McDonell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; William D. Rogers to Dear Papa and Mother, April 10, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL. See also April 14 and April 23, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 28-29.

<sup>25</sup>Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, 24; William D. Rogers to Dear Papa and Mother, April 10, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; April 18, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 28-29; Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, May 17, 1863. Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, ably led by Lt. Col. Edward Mashburn, represented Preston's Brigade and was defeated by the 18<sup>th</sup> Tennessee. The Volunteer State's soldiers flawlessly executed a bayonet charge and then all, including the Colonel's horse fell to the ground as if evading an enemy volley.<sup>26</sup>

When General William Preston's soldiers had any leisure time, the men found various activities to amuse themselves. Samuel Pasco who, as the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida's regimental clerk remained occupied with paperwork during the days, relaxed in the evenings by playing euchre with fellow officers. Many soldiers spent their days in the forests near camp hunting squirrel, rabbit, and other small game. Lt. Henry Wright enjoyed the yields of these excursions, remembering that his rations were supplemented by "Squirrel Gumbo." During the Tullahoma hiatus, the soldiers gained much enjoyment from games of town ball. William D. Rogers closed a letter to his parents by confessing he was stopping to "join the Boys in a game of Ball which has become a great amusement here." Roddie Shaw wrote that baseball fever also swept through his regiment, mentioning "while I write the Regt. is engaged in a game of town-ball one of our greatest sources of amusement."<sup>27</sup>

One pastime shared by the Floridians in both Middle and East Tennessee was the increased tendency to attend religious services. Not an isolated trend, revivals occurred in all of the Confederacy's armies that winter and spring. While this spiritual awakening had positive effects on the troops, there were those among the Florida regiments who failed to

---

<sup>26</sup>William D. Rogers to Dear Papa and Mother, April 17, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, 24.

<sup>27</sup>April 26, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Paso*, 30-31; Henry T. Wight to Dear Laura, May 9, 1863. Henry T. Wright Letters. FSU, Tallahassee, FL.; William D. Rogers to Dear Papa and Mother, April 17, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, May 17, 1863. Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL. For the popularity of sports, hunting, and card games in the Confederate Army, see Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 159-161.

see the need for divine guidance and redemption.<sup>28</sup>

Civil War historians seem to agree that the revivals of 1863 occurred due to the increased bloodletting of 1862 and the availability of religious literature to the soldiers. Bell Wiley claimed that the renewed Confederate interest in religion came because “the wearers in gray came from communities where the church was fervid, aggressive, and influential, and where revivals were common.” Another factor that contributed to these revivals was the missionaries that visited the armies during these months.<sup>29</sup>

Missionaries were necessary because, as Larry Daniel estimates, at the Middle Tennessee encampment “there were four or five brigades without a single chaplain, and the army barely averaged one per brigade.” This statistic did not include the Florida regiments at Tullahoma for chaplains served both the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida. In East Tennessee though, the soldiers would rely upon the traveling preachers as the chaplains of both the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Regiments’s chaplains resigned in April 1863. At Tullahoma, both Samuel Pasco and Washington Ives mentioned that their respective regimental chaplains, William J. Duval and Robert L. Wiggins, held Sunday services. By May, the Florida regiments’ revivalism was in full swing, with Michael Raysor writing “we have preaching every Sunday morning & evening and night & every night during the

---

<sup>28</sup>For more on the revivals in the Confederate armies, see Gorrell Clinton Prim, Jr., “Born Again In The Trenches: Revivalism In The Confederate Army” (unpublished PhD Dissertation, FSU, 1982); Drew Gilpin Faust, “Christian Soldiers: The Meaning of Revivalism in the Confederate Army,” *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Feb. 1987): 63-90; Steven E. Woodworth, *While God Is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2001); Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (1943. Reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000). For readings on the Army of Tennessee’s revivals, see Larry J. Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee: A Portrait of Life in a Confederate Army* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

<sup>29</sup>Faust, “Christian Soldiers: The Meaning of Revivalism in the Confederate Army,” 64; William A. Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival which prevailed in the Southern Armies during the late Civil War Between the States of the Federal Union* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remson, and Haffelfinger, 1877), 262, quoted in Prim, Jr., “Born Again In The Trenches,” 25; Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 160, 204; Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, 119.

week, they are three or four preachers & among them is Mr. Wiggins that was at the camp meeting in Jefferson County . . . The spirit of the Lord has come to our Regt at last & hope the work may continue.”<sup>30</sup>

The revival in the Department of East Tennessee began the spring as well, the inevitability of which might be gleaned from Lt. Hugh Black. The Gadsden County politician explained that at Strawberry Plains “we have a good opportunity for embracing religion, but there is few who avail themselves of this opportunity, there is three nice churches at this place and there is preaching in each of them . . . there is also an excellent singing society at this place and the soldiers are invited to attend. . . .” Once missionaries began arriving in the East Tennessee Valley encampments in May, revival began and continued until the Confederacy abandoned the region in August. Col. Robert Bullock decided at Knoxville he “heard two of the best sermons I ever heard in my life. The celebrated Dr. Stiles preached last night and it was truly grand. His eloquence exceeded anything I ever heard.” At Loudon in June, Lt. James Hays found comfort in the words of a “Missionary Baptist; the first one that I have heard since I left Florida, and it was given up by all hands that he as the best we have heard since we have been in service. He was from Virginia, and was traveling from one army to another.”<sup>31</sup>

While conversions during the revivals promised redemption on a personal level, Drew Gilpin Faust asserts that Confederate commanders believed religion would also provide

---

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 116; Washington M. Ives to Dear Pa, January 26, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; April 12, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 28; Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, May 17, 1863. Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL. In 1863, the Florida regiments’s chaplains were: William J. Duval of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida and Robert L. Wiggins of the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida. See Fred L. Robertson, compiler, *Soldiers of Florida* (Live Oak, 1903), 102, 120, 156, and 171. The 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> would both gain new chaplains during 1863 and these parsons would serve at least through the Atlanta Campaign.

<sup>31</sup>Hugh Black to Dear Wife, March 16, 1863, in Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 44; Robert Bullock to Amanda Bullock, May 23, 1863. Robert and Amanda Waterman Bullock Letters. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 160-161, 163; James Hays to Mrs S. A. Hays, June 17, 1863. UDC Typescripts, Vol. IV. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.



“significant assistance in the thorny problem of governing the frequently intractable Confederate troops.” As many 7<sup>th</sup> Florida soldiers joined the church during the summer, Colonel Bullock used the opportunity to expel vice from the regiment. Robert Watson, recently returned from Florida, related that an issued order stated “Any commissioned officer, non. com. officer, or private found drinking, gambling, or swearing, should be court martialed and punished severely, also that tomorrow was fast day, and that there would be preaching in the regiment.” The Key West resident, who did not participate in the church going, nevertheless looked upon the revivals as a blessing as “our boys will stand a better chance to get more [forage] for the psalm singing hypocrites will be afraid of being found out and being expelled from church. Our company has always been looked upon as hard cases, but I suppose we will be called the ungodly company now.”<sup>32</sup>

The 1863 revival provided several positives for the Confederates serving in the western theater. In the Army of Tennessee, coming after the failures in the Kentucky Campaign and at Murfreesboro, church services helped to rebuild the soldier’s morale. New found faith possibly assisted the Floridians in the Department of East Tennessee endure their time spent in the mountains. Religion also reinforced the troops’ comradeship, as “for many soldiers the companionship provided by these meetings afforded the soldiers a way to escape . . . frightening times.” A year later at Dalton, the troops would once again participate in revivals to heal the losses incurred later in 1863.<sup>33</sup>

## V

Before summer arrived, Davis’s Florida Brigade endured two pivotal changes and also squared-off against Federal troops. In May, two key officers tendered their resignations, thus reshaping the command structure of the Florida Brigade. One departure saw the loss of a thoughtful and resourceful officer; the other was hardly missed at all, as he had rarely been present with his troops.

---

<sup>32</sup>Faust, “Christian Soldiers,” 73; Woodworth, *While God is Marching On*, 218; Saturday, August 8, Thursday, August 20, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 65.

<sup>33</sup>Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 191; Prim, Jr., “Born Again In The Trenches,” 36.

Colonel Madison Starke Perry had actually commanded his regiment only a few weeks following the retreat from Kentucky. Claiming ill-health, the politician-turned-soldier departed Tennessee in November; soldiers like Captain McConnell wished “he may resign and stay there, as he is regarded by the whole Regt. as a nuisance.” Obviously the colonel had not endeared himself to his soldiers in Kentucky, probably worrying about his health more than that of his troops. On learning of Perry’s imminent return in April, Lt. Col. Bullock griped “before I go into another campaign with Col Perry, I will resign & come to Florida . . . I would make almost any sacrifice before I would serve under him.” Perry’s May resignation letter to General Samuel Cooper acknowledged a “physical inability to discharge the duties of the office. . . .”<sup>34</sup>

Colonel Perry admitted that “the great struggle in which we are engaged for the right of a free people to govern themselves will receive no detrement by my resignation being pretty well concieved that Ex Governor and Ex Congressmen make better politicians that soldiers.” Despite his poor record, Perry maintained supporters among the regiment, mainly Alachua County Democrats of whom he was chief. Casmero O. Bailey informed his father of the colonel’s decision, adding that “I am very sorry for it,” and quickly added “I do not like Col Bullock.”<sup>35</sup>

Despite the ill-feelings some soldiers maintained toward Robert Bullock, who was named colonel, most agreed that the regiment would greatly benefit if newly promoted Lt. Col. Tillman Ingram would resign as well. By 1863, Ingram, a former politician, had not developed into an effective military leader; he never would. After ascending to command the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida, Robert Bullock refused to take a furlough “for Col. Ingram is not fit to command at any time. . . .” Casmero Bailey, the staunch Madison Starke Perry defender agreed that Ingram could not stand before an officer examination board and earn his

---

<sup>34</sup>Samuel D. McConnell to My darling Wife, November 12, 1862. McConnell Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Madison Starke Perry to Gen. S. Cooper, May 1, 1863, in Madison Starke Perry CSR Reel # 79.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.; Casmero O. Bailey to Dear Father, May 9, 1863. Bailey Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

commission. Robert Watson would comment in December 1863 that Ingram “knew no more about tactics than my old grandmother.”<sup>36</sup>

With Perry’s resignation, the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida lost an often-absent and thus-ineffective officer; the regiment gained Robert Bullock, who had gained experience commanding the unit during Perry’s frequent absences. Though the new colonel had to deal with an impotent executive officer, Bullock instituted his brand of discipline on the regiment, a measure that Perry failed to provide. While unfair to comment on how Perry might have acted on the battlefield, for the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida’s soldiers’ sake it is sufficient to say that Bullock served ably under fire.

Brigadier General W. G. M. Davis, who for a short time commanded the Department of East Tennessee that spring, also claimed impaired health and quit the service the same week as Perry. Additionally, Davis explained to General Samuel Cooper he resigned because the war had caused the “entire neglect of my private affairs.” The general’s departure marked a significant loss to the Florida troops, as he had led his brigade capably for the past ten months. Not only did he demonstrate a knack for leadership at the brigade level, but his thoughts on the defense of East Tennessee during his tenure as commander, showed that the former-attorney put forth a truly concerted effort to study military tactics and strategy.<sup>37</sup>

With Davis’s leaving, command of his brigade passed to Colonel Robert C. Trigg. A Virginian, Trigg was a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute and when the war began, practiced law in Christianburg. Originally a captain in the 4<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry, Trigg had helped his brigade earn the moniker “Stonewall” at First Manassas. In the fall of 1861, Trigg became the 54<sup>th</sup> Virginia’s colonel, soon after overseeing the regiment’s

---

<sup>36</sup>Robert Bullock to My darling wife, November 1, 1863. Robert and Amanda Waterman Bullock Letters. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; Casmero O. Bailey to Dear Father, May 9, 1863. Bailey Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Thursday, December 3, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service on Land and Sea*, 90.

<sup>37</sup>W. G. M. Davis to Adjutant General Samuel Cooper, April 24, 1863. *CSR of Generals* Reel #73; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part II, 747; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 107.

organization. Following service in western Virginia, the regiment was ordered to East Tennessee and was eventually placed in Davis's Brigade. Trigg's admirers and superiors called the officer both a "strict disciplinarian" and an "energetic soldier."<sup>38</sup>

Colonel Trigg had command of his scattered brigade for a month before it faced the enemy for the first time on the field of battle. On June 14, Kentuckian William P. Sanders, a West Pointer and 5<sup>th</sup> Kentucky Cavalry, U.S., commander, set out with 1,500 troopers from Mount Vernon, Kentucky. The cavalry pointed their mounts southward toward the East Tennessee Valley. Sanders, hoping to emulate the December foray, had orders "to move up, destroying the road as much as possible, burning bridges, breaking up culverts, and destroying rolling stock." While the early winter raid was undertaken to merely harass the Confederates, Sanders' movement would preclude a Federal invasion of the area.<sup>39</sup>

After destroying the depot at Lenoir's Station, only twenty miles from Knoxville, Sanders' soldiers wrecked the railroad and telegraph lines between that point and the "metropolis of East Tennessee." As the Federals advanced to Knoxville along the north bank of the Tennessee River on the afternoon of June 19, two Confederate cavalry companies, dispatched by Trigg, met them several miles west of town and a hot skirmish ensued. Colonel Trigg used the time bought by this desperate delaying action wisely, allowing his force consisting of the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida and 54<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiments and various citizens and convalescing soldiers, to fortify the town's streets "with cotton bales" and he "positioned his artillery on hills behind the Dumb and Deaf Asylum on the north side of town and near Temperance Hall in East Knoxville." During this time, reinforcements arrived in the form of Colonel Finley's 6<sup>th</sup> Florida.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part II, 809. "Col. Robert C. Trigg, of Virginia," *Confederate Veteran*, 17 (1909): 65.

<sup>39</sup>Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 719-720; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part II, 431; McKenzie, *Lincolmites and Rebels*, 146.

<sup>40</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part I, 387, 392; Atlanta *Southern Confederacy*, July 3, 1863; June 20, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 59; McKenzie, *Lincolmites and*

Once the sun set, Sanders pushed several Kentucky companies forward toward the city to occupy the Confederates; while a hot skirmish ensued, Sanders shifted the remainder of his force to the north side of the city. The Union commander's Kentucky companies performed their diversion well, occupying Captain William E. June's 7<sup>th</sup> Florida company and convincing one Floridian that June's soldiers had "prevented a night attack, which they doubtless had in contemplation." More trickery occurred that night, when the Confederate artillery commander, disguised as a farmer, wandered into the Yankee lines and provided false information regarding the forces guarding the city.<sup>41</sup>

Daylight found the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida deployed on Temperance Hill, an eminence east of town, with their lines stretched north across the railroad. The 6<sup>th</sup> Florida was in line of battle on a hill also north of the city, ready for the threat which soon materialized. Sanders' troops "came up in solid columns on the north side of town and commenced firing at our Batteries . . . with cannon and Minnie rifles." 6<sup>th</sup> Florida soldier Benjamin Glover noted "We returned the fire with 6 cannons, the fight lasted about 3 or 4 hours."<sup>42</sup>

During the fight the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida soldiers, according to Hugh Black, "would yell as if playing a game of town ball instead of fighting a battle. When a ball would go to high they would holler at the Yankees to shoot lower and when it struck the hill below us the[y] would say to the Yankees they were shooting too low, and when a ball not come near they would cry out 'lost ball.'" The Federals finally found their aim and a solid shot killed Lt. Bert Snellgrove of the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida. Lt. James Hays also saw a Federal round kill three Confederate cannoneers, describing "I was but a short distance when three fell, all killed by the same ball, it cut two of them nearly in two. It took off both the other mans legs - it

---

*Rebels*, 146-147; Hugh Black to Dear Wife, June 24, 1863, in Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 54.

<sup>41</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part I, 387, 391-392; Atlanta *Southern Confederacy*, July 3, 1863; June 20, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 59.

<sup>42</sup>Hugh Black to Dear Wife, June 24, 1863, in Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 54; Benjamin Glover to Dear Betty, June 9, 1863. Benjamin R. Glover Letters. Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, AL. (Hereinafter cited as Glover Letters. ADAH, Montgomery, AL.).

was a bad looking sight.”<sup>43</sup>

Realizing the “farmer” had deceived him as to Knoxville’s strength, Sanders called off his attempt to seize the town after several hours of artillery fire. The Florida soldiers could feel proud of their accomplishment, for under Colonel Trigg’s direction and with the aid of well-placed artillery, they successfully defended Knoxville. This did not however mean that Sanders was finished; before he returned to Kentucky, Colonel Sanders’ soldiers burned both the Strawberry Plains and Mossy Creek bridges.<sup>44</sup>

## VI

Two weeks after Sanders’s East Tennessee Raid the campaign season in Tennessee began in earnest, Rosecrans’s Army of the Cumberland began a series of maneuvers meant to flank Bragg from his position at Tullahoma. By then, Breckinridge’s troops were no longer with Bragg’s army, having been dispatched to Mississippi to bolster declining Confederate fortunes there. The winter quarters at both Tullahoma and in East Tennessee bore fruit for both Florida brigades. The troops’ morale, due to the revivals and positive news from other fronts, surged; their drill and discipline improved, and the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida finally became involved in a fight, albeit only a skirmish. The six month hiatus (five for Breckinridge’s troops) provided a chance for the wounded and sick to return to the ranks, and in general allowed the soldiers a rest and prepare for whatever the last half of the year might bring.

---

<sup>43</sup>Hugh Black to Dear Wife, June 24, 1863, in Franco, compiler, *Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 54; James Hays to Mrs S. A. Hays, June 24, 1863. UDC Bound Typescripts, IV: 9-42. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>44</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part I, 388.

## CHAPTER XI

### **“This seems to be our darkest times”: May 26-July 15, 1863**

In 1863, as the eastern armies clashed at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, western forces of both nations dueled in Mississippi. The Confederates could not underestimate Vicksburg’s importance, for as long as the rebels held the river town, foodstuffs and other war material passed from Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas to the east bank of the Mississippi. Not only did the Federal forces wish to close this avenue of supply, but with the capture of Vicksburg and the down river stronghold of Port Hudson, the Mississippi would again be safely in Union hands along its entire length. When Grant’s forces began their offensive several miles south of the river town in mid-May, the Confederates rushed reinforcements from Tennessee to combat the offensive.

## II

The soldiers of Colonel William Scott Dilworth’s brigade spent May 23, 1863, striking their tents and preparing their equipment for a move. Rumors spread like a wildfire throughout their Fairfield, Tennessee, encampment, speculating as to the destination of their division. A visit by Major General John Breckinridge, the divisional commander, to the brigade’s headquarters that evening ignited further speculation. Though the ultimate destination remained a mystery, the men in the ranks learned that orders called for them to be at the Wartrace Depot the next morning by 7 a.m.<sup>1</sup>

General Braxton Bragg chose General John C. Breckinridge’s Division to reinforce the threatened Mississippi front, because of a rift that occurred between the two generals the previous winter. Army of Tennessee historian Thomas L. Connelly writes that Bragg “had been critical in October of Breckinridge’s failure to reach Kentucky in time to be of service.” Bragg’s campaign into the Bluegrass rested on the theory that pro-secessionist Kentuckians would take up arms and fill the ranks of his army. To do this, he relied on the native Kentuckians within his army, namely Brigadier General Simon Bolivar Buckner,

---

<sup>1</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIII, part II, 849; May 23, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 35.

to appeal to the pro-secessionist elements. Bragg had also hoped that the politician Breckinridge and his division, then serving in Louisiana, would be able to join him in the offensive. Breckinridge's force reached Knoxville by early October and was ready to advance into the Bluegrass in support of Bragg, when word arrived that Bragg was in retreat.<sup>2</sup>

Kentuckians failed to rally to the Confederate colors despite the pleas of Buckner and provisional Confederate Governor Richard Hawes, who was installed by Bragg into office with an elaborate ceremony in Frankfort. Without the popular support though, and after the defeat at the Battle of Perryville, Bragg was forced to withdraw from the Bluegrass State. By late October his demoralized, tired, and hungry forces was trudging through the rugged East Tennessee mountains, moving towards Knoxville. Bragg, not willing to admit that he was the reason for defeat, began finger pointing at the Kentuckians in his force, particularly Breckinridge.

The feud worsened following the Battle of Murfreesboro in late December and early January. Bragg bore the brunt of sharp criticism following his decision to retreat further into Middle Tennessee after the second day of battle. In another round of finger pointing, Bragg accused the Kentuckian of misconduct during the assault on January 2. Throughout the Spring while the Army of Tennessee was recuperated in camps around Tullahoma and Wartrace, the battle of words continued in the official battle reports. Samuel Pasco placed into words the thoughts felt by many soldiers on the matter, when on May 1 he noted "Gen'l Bragg's official Report of the Murfreesboro battle came out to-day; it is a tissue of misrepresentations against the good name of the noble Breckinridge and will create great indignation among the troops of this army who idolize Breckinridge." The conflict between the two did not calm until Bragg was asked to send reinforcements to Mississippi. Because there was no one whom he wished to be rid of more than Breckinridge, his May 23 orders banished the Kentuckian and his division from the Army

---

<sup>2</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 81; Stanley Horn, *The Army of Tennessee* (1941; Reprint, Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 189.



of Tennessee.<sup>3</sup>

Also reassigned from the Army of Tennessee during the Spring was the former commander of the Florida Brigade, Brigadier General William Preston. Like Breckinridge, Preston was a Kentucky politician who joined the Confederate Army. Following Murfreesboro, where he led his brigade admirably, he earned the ire of Braxton Bragg by siding with Breckinridge during the Spring feud. In late May, in another of Bragg's calculated moves to rid the Army of his "enemies," Preston was transferred to service in western Virginia. Following the removal of Preston, Colonel William Dilworth assumed temporary command of the brigade.<sup>4</sup>

### III

Though the brigade's four regiments were at the station before the appointed time, it was close to 3 p.m. before the train began steaming south. After a stop in Chattanooga to switch trains, the engines ran through Tunnel Hill on the northern most spur of Missionary Ridge, and then made the sharp turn southeast onto the Western and Atlantic Railroad which would carry Breckinridge's soldiers towards Atlanta. As the train steamed through the hills of north Georgia, many men began speculating correctly as to the ultimate destination. Samuel Pasco, who rode in the same car as Colonel Dilworth, wrote in his diary on May 25, "We then started towards Atlanta and now we all believe Mississippi to be the destination of our Division."<sup>5</sup>

The 1863 journey through Georgia reminded many veterans of their rail movement of the previous summer when they traveled to Chattanooga from either Mobile or Tupelo. As their trains moved through north Georgia in 1863, the soldiers of the Florida regiments were greeted by a familiar scenes. Pasco wrote, "We had a very lively time at Ringgold &

---

<sup>3</sup>May 1, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 31-32.

<sup>4</sup>Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 668. For more on the Preston-Breckinridge-Bragg feud, see Thomas L. Connelly's *Autumn of Glory*.

<sup>5</sup>May 25, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 36.

Dalton. Our band played finely and attracted a large crowd.”<sup>6</sup>

A day later Marietta was reached and Pasco recalled that evening, “Plenty of pretty ladies turned out; they were very desirous to see Breckinridge who is on our train and he appeared.” The trains arrived at Atlanta on May 26 and the soldiers had to move their equipment from the Western and Atlantic to the Atlanta and West Point. As the train picked up speed for its southbound run, and with black smoke spewing from its funnel, hospital steward Theodore Livingston stood on the platform and watched his brother Archie and other comrades from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida “standing on the Cars, with their Hats off and shouting all sorts of fashions.” Reaching West Point on the Chattahoochee River that night, the next day the train crossed the Alabama line. Pasco noted, “It rained this morning when we left and the men are terribly crowded inside the cars and on top for there is a scarcity of cars. The rain gradually cleared away and we had a charming day. . . .” What the soldiers saw in eastern Alabama was a land which had been untouched by the war, unlike the region they had left in Middle Tennessee. “The county is beautiful,” wrote Pasco, “the crops of corn and grain abundant and at every little station crowds of ladies came out to welcome us.”<sup>7</sup>

At Montgomery the force was split, with part being sent by river steamer to Selma, while the Floridians remained on the trains until reaching Mobile Bay. Having the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida travel the southern route may not have been such a good idea, as the tracks passed near some of the men’s homes. As the train rumbled through southern Alabama towns, many homesick soldiers jumped from the moving cars in an attempt to desert. Writing from Montgomery on May 29 during a pause in the journey, a soldier in Pasco’s Company H, 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida related to his wife, “I wrote you from wartrace Tenn that we were on the eve of moving to parts unknown but supposed that we were going to Mississippi

---

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., May 25-26, 1863.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 36-37. May 26-27, 1863; Theodore Livingston to My Dear Mother, May 26, 1863. Livingston/ Inglis Letters. MOC, Richmond, VA.

that supposition has turned out to be correct we are going in the vicinity of Vicksburg.”<sup>8</sup>

By May 29 when Samuel Palmer wrote to his wife of the destination of his regiment, the situation in Mississippi was rapidly falling apart. Only ten days earlier, Major General Ulysses S. Grant’s Army of the Tennessee had completed a 200-mile march ending before Vicksburg. After landing his forces twenty miles below Vicksburg, Grant’s troops marched to the state capital of Jackson, fifty miles inland from the river city, before turning west against their objective. By May 19, Grant’s army had covered the last fifty miles, and had, in the process, fought and defeated the Vicksburg garrison under the command of Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton, at Champion’s Hill, forcing it to retreat into the city. Having brought more than 30,000 men against the Vicksburg defenses, with nearly 30,000 reinforcements on the way, Grant immediately attempted two frontal assaults. The Union commander threw his forces against the entrenched Confederates on the day his army reached the city, and again three days later. Both were repulsed, with Grant’s veterans suffering over 1,500 casualties. “After the failure of the 22d,” wrote Grant in his official report, “I determined upon a regular siege.”<sup>9</sup>

As Grant’s army began digging into the loamy Mississippi soil to construct entrenchments and gun emplacements with the purpose of encircling Vicksburg, fifty miles to the east at Jackson, General Joseph E. Johnston was organizing a relief for the besieged city. However, by early June Johnston wrote of his army, “. . . this force (about 24,000 infantry and artillery, not one-third that of the enemy), it was deficient in artillery, in ammunition for all arms, and field transportation, and could not be moved upon that enemy (already intrenching his large force) with any hope of success.” Added to the difficulty Johnston faced in advancing against the Vicksburg siege lines with a numerically inferior force was the fact that “. . . Grant had positioned seven divisions behind the

---

<sup>8</sup>May 28, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 37; Samuel Palmer to My Dear Mary, May 29, 1863. Palmer Family Letters, 1856-1915, M87-36. Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>9</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIV, part I, 56. For an in-depth study on the campaign to seize Vicksburg, see Michael B. Ballard, *Vicksburg: The Campaign That Opened the Mississippi* (Chapel Hill, 2004).

Federal siege lines at Vicksburg, specifically to prevent relief of the city. . . .” Therefore, even after 5,000 reinforcements arrived in the form of Breckinridge’s division on the last day of May, Johnston remained idle at Jackson.<sup>10</sup>

On May 28 the van of Breckinridge’s division, including Colonel William Dilworth and at least part of his brigade, reached Mobile Bay. Here the soldiers were crowded onto a steamer for transport down the Alabama River and across the bay. On the western shore of Mobile Bay the soldiers re-embarked on trains which traveled along the Mobile and Ohio Rail Road as it wound northwestwards to Meridian, Mississippi. From Meridian less than a day was required for the trip to a location on the Southern Mississippi Rail Road five miles east of Jackson.

The trains could not approach the city itself because the bridges over Pearl River had been destroyed in early May when Grant’s army occupied the city. As equipment was unloaded from the cars and tents were pitched, rain began to fall. The climate prompted Private Michael O. Raysor to write home complaining of the Floridians’ situation: “This country is not as good as Tennessee I am sorry we left their [sic] but I can’t help it soldiers has to do what they are told to do.”<sup>11</sup>

On June 5, Brigadier General Marcellus A. Stovall, a newly-promoted brigadier from Georgia, whom General Bragg assigned to the brigade on May 25, arrived in Jackson and assumed command from Colonel Dilworth. Formerly the Colonel of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Georgia Infantry Battalion and a merchant in civilian life, the forty-five year old Stovall was a veteran of Murfreesboro. The following day, the brigade received reinforcements in the 47<sup>th</sup> Georgia Infantry.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., series I, volume XXIV, part I, 242; Benjamin R. Wynne, *A Hard Trip: A History of the 15<sup>th</sup> Mississippi* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2003), 107.

<sup>11</sup>Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, May 31, 1863. Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>12</sup>Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 810; June 5, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 39.

## IV

Throughout June, Breckinridge's division remained encamped on the outskirts of Jackson, with orders from General Joseph E. Johnston, commander of the Confederate Department of the West, to "establish lines of pickets on the various roads converging to Jackson . . . ." The Floridians were assigned to the area southwest of the town where, by the order of General Breckinridge, each regiment spent one day out of four on the picket line.<sup>13</sup>

As Spring ebbed, cannons from Grant's army and Federal gunboats shelled the Vicksburg defenses daily. From their encampments around Jackson, more than forty miles from the river city, the Floridians reported hearing the rumble of cannon fire from the siege lines. "We heard heavy firing in the direction of Vicksburg all last night and day until 10 o'clock," wrote William D. Rogers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida. Samuel Pasco, after a period of silence, wrote in his diary, "We are glad to hear the guns again this morning for it silences the groundless rumors of the fall of our stronghold."<sup>14</sup>

As the supplies of the Vicksburg garrison dwindled, Jefferson Davis renewed a feud with Joseph Johnston that began in the months following First Bull Run. Davis became exasperated as both he and the Confederate War Department constantly urged Johnston to move in support of the besieged city. Yet the general balked at each request from Richmond, pleading numerical inferiority to Grant's army. As a Vicksburg historian recently wrote, during the campaign Confederate "authorities sent what they could, but it

---

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.; *Official Records*, series I, volume XXIV, part III, 942; *Private Pasco*, June 5, 1863, 39; Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, June 25, 1863, Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>14</sup>June 5 and 7, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 39-40; Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, June 25, 1863, Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL. William L. Shea and Terrence J. Winschel, *Vicksburg Is the Key: The Struggle for the Mississippi River* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 156; William D. Rogers to Father and Mother, June 23, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

was never enough-Johnston needed more, more, more.”<sup>15</sup>

However, during the last half of June, Johnston attempted to vindicate himself with some form of action after receiving word from General Pemberton that “his provisions would enable him to hold out no later than July 10.” Maintaining belief in his commanding general, Private Michael Raysor told his wife that “Gen Johnson [sic] is not idle he will have Grant out of here before long.” Yet despite this eleventh hour attempt to relieve Vicksburg, the feud between the President and general turned particularly bitter and would remain a nuisance for the Confederates during the remainder of the war.<sup>16</sup>

Though official orders had not been issued, gossip circulated through the camps on the outskirts of Jackson that the army would soon move to relieve the Vicksburg garrison. Returning from furlough on June 21, William Rogers found the men of his company ready to move out. “I had to turn in my knapsack as soon as I got here,” Rogers wrote. He went on to note that the soldiers were traveling light, with only “an extra shirt a pr [pair] drawers a pr [pair] socks which we have to carry folded up in our Blankets. From that it looks like they intend us to do some heavy marching. . . .”<sup>17</sup>

The same day Samuel Pasco noted in his diary that “[d]rivers are called for the supply train which I suppose betokens an early departure.” But another week passed before orders arrived at brigade headquarters from Breckinridge, moving the brigade to Clinton. “The reveille disturbed our slumbers at 3 and we at once rose and loaded the waggons.

<sup>15</sup>Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee*, 217-218; Shea and Winschel, *Vicksburg Is the Key*, 168; Terrence J. Winschel, “A Tragedy of Errors: The Failure of the Confederate High Command in the Defense of Vicksburg” *North and South* 8, no. 7 (2006): 47. For two works on the Jefferson Davis-Joseph Johnston feud, which had a great impact on the Civil War in the western theater, see William C. Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (New York, 1991) and Craig L. Symonds, *Joseph E. Johnston: A Civil War Biography* (New York, 1992).

<sup>16</sup> Craig L. Symonds, *Joseph E. Johnston: A Civil War Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 215; Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, June 25, 1863, Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL; The feud between Johnston and Davis continued long after the war ended.

<sup>17</sup>William D. Rogers to Father and Mother, June 23, 1863. William D. Rogers Letters, 1862-1865. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.

We marched out into the road at day break but it was sunrise before Gen'l Stovall appeared to lead the brigade," wrote Samuel Pasco on July 1.<sup>18</sup>

Over the next few days, as the eastern armies clashed at Gettysburg, Johnston's columns experienced some of the harshest marching conditions they faced throughout the war as they moved to relieve Vicksburg. "The heat was intense, and the water was most execrable as well as scarce. I have never forgotten that experience. We had to drink the stuff that was absolutely alive with animal life, and sometimes we had to drink it when animals without any life were upon its surface," wrote Charles Hemming of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida.<sup>19</sup>

Michael Raysor wrote to his wife from Bolton Station, "Only two days coming here and the hottest days I ever felt a great many men fainted it was so hot and I heard that some died. But thank God I stood it first rate and am well and hearty." Pasco also wrote of the harsh conditions on the first day's march: "We had a terrible march; many dropped fainting by the roadside; three it is said died. I never felt such intense heat; water was scarce; the air was filled with thick clouds of dust and the General stopped but once on the march to rest and then only for a few minutes."<sup>20</sup>

By July 5, unaware that Vicksburg had capitulated the previous day, the Florida Brigade camped on the battlefield of Champion's Hill, one of the engagements which Grant's army won on its march to Vicksburg. Johnston spent the first few days of July "probing for a soft spot in the Union line, trying to find an opening, a way to break through to Pemberton with his four infantry divisions," and found that the 30,000 Union soldiers under the command of Major General William T. Sherman ". . . had fortified and barricaded every road in the area between Big Black Bridge and Snyder's Bluff, and were

---

<sup>18</sup>June 23 and July 1, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 42-43; *Official Records*, series I, volume XXIV, part I, 985.

<sup>19</sup>Hemming, "The War of 1861 And Its Causes." Charles C. Hemming Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>20</sup>Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, July 3, 1863, Raysor Family Correspondence. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; July 1, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 44.

prepared to hold these strongholds against double their numbers.” No attempt at a breakthrough would take place, as on the morning of July 6, orders came from Johnston for his divisions to countermarch east toward their starting position at Jackson.<sup>21</sup>

“There is no confirmation yet of the news of the fall of Vicksburg,” wrote Samuel Pasco on July 7, “but our movements evidently show that it is believed at Head Quarters.” The private further noted, “Waggons and vehicles of every description have filled the road since daybreak. Citizens are taking their families and servants to a place of security and all our army is falling back towards Jackson.” The army was indeed in retreat toward the capital on July 7, as “Johnston realized that General Grant, having eliminated Pemberton’s army, would turn upon his force.”<sup>22</sup>

Johnston speculated correctly as to Grant’s plans, for as the Confederates began their retreat on July 7, General Sherman had already launched his expedition towards the Mississippi capital. In fact, the city of Vicksburg had not been in Union possession twenty-four hours when Sherman’s force, numbering around 46,000 men, began the advance eastward from their lines around Vicksburg. Sherman’s veteran soldiers, like their Confederate counterparts, carried only the necessities of a campaign, which included their blankets, ammunition, and five days rations. Their swift marching would allow the Federals to reach the outskirts of Jackson on July 10, only three days behind Johnston’s men.<sup>23</sup>

The Florida Brigade arrived in Jackson during a rainstorm on the night of July 7. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida had an especially tiring day in the retreat, as it was delayed after being deployed to “picket duty on two roads while our trains were passing.” To make matters worse for the soldiers, they were without their tents, which meant a night spent under a steady rain.

---

<sup>21</sup>Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery: The Washington Artillery in the Army of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 107; Edwin C. Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1981), 55.

<sup>22</sup>July 7, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 45; Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863*, 63.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 57-58.



Pasco wrote of the night, “I was soon thoroughly chilled but exhausted by the fatigue of the march I fell into a sound sleep.”<sup>24</sup>

During the ensuing days, the men of Johnston’s army strengthened the line of fortifications constructed around Jackson before Grant’s advance through the town in May. Soldiers built embrasures of cotton bales and constructed rifle pits and breastworks along the length of Johnston’s semicircular-shaped line that enclosed the city. The Floridians worked equally hard on their portion of the fortifications, as Samuel Pasco wrote “the line of breastworks has been greatly extended by our Brigade during the day and our Regiment will have to work half the night on them.”<sup>25</sup>

## V

By July 10, when Sherman’s soldiers reached Jackson, they confronted a formidable Confederate line. North of Jackson Major General W. W. Loring’s division anchored the right flank on the Pearl River. To the left the line extended southwest, secured by William H. T. Walker’s division, whose left flank joined the division of Major General Samuel French. The entrenchments of French’s division ran almost due south, and Breckinridge’s troops covered the southern line of fortifications. The former Vice President’s left flank rested on Pearl River. The Florida brigade held the center of Breckinridge’s line, flanked on the right by Cobb’s battery and the left by the Tennessee battery.<sup>26</sup>

On July 10, as the Union force approached Jackson, Companies C and H of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida were detached to picket duty in front of the Confederate lines. The day turned out to be memorable, not because of the arrival of the Union army, but because of the find made by members of the picket line. Pasco wrote in his diary that evening:

. . . a lot of tobacco was found deserted about a half mile to the front and rather the Federals should enjoy it our men overhauled it all and carried away a good deal. Some private property left there to be sent off on the train which did not come in from Brookhaven yesterday.

---

<sup>24</sup>July 7, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 45.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, July 9, 1863, 46.

<sup>26</sup>Hughes, Jr., *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery*, 108.

Nearly everything was taken off or destroyed to prevent the Federals from getting it.

Herrmann Hirsch, a member of Pasco's Company H, wrote in a letter to an acquaintance in Mobile that at the depot there was also an abundance of "flour, Sugar, Bacon, Rice, Peas, & Salt & everybody made full use of it." However, the good fortune for the soldiers from Florida did not end with the raid on the depot. Later that evening, as Pasco wrote in his journal:

Cavalry were driving some beeves by our line and a refractory bull refusing to go with the common herd was shot down and turned over to the skirmishers. [Brigadier General Daniel] Adams' men and ours stripped off the flesh quicker than a lot of hungry buzzards could have done and beef in all forms was soon very abundant; steak, heart, liver, kidney, broiled, toasted, fried, and barbecued.<sup>27</sup>

Charles Hemming, then recovered from his Perryville wound, had quite a different experience on picket duty in front of the Confederate entrenchments. Years later, when writing his memoirs, he recalled that:

One day, before the pickets' lines had been drawn so close together, the boys told about a spring that they had found between the lines, and several of us went out to fill our canteens. The path we pursued was narrow and winding. Lo and behold, as we emerged from the brush to the opening where the spring lay, we ran across several Federal soldiers who were there for the same purpose. None of us had any arms, nor was the greeting between us unkind. We chatted a little, filled our canteens, and went back to our respective commands.

In another instance, the veteran recollected that "I was out on the picket line with some of the boys one night, and the pickets of the Union army were so close that we could hear them . . . pulling corn in a small field that intervened between us."<sup>28</sup>

By July 11 General Sherman had succeeded in positioning his force around Jackson's fortifications. Major General John Parke's IX Corps lay north of the city while

---

<sup>27</sup>July 10, 1863 in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 46-47; Michael B. Dougan, "Herrmann Hirsch and the Siege of Jackson," *Journal of Mississippi History* 53, no. 3 (1991): 25.

<sup>28</sup>Hemming "The War Of 1861 And Its Causes," 60, 62. Charles C. Hemming Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

Major General Frederick Steele, commanding Sherman's old XV Corps, moved against the line held by Walker's Confederates. Major General Edward O. C. Ord's XIII Corps, which had been reinforced by several divisions of the XVI Corps, was positioned on the southern flank of Sherman's advance. The previous day Sherman had ordered his army to "gain ground to the front whenever they can do so without too great a sacrifice of life. . . ." After intensive skirmishing on July 11, as the Federal commanders attempted to carry out Sherman's orders, he called for an extensive bombardment of Jackson beginning at 7 a.m. the following morning. "Each gun," Sherman dictated, "will fire not to exceed thirty rounds, shot and shell in proper proportions. The shots will be directed against any groups of the enemy's troops, or in direction of the town of Jackson. . . ."<sup>29</sup>

Dawn of July 12 once again found Companies C and H of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida deploying on the picket line, relieving Companies A and F. "I got a position on the extreme left of the Company," wrote Pasco, "and took my post in a fence corner with the rails thrown down at either end." As Pasco went on to write, a Union battery, acting on Sherman's orders to fire into the Confederate lines, "took its position in a field beyond us and soon opened a destructive fire . . . Adams' pickets fell back and soon after we had to follow. The shot and shell fell in all directions ploughing up dirt in front of us and on either side as we retreated."<sup>30</sup>

Hermann Hirsch, who was on picket duty with Pasco, remembered in a letter written two weeks later that as the skirmishers fell back, "one of my Companie was struck by a cannon ball in the hip & his side got badly shattered. . . ." In the excitement and rush to reach their own lines, none of eighteen-year-old Thomas Linton Pettus's comrades had time to provide aid to the mortally wounded soldier.<sup>31</sup>

Charles Hemming recalled of the bombardment, "Their batteries were posted in such a way as to rake the lines where our pickets were established, and, like all soldiers,

---

<sup>29</sup>*Official Records*, series I, volume XXIV, part III, 496, 502-503.

<sup>30</sup>July 12, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, July 12, 1863, 47.

<sup>31</sup>Dougan, "Herrmann Hirsch and the Siege of Jackson," 19.

we took the best shelter we could get. I was behind a little standing oak tree that did not measure more than three inches in diameter.” Soon, the barrage slackened and Pasco recalled the skirmishers were dispatched 200 yards from the main lines, and it was here they received the attack of a Federal brigade.<sup>32</sup>

Colonel Issac Pugh was a veteran of the western campaign, with more than two years service behind him in July 1863. Pugh’s brigade, which was a part of Jacob G. Lauman’s Division, XVI Corps, consisted of four, veteran Midwestern regiments: the 41<sup>st</sup> and 53<sup>rd</sup> Illinois, 3<sup>rd</sup> Iowa, and 33<sup>rd</sup> Wisconsin. The brigade was reinforced that day with the addition of the 28<sup>th</sup> Illinois.<sup>33</sup>

The previous day Pugh’s divisional commander, Brigadier General Jacob Lauman, had been ordered by General Ord to move toward the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Rail Road tracks just south of Jackson in order to conduct a reconnaissance. General Ord instructed Lauman to “make a reconnaissance, and, if it is necessary to form a line and attack to drive the force in front, do so. . . .” No mention was given in the order of an attack on the Confederate main line. Lauman was an able commander who had served with Grant’s army since Belmont, but for some reason on the morning of Sunday, July 12, he superseded his written orders and commanded Pugh’s brigade to make an advance against the Confederate entrenchments.<sup>34</sup>

Following an advance through the cornfield in which Charles Hemming had heard Union soldiers picking ears, and then past the downed fence that had been the position of Pasco’s skirmish line, Pugh ordered a halt to his brigade’s movement.<sup>35</sup> In his own words,

---

<sup>32</sup>Hemming, “The War Of 1861 And Its Causes,” 61. Charles C. Hemming Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; July 12, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 47.

<sup>33</sup>Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 674; Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863*, 84-85; *Official Records*, Series I, volume XXIV, part II, 604.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, and part III, 503-504.; Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 472. For more on the activities of Jacob Lauman and Issac Pugh during the war see Steven E. Woodworth, *Nothing But Glory: The Army of the Tennessee, 1861-1865* (New York, 2005).

<sup>35</sup>*Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXIV, Part II, 603-604.

“I did not like the appearance of the field, and I did not intend to advance farther without orders.” The Colonel called for his superior to come and view the situation first hand. Lauman surveyed the field, then promptly ordered for Pugh to continue towards the enemy’s fortifications.<sup>36</sup>

As Pugh’s regiments advanced, the eighteen cannons of Breckinridge’s division and rifles of Dan Adams’s brigade began firing at the Federals. Benton Ellis, a member of 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, Company C, recalled the awful scene that followed: “They advanced by platoons, and when well into the old field, our artillery opened up on them - I think it was Cobb’s battery . . . I never saw such slaughter as our guns made, - they were nearly all killed, captured or wounded. I never saw so many dead men in all my life.” The description Charles Hemming gave matched that of Ellis when describing the devastation: “When the line opened and the battery turned loose, hundreds were mowed down like grass before a scythe.” Rinaldo Pugh, the Federal brigade commander’s son, wrote home days later, “it was the most terrible fire that man was ever sent into, It is a miracle that any of us got off of that bloody field alive.”<sup>37</sup>

While the artillery accounted for most of the Union casualties that day, the skirmishers of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida in advance of the fortifications played a role in the victory. According to Samuel Pasco, the skirmishers “threw out our left to flank them.” Perpendicular to the Union advance, the Rebels “began firing . . . and kept it up until we had them opposite to us, but they paid no attention to the Pickets’ firing, but continued the charge towards our main line and artillery.” The Union troops advanced that afternoon to a point within 120 yards of the Confederate line. There the men in blue were finally halted by the blasts of double canister which exploded in their faces from the cannon of Breckinridge’s division. Unable to take anymore, the survivors of the useless

---

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 604

<sup>37</sup>Ellis, Sr., “Short Record of Thomas Benton Ellis, Sr.,” 6. FSL, Tallahassee, FL; Hemming, “The War Of 1861 And Its Causes,” 63. Charles C. Hemming Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL; Rinaldo Pugh to My dear Mother, July 26, 1863. Isaac Pugh Papers (mss. 104). Special Collections, University of California, Riverside. Riverside, CA.

attack began a pell-mell retreat to the rear. It was at this time the Floridians gained the honor for their battle flags.<sup>38</sup>

“We cut them off and captured a good many,” wrote Samuel Pasco of the pursuit of the enemy by the skirmishers of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida. “Our company was much complimented for its conduct,” the former schoolteacher noted. A part of the Florida Brigade, led by Major Rice Graves, Breckinridge’s Chief of Artillery, advanced with soldiers from the trenches to provide the hammer to the skirmishers’ anvil, enabling the Florida Brigade to capture a great number of prisoners. As the retreat began, Charles Hemming gave this description of the scene that transpired:

Then the order was given to charge, and we leaped across the breastworks in the face of the advancing column, just in front of our regiment. Capt. Saxon, the commander of our sharpshooters, was the first to cross the trenches. All the boys were moving quickly to the front, and in a few minutes, when we got to where the Federals were, they threw down their guns, and we took in three battle flags and a hundred and fifty prisoners within the space of fifteen minutes. As they would fall and throw down their guns they would cry out, “Do not hurt me!” But we did not hurt prisoners; that was not the kind of war we waged.

Benton Ellis noted that many Rebels seized trophies other than battle flags from Union prisoners, as “soldiers at once began to appropriate their guns knapsacks and Haversacks and also their pocketbooks, and as much as they wanted.” Ellis went on to write “I exchanged my old Enfield for a new one, took a rubber blanket and a fine new hat - that was all I wanted. The Haversacks were filled with good rations, and when we got to Camp, we made good sure enough cough [coffee], and with the hard tack and ham, we had a fine dinner.”<sup>39</sup>

## VI

---

<sup>38</sup>July 12, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 47; Ellis, Sr., “Short Record of Thomas Benton Ellis, Sr.,” 6. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Hughes, Jr., *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery*, 114-115.

<sup>39</sup>July 12, 1863, in Pasco, *Pasco Diary*, 47; Hemming, “The War Of 1861 And Its Causes,” 63. Charles C. Hemming Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL; Ellis, Sr., “Short Record of Thomas Benton Ellis, Sr.,” 6-7. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

As the sun set that evening, Union commanders tallied their official casualties at 510 out of the 880 soldiers who had made the attack. These losses included 67 killed, 294 wounded, and 149 captured. Besides these losses, the Florida Brigade captured the colors of the “28<sup>th</sup>, 41<sup>st</sup>, and 53<sup>rd</sup> Illinois’ Regiments.” These prizes, described by the Richmond *Dispatch* as bearing the “spread eagle bird on a blue field, with the regimental inscription in gold,” were sent directly to Joseph E. Johnston’s headquarters, and the commanding general penned the following reply to General Breckinridge:

Do me the kindness, also, to express to the First and Third Florida, Forty-seventh Georgia, and Fourth Florida Regiments the pride and pleasure with which I have accepted the splendid trophies they have presented me. Assure them that I equally appreciate the soldierly courage and kindly feelings to myself which have gained me these noble compliments.<sup>40</sup>

For his part in the fiasco, Jacob Lauman was immediately removed from command by General Sherman. Casualties in Breckinridge’s force that day were small, and numbered exactly fifty during the seven day siege. Yet one of these, Tom Pettus, lay somewhere between the lines, unable, in his wounded condition, to move. That night, Pettus’s condition remained at the forefront of Pasco’s thoughts, for Pettus was one of the former students under his charge.<sup>41</sup>

Samuel Pasco, writing of the episode in 1909, remembered that throughout the night, “the wounded men between the lines begged piteously for water and a number of the Union soldiers were, at great risk, relieved and brought into our lines.” The next morning, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida prepared to send out a small party to give water to the wounded. Writing in his diary, Pasco said he “felt convinced that Tom Pettus was still in the woods and

---

<sup>40</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIV, part II, 547, 604, and part III, 1001; Richmond *Daily Dispatch*, July 25, 1863; Bearss, *The Siege of Jackson, July 10-17, 1863*, 87.

<sup>41</sup>*Official Records*., series I, vol. XXIV, part II, 654 and part III, 506; Clarence W. Smith, “Private Pasco,” *Private Pasco*, 184. Reprinted from Ben LaBree, ed. *Camp Fires of the Confederacy*. “A volume of Humerous Anecdotes, Reminiscences, Deeds of Heroism, Etc.,” (Louisville: Courier Journal Printing Company, 1898) 199-202.

asked . . . permission to go with the party.”<sup>42</sup>

Permission was granted and Pasco joined the relief detail, which included some of Pettus’s classmates from the Waukeena Academy. The picket line advanced to provide cover for the group and, as Pasco noted in his diary, “the Yankees fired at us but we kept cautiously along. Several of their wounded were there and we supplied them with water as we advanced.” Pasco’s 1909 account recalled that an Illinois soldier whom the 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida men provided with water “called to his comrades not to fire at these men for they were helping the wounded.”<sup>43</sup>

Apparently the firing ceased, and the detail continued their mission of mercy. As they approached the fence which had marked the previous day’s skirmish line, Pettus was found. Clarence William Smith, a member of Company H, also penned an account of the rescue. Upon reaching Pettus, Smith wrote the wounded man, “recognized his comrades and begged for help and water.” Smith wrote that Pettus was carried by Pasco and two members of Company C and moved “towards our line, the bearers not stopping until a skirt of woods, near by, was reached.” There the wounded man was placed onto a blanket and carried into the Confederate lines. Despite the valiant effort by his comrades, Pettus’s “condition was hopeless, and, though he received the best care and attention that was possible under the circumstances, he lingered till the next day and died . . . .”<sup>44</sup>

On July 14, the smell arising from the Federal corpses in front of the Florida Brigade’s lines, following two days under the hot, July sun, had become unbearable. General Breckinridge wrote to General Johnston, pleading, “The enemy’s dead in front of my position are becoming quite offensive, and I cannot have them buried because of their skirmishers firing on my burial parties. They have even fired on my litter-bearers while

---

<sup>42</sup>Samuel Pasco, “Untitled Handwritten Manuscript, 1909.” United Daughters of the Confederacy Scrapbooks, 1900 - 1935, Vol. I. FSA, Tallahassee, FL. (Hereinafter cited as Pasco, “Untitled Handwritten Manuscript, 1909”); July 13, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 48.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*; “Pasco, “Untitled Handwritten Manuscript, 1909.”

<sup>44</sup>Smith, “Private Pasco,” in *Private Pasco*, 185; Pasco, “Untitled Handwritten Manuscript, 1909.”



their own wounded were being brought in.” That afternoon a truce was put into place to allow for the burial of the bodies. During the short respite, Pasco noted that at 4 p.m.:

the bugle was sounded and the brief period of peace was ended, and after a sufficient time had elapsed for all to get within the lines, blank discharges from artillery announced that we might go on with the work of destruction once more and the snapping of musketry along the lines recommenced very soon. Sixty three were buried by our Brigade.<sup>45</sup>

Two days later, on the night of July 16, 1863, General Johnston evacuated the Mississippi capital. Pasco wrote that “The Bridge was ready to be burned as soon as all the troops could cross and ours was the last Brigade . . . Shells were laid by the road side & guards placed to keep us off them, large piles of cotton were burning and we were leaving ruins behind us.” The Florida Brigade and Breckinridge’s division reached Morton, Mississippi four days later, where it remained encamped until August 26.<sup>46</sup>

## VII

For the soldiers of the Florida Brigade and Breckinridge’s division, their mission to Mississippi had been a failure. The Confederacy no longer controlled the Mississippi River and Ulysses S. Grant’s army captured more than 30,000 soldiers and vast numbers of weapons on July 4. Less than two weeks later, William T. Sherman forced Joseph E. Johnston’s army from Jackson, and captured the Mississippi capital for a second and final time. Coupled with the repulse of Robert E. Lee’s army at Gettysburg, Vicksburg’s fall marked the beginning of the end for the Confederacy.

Encamped at Morton on July 22, Michael Raysor, wrote, “Times look gloomy but I hope they will brighten before long this seems to be our darkest times.” Indeed, the brief triumph the Floridians experienced at Jackson, were but a fleeting instant in a long, period of defeat. Nonetheless, the battle of July 12 was the Florida Brigade’s finest hour. On that afternoon they fought like the hardened veterans they had become and assisted in

---

<sup>45</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIV, part III, 1002; July 14, 1863, in Pasco, *Pasco Diary*, 48-49.

<sup>46</sup>July 16 and August 26, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 49, 57.

blunting a Union assault on their lines. In the process, they captured 149 prisoners and 3 battle flags.<sup>47</sup>

Their victory was set against a backdrop of defeat, and yet still an even brighter moment than their success on the battlefield came during their stay in Mississippi. The scene was not unique and repeated time and time again, on numerous Civil War battlefields. At Jackson it occurred when Samuel Pasco, leading a group of his former students, rescued one of their badly wounded classmates from suffering beneath the hot sun.

For 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Lieutenant Colonel Edward Badger, the siege proved beneficial personally as well. While visiting the city in June, a fellow officer introduced the young lawyer to *his* sister; a whirlwind courtship followed with Miss Matilda Leavel becoming Badger's finance soon after. The two married in March 1864.<sup>48</sup>

The Floridians were at their zenith in the summer of 1863. Their regiments were, for the most part, still large in number, and could perform effectively on the battlefield. However, the summer and the disease that accompanied it would take its toll, and at Chickamauga, fought in mid-September, the three regiments would field a total of only five hundred men. The regimental banners though would soon bear the word "Jackson." A simple reminder of a small triumph won during a period of defeat, on a hot, Mississippi afternoon.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup>Michael O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, July 22, 1863, Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>48</sup>Mrs. Edward Badger to Judge Ives, March 28, 1906. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>49</sup>Howard Michael Madaus and Robert D. Needham, illus. "The Battle Flags of the Confederate Army of Tennessee" (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1976) 120. Compliments of Bruce Graetz, Curator and Historian, Florida Museum of History, Tallahassee. The flag of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, Consolidated, is in possession of The Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, VA.

**CHAPTER XII**  
**“Napoleon’s ‘Old Guard’ never fought harder”:**  
**July 16 - September 21, 1863**

During the first week of the summer of 1863, one that proved invaluable to the Federal war effort, the Army of the Cumberland, in a series of brilliant maneuvers swept Braxton Bragg’s force from its Tullahoma encampment in Middle Tennessee. Rosecrans followed this campaign several weeks later with another movement designed to flank the Confederates out of Chattanooga. This campaign ended along the banks of Chickamauga Creek in northern Georgia, and resulted in both Florida Brigades being attached to Bragg’s Army of Tennessee. General Marcellus Stovall’s unit steamed back to Tennessee via rail and Colonel Robert C. Trigg’s Brigade, along with the Army of East Tennessee, abandoned its namesake region to join forces with Bragg.

These men would, during the last days of a disastrous summer engage in one of the most ferocious and confusing battles of the war. For the Floridians, some became heroes, some became veterans, and many fell as casualties. None who fought there would forget the carnage that was Chickamauga.

**II**

Nearly two weeks after Rosecrans’s Tullahoma Campaign ended successfully and Grant’s force captured Vicksburg, Joseph E. Johnston’s position at Jackson was growing precarious. The general reported to Jefferson Davis that on July 17, “Sherman . . . would concentrate upon us the fire of nearly two hundred guns. It was also reported that the enemy had crossed Pearl River in rear of their right flank.” Therefore on July 16, 1863, General Joseph E. Johnston informed his subordinates that “in the opinion of the commanding general, the safety of this army renders necessary retrograde movement, . . .”<sup>1</sup>

That night, Johnston’s tired army evacuated Jackson; the soldiers shuffled eastward, their faces illuminated by pyres of cotton bales and munitions, set afire to prevent them

---

<sup>1</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIV, part I, 208 and 246; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 147.

from falling into Yankee hands. The soldiers also passed engineers who worked deploying torpedoes meant to delay any Yankee pursuit. The Department of the West's troops' initial destination was Brandon, only ten miles from their former position; from there, Johnston informed Jefferson Davis that he intended "to hold as much of the country as I can, and to retire farther only when compelled to do so."<sup>2</sup>

Remaining at Brandon only a few days, General Johnston finally halted his withdrawal near Morton, a Southern Mississippi Railroad town that consisting of "half dilapidated and deserted stores" and "pretty little houses," located in central Mississippi. General Sherman, "due to the intense heat, dust, and fatigue of the men," resolved not to follow the rebels in force, and dispatched only a single division to continue the pursuit to Brandon. Sherman decided instead, to use the bulk of his troops to insure "Jackson is destroyed as a military point." During the last two weeks of July, while the Yankees worked to devastate the railroads about the capital and demolish anything of value to the Confederates, the Army of the West pitched their tents near Hurricane Creek.<sup>3</sup>

The Floridians spent one month of their three-month, Mississippi exile, encamped at "Camp Hurricane." Washington Ives favorably compared their central Mississippi campsite to Florida, describing the landscape as "covered with growth of pine and black jack, very little grass growing in the intervals between the trees" and "with the surface generally rolling. . . ." The pleasant scenery was only one of the benefits that the soldiers found in their new bivouac. Samuel Pasco wrote in his diary that Stovall's Brigade "now have very fine water and the hill we are on gives us a fine breeze though there is very little

---

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., part III, 1008; Thursday, July 16, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 49. Thomas Connelly writes that Johnston took up this position so as to block Federal incursions into the important food-producing and industrial area of central Alabama.

<sup>3</sup>Thursday, July 23, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 51; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIV, part II, 528-530. Washington Ives claims the location of Camp Hurricane as being south of Morton. However, Samuel Pasco's description and the actual position of Hurricane Creek places the encampment between Morton and Canton.

shade.”<sup>4</sup>

The Floridians’s morale, due to their successful performance at Jackson remained high, despite the fact that they wore ragged clothes and subsisted on the same poor fare as at Tullahoma. Washington Ives criticized the pound of beef and cornbread the soldiers received as their daily ration as being “barely enough to sustain life,” and suggested “if the sugar and Molasses which was burnt at Murfreesboro and Jackson had been issued to the men, we would have some now.” Like the area around Tullahoma, the farms near Morton offered little relief. An officer serving in the 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina described the region as “poor and thinly settled but few of the people have provisions enough for their families, and so of course, it is a bad chance for a soldier to do any foraging.” In addition to the deficiency of sustenance, the hard campaigning had taken a toll on the soldiers’ clothing, turning their garments into rags. Washington Ives wrote that in his regiment, the men “with few ecceptions [sic] had not changed their clothes in (7) seven weeks,” and “large numbers . . . are barefoot.”<sup>5</sup>

What might have further raised the troops spirits instead garnered mixed reactions from the soldiers. On July 23, General Johnston announced a number of furloughs for his army’s soldiers; this system included a two-week leave granted to one of every twenty-five men in each regiment, and one for every two company grade officers. Samuel Pasco reported days after the proclamation “everybody is pleased and desirous of having the first chance.” Washington Ives on the other hand vented that “about as many officers got furloughed as privates, notwithstanding the hardships and privations the Privates have to endure.” He added that “great dissatisfaction prevail among them, not so much . . . from our late reverses as . . . the treatment theyve recd from their officers and the Confederate

---

<sup>4</sup>Washington M. Ives, Jr., August 1, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Tuesday, July 28, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 53.

<sup>5</sup>Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Father, August 1, 1863, and to Dear M, August 8, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Thomas W. Patton to My Dear Mother, July 29, 1863, in Christopher M. Watford, ed., *The Civil War in North Carolina: Soldiers’ and Civilians’ Letters and Diaries, 1861-1865. Volume 2: The Mountains* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2003), 117.

Governemnt.” Michael Raysor conceded to his wife that he had hoped to gain leave, “but trying is all in vain.” Raysor mentioned that too few men gained furloughs to have a positive effect.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the small number of furloughs, and combined with Mississippi heat and frequent cloud bursts that threatened to sap the Floridians’ morale, Washington Ives explained that his comrades would “turn misfortunes into merriment and can laugh as heartily and pass as good a joke as any set of mortals on earth, and indeed some live for no other purpose that to keep the rest lively and in good spirits.” Ives told of a Kentuckian who, as Colonel Wylde L. L. Bowen attempted to conduct a dress parade, yelled his own set of commands confusing members of the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida and infuriating the young colonel. Samuel Pasco described that while the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida was not busy performing their duties, the men worked “building a long shelter for each Company which will keep off the sun and slight showers of rain and add very greatly to the comforts of the men and appearance of the camp.”<sup>7</sup>

For the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, a morale boost might have come from an unlikely source: politics. Colonel William Dilworth, after being approached regarding campaigning for a seat in the Confederate Congress, declined. Dilworth, probably understood the anger in the ranks toward the partial furlough system, which gave more officers an opportunity to travel home than the enlisted men. His publicly printed letter was, no doubt, to provide a balm to the injured feelings of the private soldier. Dilworth proclaimed in his written response that “no position of honor, profit, or ease, shall call me away from the post of duty.”<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXIV, part II, 1027-1028; Sunday, July 26, 1863, in *Pasco*, 52; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear M, August 8, 1863, and to Dear Sisters, August 11, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; M. O. Raysor to My Dear Wife, August 19, 1863. Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>7</sup>Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Mother, August 12, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Saturday, August 22, 1863, in *Pasco*, *Private Pasco*, 56.

<sup>8</sup>*Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, September 8, 1863.

As the soldiers' neared completion of their shelters, the soldiers' diets also gained diversity as the farmers of central Mississippi began harvesting their crops; Samuel Pasco wrote "the country people are beginning to bring in wagon loads of produce to sell the soldiers." These peddlers, seeking to benefit from the soldiers encamped near their farms, asked extremely high prices for their foodstuffs. To counter this profiteering, General Johnston recommended General Breckinridge "send out details from each regiment, with one or two wagons, into the country around where you may be enabled to purchase vegetables and luxuries at reasonable prices." These expeditions returned, Samuel Pasco observed, with "a pretty good supply." Washington Ives, at this same time, commented "We now draw a lb. of flour per man per week . . . if salt was not so scarce, we would live well."<sup>9</sup>

### III

On August 16, 1863, the Army of the Cumberland, which had lain idle six weeks following its successful Tullahoma Campaign, moved yet again. Characteristically deploying his corps so as to confuse and mislead his enemy, Rosecrans's force deployed on a wide front north of the Tennessee River; while XXI Corps occupied Bragg's attention by threatening juncture with a Federal force descending into East Tennessee, XIV and XX Corps marched to Bridgeport from whence they would sweep into northwestern Georgia. The objective was to maneuver Bragg out of Chattanooga which was accomplished by September 8; Confederate "deserters . . . told of utter demoralization within the ranks of the Army of Tennessee." Rosecrans, prepared to take advantage of Bragg's misfortune launched his army into the mountainous terrain of North Georgia intending to cut the Army of Tennessee's line of retreat.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., Monday, August 24, 1863, 57; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part IV, 507; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Father, August 19, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>10</sup>Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 287-288, 290-291; Steven E. Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee: The Chickamauga and Chattanooga Campaigns* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska

To the Floridians chagrin, Rosecrans's advance coincided with the introduction of fresh vegetables to their diet. Within days of the Federal movement, Braxton Bragg telegraphed Joseph E. Johnston requesting reinforcements. Johnston agreed to send 9,000 troops, albeit with an understanding that they were "a loan to be promptly returned." On August 26, General Breckinridge's Division received orders to report to Bragg as part of this relief force; after a miserable, though semi-successful sojourn in the Magnolia State, the Floridians were going home to the Army of Tennessee. While in Mississippi they had learned of William Tecumseh Sherman's tenacity and Joseph E. Johnston's cautious tendencies; they would encounter both men and their habits again.<sup>11</sup>

For the third time during the war, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments embarked upon railroad cars, this time at Morton on August 27, to travel to a threatened front. Numerous engines and cars were assembled for the transport and Samuel Pasco wrote "the men were crowded on different trains just as room could be found." Washington Ives's railroad woes continued on the journey, for not long after leaving Morton "something became the matter with the Engine and she cut loosed and left us in the road until 2 O'clock P.M. on the 27<sup>th</sup> when another Engine came and pulled us to Meridian, . . ." Ives also soberly commented that on the trek from Meridian "the 1<sup>st</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> came on one train with all their baggage and 49 horses and the brigade commissary to Mobile, and yet when we left Florida one engine could scarcely pull the 4<sup>th</sup> alone." Perhaps this not only represented the attrition that had whittled away at each regiment, but also symbolized the war's fusing together of men from Florida's different regions. The regiments followed their old route though Mobile, Montgomery, Atlanta, and finally

---

Press, 1998), 53-54, 62. For the Confederate's botched reaction to Rosecrans's offensive, see Chapter 8 in Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*.

<sup>11</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part IV, 529, 541, 547; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 149.



arrived at Chickamauga Station on September 1.<sup>12</sup>

Braxton Bragg also garnered reinforcements for his army from East Tennessee. More than a month before the Battle of Chickamauga the department entrusted to defend that region, commanded by Major General Simon B. Buckner, had become the Army of Tennessee's III Corps. Once before that summer, the East Tennessee soldiers had augmented Bragg's troops, when in late-June they were rushed to Tullahoma to participate in the fight against Rosecrans; a fight that never occurred.<sup>13</sup>

After spending a monotonous July in the northeastern corner of East Tennessee, Colonel Trigg's Brigade bivouacked on August 25 at Loudon with the remainder of Buckner's III Corps. With General Ambrose Burnside marching on East Tennessee in conjunction with Rosecrans' advance against Chattanooga, the Confederates could not hope to defend against both thrusts successfully. Bragg chose to concentrate his soldiers against Rosecrans thus forsaking East Tennessee in the process. In early September, Bragg ordered Buckner's troops to Charleston, Tennessee to watch the Tennessee River's upper reaches for any sign of Union activity. Lt. Hugh Black who knew nothing regarding events in northwestern Georgia confessed "what caused our authorities to evacuate East Tenn is more than I am able to say but think that it was done for prudential reasons." Lt. Col. Stockton, detached from his regiment since December, voiced his pride in the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry to his wife, writing "our little regiment is in the finest possible order and march like 'soldiers'. I think they will fight well, for I believe they have

---

<sup>12</sup>Wednesday, August 26, 1863 - Tuesday, September 1, 1863, in *Pasco, Private Pasco*, 57-59; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Father, September 4, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>13</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 149. For the East Tennessee troops' movement to Tullahoma, see Saturday, June 27, 1863 - Sunday, July 5, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 60-62 and Hardy Herring to Dear Pa, Ma & Family, June 29, 1863, in Tucker, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 96-97.

every confidence in their officers.”<sup>14</sup>

## IV

During the last days of August, Braxton Bragg remained confused as to Rosecrans's intentions. Poor cavalry intelligence and the Federal troops northeast of Chattanooga caused Bragg to seriously consider the possibility of a union between the two Federal armies operating on the Tennessee front. However, as Larry Daniel pointed out in his study of the Army of the Cumberland Bragg knew “that the force in the Sequatchie Valley was not Rosecrans's entire army, having been aware since late August that at least one Union corps arrived at Bridgeport.” It was only when Bragg received information that placed these two Federal corps in the mountains of northwest Georgia, and moving eastward did the general develop a plan to withdraw southward and meet the Federals as they emerged from the mountains.<sup>15</sup>

After evacuating Chattanooga on September 8, the Army of Tennessee's three corps, commanded respectively by Leonidas Polk, Daniel Harvey Hill, and Simon Bolivar Buckner, marched southward to intercept Rosecrans. Colonel Trigg's Brigade tramped along under the divisional command of Brigadier General William Preston, who led the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Regiments into battle at Murfreesboro. During the second week of September, this division was to participate in an attack on an isolated Federal division in a valley near the headwaters of Chickamauga Creek. Timidity among the Confederate commanders charged with leading this advance prevented any battle. As Dr. Henry McCall Holmes wrote of September 11, “got into line of battle on mt. ridge, sides in front almost perpendicular, very strong position. We advanced for awhile but found no Yanks

---

<sup>14</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 149-150, 168; Hugh Black to Dear Mary, August 27, 1863, in Franco, compiler, *The Civil War Letters of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 58; William T. Stockton to “my dearest wife,” September 3, 1863, in Ulmer, ed., *The Letters of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 220.

<sup>15</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 164, 169, 173; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 290; Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee*, 56-57, 66-67; Peter Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound: The Battle of Chickamauga* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1992), 55-56.

except one dead one, they had left, got away from us. . . .”<sup>16</sup>

During the week before the Chickamauga battle, Bragg had one other opportunity to strike an isolated portion of Rosecrans’s force; once again his subordinates failed to implement his orders. On September 17 though, Bragg received intelligence that the bulk of Rosecrans’s army lay within McLemore’s Cove and that his own force overlapped the Federal left. Bragg then formulated a plan in which his army would roll the Army of the Cumberland into McLemore’s Cove, where, cut off from Chattanooga, it would be destroyed.<sup>17</sup>

On September 18, Bragg’s troops seized several of Chickamauga Creek’s bridges and fords and the general planned for an overwhelming attack to take place the next morning. What resulted was a confusing series of isolated attacks in which the gray-clad soldiers, rather than finding Rosecrans’s flank, ran into several Federal divisions. Robert Watson wrote that on September 19, Trigg’s Floridians “fell in and marched off at 5 A.M.,” crossed Chickamauga Creek at Thedford’s Ford as daylight broke, then formed the left flank of Bragg’s forces west of the creek. General Preston positioned Colonel Trigg’s regiments in line behind his other brigades commanded respectively by Archibald Gracie and John Kelly. Trigg’s four regiments formed their lines of battle in a corn field tucked into a bend of Chickamauga Creek. For a time there was peace, and the men “built fires to warm ourselves,” and Watson recalled “ate . . . breakfast of sour cornbread and water.”<sup>18</sup>

These fires, built for the soldiers’ comfort, soon added unneeded misery to their lives; the numerous blazes drew the attention of General John Palmer’s divisional artillery,

---

<sup>16</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 159; September 11, 1863, in Holmes, *Diary of Henry McCall Holmes*, 17. For the McLemore’s Cove debacle, see Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 177-185; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 65-75. For a Federal perspective, see Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 301-303.

<sup>17</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 189, 198-199; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 97.

<sup>18</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part I, 721, and part II, 429, 435; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 119; Saturday, September 19, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 70; September 19, 1863, in Holmes, ed., *Diary of Henry McCall Holmes*, 18.

located southwest of the Chickamauga Creek bend. Soon the Confederates lay flat to avoid the rounds that were, in the words of Colonel Jesse Finley “passing over, and near, diagonally in many places from right to left, frequently striking in front and ricochetting over my men, . . .” Not long after the barrage began, a shell exploded over the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida’s Company D, showering the troops with fragments. A single splinter passed through Lt. James Hays and First Sergeant Samuel Staunton killing them both. Only a month before, Lt. Hays, anticipating a furlough had informed his wife in jest, “if I do come home don’t have too many orders for me to obey, for if I find there are too many orders, I shall back out and not come home.” Now, he would never see home again. Hays and Staunton, along with Sergeant William R. F. Potter became the first 6<sup>th</sup> Florida soldiers killed that day; they were joined by many of their comrades before the sun set. After taking these casualties, Trigg’s Brigade moved forward slightly to the east slope of a ridge where they found cover from the deadly missiles.<sup>19</sup>

At noon, General Preston ordered Trigg’s Brigade to the front of his divisional line. Positioned on Gracie’s right flank, Trigg aligned his regiments and shook the entire 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry into a skirmish line that covered his brigade’s front. While Colonel Troup Maxwell’s regiment had yet to become engaged in a fierce battle, they had experienced the dangerous thrust-and-parry work of skirmishing both in Florida and along the Tennessee River. The line cautiously moved forward several hundred yards through thick woods, and a portion of the line emerged into the Viniard Farm’s eastern acreage.<sup>20</sup>

To the west, across the cornfield lay other cultivated plots; owned by a farmer Viniard, this land would see some of the battle’s most ferocious fighting. The cleared land was bisected by the north-south running LaFayette Road, which proceeded along the length of

---

<sup>19</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 429, 435; Benjamin R. Glover to Dear Betty, September 22, 1863. Glover Letters. ADAH, Montgomery, AL.; James Hays to Mrs. S. A. Hays, August 22, 1863. UDC Bound Typescripts, IV:9-42, GDAH, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>20</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 206-207; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 205; William T. Stockton to My own darling Wife, September 21, 1863, in Ulmer, ed., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 225.

the battlefield and provided both an avenue for reinforcement and retreat for Rosecrans's army. At 12:00, only Colonel John T. Wilder's mounted infantry brigade protected this vital location against any Confederate threat.<sup>21</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry troopers soon found themselves trading shots with Wilder's pickets. While Lt. Col. Stockton explained to his wife that his soldiers "had things pretty much our way," Colonel Troup Maxwell described a different situation in his official report, confessing "after the deployment was effected we became hotly engaged with the enemy's sharpshooters (under very great disadvantage, as my regiment was armed chiefly with short-range guns of inferior quality.)"

Indeed, Wilder's mounted infantry were armed with the potent seven-shot Spencer Rifle, allowing them to make life uncomfortable for the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry's skirmishers. This uneven contest continued, according to Colonel Maxwell for nearly two hours, even after one of General Jefferson C. Davis's artillery batteries unlimbered and began firing at the Floridians. Stockton wrote "a battery opened on us at about 300 yards in a corn field & hurt us badly." The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida's troopers fortunately avoided taking many casualties during this sharp engagement, and only when General William Carlin's brigade of Davis's division formed and moved across the field toward the Floridians, did they break for the safety of their brigade.<sup>22</sup>

During the afternoon, north of the popping skirmish that occurred across Viniard's cornfield, Confederate and Union divisions fought a fierce engagement that seesawed through thick forests and crop-laden fields. These attacks failed in part because Bragg felt that he outflanked his opponent; in reality, his force assaulted the center of a Union corps. Throughout the day, more blue-clad troops moved toward the sounds of the guns

---

<sup>21</sup>Steven E. Woodworth, *Chickamauga: A Battlefield Guide* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 25; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 198. John T. Wilder had, a year earlier, surrendered the Mumfordsville garrison to Braxton Bragg's army.

<sup>22</sup>William T. Stockton to My own darling Wife, September 21, 1863, in Ulmer, ed., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 225; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 433; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 205.

reinforcing the Union line as needed. Another factor that hampered these assaults is that they were conducted in a piecemeal fashion, with divisions advancing one-at-a-time into the fray.<sup>23</sup>

By the early afternoon, Generals W. H. T. Walker and Frank Cheatham had launched their western troops at the Union line unsuccessfully and with great loss. The next assault was spearheaded by the first of the Army of Northern Virginia's soldiers to have reached Bragg's army. Dispatched by Jefferson Davis and a reluctant Robert E. Lee on September 9, two divisions of Lt. General James Longstreet's I Corps had traveled by rail to reinforce the Confederacy's beleaguered western force. On September 19, only three brigades of John Bell Hood's Division were present on the field of battle; Hood combined his hardened veterans with General Bushrod Johnson's Division and proceeded to slam into General Jefferson C. Davis's blue coated soldiers in the southern section of the battlefield. This attack drove Davis's Federals toward the Viniard Farm.<sup>24</sup>

General Jerome Robertson's Texas Brigade formed the extreme left of Hood's line, and "as soon as Robertson came under fire," Hood "asked Bragg for reinforcements to protect his left." Bragg relayed the order to Buckner who in-turn commanded Preston to enter the fray. Preston dispatched Trigg's soldiers to support the Texas Brigade. Casmero Bailey wrote "we were ordered forward which we did in quick time. . . ." Colonel Trigg's regiments, following the sounds of the firing, soon reached the eastern boundary of the Viniard Farm and came under the same artillery fire that earlier pestered the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry troopers. The Floridians arrived at the right time for their advance placed them on the flank of a fresh Union brigade which was crossing the Viniard

---

<sup>23</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 193-194, 205-206; Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, 2:717.

<sup>24</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 151, 203, 205-206; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 320; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 200; Steven E. Woodworth, *Chickamauga: A Battlefield Guide* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 25.

cornfield.<sup>25</sup>

The East Tennessee soldiers, in position along a split-rail fence just to Robertson's right, soon unleashed a volley into the newly-arrived Federals's flank and in Trigg's words, they "broke in confusion to the left and rear." Casmero Bailey confessed that because of the smoke "I stood some time without firing looking for something to shoot at, but I could not see anything and the boys kept shooting so that I thought I would shoot too, so I shot right ahead of me. . . ." With the Federal brigade in retreat, Colonel Trigg ordered his regiments to the pursuit. The order was, according to a 6<sup>th</sup> Florida soldier, "executed with enthusiastic gallantry and success." Colonel Finley, proud of his soldiers, wrote "the regiment moved forward through the open field at a double-quick to the crest of the ridge, the distance of about 300 yards . . . ." Colonel Trigg, who accompanied the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida discovered at this juncture that the remainder of the brigade had not heard his order to advance.<sup>26</sup>

Realizing the error, the remainder of the brigade had soon crossed the eastern fence and was moving at the double-quick to reinforce the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida. Robert Watson described his regiments' movement as a charge into a corn field and then "within about 400 yards of their battery we were ordered to right flank and marched at the double quick to the right." The occasion for this sudden turn of events came because the Texas Brigade had encountered new resistance and Robertson dispatched a staff officer to commandeer Trigg's regiments. Casmero Bailey informed his father "the grape and shell came thick and fast we kept on until we came to the woods where we were ordered to lie down which we did in a hurry." With the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry, and 54<sup>th</sup> Virginia to

---

<sup>25</sup>Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 202, 205, 207, 208; Casmero Bailey to Dear Father, September 27, 1863. Bailey Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 430.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, and 435; Casmero Bailey to Dear Father, September 27, 1863. Bailey Family Papers. PKY. Gainesville, FL.; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 215-216, 218; *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, October 6, 1863.

the north, the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida remained alone and exposed in the cornfield.<sup>27</sup>

Several Federal artillery batteries, placed by Major John Mendenhall the bane of Breckinridge's Division at Murfreesboro, concentrated their fire on the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida. Federal infantry also added their small-arms fire to the inferno. Lt. Hugh Black, who suffered a broken arm during the disastrous assault wrote from an Atlanta hospital "I never was in just such a place before it is strange to me how any one escaped for I assure you that the bullets seemed to search every nook and corner of the field that we were in." John R. Ely, the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida's Adjutant proudly informed *The Florida Sentinel's* readers that the West Floridians, "outnumbered by overwhelming odds, at least five to one - fought with a coolness and determination, which has covered with glory and shed a new lustre upon the arms of gallant little Fla." Finally, Colonel Trigg ordered Colonel Jesse Finley, whom Benjamin Glover described as being "as brave as a lion" during the fight, to relinquish the field.<sup>28</sup>

By sunset, the Confederate attacks in the southern portion of the field had ended; to the north General Patrick Cleburne carried out a dusk assault that also ended in a stalemate. Trigg's Brigade settled in for the night in the woods just east of the Viniard Field. The temperatures dropped and Robert Watson complained that "I scarcely slept a wink all night but lay shivering with cold all night. The groans and shrieks of the wounded and volleys of musketry and falling of trees made it impossible to sleep." Casmero Bailey stood picket that night along the rail fence on the eastern edge of the Viniard farm and grew sick looking at "men shot in every place and form."<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.; Saturday, September 19, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 70; Casmero Bailey to Dear Father, September 27, 1863. Bailey Family Papers. PKY. Gainesville, FL.; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 218-219.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 435; Hugh Black to Dear wife, September 24, 1863, in Franco, compiler, *The Civil War Letter of Captain Hugh Black to his family*, 58; *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, October 6, 1863; Benjamin R. Glover to Dear Betty, September 22, 1863. Benjamin R. Glover Letters. ADAH, Montgomery, AL.

<sup>29</sup>Saturday, September 19, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 72; Casmero Bailey to Dear Father, September 27, 1863. Bailey Family Papers. PKY. Gainesville, FL.



Many of the dead seen by Bailey and the wailing wounded heard by Watson belonged to the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida. That regiment was decimated on the afternoon of September 19, suffering 35 killed and 130 wounded in a short span. Included among the latter was Benjamin Glover, who was struck in the head by a spent ball. John R. Ely proclaimed “Napoleon’s ‘Old Guard’ never fought harder than did the representatives of our gallant little State on that memorable field.” Colonel Finley could not share in his adjutant’s jubilation and bitterly reported that his soldiers “purchased whatever reputation they may have won upon the sanguinary field at a fearful cost of life and blood.” The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry suffered three killed and thirty wounded during the day’s fight.<sup>30</sup>

## V

While Trigg’s soldiers engaged in mortal combat on September 19, their friends, neighbors, and relatives in Stovall’s Brigade spent the day south of the battlefield near Glass’s Mill. Braxton Bragg had assigned Breckinridge the task of providing the army’s rear guard; as the major fighting occurred to the north, only Helm’s Brigade and two artillery batteries saw action in an intense skirmish on the west bank of Chickamauga Creek. While the bulk of Breckinridge’s Division moved north at Bragg’s order, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida remained at Glass’s Mill to picket against any Union attempt to turn Bragg’s left flank. At 10 P.M. that evening, a courier arrived ordering the regiment to rejoin their division. After their guide became confused in the darkness the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida wandered about on the east bank of Chickamauga Creek all night, and did not

---

<sup>30</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 436; Tallahassee *The Florida Sentinel*, October 6, 1863; Jacob Yearty to Dear Father and Mother, September 22, 1863. Jacob Yearty Letter. PK Yonge Library of Florida History. Gainesville, FL.; Casmero Bailey to Dear Mother, September 21, 1863. Bailey Family Papers. PKY. Gainesville, FL. While the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida lost 165 soldiers on September 19, it is impossible to determine how many troops the regiments carried into battle. Evidently, the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida had not suffered from disease to the extent of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry or 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry, for the regiment drew rations for 320 men on November 21. See T. J. Robertson to Benjamin R. Glover, November 21, 1863. Glover Letters. ADAH, Montgomery, AL.

locate their brigade until 8 A.M. the following morning.<sup>31</sup>

If General Breckinridge had attacked that morning as Braxton Bragg had ordered, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida's tardiness would have kept them from participating in the assault. The previous evening, Bragg had announced to his commanders that the army would continue attempting to push Rosecrans's force into McLemore's Cove. Also, late on September 19 Bragg reorganized his army into two grand wings, with Leondias Polk commanding one, and James Longstreet the other. D. H. Hill's Corps and Breckinridge's Division was placed under Polk's direction. Though Bragg had ordered the attack to take place at dawn, Polk never mentioned this to D. H. Hill or Breckinridge; the next morning Hill, instead of launching his troops at the Federals, allowed them to eat breakfast. The only information that the former vice-president possessed was that his troops were to form the right flank of the army.<sup>32</sup>

One positive development that arose from this delay was that D.H. Hill used the early morning to scout the Federal line. Discovering the Federals had constructed breastworks along the length of their line from hastily cut timber, Hill adjusted his attack to outflank the Union defenses. At 9:30 A.M. Breckinridge formed his division, placing Daniel Adams' Louisiana Brigade and Stovall's Florida Brigade north of the Union entrenchments, while Benjamin Hardin Helm's "Orphan" Brigade, on the left would strike the northern flank of the Army of the Cumberland. Samuel Pasco remembered that Breckinridge's "Div. was forming into line as we came up and dusty tired and hungry as we were we filled up our place but a good many were missing who had dropped out from exhaustion."<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup>Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery*, 122-127; Saturday, September 19 and 20, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 64; McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, Chapter XLI.

<sup>32</sup>Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 300, 303; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 208-209; Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee*, 105; Davis, *Breckinridge*, 370.

<sup>33</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 220-221; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 320; Sunday, September 20, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 64.

On the morning of September 20, the Federal front extended from north to south for several miles along the LaFayette Road. Shaped like a dipper, George Crittenden and Alexander McCook's Corps formed the handle in the southern end of the line; George Thomas's divisions in the north took the shape of a semi-circle that bulged east of the LaFayette Road, and resembled a ladle. John C. Breckinridge's Division was to strike the northern edge of this bulge.

On that Sunday morning, Marcellus Stovall's Brigade contained only 818 soldiers. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida, led into a major engagement for the first time by Colonel William Scott Dilworth, mustered 273 soldiers, took up position on the right flank. Wylde L. L. Bowen, the young, but effective combat leader, and love-struck Lt. Col. Edward Badger, commanded the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, which fielded only 213 soldiers for the battle, and formed the left flank of the brigade's line. The 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina and 47<sup>th</sup> Georgia occupied the center.<sup>34</sup>

Moving forward at 9:40 A.M., Adams's and Stovall's Brigades pushed westward through thick woods toward the LaFayette Road. According to Samuel Pasco the Rebels "swept through the woods with a line of skirmishers ahead driving the Yankees like sheep." Peter Cozzens described the Federal resistance north of Thomas's main line as "feeble." In a short time, Stovall's and Adams's brigades had crossed the LaFayette Road, and then turned south to assault the Federal flank.<sup>35</sup>

As Stovall reformed his unit for the next phase of the attack, he repositioned the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida on the left flank to watch against any movement toward the brigade's flank. With Adams engaged west of the road, Stovall's troops entered Kelly Field, which represented the immediate rear of Thomas's line a little after 10:30 A.M. The Federal response to this sudden threat occurred sporadically, with Federal units rushing to the hot spot; this newly formed Yankee line successfully checked Adams and Stovall in northern

---

<sup>34</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 232, 235.

<sup>35</sup>Sunday, September 20, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 64. , Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 325.

edge of the field.<sup>36</sup>

Stovall's regiments rushed forward toward their foes and traded volleys with the surprised Yankees across the cleared land. Colonel Dilworth, whose regiment fell upon the northern breastworks of Thomas's soldiers, succeeded in capturing the first line of Federal entrenchments in their immediate front. At a second line of works though, the enemy offered stern resistance and blue and butternut clad soldiers exchanged shots at each another at only twelve paces. The Colonel described how "Samuel Neeley, the color bearer, fell near the breastworks, and Robert McKay, of the color guard close to his side, both severely wounded, and 4 of the color company were left dead on the field." Charlie Ulmer, a young corporal and one of Samuel Pasco's former students, seized the colors and "bore them bravely through the rest of the contest."<sup>37</sup>

The regiments could not long stand the heavy volume of fire the Federals placed on them. In addition, to the west Daniel Adams went down with a severe wound and his brigade fell apart under well placed small-arms fire. Artillery fire soon stripped the 47<sup>th</sup> Georgia of any fight it might have left and the 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina, at odds with the Floridians since Murfreesboro, also gave way under intense pressure. With only the Floridians remaining in the woods north of Kelly Field, the Federals applied pressure on their front and both flanks; Samuel Pasco confessed "we had to fall back to save the Regiment from being captured." An Ohioan wrote that "As they faltered we charged on them and hurled them back as fast as they had come on this charge."<sup>38</sup>

By 11:30 A.M. Breckinridge's Division had fallen back to the position it began from earlier that morning. General Patrick Cleburne's troops, whose attack fell on Thomas's

---

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 332.

<sup>37</sup>*Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 233-234; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 332.

<sup>38</sup>Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee*, 108; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 332-335; Sunday, September 20, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 65; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 234-235; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part I, 570, quoted in Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 335.

east-facing breastworks was also unsuccessful. Breckinridge's attack lasted roughly ninety minutes, and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida suffered ninety-two casualties. Samuel Pasco wrote that most of these occurred during a ten minute period. The 4<sup>th</sup> Florida endured similar losses, counting "nine killed, sixty-seven wounded, and eleven missing." Stovall's other regiments, the 47<sup>th</sup> Georgia and 60<sup>th</sup> North Carolina lost 76 and 60 respectively. The butcher's bill in Breckinridge's other brigades was steeper, with Adams's taking 396, and the "Orphan Brigade" losing 471 casualties including Benjamin Hardin Helm, the unit's commander and also Abraham Lincoln's brother-in-law.<sup>39</sup>

Despite Breckinridge's inability to turn the Federal flank, his attack, combined with that of Patrick Cleburne still managed to contribute to the Confederate victory. General George Thomas, commanding at Kelly field, clamored for reinforcements during the late-morning hours. What resulted was "not only an organizational mess and the confused movement of many units, but also the further weakening of the center and right." When Rosecrans dispatched a unit to fill a gap created by a division supposedly on its way to assist Thomas, a real breach opened in the "handle" portion of the Federal line. At that moment, 11:15 A.M., General James Longstreet's wing rushed forward to the attack and the Army of the Cumberland's right disintegrated.<sup>40</sup>

While numerous Federals, including army commander William Rosecrans fled the field, a patchwork line formed a new right flank on a series of hills, collectively known as Horseshoe Ridge, just to the west of the Kelly Field and LaFayette Road. Throughout the afternoon, Longstreet's wing made numerous, yet disjointed attacks against the new Federal position.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup>Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee*, 110-111; Sunday, September 20, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 65; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 205, 219, 234, 235, 238, and 239.

<sup>40</sup>Davis, *Breckinridge*, 376; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 326; Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee*, 114; Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, II:736.

<sup>41</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 224; Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee*, 122; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 331;

By 4:00 P.M. on September 20, General William Preston's Division had yet to become engaged. Robert Watson and the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida, after getting little sleep during the cool and loud night, awoke that morning as veterans, built fires for warmth, and ate breakfast. Though General Longstreet had ordered Preston's Division to lend its numbers to the Horseshoe Ridge fight, the Kentucky general only committed his two unbloodied brigades. Trigg's unit meanwhile, was dispatched to the southern flank to guard against a possible cavalry attack. After Gracie's and Kelly's Brigades had launched vicious, yet unsuccessful assaults, against the Union position, Preston called once again on Colonel Robert Trigg's tenacious unit. While Colonel Finley led the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida and 54<sup>th</sup> Virginia toward the fighting on Horseshoe Ridge, Trigg kept the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry on guard for the supposed threat.<sup>42</sup>

While these regiments remained idle, Colonel Finley's two regiments formed on the Confederate left flank and joined in the assaults to take Horseshoe Ridge. These units's attacks came late in the fight as the Union forces were attempting to disengage. Nevertheless, the fighting was still ferocious and deadly. In later years, two veterans remembered the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida was repulsed twice in its attempts to reach the top; on the third try amid "shot and shell" that "fell like rain," the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida lost one of its most promising and respected officers, Lieutenant John Wilson. One of the soldiers recalled "scarcely had we started up the hill when a cannon ball struck the Lieutenant . . . on the leg, shattering the bone." Wilson died while being transported to a hospital in southern Georgia.<sup>43</sup>

When the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida were finally summoned to the scene of action, the sun was beginning to set behind Missionary Ridge, an imminence that overlooked the western edge of the battlefield. The 7<sup>th</sup> Florida soldiers looked forward to trying out their new weapons, for as Casmero Bailey recalled "we went in on Saturday with muskets and when we went in on Sunday we had either springfields or enfields we

---

<sup>42</sup>Sunday, September 20, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 73; Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 471, 483; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 436.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, 437; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 335; Mrs. J. B. Tutwiler, "Lieut. John Wilson on Snodgrass Hill" *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXI (1913): 62.

captured them all on the field guns and cartridge boxes were strewn an the boys threw away their old muskets and got a gun to suit themselves.”<sup>44</sup>

On the way the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry became lost and somehow made their way to ridge, though opposite of where the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida was then fighting. Before discovering their location, the regiment came near the Union line and this carelessness caused several casualties. Lt. Col. Stockton was counted among the wounded, for after this ambush as the officer was peering over the crest of a rise, “one ball struck in front of my face, as I was watching the Yankee manoevers (sic), and dashed the gravel into my eyes so sharply that I was blinded for a while.” Shaken by this sudden encounter, the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry withdrew from the enemy’s fire, and again failed participate in the battle.<sup>45</sup>

Colonel Robert Bullock’s 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry fared better reaching Snodgrass Hill with Colonel Trigg just as twilight settled over the bloody ground. After a quick conference, Trigg and Kelly decided they could bag the few Yankees remaining on the west slope of Horseshoe Ridge, and the V.M.I. graduate proceeded to position his brigade so as to take the Federals by the flank. Robert Watson described the advance:

We went in at double quick and got to the foot of the hill at dark. The enemy seeing us sent a man towards us to see whether we were their own men or not with directions to fire if we were enemies, but we took him before he could fire his gun, therefor the Yankees took it for granted that we were their own men. We then proceeded to the top of the hill within 50 yards of them and halted and took 30 prisoners . . . They tried to escape by running but they ran into the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida and were all captured.<sup>46</sup>

Casmero Bailey wrote home that his regiment “took . . . one stand of colors the Flag was a beautiful thing it belonged to the 21<sup>st</sup> Ohio.” The 21<sup>st</sup> Ohio, armed with Colt

---

<sup>44</sup>Casmero Bailey to Dear Father, September 27, 1863. Bailey Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>45</sup>William T. Stockton to My own darling Wife, September 21, 1863, in Ulmer, ed., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 225; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 434.

<sup>46</sup>Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 503; Sunday, September 20, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 73-74.

Revolving Rifles, had held the right flank of the Horseshoe Ridge position all afternoon, and had, in Steven Woodworth's estimation "fought one of the most heroic defensive battles of the war that day." In addition to the hard-fighting 21<sup>st</sup> Ohio, Trigg's Brigade captured portions of two other Union regiments that evening; the exact number of prisoners though varies from source to source. The Floridians and Virginians also seized five stands of colors and among the spoils of war also were numerous rifles and accouterments.<sup>47</sup>

## VI

Before the final drama played out on Horseshoe Ridge, the Federals still holding the "ladle" salient near Kelly Field, received orders to withdraw. At this same time, Bragg ordered General Polk to launch an overwhelming assault on this sector of the Federal line. John Love McKinnon recalled late in day "several lines of battles were formed in the oak scrub thicket as close as to the enemy's lines as we dared to go. All were commanded to lie down on the ground as flat as flounders and as quiet as beetles and await orders." Pasco wrote "Three lines were formed & we swept the field completely routing the foe. We pursued only to the Chattanooga road and the air resounded for many minutes with the prolonged cheers of our delighted boys." The Federal soldiers who had held this line throughout the day either joined the resistance on Horseshoe Ridge or retreated toward Chattanooga. At any rate, this attack and Trigg's flanking maneuver were the last Confederate movements on September 20.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup>Casmero Bailey to Dear Father, September 27, 1863. Bailey Family Papers. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee*, 128; *Official Records*, series I, vol. XXX, part II, 432. Jacob Yearty listed the number of prisoners at 465, while Benjamin Glover claimed the two regiments seized 800 captives. Both Colonel Finley and Lt. Col. Wade of the 54<sup>th</sup> Virginia estimated 500 taken by their regiments, and Bullock reported the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida seized 150.

<sup>48</sup>Woodworth, *Six Armies in Tennessee*, 127; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 225; McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, Chapter XLI; Sunday, September 20, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 65. See also Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, October 8, 1863. Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL. Colonel Dilworth obviously used Pasco's diary as a reference when writing his official report of the battle.



That night the Floridians of both brigades slept upon the battlefield among the dead and wounded. Washington Ives, who remained in the rear during the fight managing the detail cooking rations for the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida, arrived with food which brightened the soldiers' already jubilant spirits. Ives observed that among Stovall's Florida regiments " . . . the Florida Boys Stand up like heroes." In Trigg's Brigade the soldiers were also exultant, yet Jacob Yearty seemed to speak for all when he penned "I hade heared talk of batles and have bin in too small ingagements before this one but I cold not draw eny ideas untill now I have a ful understanding of what it means." The losses suffered by the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida served to sober the entire command.<sup>49</sup>

Though Bragg had stymied Rosecrans's advance at Chickamauga and in the process won the Army of Tennessee's first battle, the casualty figures were astounding. The army lost more than 18,000 men killed, wounded, and captured during the two-day fight, including Lt. Hays, Lt. Col. Stockton, Lt. Black, and Private Michael Raysor. Though Raysor suffered only a minor injury to his left hand, his health suffered. He died in Jefferson County on January 27, 1864 exclaiming "I am going home; I am going home to Heaven"; he was twenty-seven.<sup>50</sup>

For his surviving comrades in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida and 4<sup>th</sup> Florida regiments, the Battle of Chickamauga served as one more laurel that demonstrated their bravery and discipline. Well-led, this time by Colonels Dilworth and Bowen, these small units had turned the Federal flank and remained until superior numbers forced them to retreat. Coming on the heels of the Jackson victory, Chickamauga marked the zenith of these young Floridians' careers as soldiers.

The 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry and 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry's performance in the fight might

---

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.; Sunday, September 20, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 73; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Parents, September 27, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Jacob Yearty to Dear father and mother, September 22, 1863. Jacob Yearty Letter. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Michael O. Raysor Obituary. Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

<sup>50</sup>Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound*, 534; Michael O. Raysor Obituary. Raysor Family Correspondence. PKY, Gainesville, FL.

be considered contradictory. On September 19 these green soldiers swept a veteran Federal brigade from the Viniard cornfield, and only the order from Jerome Robertson had kept Trigg's Brigade from seizing several Federal artillery batteries. The 6<sup>th</sup> Florida suffered needlessly because of this confusion. During this trying time however, Colonel Finley developed into an effective combat leader, with Braxton Bragg hailing him as "the old Hero."<sup>51</sup>

Late in the day on September 20, the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments made a name for themselves when they participated in the capture of the few remaining Federal units on Horseshoe Ridge. While Bullock magnificently maneuvered his unit onto the 21<sup>st</sup> Ohio's flank, this event was more a case of being in the right place at the right time. Had the Floridians been committed an hour or two earlier they, like the Confederate regiments that participated in the afternoon attacks, would have suffered similarly dreadful losses. Troup Maxwell's direction of the 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry during that afternoon was dismaying and possibly cost him a generalship later that year.

The Federal army, retreating from the battlefield by twilight, passed through the gaps of Missionary Ridge, an irregular spur of Lookout Mountain, that formed the western border of the Chickamauga Battlefield. From its heights, soon the Floridians would gaze down upon Chattanooga, a town they knew well, a town that Rosecrans's defeated army now occupied. Few could have known then, and few could have thought after Chickamauga that their fortunes would be tied to the western slopes of that rise; yet after the last week of November 1863, the Florida Brigade would inextricably be linked with the disaster that occurred there.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup>J. S. M. Davidson to My Dear Madam, December 7, 1863, in Ulmer, ed., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 241

<sup>52</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 143.

**CHAPTER XIII**  
**“ I have never known them to fail in the hour of trial”:**  
**September 21 - December 2, 1863**

In the two months that followed the Chickamauga victory, the Army of Tennessee tried unsuccessfully to starve the Army of the Cumberland, which held on precariously at Chattanooga, into submission. During this time General Braxton Bragg, as a part of a series of moves meant to rid his army of dissent and to reward his supporters, created the Florida Brigade effectively uniting his six Florida regiments into a single unit. The Floridians first fought together in this new formation on November 25, 1863, on Missionary Ridge, which overlooked Chattanooga. Though another Confederate defeat, the Floridians added to their hard fighting reputation and brought additional honors to their small state.

**II**

On the morning after the firing ended along Chickamauga Creek's west bank, the smoke still lay thick in the hollows of the battlefield, providing as a backdrop for the suffering that occurred there, an eerie haze. General Marcellus Stovall's Florida Brigade's soldiers awoke long before the sun shed its light on the terrible scene, having been aroused from their blankets in the wee hours of the morning when word arrived that cooked rations had reached their bivouac. In the darkness the soldiers devoured their first meal in two days. Stovall's elated troops spent the next few days visiting their wounded comrades and even taking the opportunity to bathe in Chickamauga Creek, and wash the grime and powder stains from their bodies.<sup>1</sup>

The soldiers in Colonel Robert Craig Trigg's Brigade of William Preston's Division

---

<sup>1</sup>Monday, September 21 and Tuesday, September 22, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 65; In the weeks prior to Chickamauga, Braxton Bragg ordered that details perform the cooking for each regiment. Quartermaster Sergeant Washington Ives commanded the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida's detachment. See Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, 61-62, and Washington M. Ives to Dear Parents, September 27, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL., and Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, October 8, 1863. Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL., for this new system.

found the aftermath of their first major battle appalling. Jacob Yearty, a 7<sup>th</sup> Florida soldier, wrote that his regiment “bured [sic] the dead too days and did not get half of them bered and they are getting to smell so bad that it is impossible to bury the rest of the them we could not get neare all of our men bured.” Robert Watson, serving in the same regiment, described spending September 21 “carrying off the wounded and burying the dead all day. It was a terrible sight, friend and foe lying side by side.” Preparing a peaceful rest for the dead remained low on the Confederates’s list of priorities though and on September 22, Trigg’s troops marched to the western base of Missionary Ridge, where they engaged in constructing breastworks. Stovall’s regiments reached Confederate lines near Chattanooga on the same day; from atop Missionary Ridge, Samuel Pasco wrote “we had a beautiful view of the town below. They [the Union army] appear to be crossing the river on pontoons but are in line of battle to resist us if we crowd them.”<sup>2</sup>

Following the retreat from Chickamauga, a portion of the defeated Army of the Cumberland maintained a defensive position at Rossville, southeast of Chattanooga, ready to contest the jubilant Rebels. However, due to “the bold maneuvering of Forrest’s cavalry . . . and the unfounded rumor of the impending arrival of additional large Confederate reinforcements, Rosecrans had given up a key defensive perimeter and withdrawn his army into the immediate environs of Chattanooga. . . .” By retreating into Chattanooga the Federal general placed his army in a stranglehold, for with the Army of Tennessee commanding Lookout Mountain, the Union force could rely only on a few rough wagon roads, including a trace over Walden Ridge the bluff that proved so hazardous to the Confederates the previous year, for supply purposes. With his opponent in a difficult position, Braxton Bragg determined to starve the Union army into submission while

---

<sup>2</sup>Jacob Yearty to Dear father and mother, September 22, 1863. Jacob Yearty Letter. PKY, Gainesville, FL.; Monday, September 21 and Wednesday, September 23, 1863, in Cambell, ed., *Southern Service*, 73; September 21 and 23, 1863, in Holmes, *The Diary of Henry McCall Holmes Diary*, 18; Wednesday, September 23, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 66.

waiting for an opportunity to strike at one of the Federal flanks.<sup>3</sup>

General Braxton Bragg positioned John C. Breckinridge's Division in that part of the siege line that ran along the western base of Missionary Ridge. General Marcellus Stovall's Brigade's bivouac was near where the Moore Road crossed the ridge; the regiments spent their days either improving their breastworks or on picket duty between the two armies. Prior to the Atlanta Campaign, when enemy sharpshooters posed a constant and deadly threat, the time spent on the sentinel lines near Chattanooga represented the closest contact some Floridians had with their enemy away from the battlefield. Only three miles separated the Rebels's encampment from their foes in Chattanooga and their picket lines stood only two hundred yards apart.

In the crisp, late-September weather, the Confederates's engaged in heavy firing with enemy sentinels; these fights resulted in occasional casualties. Major Jacob Lash informed his wife that, because the armies remained so near, throughout the days "ours and Theirs Bands Play in opposition." The 1<sup>st</sup> Florida Cavalry, dismounted, Assistant Surgeon Henry McCall Holmes recalled being awakened "by Hail Columbia, Star

---

<sup>3</sup>Wiley Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire: Chattanooga Besieged, 1863* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 39, 42; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 342; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 233, 234; Stanley Horn, *The Army of Tennessee*, 281-282; Peter Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes: The Battles for Chattanooga* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 16-18. Sword reasoned that Bragg was indeed serious about threatening either the Federal depot at Bridgeport, Alabama, or driving Ambrose Burnside from East Tennessee. Eventually, he decided upon sending James Longstreet's I Corps toward Knoxville. See Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire*, 75-80.

Spangled Banner & Yankee Doodle from the Yankee Band.”<sup>4</sup>

### III

On a cold October 10, Federal soldiers in and around Chattanooga heard prolonged, roaring cheers erupting from Confederate lines at the foot of Missionary Ridge. President Jefferson Davis’s arrival at the army and subsequent tour of the main line of breastworks brought forth the cries of jubilation from the soldiers. After the review the Floridians wrote to family and friends of the experience, providing candid opinions of the Confederacy’s executive. Sergeant Major Roddie Shaw looked upon the ailing man with sympathy, and observed that Davis “looks quite thin.” Colonel Robert Bullock concurred with Shaw, explaining “I do not think he is by any means very imposing in his appearance. I was introduced to him & had a short conversation with him. He is a very frail looking man.” While the troops yelled and screamed as the commander-in-chief halted before each unit, Washington Ives remembered when Davis “rose up to the front of our flag and took off his hat . . . not a man opened his mouth . . . Davis rode away gratified at their soldierly demeanor, and evidently thought that their silence showed more respect than the screams of men who seem to be so frantic.”<sup>5</sup>

Bitter infighting and political intrigue among the Army of Tennessee’s high command

---

<sup>4</sup>Hughes, *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery*, 151; Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire*, 91; Thursday, September 24 - Saturday, September 26, 1863, in Gibbon and Pasco, trans., *Private Pasco*, 66; Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, October 10, 1863. Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Jacob A. Lash to My Dear Wife, September 29, 1863. Jacob A. Lash Letters (photocopy). ZCW, Rome, GA; September 25, 1863, in Holmes, ed., *Diary of Henry McCall Holmes*, 18. In 1863, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Infantry Regiments all maintained regimental bands and after its creation that November, the Florida Brigade also had a band. See Washington M. Ives to Dear Father, August 10, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL, and Robert Bullock to Sweetness, June 9, 1863. Robert and Amanda Waterman Bullock Letters. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>5</sup>Saturday, October 10, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 69; Roddie Shaw to My Dear Sister, October 10, 1863. Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL.; Robert Bullock to My dear little wife, October 11, 1863. Robert and Amanda Waterman Bullock Letters. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.; Saturday, October 10, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 76; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Mother, November 5, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

caused Jefferson Davis to travel to southeastern Tennessee early that fall. This visit and its aftermath impacted the army's command structure and directly influenced the Floridians' future as well. Strangely enough, the scheming and intrigue that infected the army's generals in the aftermath of Chickamauga, also occurred in two Florida regiments, as their soldiers attempted to create changes of their own and ease certain officers from command.

Braxton Bragg's conflict with his subordinates, having begun the previous year following Perryville, flared up once again in the aftermath of Chickamauga. Bragg's removal of General Leonidas Polk from command on September 29, due to his lackluster performance at Chickamauga, became one factor in this unhappy turn of events. Polk's sacking came in-concert with the army's corps commanders beginning a writing campaign to remove Bragg. After President Davis had dispatched his aide, Colonel James Chesnut, to the army to determine the depth of the dissent. Chesnut "wired the president that the Army of Tennessee urgently demanded his personal attention and that he should make the trip if at all possible."<sup>6</sup>

Davis, even after hearing corps and divisional commanders berate the commanding general, decided though to maintain Bragg in his position. The commanding general then, according to historian Wiley Sword, believed Davis's confidence in him "was carte blanche to remove his most vocal and dangerous detractors." Lt. Gen. Daniel Harvey Hill, Marcellus Stovall's Florida Brigade's corps commander, was the first subordinate Bragg dismissed following Davis's visit. While many of Bragg's shakeups of the army that occurred that fall remained temporary, this one contained significant, and permanent ramifications for the Floridians.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>Judith Lee Hallock, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat: Volume II* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1991), 89-91, 98; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 237; Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire*, 31. Chief among these detractors was Lt. Gen. James Longstreet, who hoped to gain command of the Army of Tennessee.

<sup>7</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 245; Hallock, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat: Volume II*, 98; James Lee McDonough, *Chattanooga: A Death Grip on the Confederacy* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 36; Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire*, 64.

With Hill's removal, allegedly for not attacking as ordered on September 20 and for actively campaigning for Bragg's sacking, the commanding general elevated Major General John C. Breckinridge to corps command on November 8. Breckinridge, in spite of his prior problems with Bragg, had not joined the latest-conspiracy and the commanding general rewarded this competent fighter with a promotion. In losing their beloved division commander, the Floridians gained a new leader under whom they served, for better or worse, until the war's end.<sup>8</sup>

A thirty-seven-year-old Tennessean, William Brimage Bate's formal education ended when he was sixteen. Originally finding work on a steamboat, the future general had later earned a law degree from Cumberland University. Prior to the war, Bate found success as a Democratic newspaper editor and served as a state senator. A supporter of Governor Isham G. Harris's secessionist policies, at the war's commencement, Bate became colonel of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Tennessee Infantry and served in Virginia before returning west. Colonel Bate was severely wounded at Shiloh, and returned to active duty in time to command a brigade during the Tullahoma and Chickamauga Campaigns. The former-lawyer would turn in his best performance at Missionary Ridge, as in his previous battles he had demonstrated a lack of creativity in tactical maneuvers and demonstrated an inclination to send his troops against the Federals in disastrous frontal assaults. During the Atlanta Campaign, Bate proved he needed close supervision from his superiors in carrying out orders. The general assumed command of Breckinridge's troops in mid-November.<sup>9</sup>

While Bragg pursued his enemies within the army with a vengeance, the Floridians

---

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.; Hallock, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat: Volume II*, 109; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 247-248, 251; McDonough, *Chattanooga*, 32; Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes*, 25; Davis, *Breckinridge*, 380, 384.

<sup>9</sup>Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 126-127; Zack C. Waters, *Death Was Feasting In Our Midst: Major General William B. Bate and the Battle of Dallas, Georgia* (Hiram, GA: The Friends of Civil War Paulding County, Georgia, Inc, 2003), 4; Steven E. Woodworth, *This Grand Spectacle: The Battle of Chattanooga* (Abilene: McWhiney Foundation Press, 1999), 86; Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes*, 26; Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 19; Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary*, 49-50.



themselves attempted to create a change of their own. After the Battle of Chickamauga, Colonel Wylde Bowen became ill with what doctors diagnosed as Erysiphales. By the end of the month, the colonel had been removed to a Georgia hospital in order to recover. Disgruntled with both the infirmity of their colonel and with the dwindling regimental numbers, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida's officers applied to have their regiment consolidated with the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida.<sup>10</sup>

The desire probably originated in the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida's Marion County company and the regiment's interim leader, Lt. Col. Edward Badger. As the junior colonel of the two merging regiments, and understanding Bowen would receive command of the regiments should they unite, Robert Bullock wrote "I was, at first, very anxious for it, because I hoped to be able to be sent off on some duty where I could have you with me." Bullock admitted that he felt at ease at the thought of Lt. Col. Badger serving as the consolidated unit's executive, for he thought "Badger . . . is a first rate officer; much better than [Tillman] Ingram, who is really an old fudge."<sup>11</sup>

Indeed, for the twenty-two-year-old Badger, the conflict had proven beneficial. The Marion County resident had, since May 1862, risen from lieutenant to lieutenant colonel, become engaged, and so far had escaped without injury. He commanded his troops ably at Murfreesboro and Chickamauga, and Bullock's wife Amanda informed her husband that soldiers on furlough in Ocala "seems to think the world of Col Badger, . . . that his men all love him." Bullock hoped for the consolidation, because obtaining Badger as a subordinate meant he could finally obtain furlough and travel to Florida; he would not entrust the regiment to Lt. Col. Ingram for any lengthy period of time. Colonel Robert Trigg put a quick halt to any talk of a consolidation, explaining that he did not want to

---

<sup>10</sup>Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sister Kate, September 29, 1863. Ives papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, November 17, 1863; Roddie Shaw to Dear Sister, October 8, 1863. Roderick G. Shaw Letters. FSA, Tallahassee, FL. By October 1863, the 4<sup>th</sup> Florida fielded less than 200 soldiers while the 7<sup>th</sup> still mustered more than 400.

<sup>11</sup>Robert Bullock to My dear little wife, October 11, 1863. Robert and Amanda Waterman Bullock Letters. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.

lose Bullock in the shuffle.<sup>12</sup>

In November however, Colonel Trigg lost command of his brigade and with it the Floridians. In that month, in an attempt to realign his army so as to “dissolve the anti-Bragg cliques” and reward his supporters, Braxton Bragg began a wholesale shifting of various regiments and brigades throughout his force. Bragg’s Special Orders No. 294, issued on November 12, 1863, provided the directives that effected these transfers; that document became Finley’s Florida Brigade’s genesis. This order grouped the Florida regiments together, and noted that “the Senior Colonel will take command until Brigadier is appointed.” The Senior Colonel, William Scott Dilworth was absent though, having obtained a forty-day furlough after falling ill after Chickamauga. Dilworth’s departure resulted in the leadership of the Florida Brigade devolving upon Colonel Jesse J. Finley.<sup>13</sup>

In reality, Finley alone was regarded for command of the brigade. His performance at Chickamauga assured his promotion. Likewise, Colonel Troup Maxwell’s bungling on September 20, probably removed his name from any consideration. This turn of events came more than a month after General Simon Bolivar Buckner provided Adjutant General Samuel Cooper with his opinion of Maxwell’s and Finley’s potential for higher command. The East Tennessee commander rated both colonels as “excellent officers, perhaps not fully the equals of Col. Trigg, but either would make a good brigade commander.” Buckner added that in “character necessary to command . . . I think Col. Maxwell is the superior of Col. Finley.”<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>Amanda Waterman Bullock to My own Dear Husband, November 17, 1863, and Robert Bullock to My dear little wife, October 11, 1863. Robert and Amanda Waterman Bullock Letters. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.;

<sup>13</sup>Hallock, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat: Volume II*, 118; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 251; Special Orders No. 294, Headquarters, Army of Tennessee. Braxton Bragg Papers, 1833-1879. MSS 2000 Microfilm Edition, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, OH.; Wednesday, October 14, 1863, and Friday, November 13, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 70-71.

<sup>14</sup>S. B. Buckner to Samuel Cooper, August 11, 1863, in George Troup Maxwell CSR Reel #3; J. S M. Davidson to Mrs. W. T. Stockton, December 7, 1863, in Ulmer, ed., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 241-242.

Colonel Dilworth had his supporters in the army as well. General John C. Breckinridge, just prior to Chickamauga, nominated the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida's commander for the rank of Brigadier General. The Kentuckian described Dilworth as having "shown the qualities of a competent and faithful officer." Though General William Hardee endorsed General Breckinridge's request, Jefferson Davis did not sanction Dilworth's promotion. The Confederate President instead was swayed by Governor John Milton's request that Finley receive the promotion. The governor's petition is impressive as in it, Milton a Democrat, endorsed a Whig, thereby demonstrating a dissipation of Florida's political divisiveness. Only four days after Bragg created the Florida Brigade, the Confederate Congress approved Finley's wreathed stars. Standing nearly six feet tall, General Finley exhibited a formidable presence on the battlefield. The war had robbed the fifty-one-year-old general of his youthful appearance, having given the judge his first gray hairs; by 1863 he also wore a thick beard that made him appear many years older. The Florida Brigade would, in title at least, be his for the remainder of the war.<sup>15</sup>

The formation of the Florida Brigade truly bonded the state's citizen's soldiers, as it fastened large numbers of troops from each region under, and tied the state's reputation in the Army of Tennessee to one command. The Florida Brigade's hierarchy mirrored the political power structure in the state, with a West Floridian at the top, and East and Middle Floridians acting as subordinates. Surprisingly, officers from the latter regions seemed to approve of Finley and willing to follow his orders. It was, to say the least, an arrangement unthinkable ten years earlier, when West Florida had been looked down upon by other areas of the state. The war though allowed the Floridians to put aside their differences and to unite for a common cause.

---

<sup>15</sup>John C. Breckinridge to Samuel Cooper, August 17, 1863, in William Scott Dilworth CSR Reel # 47; John Milton to Jefferson Davis, October 5, 1863, in Haskell M. Monroe, et. al., eds, *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*. 11 Volumes. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971-2004), X: 10; Ronald A. Mosocco, *The Chronological Tracking of the Civil War Per the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* (Williamsburg: James River Publishing, 1994), 184; J. S M. Davidson to Mrs. W. T. Stockton, December 7, 1863, in Ulmer, ed., *The Correspondence of Will and Ju Stockton, 1845-1869*, 241-242; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Sister Kate, January 24, 1864. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.

## IV

Despite jubilation over the Florida Brigade's formation which garnered attention in their letters and diaries, the Floridians in the trenches at the base of Missionary Ridge, still endured bad weather, poor diet, and inaction following the Chickamauga victory. While these conditions caused irritation among the soldiers, their reaction was no more-bitter than at any other point during the war when the going became exceedingly difficult. On the other hand, the Army of Tennessee's soldiers profited from issues of clothing during the "siege" and seemed prepared to face the oncoming winter than the previous year. This fact seemed to ease the rigors of daily existence; meanwhile from the picket lines they watched the Yankee army grow stronger, and each awaited the inevitable clash of arms.<sup>16</sup>

All of the soldiers at Chattanooga, whether they wore blue or gray, suffered intensely during the autumn months. Freezing rain fell upon the Floridians huddled behind their entrenchments at the foot of Missionary Ridge, and upon the sentinels on the picket line; tents were a bygone luxury and overcoats were few. Sergeant Archie Livingston complained to his brother-in-law and state representative, Enoch Vann from the Chattanooga entrenchments in October, that General Stovall's men were "without sufficient Tents & flies, and rain continues to fall." Willie Bryant, returned to the regiment at last from extended duty at Braxton Bragg's headquarters, concurred by complaining "it goes devilishly tough with me at first, particularly as the weather has been horrible since my return, rainy, cold, and windy, . . . and our Brigade is without tents. . . ." Lt. Henry Wright wrote disgustedly that he and his messmates might have been comfortable, but "all our clothes, cooking utensils, tents, mess chest, and Bed clothes were lost on the trip from Miss. . . ."<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup>Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire*, 109-110; McDonough, *Chattanooga*, 63; Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes*, 29-30.

<sup>17</sup>Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire*, 97; Archie Livingston to Dear Enoch, November 6, 1863, in Coski, ed., "I Am In For Anything For Success," 79; Willie Bryant to Dear Davis, October 26, 1863, in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 277; Henry T. Wright to Dear Laura, October 3, 1863. FSU, Tallahassee, FL.

Throughout October, the Floridians's primary enemy remained the annoying weather, for no harm would come from yankee small arms fire. Following a truce declared on September 27 for the purpose of exchanging the Chickamauga wounded, the pickets of both armies refused to kill while in the line of rifle pits that snaked between the two armies. Wiley Sword aptly described the ensuing cease-fire as consisting of "friendly exchanges of goods, impromptu discussions and innocuous fraternization. . ." An anonymous soldier writing to Maggie McKenzie explained Confederate "pickets and the Yankey pickets are within 200 yds. of each other. The boys when out on picket swap papers, exchange coffee for tobacco etc . . . Both parties lay down their guns & meet each other half way. & have a regular chat." Artillery fire remained a danger throughout the "siege," and counted among its victims 4<sup>th</sup> Florida Lt. Francis Marion Mitchell, who was mortally wounded by solid shot on November 2.<sup>18</sup>

While besieging Chattanooga, Bragg's Army subsisted on the supplies that a single rail line could deliver, and time was needed to distribute cooked food to the troops at the front. The general's attempts to feed his soldiers were also hampered by the fact that Lee's Army of Northern Virginia received favored status from the Confederate Commissary Bureau. T. J. Robertson of the 6<sup>th</sup> Florida informed his friend Benjamin Glover "we don't git one third enough of Beef, and no Bacon atall 3 days rashings of Beef makes 2 meals and the bread stuff only lasts one day and a half." Willie Bryant described his fare as "corn meal, poor beef, and 2 in 7 flour and bacon. . . ." 7<sup>th</sup> Florida Lt. Reason W. Jerkins, one of the fortunate soldiers who had ready cash, visited a "Settlers [sic] Shop" to supplement his meager fare "& bought 4 lbs pottoes @ 50 cts \$2.00 . . . I thought I wanted to taste one . . . as I have not ett one or two messeses sence I left home." Quartermaster Sergeant Washington Ives complained of the diet on November 10, elaborating "we have not drawn a pound of meat in five days, nor see any prospect for

---

<sup>18</sup>Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire*, 91-93; ???? to Miss Maggie McKenzie, October 23, 1863, in Tucker, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 106; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Mother, November 5, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL.; Robert Bullock to My dearest darling, November 6, 1863. Robert and Amanda Waterman Bullock Letters. GDAH, Atlanta, GA.

more. In lieu of meat we get two and three quarters (2 3/4 oz.) ounces of sugar in place of a pound of beef or a third of bacon.”<sup>19</sup>

Despite the lack of meat, the conditions at Chattanooga were no worse than at Tullahoma earlier that year. In fact, Washington Ives wrote that in November the soldiers in his regiment were “getting along remarkably well and are by far more healthy than anyone could expect.” By late-October the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Florida’s number of soldiers present had increased to 375 soldiers, a higher total than the regiments carried into battle at Chickamauga. The soldiers had further reason to rejoice when in October, the army received new winter uniforms, Ives described as “jackets of kersey, Blue Cuffs, Pants, . . . Shoes, Caps, Shirts, etc.” The young Quartermaster Sergeant further informed his father that the men received “new English Blankets . . . A single one is large enough to cover a double bed and the texture is far superior to the blankets usually brought south with goods.”<sup>20</sup>

By late October, the soldiers further improved their chances against the elements by constructing crude cabins at the foot of Missionary Ridge. This was no easy task as Henry McCall Holmes observed “we have cut down all the timber on the mountain,” evidently

---

<sup>19</sup>Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire*, 108-109; McDonough, *Chattanooga*, 63; Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes*, 29; Daniel, *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee*, 58-59; T. J. Robertson to Much Esteemed Friend, November 21, 1863. Benjamin R. Glover Letters. ADAH, Montgomery, AL.; Willie Bryant to Dear Davis, October 26, 1863, in in Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens Jr., eds., *Rose Cottage Chronicles*, 278; R. W. Jerkins to Dear Wife & Children, November 17, 1863, in Zonira Hunter Tolles, *Bonnie Melrose: The Early History of Melrose, Florida* (Keystone Heights, FL: Privately Published, 1982), 245-246; Washington M. Ives, Jr., to Dear Father, November 10, 1863. Ives Papers. FSL, Tallahassee, FL. Sutlers were camp followers who sold merchandise and foodstuffs to the soldiers for inflated prices.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, October 21, November 1, and November 15, 1863; ??? to Miss Maggie McKenzie, October 23, 1863, in Tucker, trans., *The McKenzie Correspondence, 1849-1901*, 106; October 8, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 76; Wednesday, October 21, 1863 and Thursday, October 29, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 72. In October 1862 the Confederate government voted to provide its soldiers with uniforms. Each soldier could, theoretically, draw a certain number of items from government stores each year. If a soldier took in excess to his allotted amount, the price of the clothing was deducted from his pay; likewise by a soldier who took fewer items was reimbursed. See Wiley, *Life of Johnny Reb*, 110-111.

used for the entrenchments and firewood. Robert Watson and his messmates, using alternative materials created a “hut which is built of poles, corn stalks, straw, and dirt. It makes a warm and comfortable hut, but I don’t think it is healthy.” Lt. Reason Jerkins and several officers of the 7<sup>th</sup> Florida, fortunate enough to have a tent, pitched it near the ridge’s base and on November 17, Jerkins noted “Mie boys is buisey building a chimnly.” With their new clothing, blankets, and shelters, the Floridians settled down in mid-November for a tolerable existence, even if the food shortage continued. In Chattanooga, General Ulysses S. Grant was preparing to put and end to the Florida Brigade’s tenure on Missionary Ridge and drive the Confederates into the mountains of North Georgia.<sup>21</sup>

## V

General Ulysses S. Grant, fresh from his capture of Vicksburg arrived at Chattanooga on October 22, after assuming command of a new military department that comprised all Union forces between the Appalachian Mountains and Mississippi River. The War Department supplemented Grant’s arrival by transferring the Union Army of the Potomac’s XI and XII Corps to Tennessee, as well as William T. Sherman’s XV Corps from the Army of the Tennessee. In the last week of October, at Grant’s directive, the Army of the Cumberland and the newly-arrived easterners participated in a joint strike to clear Longstreet’s troops from Lookout Valley, thus securing a supply line to Chattanooga.<sup>22</sup>

Soon after, Bragg’s army was weakened by President Davis’s detachment of Longstreet’s two divisions to liberate East Tennessee. Bragg, infuriated at Longstreet’s failure to halt the Union thrust in Lookout Valley, and still holding a grudge against Lee’s “Old Warhorse,” for his part in the early October command fiasco, happily acquiesced

---

<sup>21</sup>October 16, 1863, in Holmes, *Diary of Henry McCall Holmes*, 19; Tuesday, October 27, 1863, in Campbell, ed., *Southern Service*, 80; R. W. Jerkins to Dear Wife & Children, Nov 17 1863, in Tolles, *Bonnie Melrose*, 245-246; Monday, November 23, 1863, in Pasco, *Private Pasco*, 80.

<sup>22</sup>Bruce Catton, *Grant Takes Command* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 34; Sword, *Mountains Touched With Fire*, 114; Daniel, *Days of Glory*, 363-367.