APPOMATTOX MANOR - CITY POINT

A HISTORY

DR. HARRY BUTOWSKY
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
MID-ATLANTIC REGION

1978



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United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Mr. Edward Butowsky
7262 Hanford Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19149

Dear Mr. Butowsky:

Enclosed is a copy of my report Appomattox Manor-City Point-A History. I want to thank you for your help in preparing this report and will appreciate any comments you may have on the substance of the report,

Sincerely yours,

Harry Butowsky

Harry Butowsky, Ph.D.
Staff Historian

Appomattox Manor-City Point

A History

Dr. Harry Butowsky
National Park Service
Mid-Atlantic Region

1978

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Appomattox Manor-City Point

Introduction

Appomattox Manor[1] is located in Hopewell, Virginia on a promontory overlooking the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers. The Manor house and several outbuildings are located on the property which is currently privately owned and includes a total of 15 acres.

Appomattox Manor is the ancestral home of the Eppes Family and goes back to the days of Colonial America and has played an important part in the history of the United States. A summary of the historically significant story of Appomattox Manor follows.

First, from June 15, 1864, until March 29, 1865, this was the site for the Headquarters of the Armies of the United States. The Headquarters with its Commanding Officer, the General-in-Chief of the United States Armies,

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[1]Reference to Appomattox Manor in this report will include the manor house, adjacent buildings, gardens, and curtilage including the shores of the two rivers near the house. The original name of the property was "Appomattox." This was changed to "Appomattox Manor" in the 1930's by the post office to avoid confusion with Appomattox Court House. In this report the term "Appomattox Manor" is used to conform with modern usage.

gave the United States for the first time an efficient modern system of command for waging war. This headquarters at Appomattox Manor "was destined to become historic and to be the scene of the most memorable events of the war."

Second, Lieutenant General U. S. Grant, General-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States was quartered at Appomattox Manor Estate during this period. It was here that General Grant conducted his campaign against the principal field army of the Confederacy, General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.

Third, President Abraham Lincoln for two of the last three weeks of his life had his Executive Office at Headquarters, Armies of the United States. Lincoln visited Grant's Headquarters in June, 1864, and from March 24, to April 8, 1865. Living on board the *River Queen*, Lincoln came to Appomattox Manor to be "nearer to the end of General Grant's present movement." The last telegram of military importance to be sent by President Lincoln was sent from here on April 7, 1865: "General Sheridan says, 'if the thing is pressed, I think that Lee will surrender.' Let the thing be pressed. A. Lincoln."

Fourth, the greatest logistical operation of the Civil War was commanded from, and conducted on the waters and shore adjacent to Appomattox Manor. The Chief Quartermaster of Grant's staff was responsible for all logistical operations and the Armies of the Potomac and the James. From June, 1864, to May, 1865 his headquarters was in the Manor House.

On an average day there were forty steamboats, seventy-five sailing vessels, and one hundred barges tied up along the mile-long waterfront. Army hospitals to accommodate 10,000 casualties were built along the bluff from City Point to the present Hopewell Yacht Club.

Fifth, Appomattox Manor probably is the oldest English Colonial Land Grant in the United States to continue in the same family. Appomattox Manor is part of an original grant by Charles I to Captain Francis Eppes in 1635 and has had continuous ownership in the Eppes family for 340 years.

Appomattox Manor has an important story to tell the modern visitor. Many of the important events of American History

occurred either directly on or nearby the property. The first chapter of this report will detail the early history of the site and its association with the Eppes family.



FIGURE 2
1962 Photo of Appomattox Manor, Hopewell, Va.
SOURCE: Report on Appomattox Manor, Hopewell, Va.

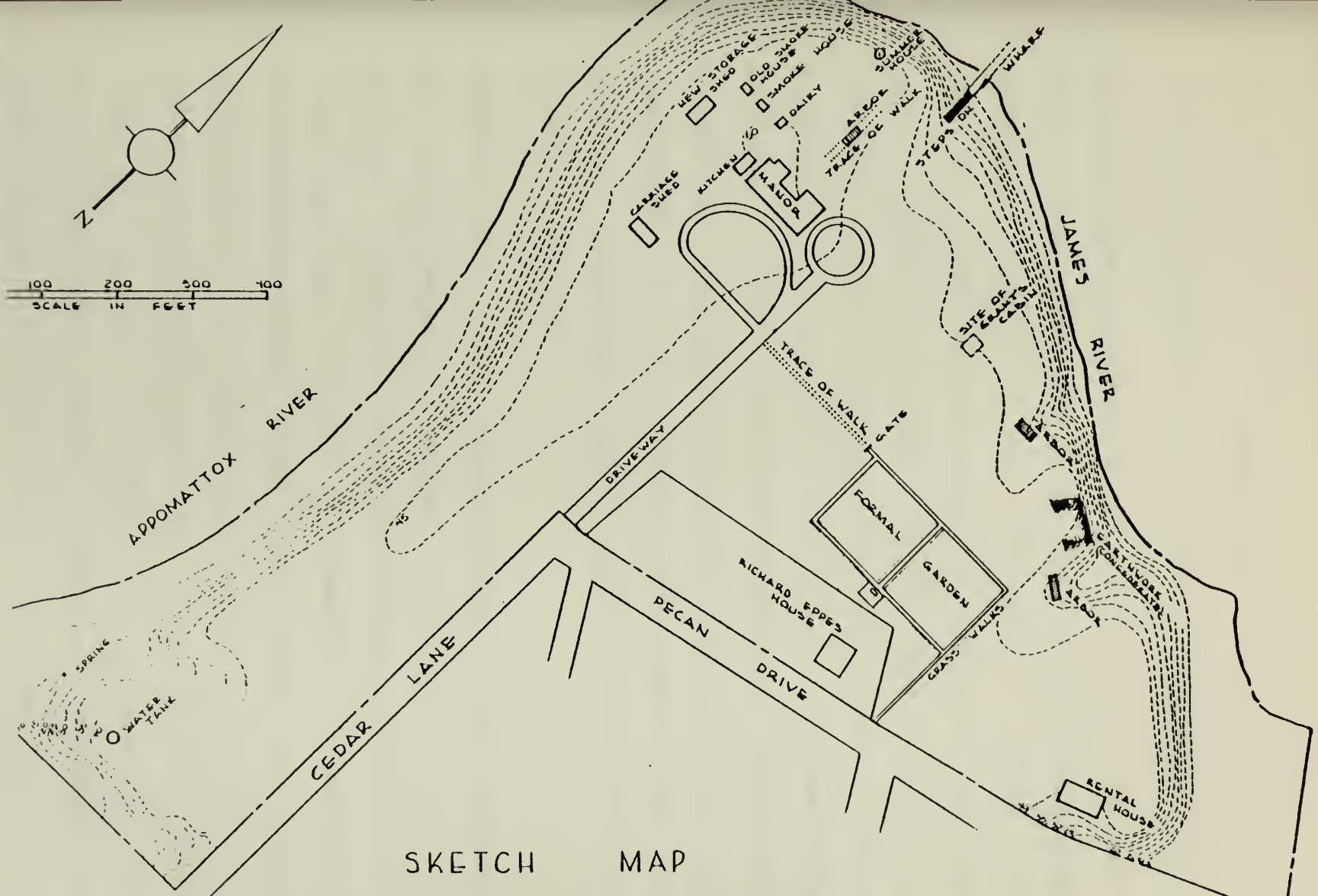


FIGURE 3
Present condition of manor house, right, and kitchen building, left.
Source: Report on Appomattox Manor Hopewell, Virginia, 1962.

GURE 4

Sketch Map of Appomattox Manor, Hopewell, Virginia.

URCE: Report on Appomattox Manor, Hopewell, Virginia.



SKETCH MAP

APPOMATTOX MANOR

HOPEWELL, VIRGINIA

L PARK SERVICE, SOUTHEAST REGION

OCTOBER 15, 1962

Chapter One

The Early History of City Point and the Eppes Family

Following Queen Elizabeth's death in 1603, her successor, James I, made peace with Spain, thus freeing English manpower and resources for the colonization of America. In 1606, King James issued charters to two joint-stock companies to colonize the land that Sir Walter Raleigh had named Virginia in honor of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth. The more important of the two Virginia companies, with headquarters at London, promptly sent out an expedition. This expedition reached the Chesepeake Bay in April 1607, after a voyage of four months. The 100 odd settlers proceeded up the James River and founded the first permanent settlement in the New World at Jamestown.

Jamestown was not the unanimous choice of the colonists. Had Captain Newport, a member of this first expedition had his way, it would not have been selected as the site for the first settlement. Newport, as commander of a twenty-one man reconnaissance force, sailed up the James River in search of a suitable site for the colony. On May 8, he saw City Point and was impressed with the site. Before Newport could return to the other colonists with his suggestions, the decision was made to settle at Jamestown, thus City Point missed becoming the site of the first permanent English

settlement in the New World by only the narrowest of margins.[1]

Newport found the City Point area populated by the Appomatuck Indians who were a sub-tribe of the Powhatan Indians of the Algonquian linguistic stock. The origin of the name Appomattox is obscure but it might have meant "tobacco plant country" or "curving tidal estuary".[2]

Newport visited one of the villages of the Appomattuck Indians near the junction of the James and Appomattox Rivers during this first trip and was given a reluctant welcome by the Indians. The light armour, helmets and weapons of the English were intriguing to the Indians, while Newport was equally interested in the native's clothing of skins, ornamented with bones, shells and teeth, as well as their weapons which consisted of bows and arrows, hatchets and weighted clubs.[3]

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[1]Francis Earle Lutz, The Prince George-Hopewell Story (The William Bryd Press, Richmond, 1957), p. 3. Although the identities of Newport's party is not definitely known, it did include Captain Percy, eighth son of the Earl of Northumberland, John Colloson, Robert Jackson, Robert Tyndall and Matthew Finch.

[2]Kelsie B. Harden, ed., Illustrated Dictionary of Place Names-United States and Canada (Van Nostrand Reinhold and Company, New York, 1976.

[3]Lutz, p. 10.

Percy left an account of this first visit to the City Point-Hopewell area:

> The eight of May we discovered (explored) up the river. We landed in the countrey of the Apamatica. At our landing came many stout and able savages to resist us with their Bows and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backs beset with sharp stones and pieces of iron able to cleave a man in sunder. Amongst the rest, one of the chiefest standing before them cross legged with his Arrowes readdie in his Bow, and taking a pipe of tobacco in the other, with a bold uttering of his speech, demanding of us our being there, willing (commanding) us to bee gone. Wee made signs of peace, which they perceived in the end, and let us land in quiteness.[4]

Newport wrote of the visit:

> The men are straight and lusty, and run exceedingly swift and so practised are they in the arts of stealing that while looking you in the face they will with their toes take a chisel, knife or any light thing and hold it an injury to have the stolen thing taken away from the.[5]

The Indians visited by Newport lived simply in wigwams or houses constructed from saplings and arranged cone-like, with an opening at the top for smoke and fire to pass. The frames of these buildings were covered with either bark or skins, a small opening protected by a flap was used to

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[4] Ibid., p. 5

[5] Ibid.

provide access. The indians reported that they were comfortable even in the coldest of weather.[6]

The Appomattuck Indians lived a sedentary life clustered in agricultural villages. The women tilled the soil and the men hunted and waged war. Tobacco and maize (Indian corn) were the two most important Indian crops. Agricultural implements and tools were primitive by the standards of the English farmers. Land was cleared of trees by stripping a circle of bark from the base of the tree. The stumps were left in the ground and the ground was prepared for planting with the use of the wooden hoe faced with bone, horn and stone.

In addition to maize and tobacco, beans, peas, pumpkins, muskmelons, cymblings and gourds were raised. Strawberries, gooseberries, blackberries, mulburries, chestnuts and persimmons were gathered from the surrounding forests.[7]

Although duties concerning the gathering, raising and hunting of food were carefully divided between the sexes it is probable that most of the basic caloric intake was provided

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 6.

by the women of the village who raised the crops and gathered food from the forest. While hunting and fishing provided welcome additions to the diet, this source of food supply was too uncertain for the village to rely on for its food needs.

On May 22, 1607, Newport returned to the area for a second visit.[8]

The arrival of the Englishmen provoked a much friendlier response among the Appomattuck Indians who stood along the banks of the river offering food and welcome. The Englishmen were the guests of Queen Opusoquoinuske of the Appomattuck Indians. Her area of authority extended to both sides of the Appomattox River from the mouth to the falls, with one village on the Prince George side just below Petersburg and another near the present Bermuda Hundred.[9]

Percy reported that the Queen had copper around her neck and a crown of copper on her head. He further reported that

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[8]The roster for this second visit included Newport, Smith and Percy, and Captain Gabriel Archer. Others included John Brooks, Thomas Whooten, Johanas Poole, John Crookdeck, Benjamin Black, Thomas Turnbridge, Robert Marham, Francis Nelson, Oliver Brown, Richard Genoway, Thomas Godward, Charles Clarke, Skinner and Jeremy Deale, and two boys, Stephen and Daniel.

[9]Ibid., p. 6.

"She has long black hair, which hanged loose down her back to her middle; which only partly was covered with deer skin and all else naked."[10]

The total population of the tribe was probable 250 to 300 men, women and children which translated into a military force of eighty warriors. After a short visit, Newport again returned to Jamestown.

The first years of the Jamestown colony were not easy. Hunger, hostile indians, and disease took many lives and, at one point, the colony was almost abandoned. Much of the trouble arose because of the faulty organization and unrealistic aims of the enterprise. Anxious for quick profits from gold, the settler's were slow to take up the practice of agriculture necessary to sustain the colony. This reluctance arose partly from the fact that all of the original settlers were employees of the company and their labor was exacted under a military discipline by an autocratic government. This system was changed in 1618 when the company initiated a new program for the colony and chose Sir Edwin Sandys (who never came to Virginia) to execute it. Under this "headright" system a person would

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[10] Ibid.

receive fifty acres of land for himself and every person he brought to Virginia. Individuals receiving these grants were required to build a house and plant a crop within three years, and to pay an annual quitrent of one shilling for every fifty acres as long as they remained in possession of the land. Under this system a person would receive fifty acres for every individual he transported to America. The result of this new system was to greatly increase the population of Virginia.

As the population of Virginia increased and the years passed other changes occurred in the organization of the colony that made life in America more desirable for settlement. These were the introduction of tobacco cultivation, which gave the colony a cash crop to pay for its imports, the introduction of Negro servants and later slaves, which provided a cheap source of labor and the beginning of the first representative assembly, which provided a liberal atmosphere in which economic changes could develop. The combination of these forces combined with a cheap source of fertile land to insure the success of the colony. All of these factors were operating by the time Francis Eppes first arrived in Virginia.

The Eppes Family before the time of Dr. Richard Eppes

We are able to trace the ancestors of Francis Eppes far back into English History. The surname Eppes[11] is of considerable antiquity. The family originated in Kent County, England and can be traced back there as far as the year 1272. A Roger Epps is found in English legal papers dating from that year.

Alen Epes (Epse), the greatgrandfather of Francis Eppes was born in Kent County and died there in 1551. He was a member of the English gentry class and, while not rich, was comfortable, economically.[12]

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[11]The Eppes family name has been spelled several different ways during the history of the family. The common spelling is Eppes, but Epps, Eps, Epes and Epse are also known. Francis Eppes and his descendants used the spelling Eppes. For reasons of clarity the spelling of Eppes is used throughout this paper.

[12]Eva Turner Clark, Francis Eppes, His Ancestors and Descendants, Richard R. Smith, New York, 1942) pp. 5-7. Mrs. Clark's book is currently the best researched and most detailed account available concerning the Eppes family in America. The family has employed a researcher, Mr. Prentice Price, to revise the history of the Eppes family and to correct the mistakes of the Clark book. This research had not yet been completed and what material is available has been circulated to the family and has not been published.

The son of Alen Epes was John Epes who was born in Kent County about the year 1530.

The son of John Epes was also named John. He was born about 1560 in Kent County and died on November 19, 1627, and was buried at Ashford, England. He married Thomazine Banks and had a son named Francis Eppes, who was baptized on May 15, 1597. We know nothing of the early history of Francis Eppes except that he was one of eight children and had at least one and possibly two older brothers.

Because Francis Eppes had older brothers, he had little chance of inheriting any property from his parents. The laws of primogeniture and entail gave preference to the oldest surviving son. The usual fate of younger sons was to enter the clergy or the army. Francis Eppes chose a third course and decided to come to America to make his fame and fortune. The reason for this choice was obvious. Virginia offered a hope and opportunity that England could never provide. In Virginia a man could be a landowner and establish his own line. The risks and hardships of the voyage were considerable but the lure of cheap land was too

much for Francis Eppes to resist. Still in his early twenties, Francis Eppes packed his bags and traveled to America with his wife Marie.[13]

He traveled to the colony at Jamestown on the ship Hopewell whose name he was later to give to his plantation on the south bank of the James River.

Little is known of the life or history of the family during these first years in America. It is not until 1625 that we learn that Francis Eppes was a member of the House of Burgesses where he represented Charles City County.[14]

John Epes, father of Francis Eppes, died in 1627 and apparently left his son an inheritance. By the time news of the death reach America Francis Eppes had risen in Virginia society and had been appointed to the "Commission for a monthly Court...in the Upper Parts."[15]

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[13]The exact date of Francis Eppes arrival in Virginia is uncertain, but it was probably before 1625 and possibly as early as 1620 or 1621.

[14]Clark, p. 211.

[15]Ibid.

Sometime after March 1628, Francis Eppes returned to England with his family to collect his inheritance and to gather a company of immigrants to come to Virginia so he could collect their headrights. He was probably in England as late as September 1630.[16]

One advantage of taking his family back to England was that they would all be counted as new immigrants on their return to Virginia. He could thus collect additional headrights for his immediate family. There is no record of Francis Eppes in Virginia records from March 1628, when he was appointed a Commissioner of Justice in "The Upper Parts," until 1631 when he was appointed a commissioner for the Counties of Charles City and Henrico.[17]

Francis Eppes undoubtly spent the interval in England putting his affairs in order and organizing his expedition of immigrants. Also, as a person familiar with conditions in

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[16]Francis Eppes' first two sons, John and Francis, were born in Virginia and returned to England with their parents in 1628. The church of St. Olave, Hart Street, London, records that on September 8, 1630, Thomas, son of Francis Eps (Eppes) and his wife Marie, was born. Thomas Epes (Eppes), in a disposition in Virginia given in 1665, gave his age at 35 years, making it reasonable to assume that he is the Thomas Epes (Eppes) referred to in the church records.

[17]Clark, p. 212

Virginia, he would have been in demand for consultation by the Royal Government, which had so recently taken over direct control of the colony.

Francis Eppes returned to Virginia in 1631, and on August 26, 1635, he obtained 1,700 acres of land by royal patent in the County of Charles, lying east upon Bayly's Creek, west upon Cosons (Cawsons) Creek, by the Appomattox River, and north upon the main river. He received 50 acres for his personal adventure, and 650 for the transportation of three sons and thirty servants whose transportation he paid for.[18]

Since the total patent was for 1,700 acres and Francis Eppes had headrights for 700 acres, we must ask why did he receive

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[18]"Culpeper's Report on Virginia in 1683", The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Jan. 1896, 111, No. 3, p. 281. A complete listing to the headrights is as follows:

> Head rights: Captain Francis Epes, Fr. Epes, Thomas Epes, Jon. Long, Jon. Baker, Thos. Warden, Jon. Joyce. Tho. Foanes, Tho. Cropp, Richard Stayte, Richard Heautt, George Addams, Sarah Hickmore, Thos. Pattison, Anthony Box, Jonathan Ellison, Barth Swinborne. Silvester Atkins, Robert Fossett, Ju. Rowland, Ann Turner, George Archer, Hugh James, Jon. Nowell, Bashaw, Juliana. Andrea. Magdelina, Sersent, Negar Rich. Litchfield, Edward Ames, Susan Mills, James Long.

a thousand extra acres of land? The patent is silent on this subject and simply states that he was granted 1,700 acres of land for himself, his three sons and thirty servants. Two possible conclusions are that he brought over other indentured servants prior to his return to Virginia in 1631, or that the extra land was a gift from the crown for services rendered either in London or in Virginia. He might also have purchased the land from the money he received from his father's estate. Mrs. Elise Eppes Cutchins, a direct descendant of Francis Eppes, stated her belief that the 1,000 acres of land was given to Francis Eppes as additional headrights for people he brought to America.[19]

Another intriguing question is why did Francis Eppes wait so long to claim his headrights. He arrived in Virginia probably fifteen years before he patented his land at City Point. Certainly, he could have claimed land at that time. The headright system was initated in 1618 by Sir Edwin Sandys and was almost certainly in force when Francis Eppes

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[19]See the transcript of the conversation between Dr. Harry Butowsky and Mrs. Elise Eppes Cutchins on November 30, 1977, located in the files of the Petersburg National Battlefield Park, Petersburg, Virginia. Even if this was the case it would not explain the fact that no additional names are mentioned in the patent to justify the extra 1,000 acres.

arrived in Virginia. Since there is no record of Francis Eppes claiming land before 1635 and his grant in 1635 was larger by 1,000 acres than it should have been considering the number of people he brought to America in 1631, we must assume that he was saving his headrights before 1631, or saving his money to put in all of his claim at one time. He was certainly influential in the political life of the colony, which can be assumed from his membership in the House of Burgesses.

He was a young man and was probably not ready yet to settle down and establish a farm. The death of his father in England in 1627 and his inheritance gave him the opportunity he needed to translate his limited capital in England into usable land in Virginia. By paying the passage for thirty servants, he could claim land in Virginia and the labor necessary to operate a large farm. Still, even after he returned to the colony in 1631, he waited four years before claiming his land. By 1631 he was the father of a growing family and a man of some importance in Virginia. The reason for the wait to claim his land is not known and unless new documentation is found, will probably never be known. Francis Eppes left no diary of his life, and what we know about him comes from a few church records, land patent

records, and family tradition. These sources do not clear away the mystery.

Little is known of the reminder of the life of Francis Eppes except that he represented Charles City in the House of Burgesses in January 1639, and was elected a member of the Council on April 30, 1652.[20]

Francis Eppes died on October 4, 1668 and left three children, John, Francis and Thomas. John Eppes inherited his father's lands, and it is not known what inheritance was left to the two younger sons.

Little is known of the life of John Eppes except that he was a large landowner and a member of the militia of Charles City County. John Eppes and his younger brother Francis were undoubtly involved in the defense of the Virginia Colony from Indian raids during this period.

In 1679 or 1680, John Eppes died and passed the title to the family lands to his son John Eppes, who was born in 1648. We know this because John Eppes gave a power of

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[20]Culpeper's report, p. 281.

attorney to Elias Osborne to transact any business in Surrey County in connection with his father's estate.[21]

Just as in the case of his father and grandfather, John Eppes lived the life of a prosperous Virginia landowner. The rent roll of 1704 shows him the owner of 500 acres in Charles City County, and of 300 acres in Prince George County. In 1712, an additional tract of 400 acres was surveyed for him on the Butterwood Swamp.[22] John Eppes also owned the land he had inherited from his father. Like his father and grandfather he was active in public affairs and was sheriff of Charles City County in 1707 and a justice in 1714.[23] John and his wife, Mary Eppes had six sons—John, Nathaniel, Thomas, William, Francis, and Richard.

John Eppes died in 1722 and divided his land between his sons, John, Nathaniel and Thomas and gave the remaining portion of his estate to his wife and his six children, (which included John, Nathaniel and Thomas). Some time

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[21]Clark, p. 214

[22]Ibid., p. 219

[23]Ibid.

earlier he had also given land to his brothers, Francis and Daniel.[24]

Mary Eppes, upon her death, gave her land to her sons, William and Francis Eppes. The Eppes family lands were thus split up among the six sons and two brothers of John Eppes. Following the chain of title to the property at City Point at this point becomes difficult. According to family tradition, the title to the land at City Point passed from John Eppes to his fourth son William Eppes.[25]

William Eppes married Sarah Walpole, the daughter of Carson Walpole. We know nothing else about him except that he had four children, Francis, William, Mary and Sarah Eppes. He died in 1737.

According to family tradition, William Eppes divided his lands among his children. Mary Eppes, who married a Mr. Custis, received the City Point lands[26], while Francis William and Sarah received other property.[27]

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[24] Ibid., p. 219

[25] Cutchins Transcript, p. 2

[26] Cutchins Transcript, p. 2

[27] Francis Eppes made his home at a plantation of 356 acres on Bland's Swamp, Prince George County, not far from Bailey's Creek and "High Peak." This location would place him very close to the property left to his sister Mary.

Mary Eppes Custis died in childbirth and was followed soon afterward by her infant daughter. The title to the City Point property then passed to her uncle, Richard Eppes, the great-grandson of Francis Eppes. Richard Eppes became known as the Richard Eppes of Shirley Hundred Island and City Point.

Richard Eppes married Mary Cocke, daughter of Richard Cocke. This union produced two children—Elizabeth and Richard. Richard Eppes, the son of Richard Eppes and Mary Cocke Eppes, inherited the City Point lands from his father and built the present Eppes family home, Appomattox Manor, there in 1763.[28]

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[28]There is some confusion in the sources concerning the identity of Richard Eppes. Prentice Price, the genealogist of the Eppes family, and Mrs. Elise Eppes Cutchins believe he was the son of John Eppes who lived on Shirley Hundred Island and who died in 1722. This would make him the great-great grandson of Francis Eppes. Eva Turner Clark claims that he was the son of Francis Eppes the brother of Richard Eppes. This would also make him a great-great grandson of Francis Eppes. The confusion seems to be whether he was descended from Richard Eppes, the fifth son of John Eppes and Mary Poythress Eppes, or from Francis Eppes, the fourth son of the same couple. Both brothers, Francis and Richard, had sons whom they named Richard. In any case, it is certain according to Mrs. Clark and Mr. Cutchins that Richard Eppes owned the land at City Point and built "Appomattox Manor" there in 1763.

Richard Eppes and his wife Christian Robertson lived quietly on their property at City Point in the years immediately prior to the American Revolution. They were married in 1770, only a few years after Richard Eppes tore down the old family home at City Point and built the present home, which is now known as Appomattox Manor.

According to family tradition the home replaced a previously existing home that stood on the same site. Independent evidence would seem to support this belief because the age and structure of the out-kitchen appears to pre-date the construction of the house. The kitchen was most likely built to serve the pre-existing structure. Also, according to the terms of the headright in 1635, Francis Eppes had to put a crop in within three years and erect a home on the land or he would lose title. Although we have no definite knowledge of the previous home of the Eppes family at City Point, we can assume that it occupied the same site as Appomattox Manor and it dated from the time of Francis Eppes. Family tradition supports this view. Our knowledge of this must remain uncertain because we have no documentation concerning the original home. In all probability, no such documentation has survived the passage of years, and we must rely on family tradition for information in this area.

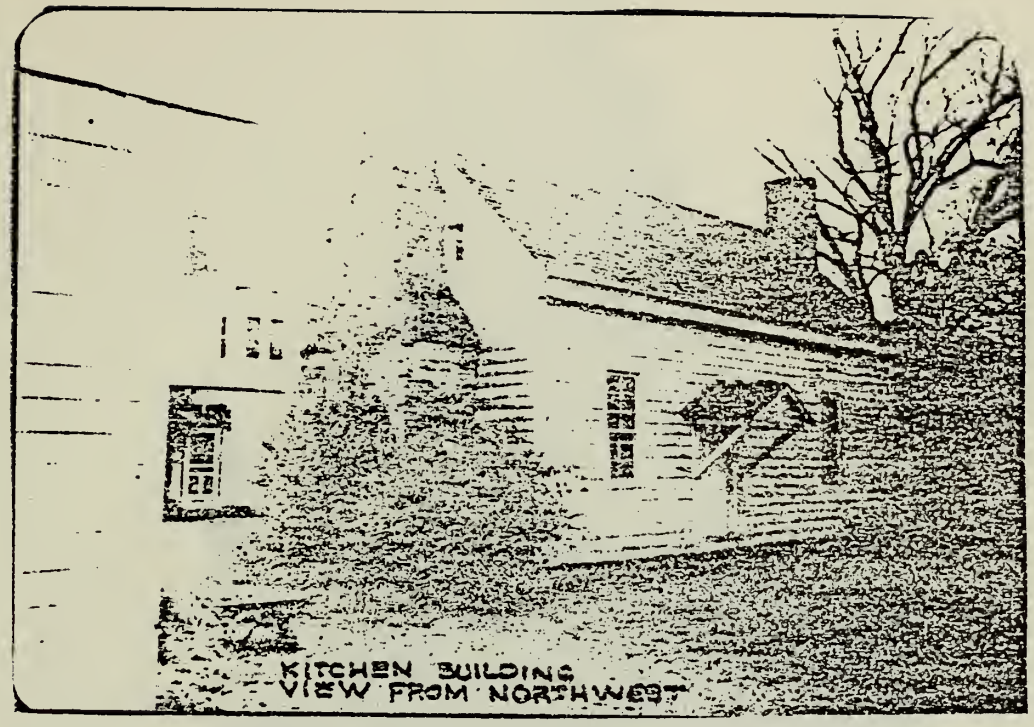


FIGURE 5

Kitchen Building at Appomattox Manor, view from northwest.

SOURCE: Photographic file of Henry Magaziner, Historical Mid-Atlantic Region, National Park Service, Phila., Pa.

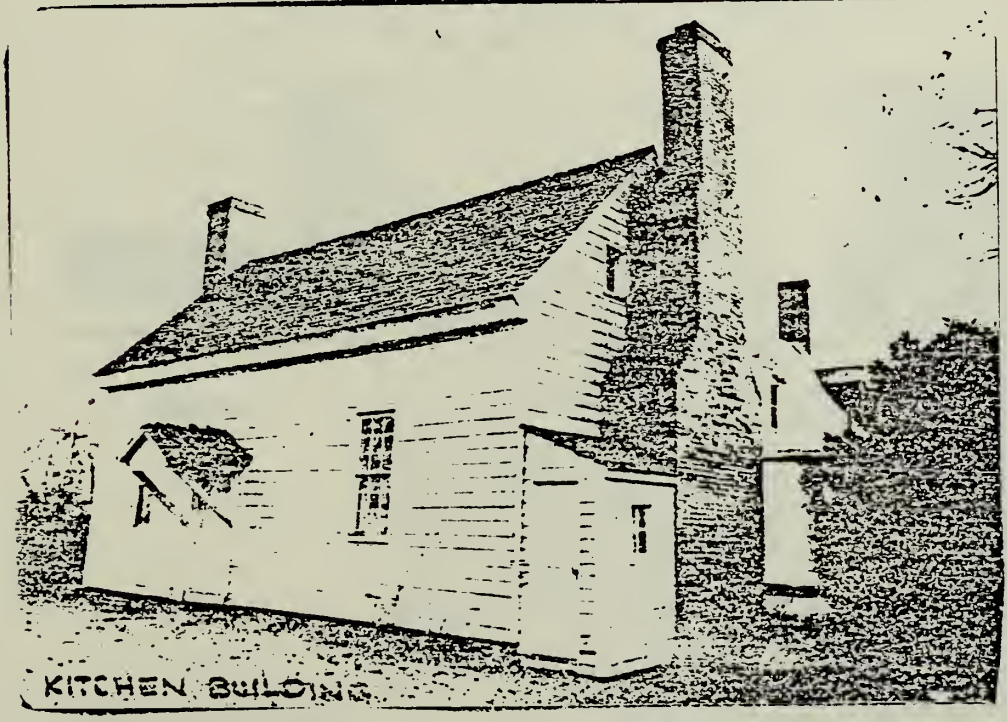


FIGURE 6

Kitchen Building at Appomattox Manor, view from southwest.

SOURCE: Magaziner Photo File.

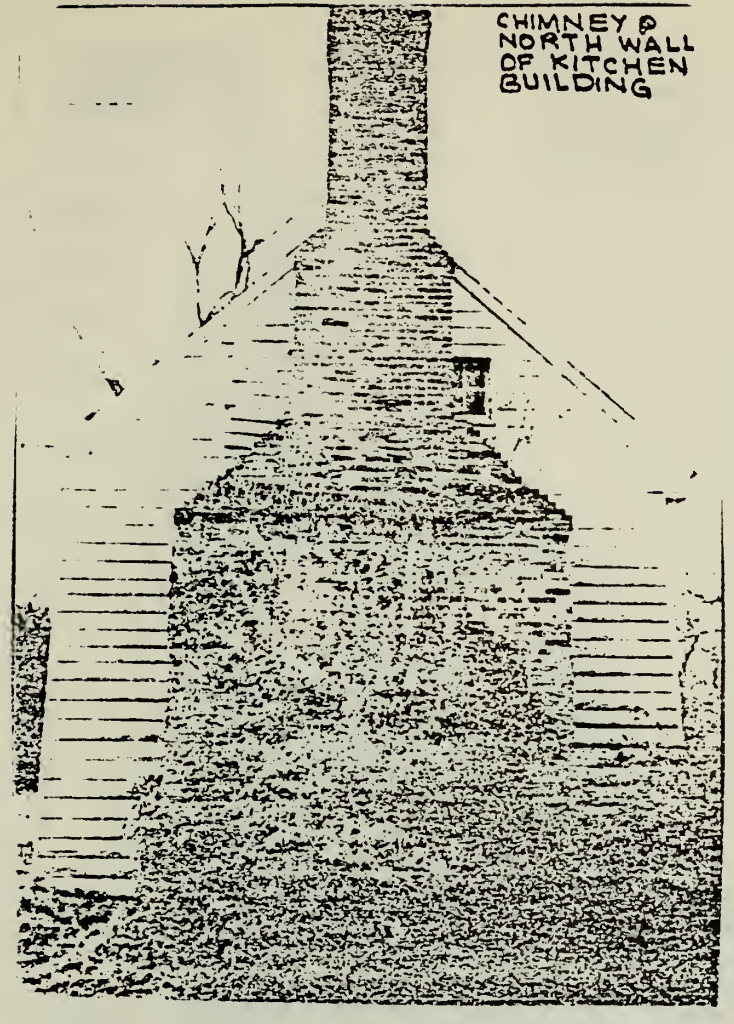


FIGURE 7

Chimney on North Wall of Kitchen Building at Appomattox Manor

SOURCE: Magaziner Photo File.



FIGURE 8

Chimney and South Wall of Kitchen Building

SOURCE: Magaziner Photo File

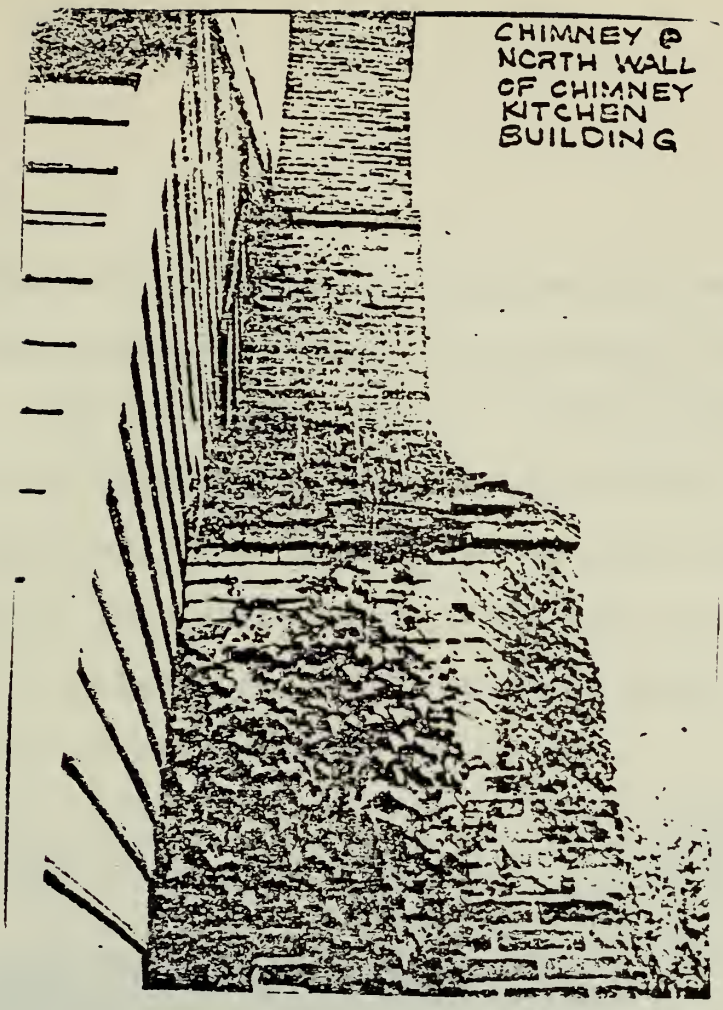


FIGURE 9
Chimney located on North Wall of Kitchen Building
SOURCE: Magaziner Photo File.

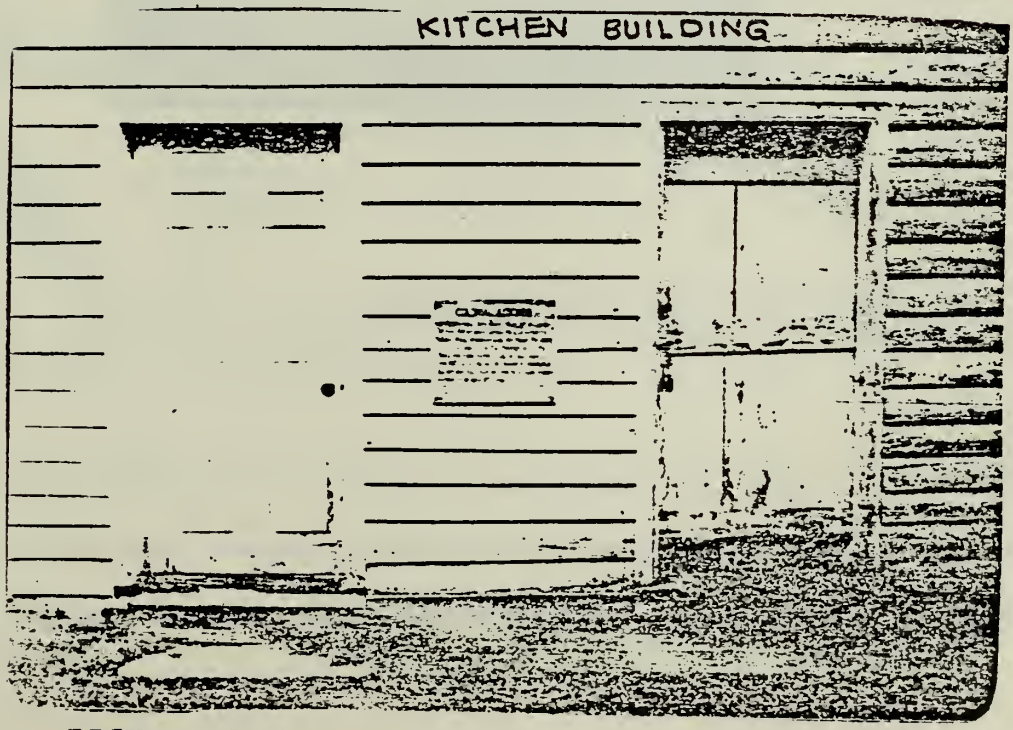


FIGURE 10
East Side of Kitchen Building.
SOURCE: Magaziner Photo File.

The exact date of construction of Appomattox Manor is under dispute. The secondary sources have variously assigned the dates 1751, 1752, 1763 and 1768 to the construction of the home. The best evidence we have for the actual construction date is a brick which is located in the west chimney in the center house at Appomattox Manor. The Brick is inscribed R.E. 1763 and probably stands for Richard Eppes and the date of actual construction of the house.

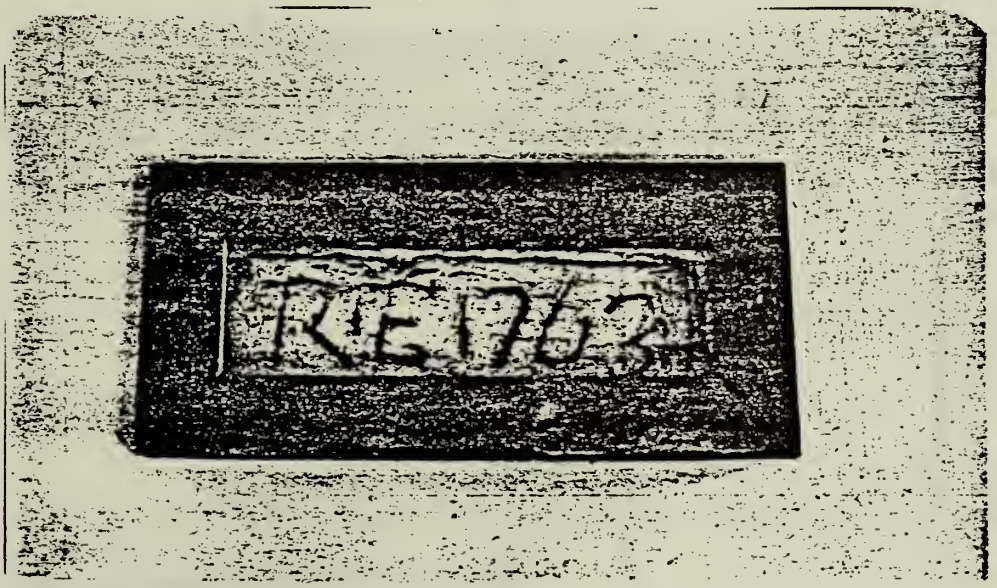


FIGURE: 11
Inscribed brick R.E. 1763 located on West Chimney of Center House of Appomattox Manor.
SOURCE: Magaziner Photo File.

Richard Eppes built a five room house in 1763. On the first floor were two large rooms—one dining room and another room that was used as a possible bedroom. On the second floor

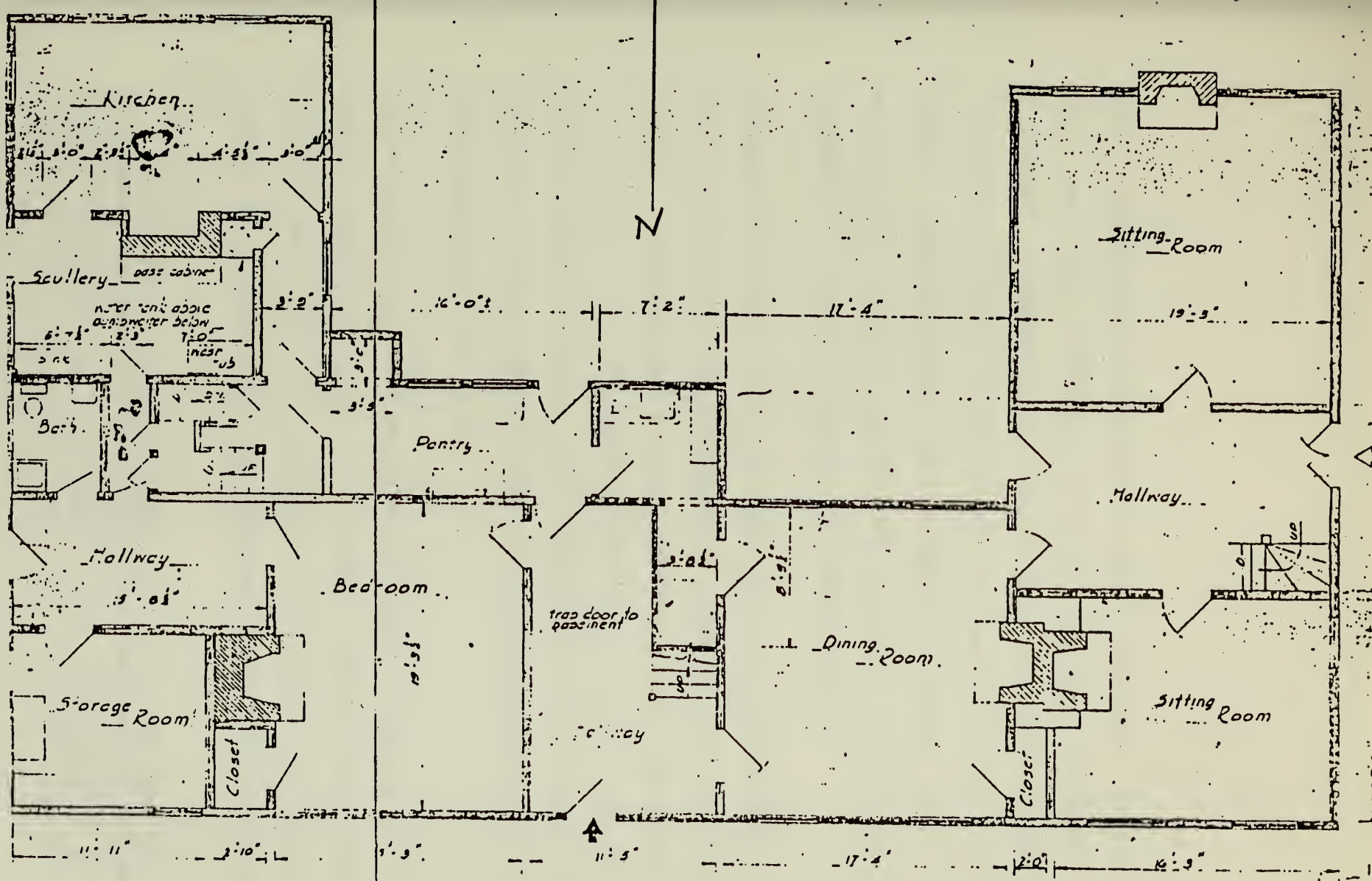


FIGURE 12
Appomattox Manor First Floor Plan
SOURCE: Eppes Family Files, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

were two large bedrooms and one small bedroom. Richard Eppes had eight children—Richard, Archibald, Thomas, Robertson, Elizabeth, Christian, Mary and William. With ten people living at Appomattox, as the home came to be called, conditions were soon crowded.[29] There is no evidence that Richard Eppes ever added to the home or changed it in any way after its construction.

Perhaps the reason for this was due to the uncertainty of life in Prince George County as a result of the Revolutionary War. Richard Eppes never served in the army, nor did any of his sons. By 1776 he was forty-one years of age and too old for active service. His children were too young for service. Richard Eppes spent the duration of the war on his estates at City Point.

The struggle for independence did have its impact on Richard Eppes' home late in the war. Prince George County received its baptism of fire on January 4, 1781 when a British fleet entered the James River and started moving upstream toward

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[29]The home of Richard Eppes was called Appomattox until 1930, when the post office asked that the home be called Appomattox Manor to avoid confusion with Appomattox Court House. Since the name Appomattox Manor has come to be associated with the home, I have used this name in referring to the home even during this early period.

Appomattox Manor. This action was taken by the British in an effort to capitalize on previous British victories in Georgia and the Carolinas. By using their superior naval power, the British were moving up the coast taking strong points along the way. The British hoped to detach the southern colonies from the war effort by these actions. In command of the British invaders was General Benedict Arnold. Arnold's fleet advanced to Westover where it anchored and Arnold himself advanced in person with an army to Richmond, where Thomas Jefferson the governor decided to evacuate the capital.

During Arnold's absence several British ships advanced up the Appomattox River, where they destroyed numerous tobacco-laden vessels and other American property. Only the arrival of two companies of Colonel John Banister's militia forced the British to retreat. As the British ships sailed down the river they received fire from American guns situated on the bank of the river at City Point. When the British returned the fire one of the shells struck Appomattox Manor and the house was set on fire. Only the efforts of faithful slaves saved the home from destruction.



FIGURE 13
Matthew Brady Photograph of Appomattox Manor taken in 1865 from the northeast side of the house.
SOURCE: Petersburg National Battlefield, Petersburg, Virginia. File #11, Historic Building File.

According to family tradition the nick in the west chimney was made by a British cannon ball fired at this time. In the accompanying Brady photo of Appomattox Manor taken in 1865, the nick is easily seen. It is possible that, since the house was fired on during both the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, the nick in the chimney was taken out during the latter conflict. Family tradition is very clear on the subject and stated that the nick was the result of the British cannon ball.[30]

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[30]Cutchins Transcript, p. 2; also in Lutz, pp. 88-89.

The British later returned to City Point on April 24, 1781 and landed troops and marched on Petersburg. The British were commanded by General William Phillips with Benedict Arnold as second in command. The British occupied Petersburg the following day after a stiff encounter with colonial militia under the command of General Peter Muhlenburg. Some of the fighting occurred over the ground that would see bloody action 83 years later in the Civil War. On May 10, General Lafayette placed his artillery on the opposite side of the Appomattox River and shelled the British in Petersburg. Three days later, General Phillips, ill with fever, died and was buried in Blanford cemetery. Lord Cornwallis, moving up from North Carolina, joined his forces with those of Arnold at Petersburg on May 20, 1781, and four days later moved eastward in the direction of Yorktown, where he surrendered and ended the war on October 19, 1781.[31]

There is no evidence that any famous leader of the Revolutionary War ever visited Richard Eppes at Appomattox Manor. While he was an important landowner in Virginia and a member

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[31]Lee A. Wallace, Jr. A History of Petersburg National Military Park, Virginia (unpublished document, 1951) pp. 3-4.

of one of the oldest families of the state, Richard Eppes lived the quiet life of the gentleman farmer. He was interested in his estate and devoted himself to the task of operating the family plantation. He took little interest in public life and only served on the committee of public safety when danger threatened his home. Richard Eppes had no interest in politics and did not care to run for office. Richard Eppes passed on the title to the City Point lands and Appomattox Manor to his son Archibald Eppes. Richard Eppes had five sons but only Archibald Eppes survived childhood.

After the death of Archibald Eppes, title to the property passed to Mary Eppes, the youngest daughter of Richard Eppes and Christian Robertson Eppes. On January 21, 1821, Mary Eppes married Benjamin Cocke, a prominent local businessman from City Point. This changed the family name from Eppes to Cocke. The house and land was still in the possession of Mary Eppes but since descent was now passed through a female line the family name was changed from Eppes to Cocke.

Benjamin Cocke was a very important businessman at City

Point. He was active in local affairs and was one of the founders of the City Point Railroad.[32] Of the many children of this marriage only Richard Eppes Cocke survived infancy.

Benjamin Cocke was a poor manager and he died in debt. Mary Eppes Cocke had taken no part in the operation of the family farm and was shocked to learn of the family's shaky financial condition. She had been relatively well off at the time of her marriage to Benjamin Cocke and had never expected to be left in debt. The apparent problem was the mismanagement of the family farm. Benjamin Cocke had taken little interest in the farm and it had deteriorated as a result.

Mary Eppes Cocke took the matter into her own hands and through the sale of some of the family's slaves was able to salvage the family fortune. Under her guidance the farm was soon again returned to a paying basis.

The cost was high. Many of the slaves sold off had been on the Eppes plantation for many years. Richard Eppes Cocke had his mammy sold off the farm and he swore that he

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[32]Lutz, p. 122

would find her and bring her back. Years later he did find her in Alabama but she died before he could return her to Virginia.

Family tensions increased as a result of the money problems and Mary Eppes Cocke encouraged her son Richard Eppes Cocke to have his name legally changed to Richard Eppes. He did this in 1840, thus reestablishing the Eppes name with the City Point lands. When Richard Eppes inherited the house and lands from his mother in 1844 the family name was once again Eppes.

Chain of Title for City Point Lands

and

Appomattox Manor

1.	Francis Eppes	d. 1668	
2.	John Eppes	d. 1679	(son)
3.	John Eppes	d. 1722	(son)
4.	William Eppes	d. 1737	(son)
5.	Mary Eppes Custis	d. ?	(daughter)
6.	Richard Eppes	d. 1768	(uncle)
7.	Richard Eppes	d. 1792	(son)
8.	Mary Eppes Cocke	d. 1844	(daughter)
9.	Richard Eppes Cocke (Richard Cocke Eppes in 1840)	d. 1896	(son)
10.	Richard Eppes	d. 1922	(son)
11.	Richard Eppes	d. 1972?	(son)
12.	Richard Eppes		(son)

Dr. Richard Eppes before the Civil War

Dr. Richard Eppes owned and lived on his lands at City Point in the years immediately prior to the Civil War. Dr. Eppes kept a daily journal of expenses and information concerning his farming operations during these years. He also recorded his private thoughts in his journal. This record is still in existence and provides a detail look at the operation of the farm and information concerning the Eppes family.[33]

Dr. Eppes was born on May 2, 1824 and was the son of Benjamin Cocke and Mary Eppes Cocke. After the death of his father, Richard Eppes Cocke petitioned the court in 1840 to have his name legally changed from Cocke to Eppes. He did this at his mother's urging to preserve the Eppes name and its association with the City Point property. Mrs. Cocke was distressed with her late husband for his mismanagement of the family lands and thus felt little incentive to have her son keep the Cocke name.

Mrs. Cocke had great ambitions for her son and it was due to her influence that he traveled to Philadelphia to enroll in

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[33]Dr. Eppes' journal and other family papers (receipts, private letters, pictures) are now located at the Virginia Historical Society.

the school of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. Richard Eppes graduated as a doctor and returned home. After the death of his mother in 1844, Dr. Eppes assumed control of the family lands. He never enjoyed the practice of medicine and, as a result, he settled down to the life of a gentleman farmer and lived on his land.

Dr. Eppes married twice. His first wife was Josephine Dullas Horner of Philadelphia who died on February 2, 1852 after giving birth to a daughter. This daughter, named Josephine Horner Eppes, died at the same time. Dr. Eppes then married Elizabeth Welsh Horner—the younger sister of Josephine. From this marriage there were nine children—Josephine, Mary, Elizabeth, Agnes, Richard, Emily, Christine, Elizabeth and Alfreda.

Because his family was growing in size, Dr. Eppes found it necessary to enlarge his home. The house had remained essentially unchange since it was constructed in 1763 by the grandfather of Dr. Eppes. From that time to 1840 it remained a five roof structure with two large bedrooms and one small bedroom upstairs, and a dining room and a parlor downstairs. The parlor was used as an additional bedroom when conditions became too crowded.

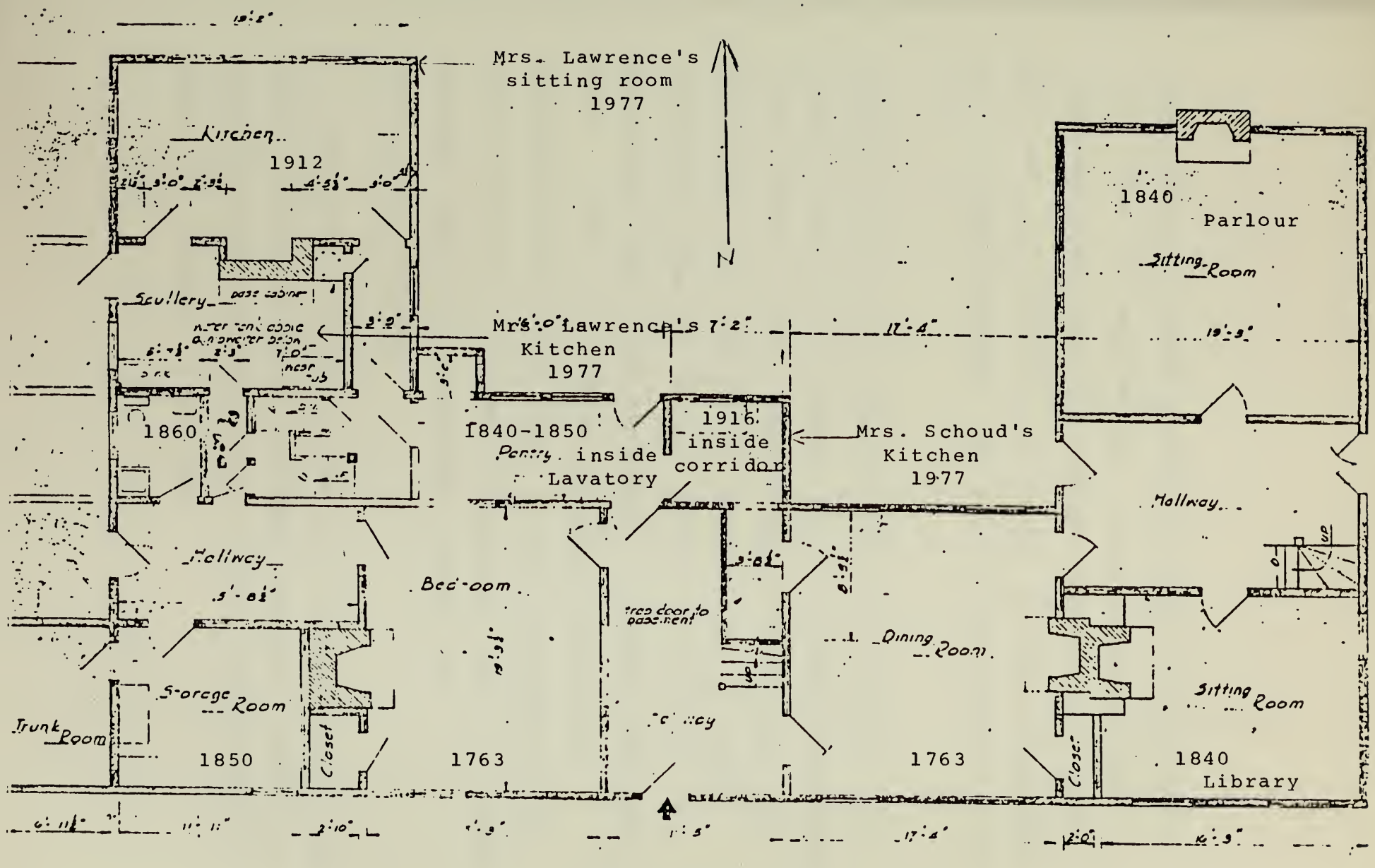
Mary Eppes Cocke started the process of enlarging the house in 1840 when she added the East Wing to the structure. This wing consisted of a central hall, with a library to the left of the front door, and a sitting room to the right. The second floor contained two medium size bedrooms and one small bedroom.[34] Sometime between 1840 and 1850 the porch on the north side of the house was enclosed and used as an inside lavatory.

Immediately before his first marriage, Dr. Eppes' future in-laws visited Appomattox Manor to inspect the home of the daughter. The Philadelphia Horners lived in very comfortable circumstances and believed that some improvements were required before their daughter could be confortable. They were especially concerned over the lack of adequate closet space.

To remedy this situation Dr. Eppes built a large storeroom on the west side of the house for sugar, china, linen and

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[34]This and all subsequent descriptions of the construction history of Appomattox Manor were told to the writer by Mrs. Elise Eppes Cutchins, the granddaughter of Dr. Eppes, during an interview at her home in Franklin, Virginia on November 30, 1977. The transcript of this conversation can be found in the files of the Petersburg National Battlefield Park.



APPOMATTOX MANOR
Sketch of First Floor Layout
scale 1/8" = 1'-0"

other storage. Another bedroom was added to the second floor above this west section. Some time after this construction was completed another room was added to the west section of the house to contain the large metal bathtub Dr. Eppes purchased. The date of this addition is not known.

After the death of Dr. Eppes in 1896, two subsequent additions were made to the house. Due to the age and disrepair of the outside kitchen and the problem of obtaining adequate help, this building was abandoned and an inside kitchen was added to the west side of the building. A bedroom was added above the kitchen. This was done about 1912. In 1977 this kitchen was being used by Mrs. Lawrence as her sitting room. In 1916 the porch on the north side of the house was enclosed and used as an inside corridor. In 1977 this area was used by Mrs. Schoup as her kitchen.

Dr. Eppes spent the years between his marriage and the outbreak of the Civil War on his family estates. He did not practice medicine at any time but devoted himself to overseeing the operation of his farm.

The following map depicts the grounds around Appomattox Manor in the year 1856. The original colonial gardens were still in existence in that year and stood to the left of the driveway just south of the home. Very little is known of this garden since it was completely destroyed during the Civil War. Dr. Eppes was interested in the gardens, and when he returned from a trip to Europe and the Holy Land in 1845, he brought back with him the seeds and cuttings of many exotic plants for use on the grounds around his home. Included in this planting were a great variety of trees and shrubs including Acacias, Locusts, Willows, Magnolias (most likely from England), Elms, Copper Beech, Spruce, Lindens, Oaks and Muillo Cherries.[35]

After the Civil War Dr. Eppes planted an entirely new garden located on the east side of the house to replace the destroyed colonial gardens. Included in this garden are fruit trees, flowers, vegetables, roses and perennials.[36]

For the next few years, until the outbreak of the war, Dr. Eppes lived on his land and devoted himself to his farm and his family. He was a capable administrator and his farm

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[35]Edith Tunis Sale, ed., Historic Gardens of Virginia (James River Garden Club, Richmond, 1930) pp. 35-36.

[36]Ibid.

prospered. According to his journals, Dr. Eppes owned 127 slaves at the outbreak of the Civil War, and was a man of considerable wealth.

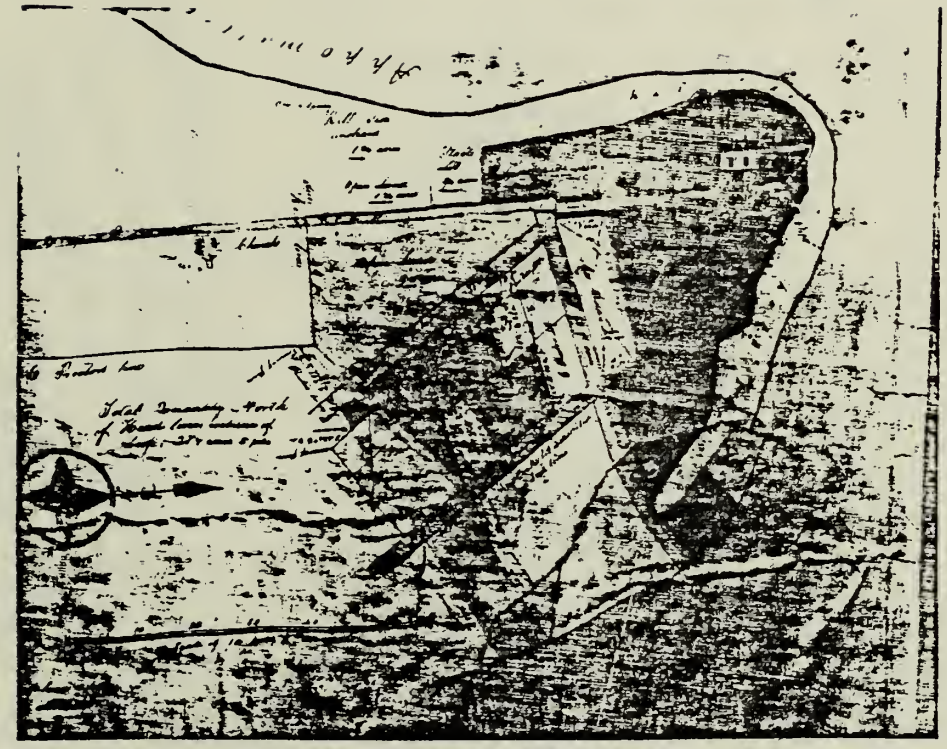


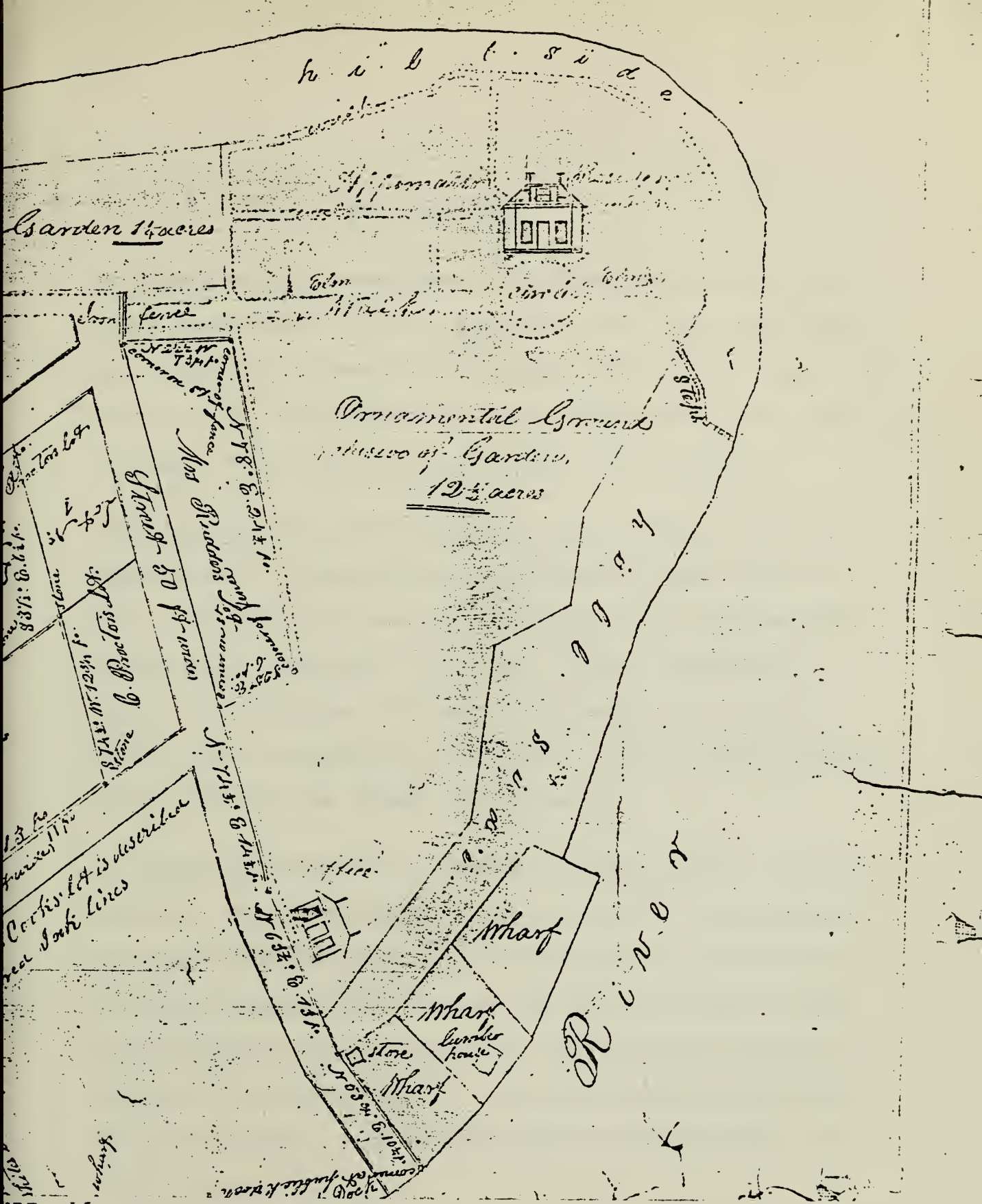
FIGURE 14

Photograph of 1856 map of Appomattox Manor and surrounding lands.

SOURCE: Eppes Family File, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

Mss1
EP734
b47





URE 15

Detailed view of Appomattox Manor from the 1865 map of the property.

RCE: Eppes Family Files, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

The Civil War

Dr. Eppes was not interested in national affairs in the years immediately prior to the Civil War. He either kept his opinions to himself or confided only to his close friends. Dr. Eppes favored the preservation of the union providing that southern rights could be protected.

He supported this position when he cast his vote for John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President in the election of 1860. Breckinridge was the candidate of the Southern Wing of the split Democratic Party and enjoyed widespread support in Virginia. On Saturday, November 10, 1860, Dr. Eppes noted the election of Abraham Lincoln in his journal and called him the "Black Republican."[37]

On Sunday, November 11, Dr. Eppes received a vist from his neighbor, Mr. James Proctor, who was an avid secessionist. Both men discussed the issues of the day in a frank and friendly manner. Eppes stated his position clearly when he told Proctor that he voted for Breckinridge because he believed in the equality of the states and the protection of slave property. He was opposed to disunion before the

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[37]Richard Eppes Journal, Virginia Historical Society, Section 46, 1859-1862, p. 250.

new Republican Administration had committed any overt act against the South. He believed that the South, having participated in the election of 1860, was honor bound to abide by the result. Personally, he was opposed to secession but should Virginia leave the Union, he would support his native state.[38] Richard Eppes was a reluctant rebel.

For the next several weeks, while talk of secession and possible war rocked the country, Richard Eppes' journal is silent on the subject of politics.

Events in the country were now moving rapidly as a result of Lincoln's election. South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession on December 20 and by February 4, 1861, six other states of the lower south-Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisana and Texas—had left the Union and organized the Confederate States of America with Jefferson Davis as President. On that same day an election was held in Virginia for a convention to meet in Richmond to decide the future course of the state. Prince George County elected two men—Edmund Ruffin, and avid secessionist, who was well known for his extreme views, and Timothy Rives, who was just as extreme in his support of the Union.

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[38] Ibid., p. 251

Richard Eppes felt that neither man represented his views at the convention. He was a man of moderate views and preferred the old Union to the new Confederacy if southern rights could be protected. He also felt that any decision taken by the convention must be referred back to the people for final review. He cast his vote for this point of view.[39]

Richard Eppes traveled to Richmond on February 11 and took advantage of the visit to meet some of the delegates to the convention. Many of the members of the convention had no idea as to what would be the outcome of their deliberations. Only a minority of 40 members of a total of 152 were in favor of immediate secession. Most of the delegates told Richard Eppes that they believed it would be many months before they reached a decision.[40]

Dr. Eppes returned home after his visit to Richmond to wait out the course of events. Once home he found that he could not remain uninvolved. During the previous year he served as a private in Company "L" of the 3rd Virginia cavalry. As the possibility of war increased he found more

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[39] Ibid., p. 275

[40] Ibid., p. 279

and more of his time taken up with military activity. Since many members of the company knew he was a wealthy man, they prevailed upon him to supply them with the necessary equipment.[41] He did this many times and was never paid back for these expenses by the Confederate government.

The issue of war or peace now came into focus in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. Practically all the federal forts and other property in the lower South had been taken over by the seceding states before Lincoln's inauguration. Of the few posts remaining in federal hands, the unfinished and ligtly garrisoned Fort Sumter, located in the entrance to Charleston's harbor, had become the symbolic flash point between North and South. Sumter had sufficient supplies to hold out for six weeks, and a decision concerning its future could not long be postponed. When Lincoln informed the authorities in South Carolina that he was sending a ship to resupply the fort, they, in turn ordered their general in Charleston to demand the fort's immediate evacuation and in case of refusal, to bombard it. The demand was made and refused and on April 12, the

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[41]Richard Eppes, Letter to Governor J. H. Pierpont of Virginia, Virginia Historical Society, June 2, 1865.

Confederate shore batteries opened fire, and the Civil War began.

Richard Eppes heard the news of the surrender of Fort Sumter a few day later and signed a petition circulated by his neighbor, Mr. James Proctor, which demanded that Mr. Timothy Rives vote for the ordinance of secession.[42]

Even at this late date Dr. Eppes still stated that he would prefer the old Union to the new Confederacy, providing that southern rights could be preserved. Thinking of the terrible war that might come, he recorded the following passage: "God grant this war not be of long duration or dreadful in its effects but to preserve our liberty we must be prepared to endure trials and afflictions and one of the greatest is our separation from our numerous friends and relatives in Philadelphia."[43]

For the next several days, after the surrender of Fort Sumter, Dr. Eppes followed political events closely. When Governor John Letcher of Virginia refused to send troops to the federal government to suppress the rebellion, Richard Eppes wrote," Noble old John Letcher, you have

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[42]Eppes Journal, p. 302

[43]Ibid, p. 302

done your duty, God Speed our righteous cause."[44]

Starting on April 20, Richard Eppes began attending regular meetings of his cavalry unit. Since his wife was pregnant at the time, he hoped he could remain home until the birth of his child. This was not to be the case and on May 20, he started out to join his unit. A few days later he found the unit and was mustered into the service of the Confederate Army as a private.[45]

Years later, in a letter to Governor Francis Pierpont of Virginia, Dr. Eppes explained his motives for joining the Confederate Army. Although he had not favored secession, he felt honor bound to support Virginia and stay with his cavalry unit. He had drilled with them before the war and now that war was a reality he felt he could not honorablY resign.[46]

It is interesting to note at this point the obvious dislike Dr. Eppes showed for his medical training. When the war came doctors and surgeons were in great demand by

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[44] Ibid, p. 305.

[45] Ibid., p. 315.

[46] Pierpont Letter, p. 2.

the military and he could easily have obtained a commission as a doctor with the Confederate Army. Instead, he chose to serve his country as a private in the cavalry in spite of his well known dislike of horseback riding.

In addition to serving in the army himself, Richard Eppes provided additional equipment to members of his unit at his own personal expense. He supplied his relatives as well as his friends. In all, he paid for the equipment of sixteen men.[47]

Just a few days before Dr. Eppes departure for his unit, the Confederate Army arrived at City Point. On May 3, Captain H. H. Cocke was given command of the James River and he sent a company of men to City Point under the command of a Captain Archer to prepare a defense of the region in view of the projected Northern attack. Dr. Eppes secured quarters for the troops with Mr. Moody, the Agent of the LL Railroad (Lynchburg?) at the new depot. On May 9, Dr. Eppes sent a gang of slaves to Fort Powhaten to help with the construction of fortifications.[48]

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[47] Ibid., p. 307.

[48] Ibid., pp. 312-313.

Very little is known about the movements of Richard Eppes for the next several months. He was on active duty and away from home and was not able to keep up his journal. No letters written to his family during these months have been found, and it is possible that they were never written.

On September 2, Dr. Eppes returned home to attend his wife during her confinement. Most of the entry on that date details briefly the movements of his unit up to that time. After the birth of his daughter, Agnes Horner Eppes, On September 8, he returned to the army.

A few months after the birth of his daughter the peace of City Point was disturbed by the Civil War. In the Spring of 1862, the Union Army took over the whole Norfolk area and the James river was left exposed. In May, a flotilla of Union ironclads and gunboats moved up the James river towards Richmond. Along the way they fired a few shells at City Point and Appomattox Manor.[49]

By May 9, Mrs. Eppes and her children were forced to flee their home for Petersburg for safety. The raid proved to

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[49]Lutz, p. 173.

be transitory in nature but by mid-summer a more serious threat materalized when General George B. McClellen occupied City Point while advancing up the Peninsula formed by the James and York Rivers. The Petersburg Daily Express described the scene in the following words.

> The River is filled with vessels of every size and description, whose masts are seen as numerous as trees in a forest doted here and there with the black smoke pipes of steamers and steamships. The shore for miles is thickly covered with tents which present a grand and attractive spectacle. Numerous baloons may constantly be seen over this vast encampment, which but adds to the interest of the scene. The music from the bands and the beating of the drums can be distinctly heard on this side of the river. Altogether it is a scene which once witnessed can never be forgotten.[50]

When the Union army withdrew from the City Point area in the summer of 1862, the returning citizens found that their losses were enormous. Damaged fields and homes, stolen horses and cattle and runaway slaves were common. Edmund Ruffin, a leading secessionist, became so unpopular with his neighbors in Prince George County that several of them threatened to hang him should he ever return to the area.

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[50] Ibid., p. 167.

On August 27, during the retreat of the Union Army, three barges of union soldiers landed at City Point to harass the area. Confederate pickets fired on the troops and forced them back. The gunboats in the river shelled City Point for thirty minutes before withdrawing from the area.[51]

In May 1863 Dr. Eppes was finally able to make an accounting of the damage done to his land and property. He found that all but twelve of his slaves (from a pre-war total of 127) had disappeared. None of these slaves ever returned to the property. What damage, if any, that was done to the mansion is not known.

Richard Eppes' career as a private in the cavalry lasted just over one year. On June 13, 1862, he received his discharge from the Confederate Army and furnished a substitute for the remaining part of his term of service. There is a second discharge for Dr. Eppes that was issued on September 10. Apparently sometime after his original discharge he was drafted into the army again. It is also possible that the man he furnished to take his place for his original discharge was not satisfactory and he had to

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[51] Ibid., p. 167.

furnish another substitute. Dr. Eppes was enlisted in the army and discharged on the same day—September 10. According to family tradition Dr. Eppes was forced to leave the army due to reasons of poor health.

SOLDIER'S DISCHARGE.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

Know Ye, That Dr. Richd. Eppes a Private of Captain Jno. A. Marks' Company, (Co.), attached to 3d Regiment of Va. Cavalry, who was enlisted the 20th day of April one thousand eight hundred and Sixty one, to serve 12 months, is hereby honorably discharged from the Army of the Confederate States he having furnished a substitute till 10th July, under orders from the Sec of War.

Camp 3d Reg. Va. Cav.
June 13th 1862

Wm. H. Powers
Lt Condg Company

Said Dr Richd Eppes was born in Prince George County in the State of Virginia, is 38 years of age, 5 feet 9¼ inches high, dark complexion, blue eyes, dark hair, and by occupation when enlisted, a farmer

Given at Camp 3d Reg. Va Cav. this 13th day of June 1862.

Wm. H. Powers
Lt. 3d Regt Va Cav.

FIGURE 16

Discharge of Dr. Richard Eppes from the Confederate Army on June 13, 1862.

SOURCE: Eppes Family Files, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond Virginia. Mssl, EP, 734a, 65-66

Soldier's Discharge.

To all whom it May Concern.

Know ye, That Dr Richard Effes a of
Prince George County
aptain Company, Regiment
who was enlisted the 10th day
September one thousand eight hundred and Sixty two to
erve for the War is hereby HONORABLY discharged from the Army of the
onfederate States. The said Richard Effes before being
ustered into the service having furnished a substitute
in the person of Patrick Dempsey a citizen of the State of
irginia born in Kilkenny Co Ireland but who
as naturalized in Washington D.C. some years ago

Said Effes was born in Prince George in
he State of Virginia is 38 years of age 5 feet,
/4 inches high, dark complexion, blue eyes, dark hair
nd by occupation, when enlisted, a Physician

Given at
this 10th day of September
862

URE 17
Discharge of Dr. Richard Eppes from the Confederate Army on September 10, 1862.

URCE: Eppes Family Files, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

Mss1
EP
734a

Richard Eppes was not to remain inactive for long. He was a qualified physician and the Confederate Army had great need for such men. He was again enlisted to serve the Confederate Army as a contract surgeon. He apparently held this job as a civilian employee of the army, and never at any time held a commission from the Confederate army, although he certainly could have obtained one had he so desired. Dr. Eppes was assigned to Petersburg, and remained there for the duration of the war.

When the Union army returned to City Point in 1864, the Eppes Family fled to Petersburg for safety. They endured the Siege of Petersburg while living in the city. Dr. Eppes was in charge of the hospital. Since he never enjoyed the practice of medicine, he found his service as a physician during these years to be especially difficult. The death and suffering of the wounded was constant, and there was little medicine to help.

While Dr. Eppes was working in Petersburg, U. S. Grant had headquarters on the grounds of his home at Appomattox Manor. Grant and his staff lived in tents, and later cabins erected on Dr. Eppes front lawn. The Army Quartermaster Corps Telegraph Services occupied the center portion of the home. The east wing of the house was not usable due to war damage.

Dr. Eppes did manage to get his wife and children out of Petersburg in the Fall of 1864. They passed through the Union lines and traveled to Philadelphia and lived the remainder of the war there. While traveling on the river they saw their home on the high bluff but were not able to stop. Mrs. Eppes pointed out Appomattox Manor to her children as the ship passed by, and told them to remember the house and their home, promising that they would return after the war.[52]

Dr. Eppes remained at Petersburg until the end of the war. When General Lee evacuated Petersburg in 1865, Dr. Eppes stayed behind to care for the sick and wounded. Soon after the Union army took Petersburg, a Union doctor visited Dr. Eppes and offered him all the medical supplies he needed. Dr. Eppes gratfully accepted the supplies and remembered the act of kindness.

As soon as order was restored and the sick and wounded were cared for, Dr. Eppes took the Amnesty Oath required by President Lincoln. He turned to his estate in May 1865

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[52]Cutchins Transcript, p. 4.

and found it a scene of "perfect desolation; barns, stables, hay houses, dwellings and fences had,with scarcely an exception,disappeared."[53] He managed to put in a small corn crop, but could do no more until he obtained money for needed repairs and got the Union Army off of his land. His title to the property was now unclear because of his former status in the rebellion. He found that he was included in a class of people exempt from the President's Amnesty Proclamation. He was too wealthy to qualify since he was worth more than $20,000 on paper before the war. Until he could obtain clear title to his land, raise money and clear himself with the Federal Government,all efforts to repair and rebuild his land must remain paralyzed.[54]

Dr. Eppes traveled to Washington seeking help to obtain amnesty for himself. He also sent a personal letter to Governor Pierpont of Virginia on June 24, asking for his

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[53]Pierpont Letter, p. 2

[54]The Reconstruction Plan of President Johnson was based on Lincoln's policies. This plan offered an amnesty to all formerly in rebellion, with the exception of certain prominent former Confederates in the army and the government. The plan also excluded Confederates who owned more than $20,000 worth of property.

intervention in this case. There is no record of any answer received from these appeals. Dr. Eppes was forced to spend the remainder of the year pursuing the goals of pardon and clear title to his land.[55]

Richard Eppes started his journal again on September 1, 1865; in his first entry he described the condition of his lands.

> On the Hopewell farm adjoining City Point I can better describe it by saying it was desolation personfied, a perfect waste, not a house, fence, timber tree or scarcely tree of any kind standing, everything destroyed more than 500 acres of woodland cout down and totally destroyed 300 of it magnificant timbered land. Along with the buildings all the farming implements cattle hogs and mules and horses, absolutely nothing saved from the wreak. In addition to everything belonging to the farm much of my household furniture that was stored there was destroyed. At City Point I found a good many temporary buildings and wharves erected on my property, all my old buildings standing and my own dwelling house repaired which had been nearly destroyed during the McClellan Campaign. The grounds around my dwelling house were filled with many little huts having been the Headquarters of General Grant during the campaign around Petersburg, all of

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[55]See Appendix 1 for copy of Richard Eppes' letter to Governor Pierpont of Virginia.

> shrubbery fruit trees and garden had been nearly destroyed and that along the river banks also much injured though most of the large shade ornamental trees were still standing.[56]

During the summer of 1865, Dr. Eppes visited his wife in Philadelphia and was able to borrow several thousand dollars from her family. With the money he could fix his home and restore his farm. On his return to Virginia, he purchased some surplus mules and horses at Richmond, and hired his cousin, Mr. H. L. Cocke to take charge of his Bermuda Farm. There were rumors that the Freedman's Bureau was going to occupy his land at the Bermuda Farm, and he was most anxious to take possession and start working his land again.

On October 3, 1865, he received a letter from the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Virginia, restoring to him his land at City Point.[57]

Richard Eppes was still uneasy because he could not evict the many people who were living on his property, (these

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[56]Eppes Journal 1865-1867, p. 2.

[57]See Appendix II for letter from Assistant Commissioner, State of Virginia.

people were living in the cabins on the grounds), and also within his house. He also could not touch or remove the cabins, wharves and stables that the army had erected. These buildings were all government property. Dr. Eppes had to use part of the money he borrowed from his wife's relatives in Philadelphia to purchase this surplus government property. Only then could be begin to dismantle it.

On November 6, 1865, he wrote a letter to Major General John Gibbon and asked that this property be evacuated. He cited personal finances and a need to get his family together again at his ancestral home as the main reasons for the return of the property. Only when he had his land returned could he again support himself.[58]

This appeal was rejected by Gibbon because General Grant's order of May 8, 1865 specified that City Point was reserved for military purposes. The order was still in force. Richard Eppes did manage to receive a record of the people who were living at his home and the rent they were paying to the government.[59]

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[58]See Appendix III for letter to Gibbon.

[59]See Appendix IV for copy of letter listing people living at Appomattox Manor.

Dr. Eppes traveled to Philadelphia in November 1865 to visit his wife and to wait for the government to vacate his house and land.

On December 26, 1865, the Army finally left City Point. The Eppes property was turned over to Dr. Eppes' cousin Mr. H. L. Cocke, who took charge of it in Dr. Eppes' absence. When Dr. Eppes heard the good news he immediately returned to City Point and took possession of his home and set up his living quarters in the parlor

A quick inspection of his property revealed an active company of mixed colored and white harlots doing business just a few feet from Appomattox Manor. This operation had apparently been tolerated by the pervious occupants of the property. Dr. Eppes immediately evicted them and all other tenants from his property.[60]

The "ladies" were not to be so easily driven off. They returned on December 31, 1865 and shot up Appomattox Manor. Three of the five persons involved in the attack were reported to the authorities but nothing ever came of it.[61]

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[60]Eppes Journal, p. 24.

[61]Ibid., p. 26.

On January 4, 1866, Dr. Eppes came to an understanding with the government, wherein he agreed to purchase all the surplus government property on his land. The total cost for this property was $641.50, for which he received more than fair value.[62] He considered it to be a very favorable transaction.

Most of the cabins on the grounds were torn down but a few were left standing and rented out to negroes who worked as hired hands for Dr. Eppes.

One cabin was missing from the property. This was General Grant's cabin, Grant donated his cabin to George H. Stuart, then President of the Sanitary Commission. Mr. Stuart removed it to Philadelphia where he set it up in Fairmount park in August 1865.

Dr. Eppes was still not in sole possession of his property. Many soldiers were in the area and they came and went to City Point at will. The 58th Pennsylvania proved to be an especially disorderly group, and Dr. Eppes described them as an armed mob.[63]

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid, p. 29.

At the end of January 1866, Dr. Eppes was summoned to appear before Brevet Brigader General Hill at the headquarters of the 11th Maine to answer questions about government property. Dr. Eppes had already paid for the government property on his land, but General Hill still demanded the keys to one of the cabins on his grounds. In his journal Dr. Eppes stated that "Hill....demanded the key in the most insolent manner and threatened that if I did not give it up he would turn his soldiers loose upon my property and let them destroy it at their pleasure ...."[64]

Dr. Eppes gave up the key and left for Petersburg, fearing that he could not control his temper. By February 3, 1866 the 11th Maine and Hill were ordered to leave City Point and Eppes returned home. On February 11, 1866, Dr. Eppes received final and clear title to his property from the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands.[65]

On Marh 24, 1866, Dr. Eppes made the following entry in his journal.

> Today March 24, 1866 will be a day ever memorable in the Calender of our family:

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[64] Ibid.

[65] See Appendix V.

> It has been marked by a return of the family of their old home at City Point after an absence of three years ten and a half months, having been driven from home on May 9, 1862 by the approach of the enemy gunboats up James river accompaning the advance of the Army of General McClellan up the Peninsulas and returned today March 24, 1866. My wife with George Bolling our former house servant superintended the move from Petersburg to City Point. I myself was a silent spectator at the request of my wife who preferred to have the entire management to which I agreed most cheerfully.[66]

Dr. Eppes had to spend about $3,000 to repair Appomattox Manor. He paid for the repairs by using the money he had borrowed from his wife's relatives in Philadelphia, and considered that to be a debt of honor and with this help he was soon able to return Appomattox Manor and his lands to a semblance of their former condition.

Eventually, all the cabins on the grounds were removed except one, which was used as a school house. This too was eventually removed in 1916 to stem the tide of tourists who wanted to see the cabin and the site of Grant's headquarters during the siege of Petersburg. The only

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[66] Ibid, p. 67.

ew of the Civil War Cabin left standing on grounds of Appomattox
nor taken in 1888. This picture is in error in calling this build-
rants Office." Grant's cabin was taken down in 1865 and sent to
iladelphia as a present to George H. Stuart, President of the
nitary Commission, who erected it in Fairmount Park in Philadelphia.
is cabin probably belonged to Brig. Gen. John R. Rawlins, who served
Grant's Chief of Staff.
e: Eppes Family Photo File, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond
rginia.



visible remains left today of the Civil War occupation of the grounds and house are a pile of bricks left from one of the cabin chimneys and cuts in the window sill in the dining room of Appomattox Manor where Grant's telegraph service wires ran into the house.

Some old Confederate earthworks located on the east side of the house can also be seen.

Chapter II

U. S. Grant and the Establishment of City Point

After the firing on Fort Sumter a spirit of martial ardor swept over both North and South. Northerners expected a short and easy war, while Southerners seemed oblivious to the overwhelming superiority in human and material resources against which they would have to contend. The five and one-half million free people of the eleven Confederate states faced a population of twenty-two million in the twenty-three Union states. The manpower advantage of the North was enormous.

The North also had other decided advantages. Over 80% of the factories and most of the coal and iron resources were located north of the Mason-Dixon line. Twenty-two thousand miles of railroads traversed the North as compared with nine thousand in the South. The North's railroad network included a series of vital trunk lines between East and West, while the sprawling Southern regions were but circuitously and inefficiently bound together.

In view of the advantages enjoyed by the North in the Civil War, the South made a remarkable showing. This was due, in

part, to the advantage of fighting a defensive war. The North was compelled to both invade and occupy the South. Southern generals also had the advantage of shorter interior lines of communication for shifting troops from one front to another.

The South also had a decided disadvantage because its source of supply of war materials was more vulnerable. There was also the problem of the disruption of daily life due to the marching of the armies through Southern territory.

Throughout the war public attention was focused on the East, where rival armies faced each other from capitals only 100 miles apart. Here the Confederate armies led by Joseph E. Johnston, and then by Robert E. Lee, repeatedly repelled Union invasions aimed at Richmond. General Irwin McDowell's army was turned back at Bull Run in Northern Virginia in July 1861, and General George B. McClellan was beaten off in the series of hard fought battles that constituted the Peninsular Campaign of May-June 1862. Later that summer, Lee defeated another Union army led by General Pope in the Second Battle of Bull Run

and followed up this victory, in September with an advance into Maryland where he was stopped at Antietam by McClellan.

Back in Virginia in late 1862 and the spring and summer of 1863, Lee defeated Ambrose E. Burnside at Fredericksburg and Joseph E. Hooker at Chancellorsville. Once again Lee decided to invade the North and was stopped by Meade at Gettysburg.

While public attention was focused on the Eastern Theater of the war, the military doom of the Confederacy was being accomplished in the West. Here the Mississippi, Tennessee and Cumberland rivers afforded natural invasion routes for the combined operations of Union gunboats and armies, and here an unknown commander, Ulysses S. Grant, steadily and inexorably moved deeper into the South. Forts Henry and Donelson, guarding the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, fell to Union forces in February 1862. Moving South, Grant inflicted a severe blow on the main Confederate Army in the West at Shiloh in April, and moved on into Nothern Mississippi. Meanwhile, Union gunboats moving up Mississippi, took New Orleans and moving down the river

from the North took Memphis. The last Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi, Vicksburg, fell to Grant in July 1863, while General George Gordon Meade was turning back the Confederate tide at Gettysburg. The Confederacy was now cut in two, with the Mississippi River being the dividing line.

Strategic, Economic and Political Implications
of the
Civil War to 1864

The American Civil War was the world's first truly modern war. The conflict accelerated trends in tactics, industry and political development that had only just been apparent before the war.

The first development was in the purley mechanical way in which men fight and kill one another. While Civil War muskets and rifles looked old-fashioned to the modern observers they are more closely related to the weapons of the First World War than to those of the Napoleonic Wars. During the Napoleonic Wars the range of an infantryman's musket was respectable but after 150 yards the accuracy was highly doubtful. For this reason, most advanced military thinkers subscribed to the theories of Antoine Jomini, a French officer, who served as a staff officer in Napoleon's army. Jomini considered the cutting of an opponent's lines of communications by a highly mobile army as the most desirable way to wage war. In battle,

Jomini advocated that the best way to achieve victory was by a direct and concentrated strategic approach with the ultimate dependence on the massed frontal assault.[1] This tactic had worked well on the battlefields of Europe and as late as 1859 during the War for Italian Independence, French troops had assaulted Austrian troops in fortified positions with success. Jomini's writings were held in great esteem at West Point during the early years of the nineteenth century. Generation after generation of future officers studied the Napoleonic Campaigns and learned from their Jomini.

When the Civil War began these men were in the highest ranks of both the Union and Confederate armies, but with a proportionately higher number in the latter. Only after the slaughter at Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, and finally at Cold Harbor, did Jomini's theories give way to those of another strategist, Dennis Hart Mahan.

Mahan based his strategic tactics on the realities of modern technology. He preached a tactical system in which

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[1]Edward Hagerman, "From Jomini to Dennis Hart Mahan: The Evolution of Trench Warfare in America," Civil War History, September 1967, p. 198.

he advocated the primacy of active defense. "The chief object of entrenchments is to enable the assailed to meet the enemy with success, by first compelling him to approach under every disadvantage of position, and then when he has been cut up, to assume the offensive, and drive him back at the point of a bayonet."[2]

Mahan still believed it possible to carry out frontal assault but he thought them wasteful in human lives. A counter assault on the ranks of a defeated enemy was more preferable. On the eve of the American Civil War Mahan could see what was coming when he wrote:

> The art of fortification, in it progress, has kept pace with the measures of the attack; its successive changes having been brought about by changes either in the arms used by the assailant or by some new mode of assault. The same cause must continue to produce the same effects. At no past period has mechanical invention, in its bearing on the military art, been more active than at the present day....The great destruction of life, in open assaults, by columns exposed within so long a range, must give additional value to entrenched fields of battle; and we may again see fieldworks play the part they did in the defense of Sebastopol; and posi-

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[2] Ibid., p. 204

> tions so chosen and fortified that not only will the assailant be forced to entrench himself to assail them, but will find the varying phases of his attack met by corresponding changes in the defensive dispositions.[3]

Gradually as the war progressed, the use of trenches increased until late in 1864 when Grant and Lee were in almost totally static positions for months at a time.

This new style of warfare employing large numbers of men facing each other in battlefield trenches for months at a time required tremendous amounts of supplies. Again, in supplying and equipping the armies the Civil War was an example of the first modern war and a precursor in the First World War.

The longer the war lasted, the greater were the demands that the armies placed on the civilian sectors to provide food and munitions needed to continue the conflict. Northern industry grew dramatically during the war. Union sea power maintained trade routes to foreign markets, while the war stimulated demand for thousands of tons of

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[3]Mahan, A Summary of the Course of Permanent Fortification and the Attack and Defense of Permanent Works, (Richmond, 1863), pp. 229-230. The text of this book suggests that it was written before the war.

war material. In Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Chicago new factories were built to meet the demands of wartime production. There seemed to be no end to government money for war contracts. Fortunes were made and a whole new generation of millionaires were spawned by the conflict.[4] Paper money, a high protective tariff, the Homestead Act and the National Bank Act, all created a new prosperity in the North.

Northern agriculture also grew under wartime stimulation. American food not only kept the Union armies in the field well fed but also fed Europe. England was even more dependent on Northern Wheat than on Southern Cotton. Northern railroads, canals, coastal shipping, and inland rivers all provided a tight transportation network to keep troops and supplies on the move. By way of contrast, even in the best of times, the Confederacy had trouble keeping its armies supplied. Railroads deteriorated and its ports were closed by blockade. Food could be produced

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[4]Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Edward Harriman and J. Pierpont Morgan were all young men in 1861 who got their start from war production or prosperity induced by wartime contracts.

but could not be transported to where it was needed. Lee's invasions of Maryland in 1862 and Pennsylvania in 1863 were prompted in part by the shortage of supplies for the army in the South.

The Civil War was also a modern war because of its ideological implication. Prior to the eighteenth century, conflicts in Western Civilization were usually fought for limited ends. A few short battles were usually enough to decide the question of victory or defeat. Wars were limited and controlled. The American Revolutionary War and Civil War demonstrated a new type of conflict——a war fought for total victory or to achieve some irreducible end. There could be no compromise with the goals of American Independence in 1776 or with Confederate Independence in 1861. The Southern States wanted absolute independence while the Northern states wanted absolute union. The stakes were immense and the total populations of both North and South were involved. Since the Civil War was a total war almost any behavior or destruction of property could be justified. Sherman's march through Georgia was but a preview to the destruction of civilian targets in World War II.

By early 1864, all of these threads had come together in America. By 1864, both North and South had fought for more than three years in a war that could offer no compromise. The use of weapons of vast destruction was well established and tactics were changing to meet the need of the new technology. The economic potential of the North was beginning to tell as Northern industry poured out a cornucopia of goods and services.

Militarily and diplomatically the South was isolated. It was cut off from normal channels of trade and commerce and split in two. Still, it refused to give up. All of the elements for a Northern victory were present and the South still refused to admit defeat.

In order to end the war the North needed a grim determination to see the job through and the right general. Many men had tried to cut short the career of Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia but all had failed. As Lincoln looked over his commanders in March of 1864, he turned to the man from the West who had captured two southern armies and had proved himself to be unusually capable. In that same month he chose U. S. Grant to tie

together the loose ends of the war and provide the spark needed to prod the Union armies on to complete victory.

Appointment of General Grant to Power
and
Beginning of the Siege of Petersburg

By 1864, after three years of bitter civil war, the conflict seemed no nearer a resolution than it had been in 1861. While Lee had been turned back at Gettysburg and the Confederacy cut in two at Vicksburg, the principal battleground in Virginia remained stalemated. The Army of Northern Virginia was wounded but still perfectly capable of defending itself. Its commander, Robert E. Lee, enjoyed an almost unblemished reputation among the officers and men of the Army of the Potomac and the people of both North and South. In his memoirs, Grant wrote:

> His praise, was sounded throughout the entire North after every action he was engaged in: the number of his forces was always lowered and that of the National forced exaggerated.' He was a large, austere man, and I judge difficult of approach to his subordinates. To be extolled by the entire press of the South after every engagement, and by a portion of the press North with equal vehemence, was calculated to give him the entire confidence of his troops and to make him feared by his antagonists. It was not an uncommon thing for my staff officers to hear from Eastern officers, "Well,

> Grant has never met Bobby Lee yet." There were good and true officers who believe now that the Army of Northern Virginia was superior to the Army of the Potomac.....[5]

Before Lee could be defeated and the rebellion crushed, the high command of the Union armies needed to be reorganized.

Just as in modern times, during the Civil War, the President of the United States was Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. At the start of the war the army was under the direct control of the Secretary of War, who served in the President's cabinet. The army was also under the control of a General-in-Chief who was subject to the orders of both the Secretary of War and the President. The General-in-Chief was assisted by a General Staff which consisted of various bureaus located in the War Department. In 1861 these bureaus were as follows:

1. Adjutant General
2. Inspector General
3. Quartermaster General
4. Surgeon General
5. Judge Advocate

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[5]U. S. Grant, Personal Memoirs (Charles L. Webster & Company, New York, 1886), Vol. II, pp. 291-292.

6. Chief of Ordnance

7. Commissary General

8. Chief of Engineers

9. Chief of Topographical Engineers
   (the above two were merged in 1863)

10. Chief Signal Officer

11. Provost Marshal General[6]

The problem in the command structure of the Union army in 1861 was that the General-in-Chief was handicapped by the fact that he had no control over these bureaus and actually functioned as an advisor to both of the civilian superiors. In 1861 this office was held by Brevet Lieutenant General Scott who was too old and disabled to exert an important influence. Scott was succeeded in the Fall of 1861 by Major General George B. McClellan, who was succeeded in July 1862 by Major General Henry Halleck. Halleck did not assume a field command or take responsibility for the strategic direction of the armies. He acted as a military advisor to both Lincoln and Edwin Stanton and in turn saw to it that their wishes were communicated to the Generals in the field.

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[6]See The Development of the General Staff, (unpublished document, Petersburg National Battlefield Park) for more details.

This situation proved to be unsatisfactory. Strong men in command of various Union armies exerted themselves according to individual opinions with the result that the war effort lacked the necessary coordination. If Lee were to be defeated this lack of coordination had to end, and a new strong man with absolute authority appointed to direct the war effort.

On February 26, 1864, Congress revived the rank of Lieutenant General, with the understanding that this rank would be given to General Grant. This grade had originally been created for General Washington and had thus far been held by no other officer in the army. Scott's highest rank was Brevet Lieutenant General.

During the debate in Congress prior to the recreation of the rank of Lieutenant General, it was obvious that Congress had Grant in mind for the job. The representative from Grant's home town in Galena, Illinois, said:

> I am not here to speak for General Grant. No man with his consent has ever mentioned his name in connection with any position. I say what I know to be true when I allege that every promotion he has

> received since he first entered the Service to put down this rebellion was moved without his knowledge or consent; and in regard to this very matter of lieutenant-general, after the bill was introduced and his name mentioned in connection therewith, he wrote me and admonished me that he had been highly honored already by the Government, and did not ask or deserve anything more in the shape of honors or promotion; and that a success over the enemy was what he carved about everything else; that he only desired to hold such an influence over those under his command and to use them to the best advantage to secure that end.[7]

The orders assigning Grant to the rank of Lieutenant General were issued on March 19, 1864. Grant was made General-in-Chief of all the Union armies and Lincoln gave him his personal assurance that he was to be allowed to exercise the real functions of the office.[8]

According to his orders, Grant was assigned command of the Armies of the United States with the Headquarters of the Army located in Washington and also with Grant in the field.

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[7]William R. Church, Ulysses S. Grant (Garden City Publishing Co., New York, 1926) pp. 221-222.

[8]An interesting problem faced by Lincoln and Stanton was what to do with Halleck, who already occupied the office of General-in-Chief. Halleck, being a good soldier, provided the solution himself when he resigned his position to make way for Grant. Halleck was appointed Chief of Staff of the army and continued on with his duties in Washington. He kept his office but changed his title.

General Orders
No. 98

War Department
Adjutant General's Office
Washington March 12, 1864

The President of the United States orders as follows:

1. Major General H. W. Halleck is, at his own request, relieved from duty as General-in-Chief of the Army, and Lieutenant General U. S. Grant is assigned command of the Armies of the United States. The Headquarters of the Army will be in Washington, and also with Lieutenant General Grant in the field.

11. Major General H. W. Halleck is assigned to duty in Washington, as Chief of Staff of the Army, under the direction of the Secretary of War and the Lieutenant General commanding. His orders will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

By order of the Secretary of War.

E. D. Townsend
Assistant Adjutant General[9]

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[9] General Orders 1864, Vol. 1, Washington, 1865.

Although the orders state that the headquarters will be both in Washington and with General Grant in the field, the implication is that the civilian control of the army will be exercised from Washington, as had always been true, and that actual military control was to be exercised by General Grant in the field. Since control had previously been exercised by Halleck from Washington, there would be no point in reviving the grade of Lieutenant General unless a drastic change was needed. In fact, Grant was now given complete military control of the Armies of the United States and this control remained with him whether he was in the field or in Washington. After the surrender of Lee at Appomattox Courthouse, Grant returned to Washington and on April 13 issued General Order No. 64 establishing Washington as his headquarters.[10]

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[10] General Orders
No. 64

War Department
Adjutant General's Office
Washington, D. C., April 13, 1865

The Headquarters of the Armies of the United States are established at Washington, D. C.

By command of Lieutenant General Grant.

W. A. Nichols
Assistant Adjutant General

General Orders 1865, Washington 1865.

In General Grant's Memoirs, he clearly stated what his position was and what was expected of him. He was Commander in Chief of the Union Armies in the field and was charged with the chief responsibility for ending the War. Grant first believed that he could remain in the West as commanding general but a quick trip to the eastern theater of the war convinced him otherwise.[11] General Lee and the main Confederate resistance was in Virginia and Grant determined to make his headquarters there.

Grant had known General George Gordon Meade, commanding General of the Army of the Potomac, slightly during the Mexican War. Grant was a stranger to the other officers and men of the Army of the Potomac and this made important the necessity for a relationship with Meade of complete trust. Meade offered to resign his command, or to allow himself to to be replaced to please Grant. Grant was impressed with Meade's sincerity and assured him of his faith and confidence. Writing in his memoirs years later, Grant said of Meade's offer:

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[11]Grant, Memoirs, vol. 11, p. 116.

> This incident gave me even a more favorable opinion of Meade than did his great victory at Gettysburg the July before. It is men who wait to be selected, and not those who seek, from whom we may always expect the most efficient service.[12]

While Meade's relationship with Grant proved to be a cordial one and the two men worked well together, there were awkward times for both men. Commenting on this relationship with Meade, Grant said:

> Meade's position afterwards proved embarrassing to me if not to him. He was commanding an army and, for nearly a year previous to my taking command of all the armies, was in supreme command of the Army of the Potomac—except from the authorities at Washington. All other general officers occupying similar positions were independent in their commands. I tried to make General Mead's position as nearly as possible what it would have been if I had been in Washington or any other place away from his command. I therefore gave all orders for the movements of the Army of the Potomac to Meade to have them executed. To avoid the necessity of having to give orders direct, I established my headquarters near his, unless there were reasons for locating them elsewhere. This sometimes happened, and I had on occasions to give orders direct to troops affected.....[13]

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[12] Ibid., p. 117.

[13] Ibid., pp. 117-118.

Meade confirms this relationship with Grant in a letter written on May 19, 1864, in which he states:

> Coppée in his Army Magazine says, "The Army of the Potomac, directed by Grant, commanded by Meade, and led by Hancock, Sedgwick and Warren," which is quite a good distinction, and about hits the nail on the head.[14]

Meade was still in command of the Army of the Potomac, but Grant was the man who gave him his orders.

Grant lost no time in formulating his plans for the spring offensive. In a confidential letter to Sherman on April 1, 1864, he outlined his plan and showed his authority.

> WASHINGTON, D. C., April 4, 1864.
>
> It is my design, if the enemy keep quite and allow me to take the initiative in the spring campaign, to work all parts of the army together, and somewhat towards a common center ... I have sent orders to Banks.... to finish up his present expedition against Shreveport with all dispatch: to turn over the defense of Red River to Genl. Steele and the navy...; to abandon all of Texas, except the Rio Grande, and to hold that with not to exceed four thousand men; to reduce the number necessary to hold it, and to collect from from his command not less than 25,000 men.

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[14] Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1913), vol. 11, pp. 197-198.

> To this I will add 5,000 men from Missouri. With this force he is to commence operations against Mobile as soon as he can...
>
> Gillmore joins Butler with 10,000 men (from South Carolina), and the two operate against Richmond from the south side of the James River. This will give Butler 33,000 men....I will stay with the Army of the Potomac, increased by Burnside's corps (Ninth) of not less than 25,000 effective men, and operate directly against Lee's army, wherever it may be found. Sigel collects all his available force in two columns, one under Ord and Averell, to start from Beverly (West), Virginia; and the other under Crook, to start from Charleston on the Kanawha, to move against the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad... You I propose to move against Johnston's army, to break it up and to get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as you can, inflicting all the damage you can against their war resources...[15]

Grant was also able to choose his own staff and he drew upon the best men in the army. Many of these men had served with him in the West or were friends of Grant from civilian life. They proved to be a capable group. Included in his staff were the following:

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[15]Matthew Forney Steele, American Campaigns, (Combat Forces Press, Washington, D. C., 1951) V. 1, pp. 229-230.

GRANT'S STAFF

Brig. Gen. John R. Rawlins - Chief of Staff

Lt. Col. C. B. Comstock, ADC Engr.

Lt. Col. Orville E. Babcock, ADC

Lt. Col. Horace Porter, ADC Engr.

Lt. Col. F. T. Dent, ADC

Lt. Col. Adam Badeau, Military Secretary

Lt. Col. William R. Rowley, Military Secretary

Lt. Col. Ely S. Parker, Military Secretary (Replaced Rowley 30 August 1864)

Lt. Col. T. S. Bowers, Asst. Adjutant General

Lt. Col. W. L. Duff, Asst. Inspector General

Capt. H. W. Janes, Asst. Quartermaster

Capt. Peter T. Hudson, ADC

Lt. William M. Dunn, Jr., ADC to Chief of Staff

Brig. Gen Rufus Ingalls, Chief Quartermaster

Lt. Col. M. R. Morgan, Chief Commissary

Brig. Gen M. R. Patrick, Provost Marshal General

Brig. Gen George H. Sharpe, Asst. Provost Marshal General

Capt. Amos Webster, Asst. Quartermaster

Maj. Gen John G. Barnard, Chief Engineer

Asst. Surgeon E.D.W. Breneman (For Headquarters Personnel)

Headquarters Orderlies, Guards, Messengers-

Cos B,F,K, 5th US Cavalry - Capt. Julius W. Mason

4th US Infantry - Capt Avery B. Cain[16]

Grant was now the controller of the grand strategy of the war. Grant knew how to end the war. His strategy was simply to apply relentless pressure on the Confederate Armies and to keep pounding away at the Confederacy until its collapse and the people of the South had had enough of war. Included in his plans was the intention of occupying enemy territory and capturing key positions such as Richmond and Atlanta. Coordination of these efforts would prove to be the key to Grant's success or failure. The coordination of military effort plus the application of superior northern economic and manpower resources would bring eventual victory to the North.

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[16]Henry Coppée in his book Grant and His Campaigns gives a good background description for every man on Grant's staff during this time.

The Movement to City Point

On March 24, 1864, General Grant established his headquarters at Culpeper Court House with the Army of the Potomac. Meade retained command of the Army of the Potomac, and all orders to it were transmitted through him. Grant's main objective was Lee's army, which was fortified in its intrenchments behind the Rapidan. In this position the army was unassailable from frontal assault. In order to defeat Lee, Grant had to turn his flanks and force Lee out into the open. Grant made his move on May 4, 1864, at which time the Federal Army numbered 121,000 men; General Lee commanded 62,000 men.

Grant's secondary objective was to destroy all communications between Richmond and the deep South. In maneuvering to attack the railroad lines upon which Lee and Richmond depended, Grant hoped to force Lee to leave his fortified positions and fight on terms more acceptable to the Army of the Potomac-out in the open.

Lee had to defend four specific railroads. These were first, the Virginia Central Railroad, which connected Richmond with Shenandoah Valley, the great food supplier to Richmond



FIGURE 19

This map shows the location of the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia at the start of the Wilderness Campaign on May 3, 1864.

SOURCE: Vincent J. Esposito, Atlas to Accompany Steel's American Campaigns, West Point, 1953, p. 120.

Source:

Vincent J. Esposito Atlas to Accompany Steele's American Campaigns (U.S. Military Academy, West Point, N.Y. 1953) p. 120.

and Lee's Army. Second, the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, which extended from Lynchburg westward to the Mississippi. From Lynchburg the railroad connected with Richmond by the Orange and Alexandria and the Virginia Central Railroads. Third, was the Richmond and Danville Railroad, which connected Richmond and the deep South. Fourth, was the Petersburg and Weldon Railroad, which connected Richmond with the length of the Atlantic seaboard. This line was of extreme importance to Lee and the capital because it linked Richmond with Wilmington, South Carolina, the one remaining seaport of the Confederacy.[17]

On May 4, 1864, Grant crossed the Rapidan on his left to avoid the intrenchments that covered Lee's front. Lee did not dispute Grant's crossing but struck at him one day later in the dense forest.

This was the same area that had witnessed a previous Union defeat the year before at Chancellorsville. The forests were thick, and it was difficult to tell friend from foe. A

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[17]For a more detailed discussion of these railroads and their strategic importance in 1864-1865, see John Biglow, The Principles of Strategy, (Greenwood Press, New York), pp. 124-126.

Union officer, Robert Robertson, writing years later described the fighting during these early days of the campaign.

> The Wilderness is a densely wooded region of great extent, remarkable on account of its dreary and dismal woods. A dense undergrowth of scraggy pines, dwarfed oaks and laurel bushes has sprung up, while in the low points are sluggish streams and dank marshes chocked with alders, twined closely with luxuriant tangled and prickly vines, making many places almost inaccessible.
>
> At daybreak the reveille sounded and one could see men arising from amid stacks of arms. Evening shades fell fast in the gloomy recesses of these dark woods, and the darkness and undergrowth prevented any true alignment. Only by the flash of the volleys did we know where the enemy was with whom we were engaged. Night soon wrapped those gloomy woods in total darkness, and still the fight raged on. We saw no enemy, but we were so close that the flashes from their muskets and ours seemed to mingle, and we fired only at their line of fire and they at ours. It was a battle fought where maneuvering was impossible, where the lines of battle were invisible to their commanders, and where the enemy also was invisible.
>
> Yet in that gloomy region of death nearly 200,000 men were grappling in one deadliest struggles of the war.[18]

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[18]Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman, The Civil War (Grosset & Dunlap Inc., New York, 1956), vol. 1, pp. 560-561.

Conditions were so confused at this time that it was impossible to establish lines. Another Union soldier, Augustus Buell, wrote of the battle:

> A man of the 44th New York, whom I knew, got lost in an attack in the afternoon of the fifth and after dark found himself away down among the troops of the 2nd Corps. He had passed at least two miles in the rear of the Rebel lines, and through them twice, unchallenged. He told me that when he came to the 2nd Corps front about ten o'clock at night and was halted, he answered, "I belong to the 44th New York. Who in hell are you?" He hadn't the remotest idea where he was.
>
> One old fellow who was brought up out of the brush belonged to the 5th Texas and had been hit in the shin by a bullet. Some of the boys asked him what he thought of the battle. His reply was, "Battle be damned! It ain't neither front nor rear. It's all a damned mess! And our two armies ain't nothing but howlin' mobs!"[19]

Grant next moved his army to Spotsylvania and said in his memoirs, "My object in moving to Spotsylvania was twofold: first, I did not want Lee to get back to Richmond in time to crush Butler before I could get there: second, I wanted to get between his army and Richmond, if possible and if

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[19] Ibid., pp. 561-562.

not to draw him into the open."[20] Lee managed to get to Spotsylvania before Grant and was waiting for him. The fighting was severe and confused again as was noted by Theodore Guish who was in Sedgwick's Corps:

> It was a hand-to-hand conflict, resembling a mob in its character. The contestants seemed to forget all the noble elements of manhood. Men were transformed to giants. The air was filled with shouts, cheers, commands, oaths, the sharp reports of rifles, the dull, heavy thuds of clubbed muskets, the swish of swords and sabers, groans and prayers. Occasionally our men would drop their guns and clench the enemy in single combat, until Federal and Confederate would roll on the ground in a death struggle. Our officers fought like demons. Revolvers and swords, which up to that hour had never seen actual service, received their baptism of blood. As the moments passed, the valor of the men increased. Many of those who were wounded refused to go to the rear but, with blood pouring from their wounds continued to fight.[21]

Grant's attack on Lee at Spotsylvania was repulsed after severe fighting. General Sheridan with the Cavalry Corps cut loose from the main army and defeated J.E.B. Stuart at the Battle of Yellow Tavern. Stuart died of wounds received in the fight.

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[20]Grant, Memoirs, p. 211.

[21]Ibid., p. 572.

On May 21, 1864, Grant determined to strike at Lee again. Grant detached a corps toward the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad hoping to draw Lee out of his fortified position to attack the corps. Lee was too weak to attack and simply moved a corps on a parallel road in the same direction. Grant moved forward with his entire army followed by Lee. Both armies met on the North Anna, with Lee occupying very strong defensive positions. Sheridan returned to the main army by this time having destroyed about 20 miles of track belonging to the Virginia Central Railroad. During this time, from May 21 to 26, 1864, Grant sent part of three army Corps to destroy track of the Richmond and Fredericksburg and Virginia Central Railroad. Between May 27 and June 11, 1864, Grant again tried to maneuver his army between Lee and Richmond. Both armies met at Cold Harbor in early June, with Lee again taking up fortified positions. Grant attacked Lee repeatly at Cold Harbor only to see his army thrown back with heavy losses. The power of the defensive positions established by Lee was too strong to be overcome by mass assault. Thousands were killed in the assaults. Robert Stiler, a Confederate artillery Officer, wrote of the battle:

We were in line of battle at Cold Harbor from the first to the twelfth of June—say twelve days. The battle proper did not last perhaps that many minutes. In some respects at least it was one of the notable battles of history—certainly in its brevity measured in time and its length measured in slaughter, as also in the disproportion of the loses. For my own part, I could scarcely say whether it lasted eight or sixty minutes, or eight or sixty hours, all my powers being concentrated on keeping the guns supplied with ammunition.

Here, then, is the secret of the otherwise inexplicable butchery. A little after daylight on June 3, 1864, along the lines of our salient, our infantry and our artillery fired at very short range into a mass of men twenty-eight deep, who could neither advance nor retreat, and the most of who could not even discharge their muskets at us.

Federal writers who have written about this battle speak about our works as bastions no troops could be expected to take, and *any troops* should be expected to hold.

About the works along our part of the line I can speak with exactness and certainty. I saw them. I helped with my own hands to make them, I fought behind them. They were a single line of earth about four feet high and three to five feet thick. It had no ditch or obstruction in front. There was no physical difficulty in walking right over that bank. I did it often myself, saw many others do it, and twice saw a line of Federal troops walk over it.

I wonder if it could have been the *men* behind the works![22]

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[22] Ibid., pp. 581-582.

The defeat at Cold Harbor had a decided effect on Grant's future strategy. General James H. Wilson described the mood at Grant's Headquarters.

> At Grant's headquarters I found, in the early days of June, a feeling of despondency. Grant himself, while neither cast down nor discouraged, evidently felt disappointed at his failure to overwhelm Lee. Both Rawlins and Dana, able and experienced men, were disposed to hold Grant himself responsible for making head-on attacks against entrenched and almost impregnable positions. They feared that the policy of the direct and continuous attack, if presisted in, would ultimately so decimate and discourage the rank and file that they could not be induced to face the enemy at all.
>
> Certain it is that the "smash-'em-up" policy was abandoned about that time and was never again favored at headquarters.[23]

Grant now decided on another strategy and determined that he would put his entire army south of the James River. Halleck had suggested this movement.[24]

Grant made careful preparations. On June 14, 1864 Grant and Butler conferred at Bermuda Hundred and issued orders for the attact on Petersburg. Early on the morning of June 15, 1864,

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

General W. F. Smith's Corps advanced to take the town. Smith confronted the enemy's pickets in front of Petersburg before daylight, but for some reason did not attack until 7 p.m., when he carried enemy's outworks, driving the Confederates back to-and-one-half miles, and capturing both artillery and prisoners. The road to Petersburg was now open and the decisive blow needed to take Petersburg, and possibly end the war, could not be given. Smith delayed and the opportunity was lost. Grant hurriedly moved his army to Petersburg and by June 16, most of his troops were in front of the city. Lee had been fooled. The garrison at Petersburg numbered only 2,500 men and starting on the 14th and 15th of June increased slowly to between 10,00 and 15,000 by June 17th. Lee and the bulk of his army were north of Petersburg, still under the impression that Grant was aiming at Richmond. Lee learned on the 17th of Grant's crossing of the James, and on the 18th he arrived at Petersburg with his army. Repeated federal assaults failed to dislodge Lee and resulted in the Siege of Petersburg for the next ten months. Grant set up his headquarters at City Point, Virginia, and prepared to wait out Lee and dislodge him from his prize. The Siege of Petersburg and the last critical stage of the war had begun.

CHAPTER III

Life at City Point 1864-1865

Wednesday, June 15, 1864 was a critical day for the Union Army. Petersburg, the back door to Richmond, was practically within grasp. While the Union Army prepared to assault the city, General P.G.T. Beauregard had only three thousand men at his immediate disposal for defense of this vital rail link of the Confederacy. General Lee was north of Petersburg with the bulk of his army expecting Grant to try another direct assault on Richmond. Grant had slipped away from Lee and was concentrating his forces for the move against Petersburg. Lee was out-generaled and confused for the moment.

The end of the war was now at hand, if only Petersburg could be quickly taken. It was not to be. Confusion of orders, lack of rations, poor maps, missed opportunities and general incompetence, all combined to save the Confederacy. The attack was delayed. When it was finally made at . p.m. the union forces overran several miles of Confederate trenches and pushed Beauregard back. Beauregard stiffened his lines and held the Union army short of its goal - the city of Petersburg.

During the night Beauregard stripped his Bermuda defense line facing Butler to a handful of men and concentrated all his available forces at Petersburg. He also wrote to Lee informing him of his peril. Union

forces attacked in the morning and were thrown back once more. Lee, now realizing his danger, moved his army to Petersburg and arrived there on Friday June 17. Repeated federal assaults were repelled and by Saturday, General Grant decided that Petersburg could not be carried by a general assault and would have to be invested and cut off by a siege.

Grant arrived at City Point on June 15, and decided to make his headquarters camp there. [1] The choice of City Point as Grant's headquarters was easy to make. City Point was located at the junction of the James and the Appomattox Rivers and was within easy water communication with Fort Monroe and Washington, as well as Butler's army, which was to occupy positions on both sides of the James. The City Point Railroad ran from the waterfront to points south of Petersburg, immediately in the rear of the Union army. It served as a natural supply link for Grant. The area was also very majestic, situated high on the bluff along the river. Grant lived in a tent on the front lawn of Dr. Eppes' home, Appomattox Manor. Most of the land at City Point belonged to Dr. Eppes. City Point also had other advantages to recommend it. It was

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[1] The War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1892), Vol. XL, Part II, p. 72 hereafter cited as O.R.

situated far enough from the front and had a commanding view of the immediate area to be readily defensible. Still, railroad and water communications were good enough to keep the army supplied and to keep Grant informed of the progress of the siege. Telegraphic communications were also easy to establish with the other war fronts and Washington. City Point was very convenient for Grant,and he made use of its assets.

When Grant moved into City Point on the evening of June 15, 1864, he expected a short stay. Tents were set up on the front lawn of Appomattox Manor in the form of a rectangle with two ends and the south side occupied while the north side was open. The east end extended to the bluff bank of the Appomattox River, perhaps fifty to sixty feet in height. [2]

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[2] Sylvanius Cadwallader in his book Three Years with Grant (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1955) describes the camp as follows:

"Headquarters proper were in the form of a parallelogram with the two ends, and the North side closely filled with tents. The South side was open. The West end extended to the bluff bank of the Appomattox River, perhaps fifty to sixty feet in height."

Cadwallader's description does not agree with the U.S. Military Map of City Point or available photographs. I believe he had his directions confused and was in error in saying that the tents formed a parallolegram.

The only other explanation might be that when the cabins were put up in November 1864,to replace the tents they were situated differently from the way Cadwallader described the tents.

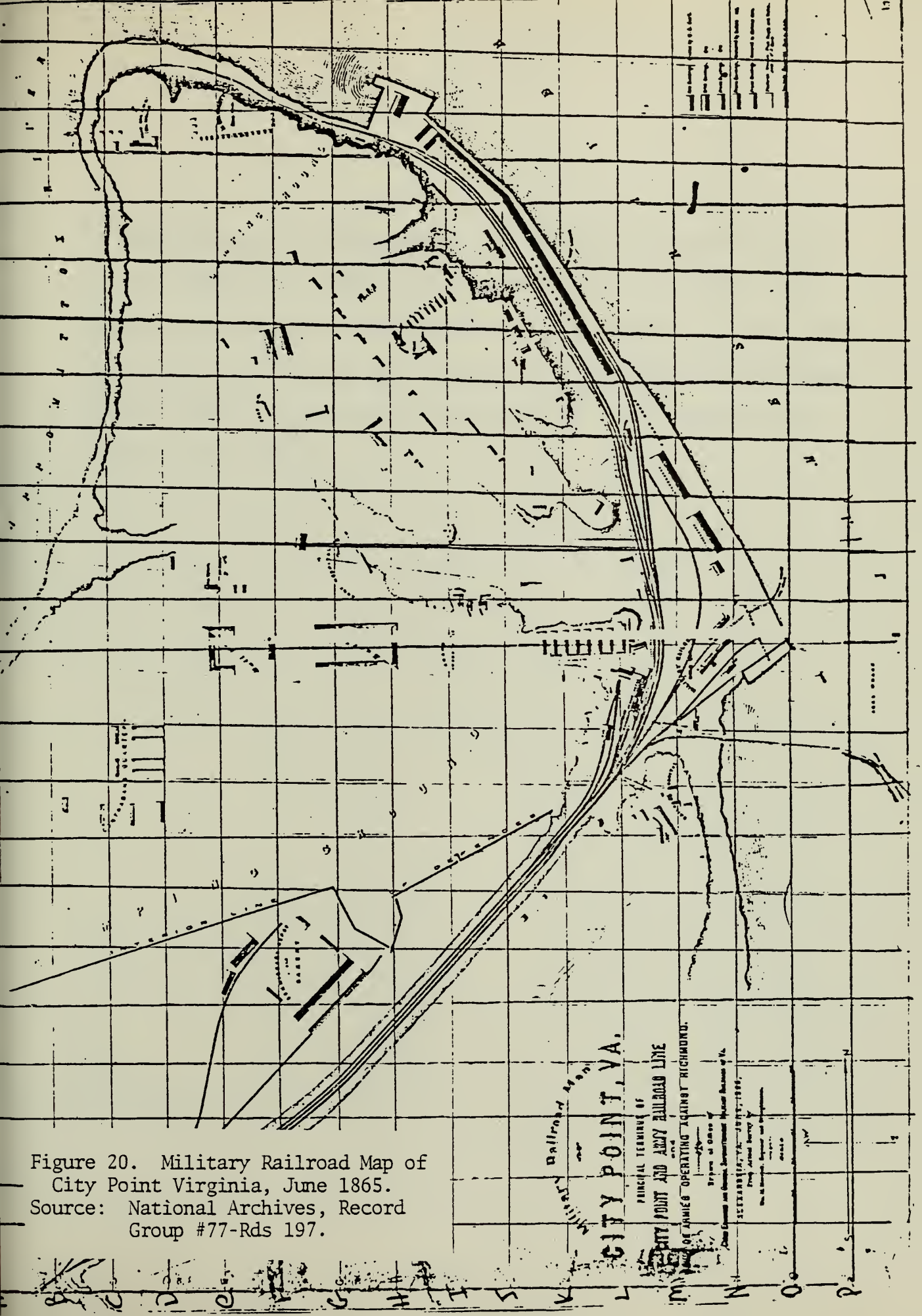
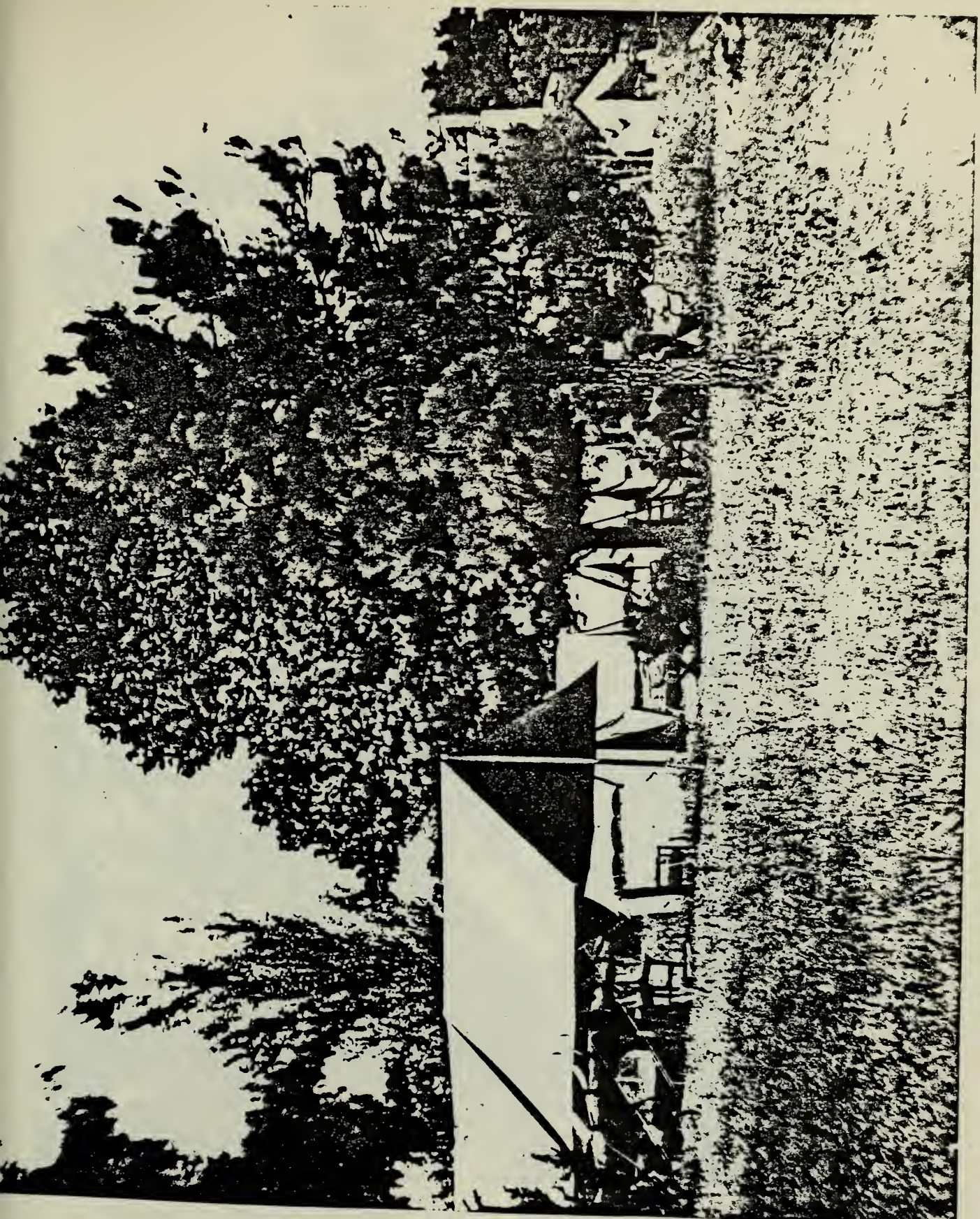


Figure 20. Military Railroad Map of City Point Virginia, June 1865.
Source: National Archives, Record Group #77-Rds 197.

In the following two photographs we can see Grant's headquarters tent on the grounds of Dr. Eppes' home. In the second photograph we can see Grant sitting under a shade tree in a relaxed manner. At this time he had lost 49,000 men in three battles in the Wilderness, Spotsylvania and Cold Harbor and could see no end to the war. His reputation was hanging in the balance.



gure 21. Front lawn of Appomattox Manor in June 1865.
urce: Department of the Army, U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Mollus Collection #869.

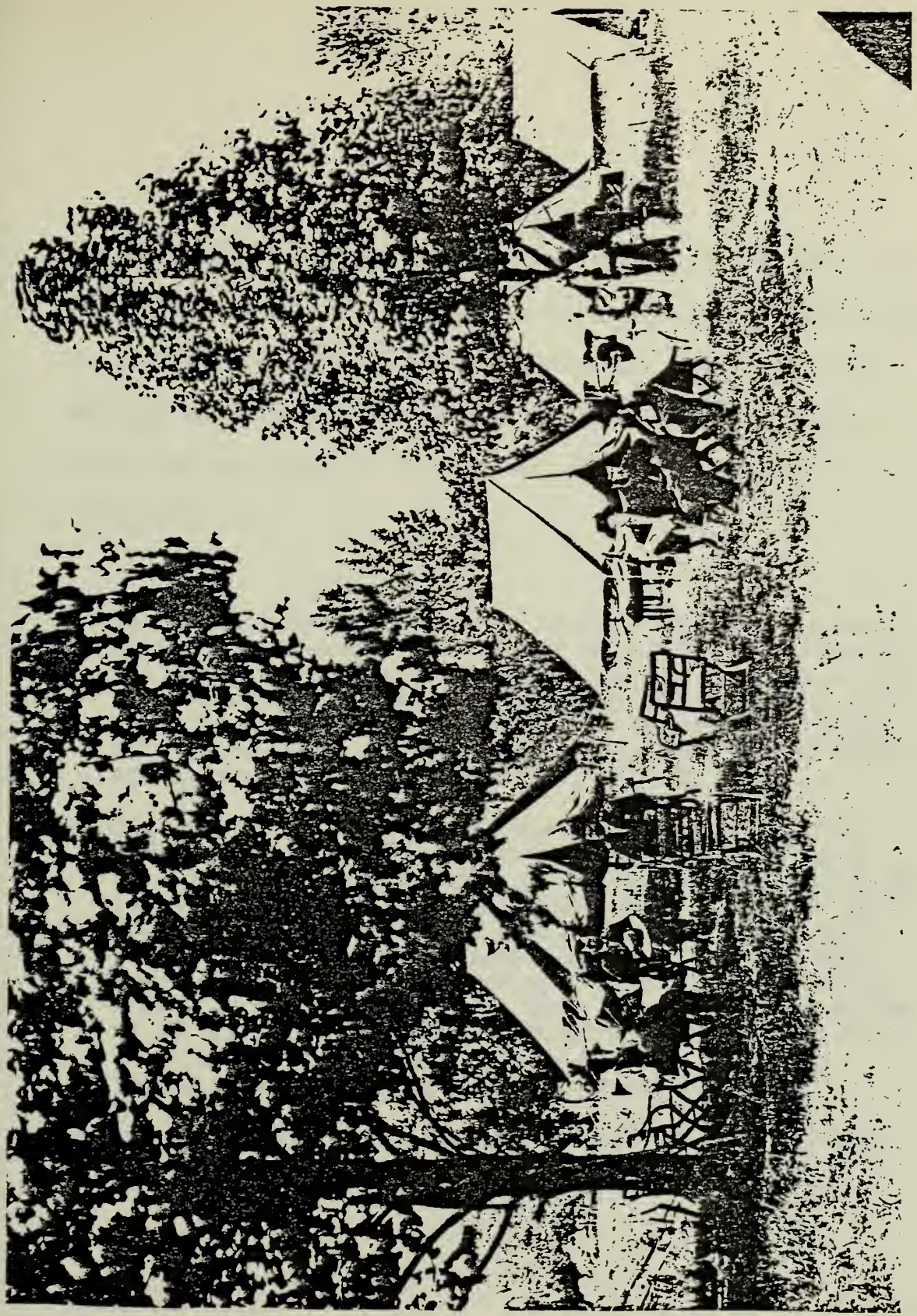


Figure 22. Grant sitting on the front lawn of Appomattox Manor in front of his office tent in the summer of 1864.
Source: Library of Congress, #565B, B8184-B-758.

For the first few days following Grant's arrival at City Point the James River was covered with vessels and transports which had followed the army with supplies. Swarms of civilians, employees of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, sutlers, volunteer nursers, sightseers and others,all came to the camp area. According to Cadwallader:

> They swarmed around the wharves, filled up the narrow avenues at the landing between the six-mule teams which stood there by the acre, plunged frantically across the road in front of your horse wherever you rode, piled everybody with ridiculous questions about "the military situation," invaded the privacy of every tent, stood around every mess-table till invited to eat unless driven away, and wandered around at nearly all hours.
>
> They congregated especially in the vicinity of headquarters, standing in rows just outside of the guard-line, staring at Gen. Grant and staff, pointing out the different members of the latter to each other, and seizing upon every unfortunate darky belonging to headquarters who came within their reach, and asking all manner of impertinent questions: "Does Gen. Grant smoke? Where does he sleep and eat? Does he drink? Are you sure he is not a drinking man? Where's his wife? What became of his son that was with him at Vicksburg? Which is Gen.Grant? What? Not that little man?" And so on by the hour. For several days headquarters resembled a menagerie. [3]

General Grant also began to receive many visitors - both official and unofficial. Cadwallader describes one of these visitors as follows:

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[3] Cadwallader, p. 231.

> On June 21st about one o'clock p.m., a long, gaunt bony looking man with a queer admixture of the comical and the doleful in his countenance that reminded one of a professional undertaker cracking a dry joke, undertook to reach the general's tent by scrambling through a hedge and coming in alone. He was stopped by a hostler and told to "keep out of here." The man in black replied that he through Gen. Grant would allow him inside. The guard finally called out: "No sanitary folks allowed inside." After some parleying the man was obliged to give his name, and said he was Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, seeking an interview with Gen. Grant! The guard saluted, and allowed him to pass. Grant recognized him as he stepped under the large "fly" in front of his tent, rose and shook hands with him cordially, and then introduced him to such members of the staff as were present and unacquainted. [4]

The President, accompanied by his son Tad, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Gustavus Vasa Fox, Mr. Chadwick, proprietor of the Willard Hotel, as purveyor for the party, and the Marine Band, had just arrived at City Point. After dinner, President Lincoln and General Grant rode out to inspect the front lines. When the two passed a brigade of negro troops they rushed his horse shouting: "Hurrah for the Liberator; Hurrah for the President." [5]

Other visitors were unofficial and came on purely personal business. Shortly after camp was established a woman arrived with an infant in her arms and inquired where to find General Grant. After some delay she was directed to Grant's tent where in a downcast, tearful manner she waited for Grant. Cadwallader continues:

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[4] Ibid., p. 231 - 232.

[5] Ibid., p. 233.

> We soon learned that she was the wife of a federal soldier who had deserted to the enemy, been captured armed and in rebel uniform, had been court-martialed and sentenced to be shot; and was then at the front awaiting execution. She came to plead for his life. Gen. Grant spent an hour in trying to show her how impossible it was to grant her request. Desertion was an unpardonable military offense; but when it was aggravated by taking up arms in the enemy's ranks, every civilized country in the world inflicted the death penalty. He expressed his sympathy for her, and urged her to return to her home and friends, and try to forget the man who had shown himself to be so unworthy of the affection and love of any good woman - that a man who could so far forget his wife, child and country, would never prove a good husband and father. She listened stolidly; but said over and over again that he had always been a good husband to her. She made no apologies for his conduct, but kept on repeating he had always been a good husband, and begging him to spare his life.[6]

The woman refused to leave Grant's tent and Grant was unwilling to force her out. Finally,after all reasoning had failed,he telegraphed General Meade to see if there were any errors in the court-martial proceedings. There were none. The woman still refused to leave so Grant telegraphed Lincoln and asked for authority to do as he pleased in the matter. Grant had her husband brought to his tent the next morning and we learn that:

> Grant gave him a lecture of unusual severity - scored him unmercifully - told him he richly deserved a thousand deaths, for one such act often led to the deaths of thousands of innocent men - told him he could stand by and witness his execution without a single emotion of pity for him - but concluded it all by telling him that out of sorrow for his wife, who had proven herself so true and so good a woman, he would give him one chance for his life. He would not pardon

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[6] Ibid., P. 244-250.

> him, nor in any way release him from the verdict pronounced against him, except to delay the day of his execution. He would order him to be restored to the ranks of the company from which he had deserted, subject to further orders in the matter. He told him plainly he would be under daily and hourly surveillance, and upon the first dereliction of duty in any way, he would order him to be shot within twenty-four hours. [7]

After breakfast the husband was returned to the front and the wife left Grant's tent and took the ten o'clock mail boat to Washington.

Grant occupied a tent on the grounds of the Eppes estate for five months until cold weather forced him to erect a more comfortable cabin. Appomattox Manor was used by General Rufus Ingalls, Chief Quartermaster of the Army.

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[7] Ibid., p. 251.

In the following picture we see General Ingalls on the front porch of Appomattox Manor. Popular tradition has it that Grant used the home for his offices and that Lincoln used the home for offices and living quarters. No evidence to support this fact has been found. Best available evidence supports the view that the house was used by General Ingalls as his headquarters, and the U.S. Army Telegraph Corps occupied another part of the home. The telegraph office was located in the dining room, and General Ingalls used the opposite bedroom on the first floor (See floor plan for details).

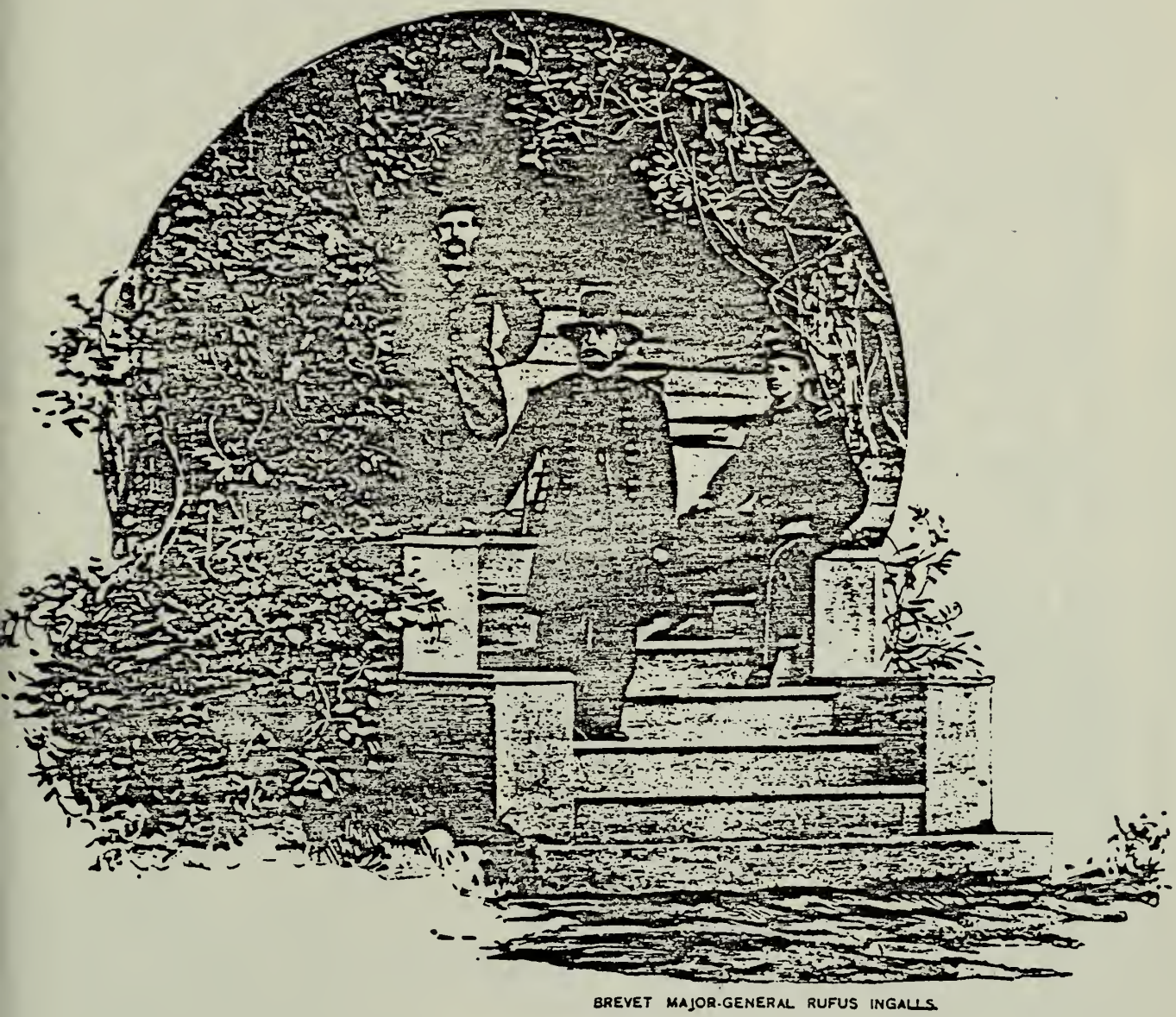


Figure 23. General Rufus Ingalls, Chief Quartermaster of the Army, standing on the front porch of Appomattox Manor.
Source: Rossiter Johnson, Campfires and Battlefields, New York, Gallant Books, 1960.

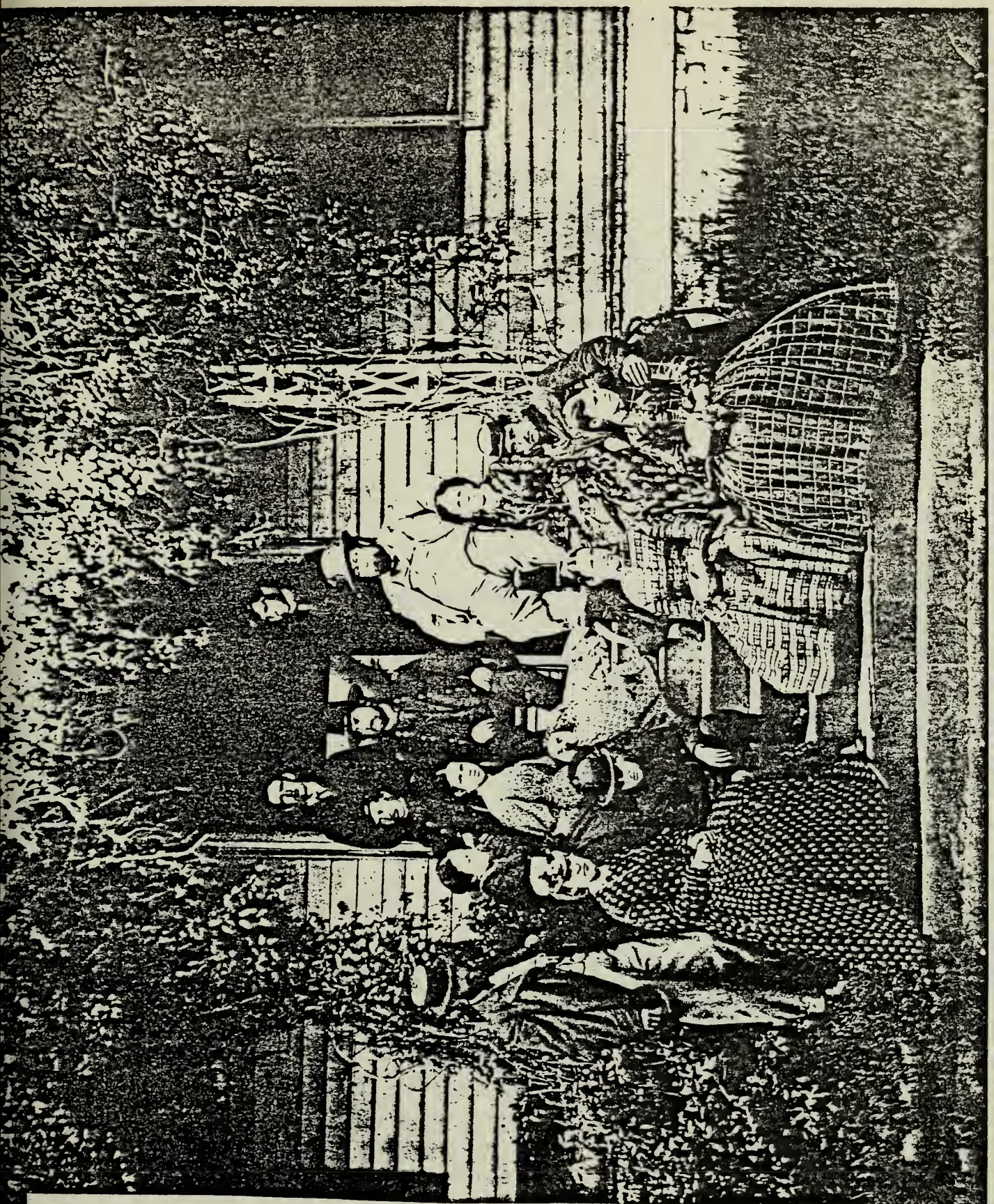
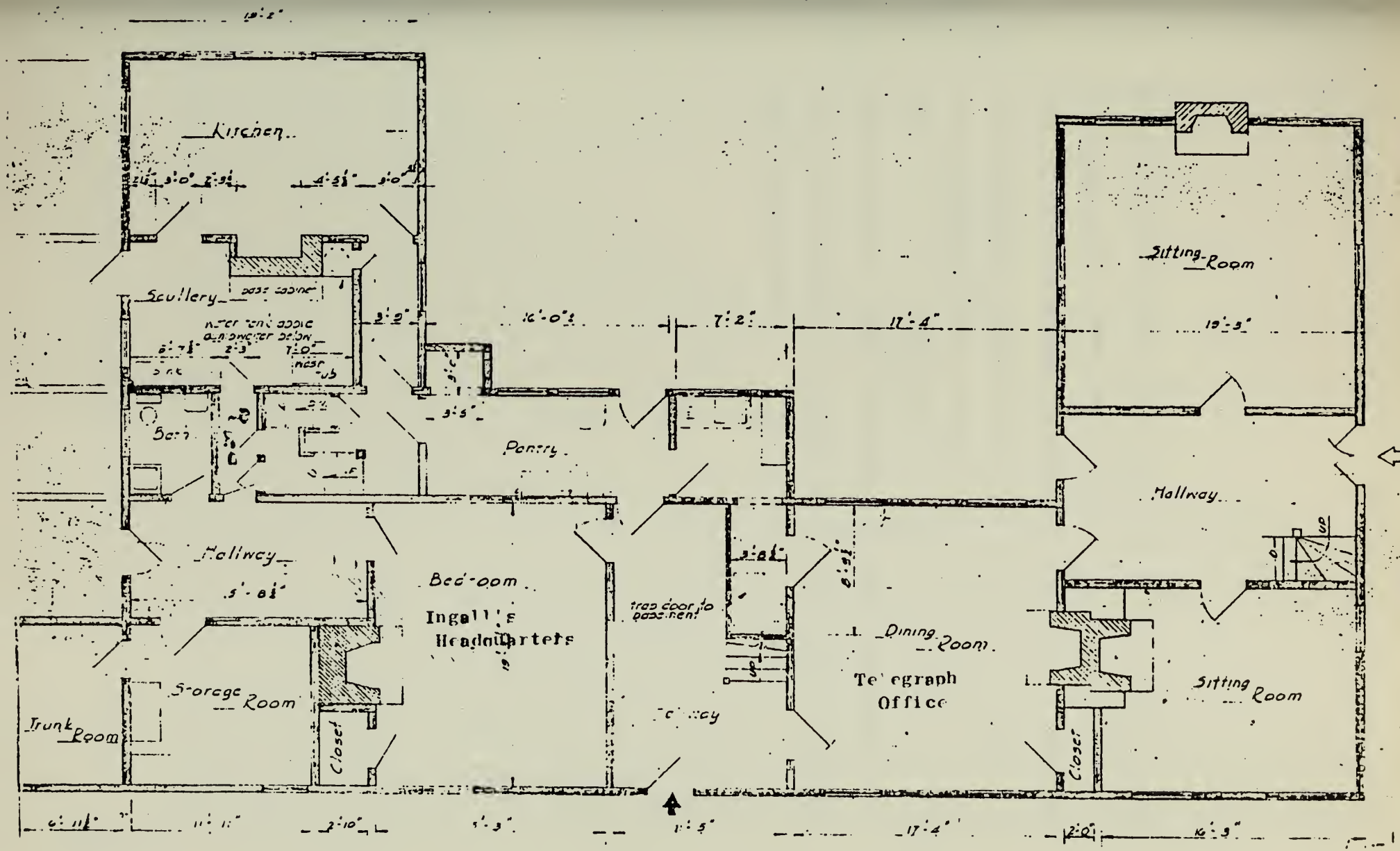


Figure 24. General Ingalls and unidentified party on the porch of Appomattox Manor in May 1865.
Source: Library of Congress # 57340.



Appomattox Manor
Sketch of First Floor Layout
scale 1" = 1'-0"

The East Wing of the home, which was added in 1840, was not used by the military due to damage sustained when union cannon balls were fired into the roof during the seizure of City Point. One cannon ball was removed in 1952 when the roof was repaired. According to Mrs. Elise Eppes Cutchins, several bushels of Minie balls were also found in the roof and were sold as souvenirs to tourists when Appomattox Manor was opened to the public during the Civil War Centennial. In the following Brady photographs we can clearly see the damaged roof on the East Wing.

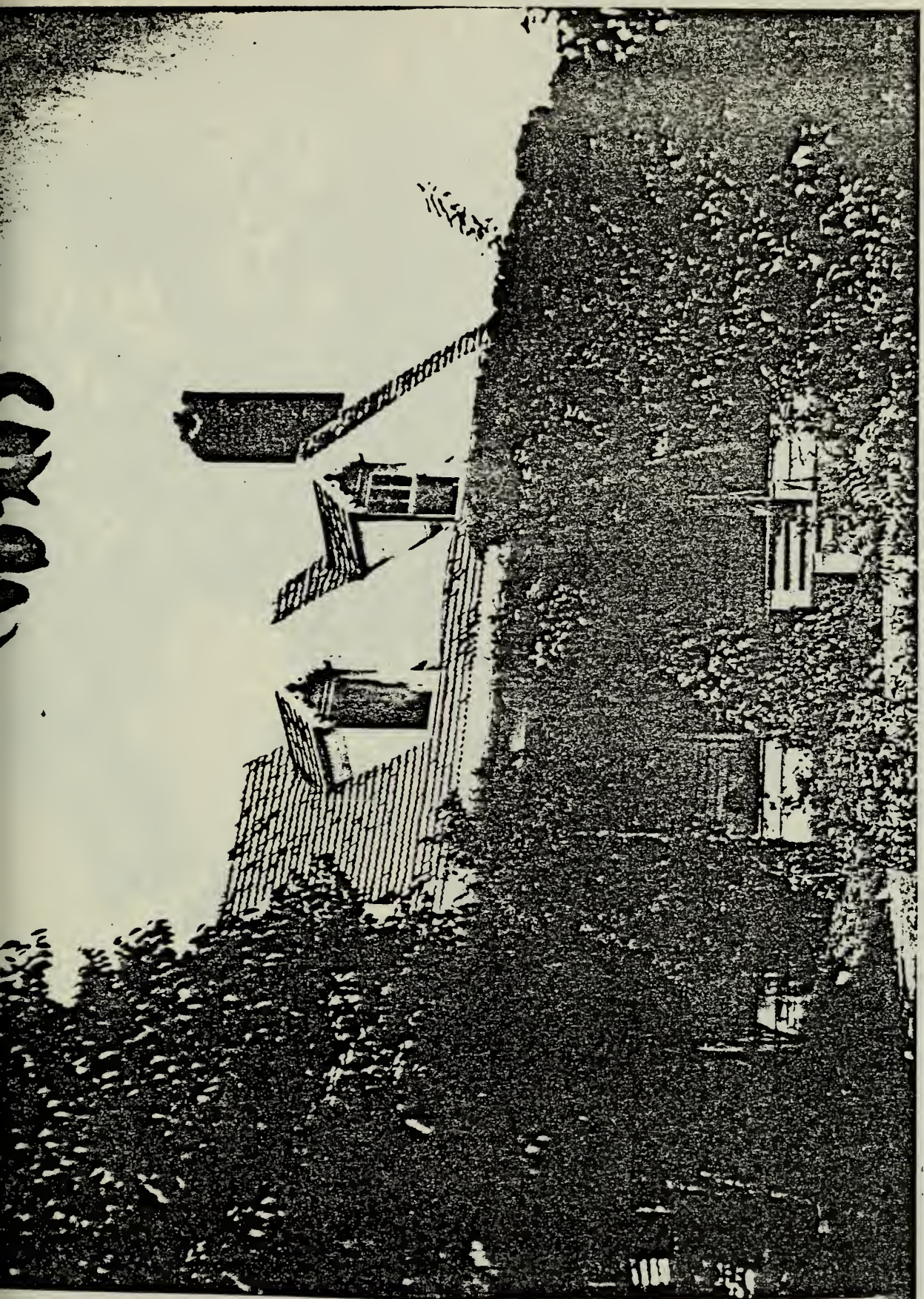


Figure 25. Appomattox Manor 1865. East Wing showing damage to roof caused by the Union Army during the occupation in 1864.
Source: National Archives #111-B-5197.

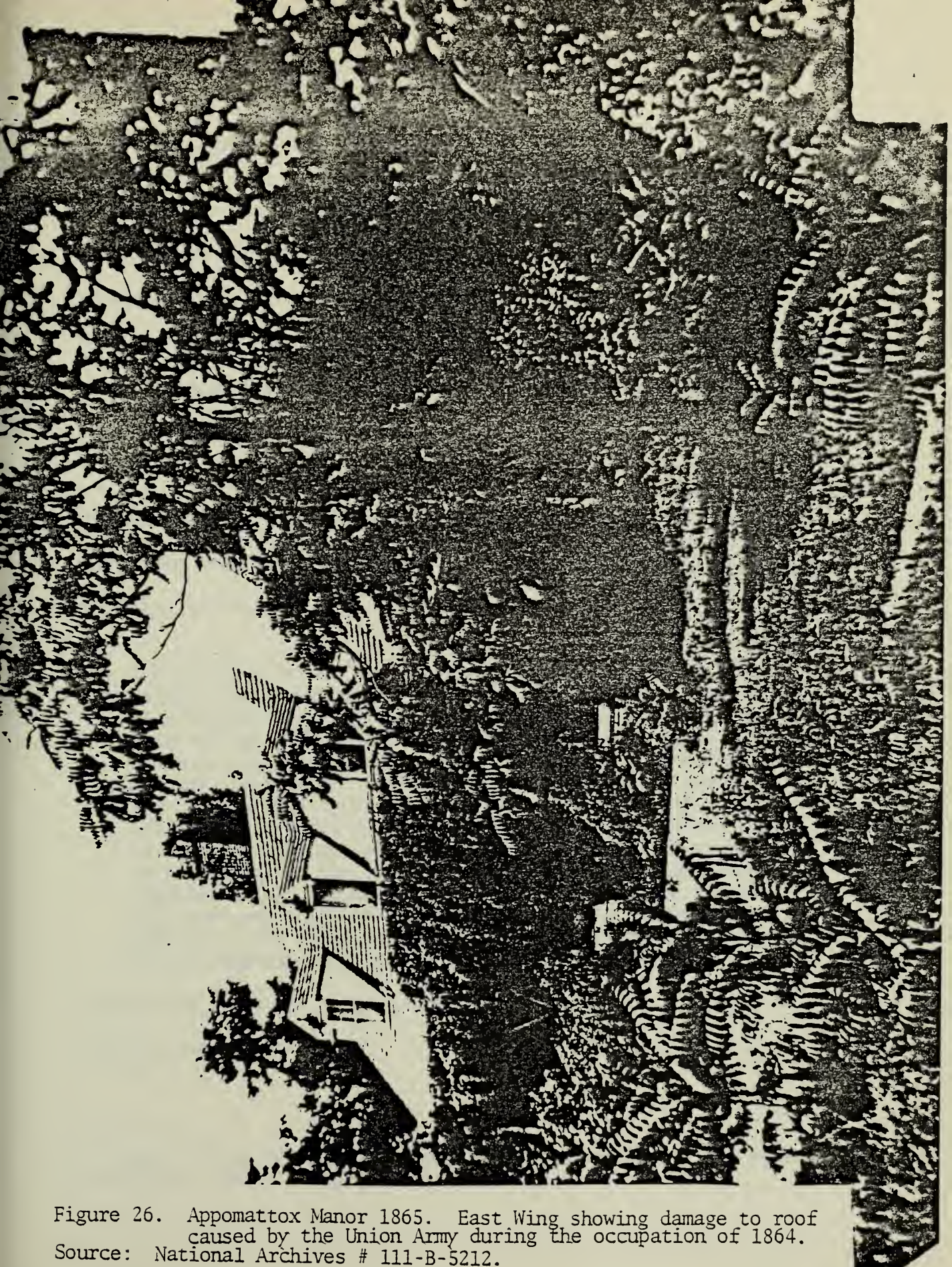


Figure 26. Appomattox Manor 1865. East Wing showing damage to roof caused by the Union Army during the occupation of 1864.
Source: National Archives # 111-B-5212.

Mrs. Cutchins did say that it was possible that junior officers stationed at City Point might have used the East Wing from time to time. There is no evidence to either confirm or to deny this. She was certain that neither Grant nor Lincoln used the home, although we must assume that they both visited the home occasionally to send and to receive telegraphs.

The best description we have of Grant's headquarters for this period comes from General Horace Porter in his book, Campaigning with Grant. According to Porter:

> A hospital tent was used as his (Grant's) office, while a smaller tent connecting in the rear was occupied as his sleeping-apartment. A hospital tent-fly was stretched in front of the office tent so as to make a shaded space in which persons could sit. A rustic bench and a number of folding camp-chairs with backs were placed there, and it was beneath this tent-fly that most of the important official interviews were held. When great secrecy was to be observed the parties would retire to the office tent. On both sides of the generals' quarters were pitched close together enough officers' tents to accommodate the staff. Each tent was occupied by two officers. The mess-tent was pitched in the rear, and at a short distance still farther back a temporary shelter was prepared for the horses. [8]

Each officer took his turn in acting as "caterer" to the mess. According to Porter:

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[8] Horace Porter, Campaigning with Grant (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1961) p. 212.

> His duties consisted in giving general directions to the steward as to ordering the meals, keeping an account of the bills, and at the end of his tour dividing up the expenses and collecting the amount charged to each officer. General Grant insisted upon paying two shares of the expenses instead of one, upon the ground that he invited more guests to meals than any one else in the mess, although this was not always the case, for each officer was allowed to entertain guests, and there were at times as many visitors at table as members of the mess. The officer acting as caterer sat at the head of the mess-table, with the general on his right. [9]

General Grant never complained about the food. The only meat he enjoyed was beef and he would eat it only if it was thoroughly cooked. He never ate any meat which came onto the table if blood appeared in it. He couldn't stand the sight of blood and would immediately leave the table. [10]

General Grant enjoyed oysters and fruit but would not touch mutton, fowl, or game. He was quoted as saying, "I never could eat anything that goes on two legs." [11]

His favorite lunch consisted of sliced cucumbers and coffee. He also enjoyed corn, pork, beans and buckwheat cakes. Once when acting as a caterer, Porter sent to Washington for sweatbreads for the mess. When Grant saw them he announced, "I hope that

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9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., p. 214.

these were not obtained especially for me, for I have a singular aversion to them. In my young days I used to eat them, not knowing exactly what part of the animal they came from; but as soon as I learned what they were my stomach rebelled against them, and I have never tasted them since." [12]

The only beverage ever used at the table besides tea and coffee was water. Only after a hard day's ride in stormy weather would Grant join the other officers at headquarters for a whiskey toddy. He never offered liquor of any kind to visitors but would give them cigars instead. [13]

According to another eyewitness, after dinner:

> Most of the time was spent around a huge wood fire kept up in the centre of the encampment, immediately in front of Grant's own hut. Here a number of rough seats were placed, and two or three officers were almost always to be found. The weather was cold, but wrapped in the overcoat of a private soldier, Grant liked to form one of the group around this fire. The telegraph was close at hand, and despatches were brought him instantly: to this point came messages from Meade, and Butler, and Sherman, and Sheridan, and Thomas, and Canby, and Stanton, and Halleck, and the President; and after reading them, the

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12 Ibid., p. 214.

13 Ibid. p. 215.

> general-in-chief usually stepped at once into his hut and wrote his reply; he then rejoined the circle around the fire, and often told the contents of the message he had received, as well as of that he sent. On such occasions he rarely consulted any one. Sometimes, of course, it was necessary to inform himself before replying; if any inquiry was made about troops, or he needed to know something from the quarter master or the commissary of subsistence, the proper officer was sent for; but when the despatch simply required a decision, Grant made the decision, and announced it after the reply was gone. [14]

One favorite occupation at the camp was the study of rebel newspapers which often brought the first news Grant had of distant commands. These were obtained from the picket line on a regular basis and Grant was kept well informed about Confederate news. These newspapers, plus returning prisoners of war, brought Grant the only news he had concerning events on the other side of the line. [15]

Grant was an endless story teller and would relive his past experiences with his officers at night. He would talk late into the night and seemed never to want to go to bed. Many times he would sit up until three or four in the morning, long after everyone else had retired. He preferred to stay up late and would often tire out his aides-de-camp who eventually took turns sitting up with him in self defense. [16]

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[14] Adam Badeau, Military History of U.S. Grant (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1881), vol. III, pp. 136-137.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., p. 143.

After Grant retired for the night,one of his staff would remain on duty outside of his tent until morning.

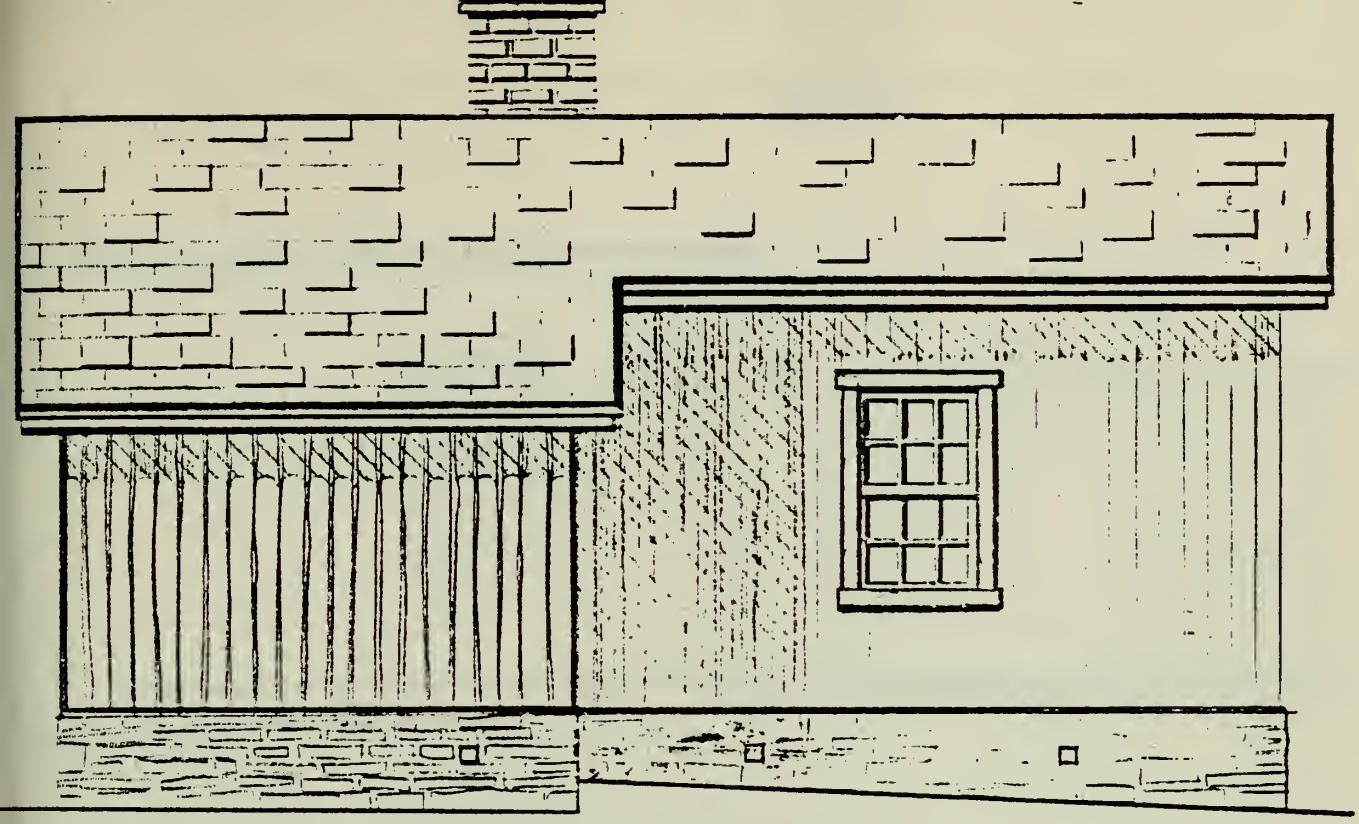
Grant insisted on living in tents until well into the Fall of 1864. While living in a tent he could believe that the Siege of Petersburg would end soon and the war would be over. To erect a cabin meant that he was setting up a more permanent camp and that the end of the war was not close at hand. As the weather began to grow cold Grant's staff became uncomfortable in the cold. In November, 1864, Grant had to leave City Point for a few days,and in his absence the tents came down and cabins were erected. Grant's cabin was a spacious building.

The cabins of General Grant's staff were made of split juniper or at least lined with it. The bark was left on many of the logs. The floors consisted of split logs and the walls had one or two small windows. All of the cabins had fire places. Each hut contained space enough for two bunk beds. [17]

A description of Grant's cabin can be found in the Friday, August 4, 1865, edition of the Philadelphia Inquirer.

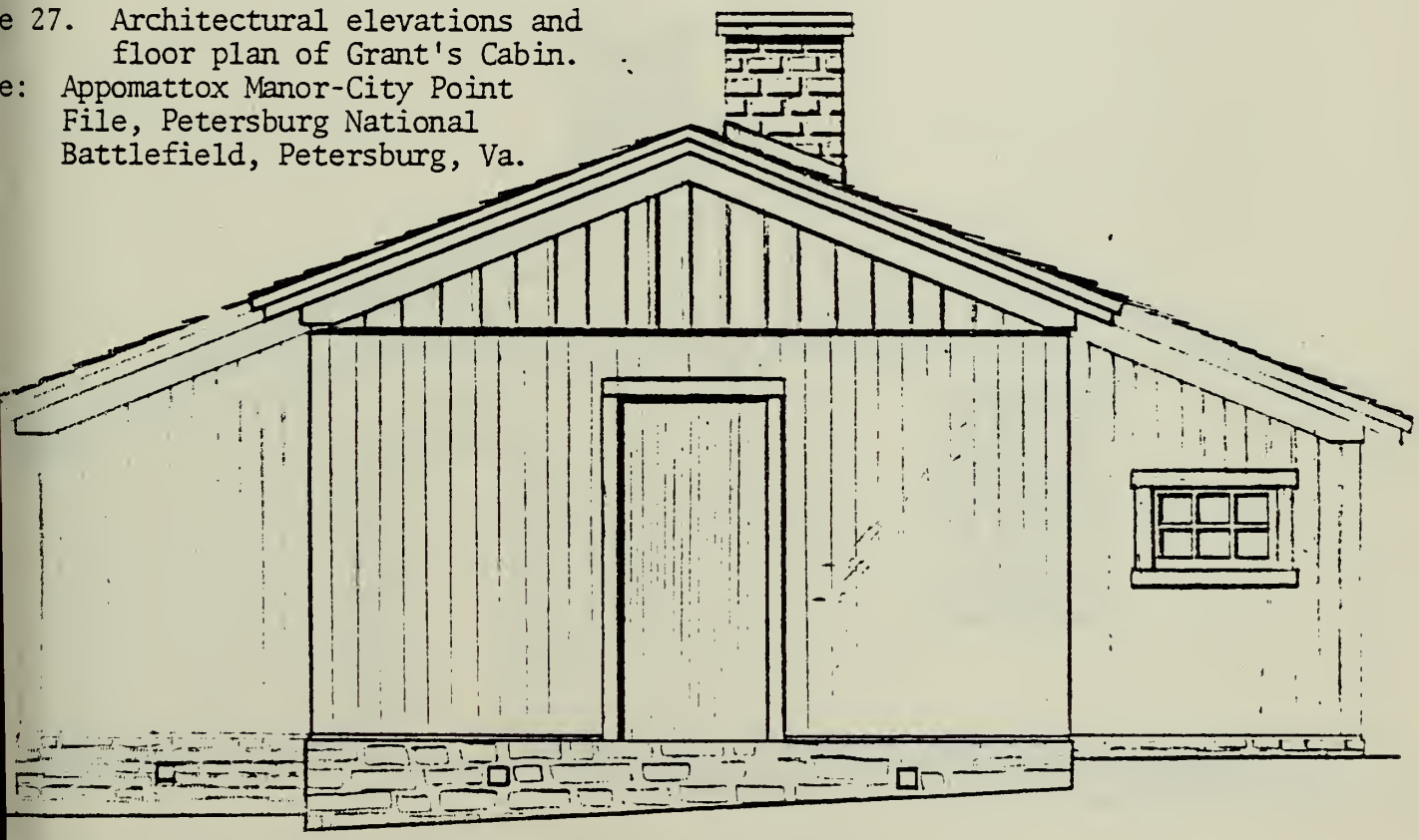
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[17] Statement of Brigadier Timothy E. Wilcox in the files of the Petersburg National Battlefield Park.



EAST ELEVATION

e 27. Architectural elevations and floor plan of Grant's Cabin.
e: Appomattox Manor-City Point File, Petersburg National Battlefield, Petersburg, Va.



NORTH ELEVATION

SCALE : 1/4"= 1'-0"

GRANT'S CABIN





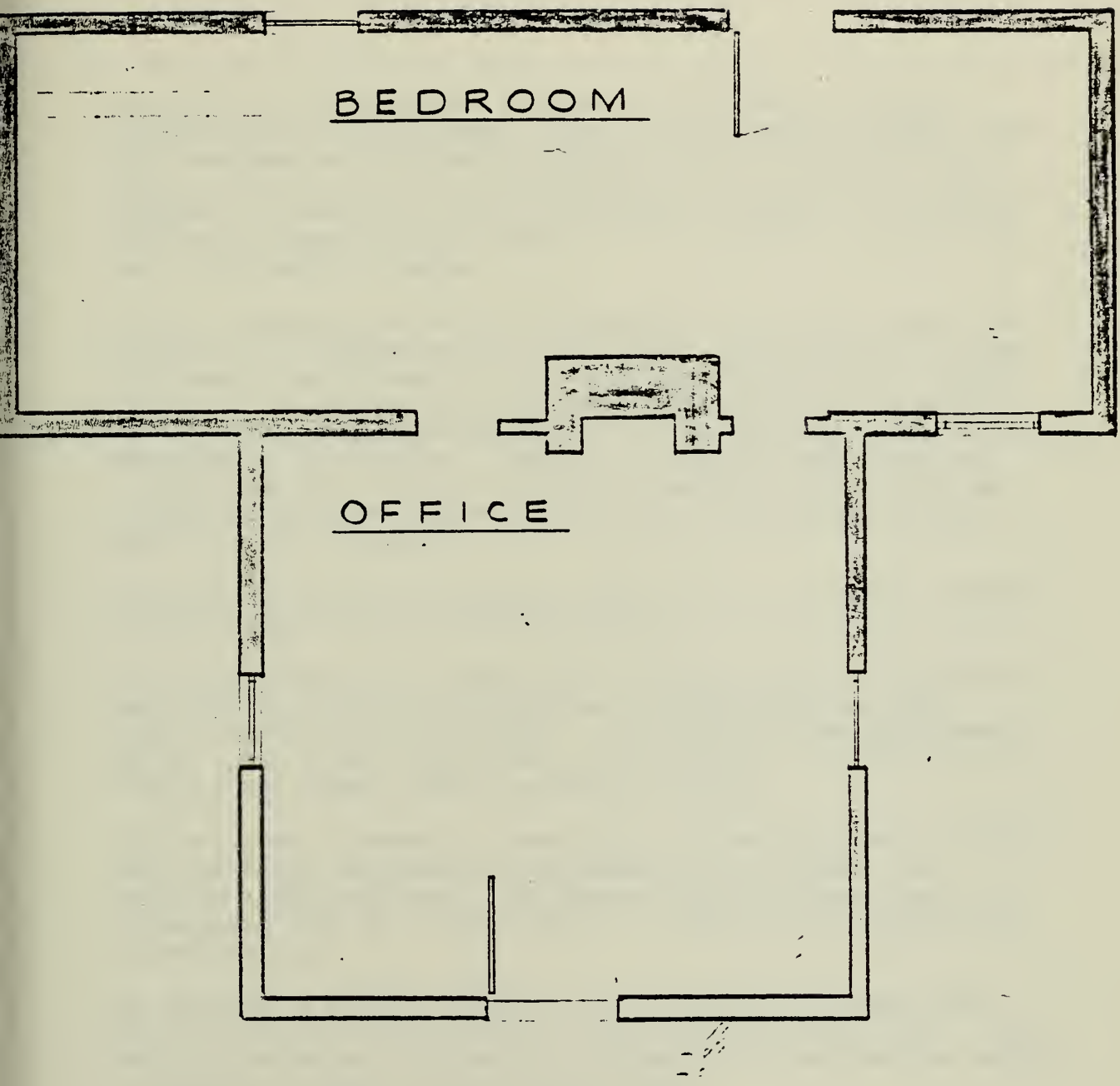
WEST ELEVATION



SOUTH ELEVATION

SCALE: 1/4" = 1'-0"

GRANT'S CABIN



FLOOR PLAN

SCALE: 1/4" = 1'-0"

NORTH

GRANT'S CABIN



The Cabin is of the stockade pattern, the logs being inserted perpendicularly in the ground. There are two rooms; the front room, which was used as a sitting or reception room, is fourteen feet square, and the back room, which constituted the General's sleeping apartment, is twenty-five feet by nine feet in extent. The entire building is shaped like the letter T. It is built of Virginia pine logs, two hundred in number.

The logs composing the front of the building are nicely squared and planed, and the remainder are in the rough. The back room is lined with boards, but the walls of the front or sitting room is composed of logs only. The logs are all chinked with plaster, this plaster and the mortar used constituting the only new substance used in the reerection of the building. The cabin originally cost $2800, and it took about four days to construct it, employing about forty men, a number of whom were negroes, paid seventy dollars per month and found sic in provisions.

The cabin was erected in November, 1864, and was constantly occupied by General Grant until the end of the war.

The sitting room has two windows and one door, the door being out in the principal front; the bed-room has a like number, the door being at the rear of the building. A partition is erected between the two rooms, with sliding doors, which partition is divided by the fireplace and chimney, which are built of brick.

The front room is warmed by a wood fire, the andirons used to build said fire being constructed of old muskets by a soldier, and presented to General Grant. The fender is made of sheet iron, and is punctured with the letters "U.S.G.", with a star on either side of the initials.

The cabin has a slanting shingle roof. This roof was sawed into six sections, for the purpose of transporting it to this city. The cabin is covered with a flooring of planed pine boards and the ceiling is composed of canvas tacked to the rafters.

At City Point the cabin faced due north, and from its door a picturesque view of the James and Appomattox rivers could be obtained. It was situated on a high bluff, surrounded with trees, and directly in front of it towered a high flag-staff, from which always floated an immense American flag. There were in all twenty-two log cabins erected in the immediate vicinity of head-quarters, three of which were counterparts of the one occupied by the commanding general,

and occupied by his chief of staff and staff officers of different grades. The cabin will contain the furniture used by General Grant as near as it can be obtained. This furniture has, however, become somewhat scattered, some of the articles being carried off at City Point by relic hunters, but the main portion of it is in the possession of the general.

An iron camp bed, an iron washstand, a couple of pine tables, and a few common wooden chairs made up the furniture. [18]

Many of the northern papers commented on the establishment of a more permanent camp at City Point. One paper declared that the establishment of Winter quarters was proof that the oldest inhabitant would not likely live long enough to see Grant take Richmond. [19]

Grant and his staff used humor to cope with this situation. General Rufus Ingalls returned on a trip to Washington with an English-spotted coach dog that followed him everywhere. One night as Ingalls and Grant sat together around the fire Grant asked: "Well, Ingalls, What are your real intentions in regard to that dog? Do you expect to take it into Richmond with you?" Ingalls replied to this: "I hope so it is said to come from a long lived breed." This exchange brought a round of laughter from everyone. [20]

Below we have two pictures of Grant's cabin at City Point.

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18 Porter, pp. 329-330.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 331.

e 28. Military cabins
ed on the front lawn of
attox Manor during the
r of 1864-1865. View
Northeast.
e: War Library and
m of the Military
of the Loyal Legion
e United States,
delphia, Pa.



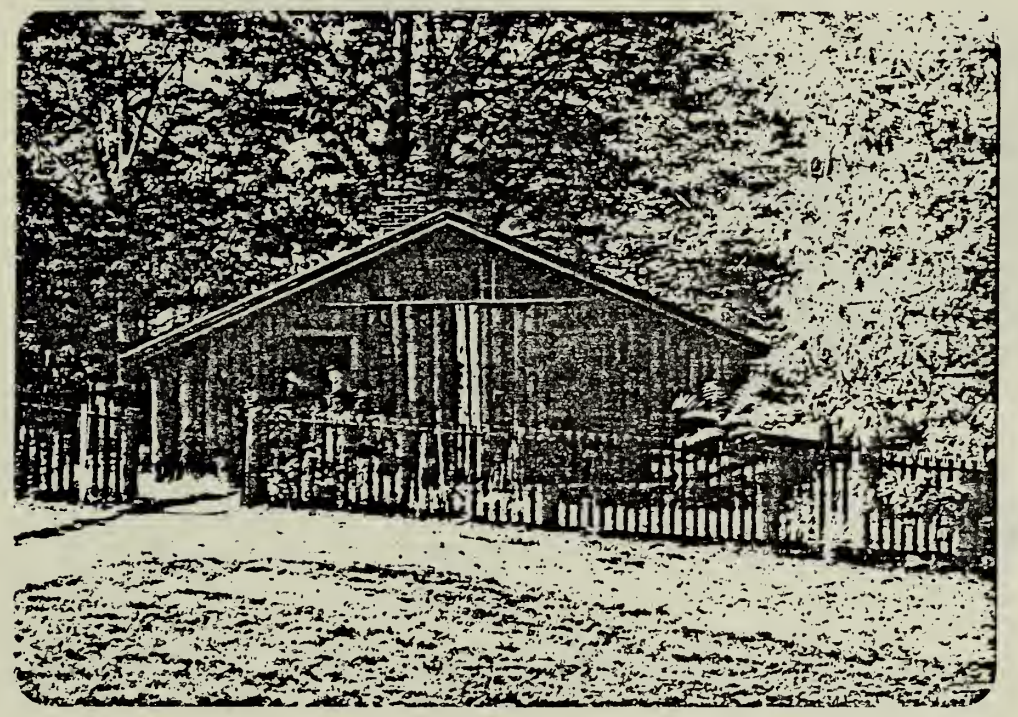
Figure 29
Military cabing located on the front lawn of Appomattox Manor during the Winter of 1864-1865. View from Northwest.
Source: Petersburg National Battlefield, Petersburg, Virginia, File #11, Historical Buildings.

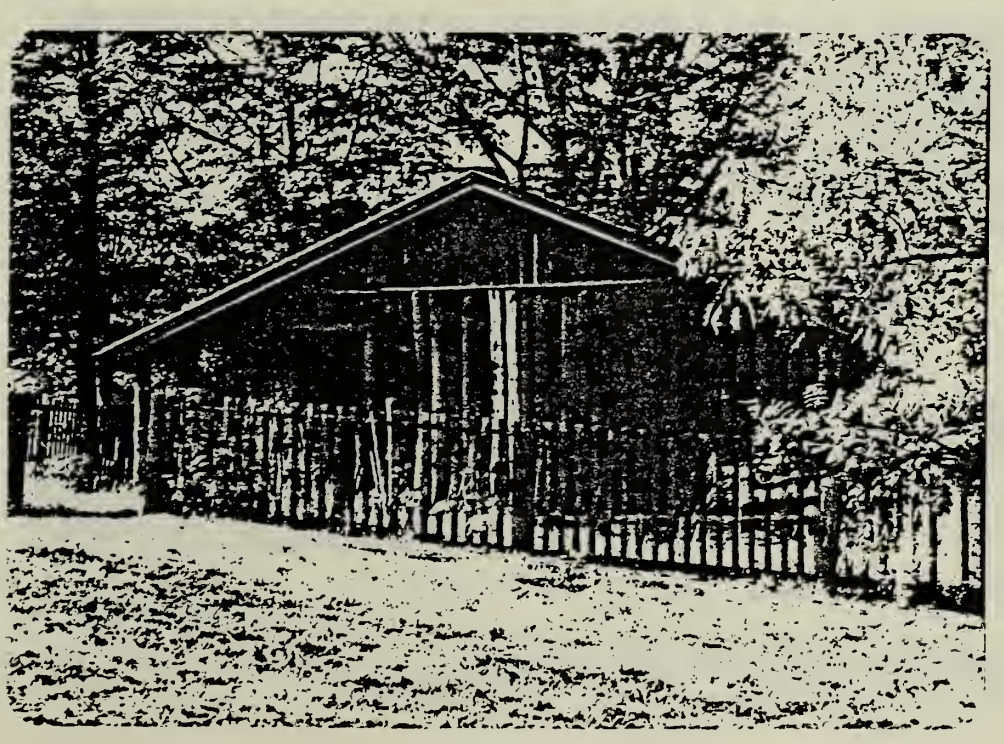


Identification of Grant's cabin is easy because after the war Grant gave it to George H. Stuart, President of the Sanitary Commission, who erected it in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, where it is today. Modern pictures permit easy identification as seen below.

Figure 30. The following six photographs are modern pictures of Grant's cabin taken in November 1977, at Fairmount Park in Philadelphia.

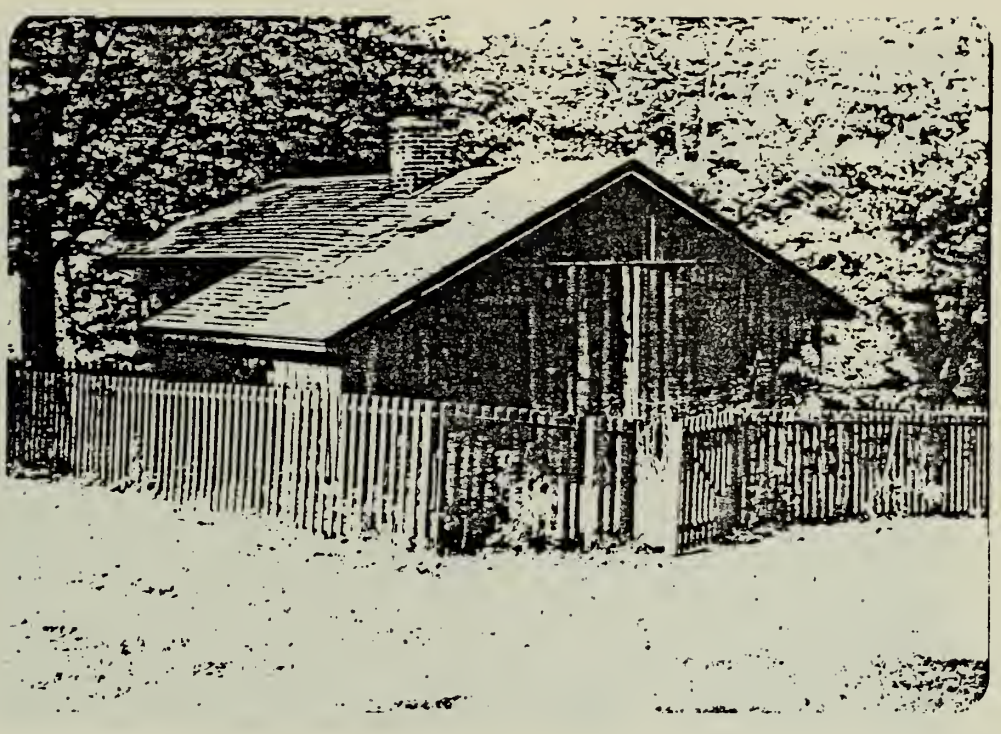
Source: Appomattox Manor-City Point File, Petersburg National Battlefield, Petersburg, Virginia.

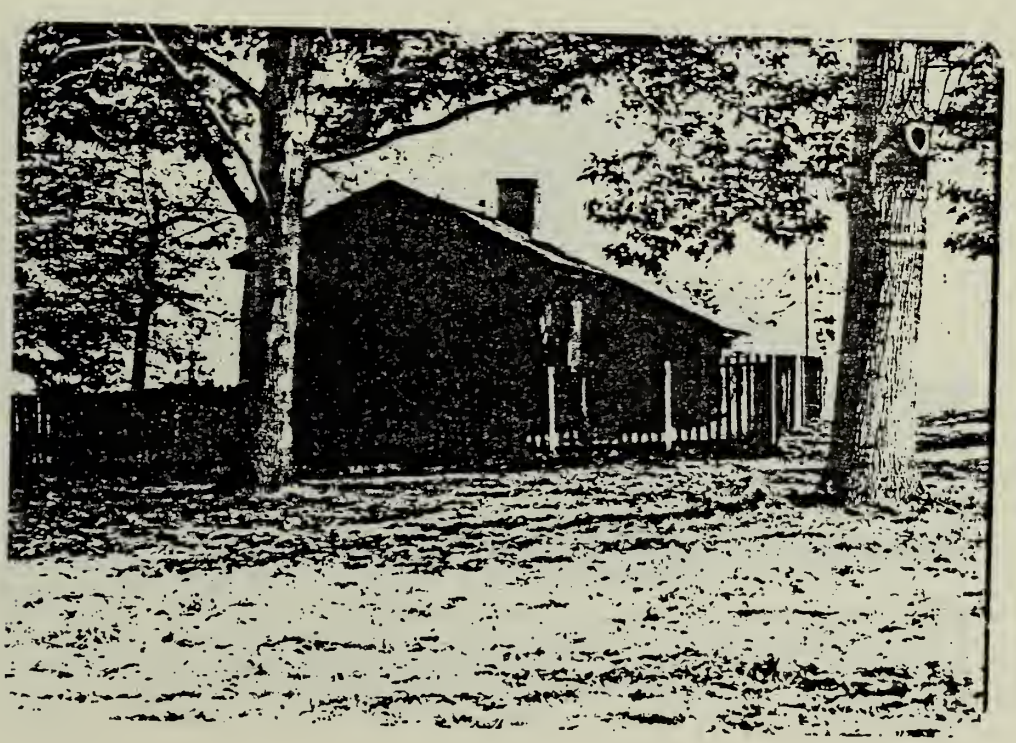








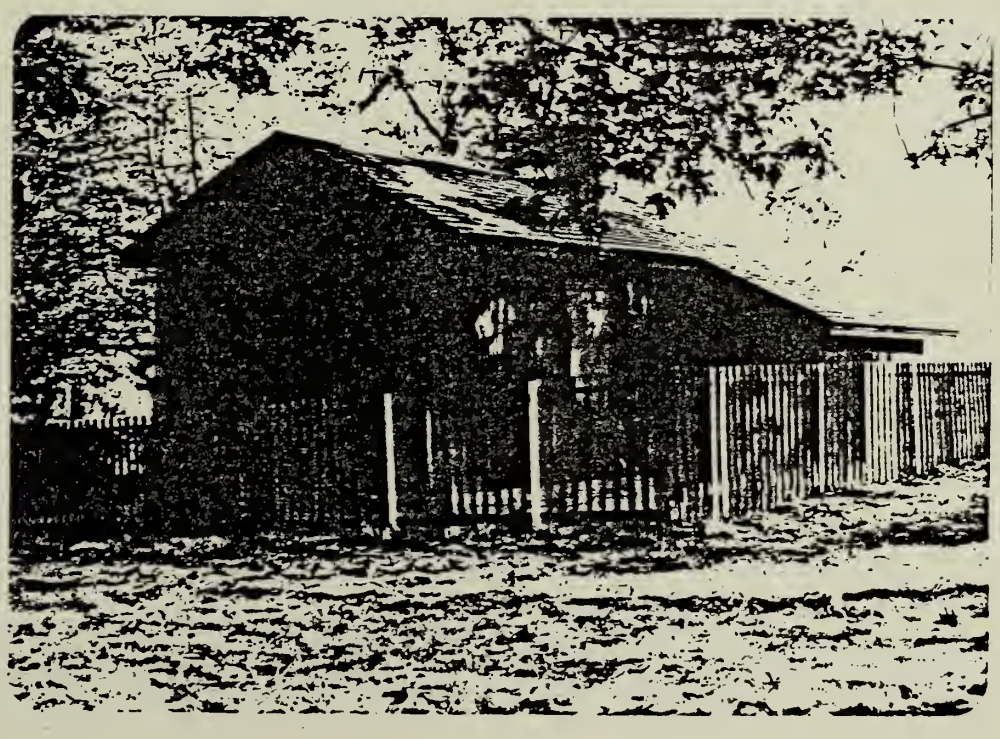
















Since Mr. Stuart was interested in knowing the full history of events that occurred in the cabin,our knowledge of its history is excellent. In July, 1865, Adam Badeau, who was on Grant's staff sent him the following letter describing the history of the cabin.

Headquarters Armies of the United States
Washington D.C. July 21, 1865

Geo. H. Stuart, Esq.
Philadelphia.

My Dear Sir

Lieut. Gen. Grant directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 20th inst., and to state that he is perfectly willing for the cabin in which he lived at City Point to be placed wherever you or the citizens of Philadelphia may prefer.

He also directs me to state, in reply to your request for a history of the cabin, and especially to your reference to a supposed council of war between President Lincoln, Gen. Sherman and himself, that he held no council of war at City Point or any other place at any time; that the interviews between Mr. Lincoln, Gen. Sherman and himself to which you allude, were rather insignificant than "momentous", and that the only conversation of any importance which did occur between them took place on a steamboat; it consisted of Gen. Grant's announcement that he intended to move out against Gen. Lee at a certain time, with his directions to Gen. Sherman to cooperate in North Carolina.

The cabin, however, you will permit me to say, has an interest beyond that to which in Gen. Grant's eyes it seems entitled. It was built in November 1864, so that the last four months of the Rebellion, immediately prior to the great movements which resulted in its overthrow, were passed by him within its walls. Here he received the reports of his great subordinates almost daily, and sent them their orders and their rewards. Here he watched Sherman's route as he came across the continent to the sea, and afterwards along his memorable march through the Carolinas; from here he dispatched his instructions to Thomas, which resulted in the battle of Nashville and the discomfiture of Hood, so that a concentration of any great force in front of Sherman was impossible. From here he directed Terry in the operations which culminated in the fall of Fort Fisher. From here he directed Sherman and Schofield, bringing one Northward through the Carolinas and the other Eastward in dead winter across the North, and then sending him by sea to meet his great captain at Goldsboro, the cooperation being so complete that the two armies arrived one from Nashville and the other from Savannah, on the same day. Here he received the rebel commissioners on their way to meet President Lincoln; here he ordered Sheridan's glorious movements, whose importance in producing the last great result can hardly be overestimated; from here he directed Canby in the campaign whose conclusion was the fall of Mobile; from here he despatched Wilson

and Stoneman on their final raids. Here he received the President, Gen. Sherman, Gen. Sheridan, Gen. Meade and Admiral Porter in an interview interesting beyond comparison in the meeting at one time and place of so many men of such importance by their talents and their positions and here the lamented Lincoln passed many of the latest hours of his life before its crowning success had been achieved. Here the last orders for all these generals were penned before the commencement of the great campaign which terminated the war. These are reminiscences which I have ventured to recall, conscious that they must always be of transcedent interest to the patriot and the historical student, although to the appreciation of the Lieut. Gen'l they seem, as he directs me to style them - insignificant.

I am, by dear Sir
with great respect
Your Obedient servent.
ADAM BADEAU
Brev't. Col. & Mil. Sec. [21]

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[21] Located on the files of the Fairmount Park Commission, Memorial Hall, Philadelphia

On February 12, 1889, Badeau sent another letter to Russel Thayer, Chief Engineer and Superintendent of the Fairmount Park Commission concerning the cabin.

Washington, D.C. February 12th, 1889.

Russell Thayer, Esq.,
Chief Engineer and Superintendent Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 2nd, asking for the history of General Grant's Log Cabin now in Fairmount Park.

This building was put up in November, 1864, and was occupied by General Grant during the last four or five months of the Rebellion. It stood on the bluff overlooking the James River, where the headquarters of our armies were established from June, 1864 to March, 1865. During the summer and early autumn, Grant had slept in a tent, but as the weather grew colder and it became almost certain that we must pass the winter at City Point, cabins were built for him and his staff.

The hut of the General-in-Chief was larger than those of his officers and contained two rooms, while theirs had but one, for Mrs. Grant spent a portion of the winter with him, but in every other respect it was as plain and simple as that of any Captain on his staff. The cabins, about a dozen in number, formed three sides of the little encampment, and the General Grant's was at the centre of one of these lines, facing the river. In front was a flag staff with the Headquarter's Flag, and the camp fire around which at night the officers gathered. Grant was always among them, and remained until the small hours, smoking, talking, joking, and now and then receiving a dispatch. If news of importance came from the front at Petersburg, or nearer Richmond, or from Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, or other distant generals, he often read it aloud, and then entered this cabin and wrote his answer; sometimes the door remained open, and the candle flickered in its iron frame. I can see him now in his light blue soldier's overcoat and his broad-brimmed hat, cigar in mouth, leaning over the table and writing an order to one of his great generals. Then he rejoined the circle around the fire and perhaps told what directions he had issued. These orders were usually telegraphed, and the operator's tent close at hand to facilitate the dispatch of messages.

During the mornings of that last winter of the war Grant also wrote more elaborate letter to Lincoln, Stanton, or to Halleck, or his other important subordinates. One or two maps always lay on his table, and as he got news from Sherman on his great marches, or a report from Sheridan after a victory in the Valley, he often entered to look for the exact spot where the manoeuvres or the battle had occurred. Spies and scouts were sometimes examined

secretly in the inner room; officers brought hither verbal reports from distant fields, and late in the night on his simple cot he doubtless revolved the instructions and the plans which led through so much anxiety and effort to the final triumph of the Union.

He never went to his camp bed till long past midnight, and if any staff officer would sit up with him after the camp fire had burned low and the others had turned in, they went into this cabin together, and Grant was more genial and more communicative then than at any other time. His great spirit may hover still around the rough walls that once sheltered his bodily frame and recall the discussions of the past, the verdict upon other generals, the details of his battles and campaigns which he would then disclose to those in his nearest confidence. Secrets of war and intimate personal revelations hand around these unhewn walls enough to fill a volume if the rough logs could tell the history they have seen and heard.

In this cabin Grant wrote his orders to Sherman for the march through the Carolinas; from here he summoned Sheridan to the Army of the Potomac for the final struggle; from his hut he removed Butler after the failure at Fort Fisher; seated within these walls he sent the dispatches to Thomas, which have provoked so much discussion, and the orders to Schofield that transferred him across the Continent. Here he received the Rebel Commissioners who came out from Richmond in March, 1865, to treat for peace; and here he often sat and talked with Lincoln of the great issues at stake, the military measures and the means. Stanton too, and Seward have sat under this roof, and on one memorable day, after Sherman had arrived at the sea, Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Meade, and Admiral Porter were all crowded into his little hut, which then contained as much of America's greatness as has ever stood at once within the same four walls.

Finally in the cabin Grant wrote the orders for the concluding operations of the War; here he explained the situation to Lincoln on the day before the Armies moved, and from this homely shelter, on the 29th of March, 1865, he started on that campaign which ended at Appomattox with the surrender of Lee and secured the salvation of the American Union.

I am Sir,

your obedient servent,

ADAM BADEAU. [22]

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22 Ibid.

One of the regiments assigned to defend City Point was the 114th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. The regiment was chiefly engaged in escorting rebel prisoners to Washington and its band also provided appropriate music for military executions. These activities were not sufficient to keep the regiment occupied and, as a result, the band would practice its music all day and then march over to Grant's cabin at night to serenade him. [23]

They did this in the belief that Grant appreciated music. Grant did not appreciate the music or any music for that matter. After patiently suffering for a few days, he finally lost his temper and Porter relates what happened.

> The garrison commander was in blissful ignorance of the fact that to the general the appreciation of music was a lacking sense and the musician's score a sealed book. About the third evening after the band had begun its performances, the general, while sitting at the mess-table remarked: "I've noticed that that band always begins its noise just about the time I am sitting down to dinner and want to talk." I offered to go and make an effort to suppress it, and see whether would obey an order to "cease firing," and my services were promptly accepted. The men were gorgeously uniformed, and the band seemed to embrace every sort of brass instrument ever invented, from a diminutive cornet-a-pistons to a gigantic double-bass horn. The performer who played the latter instrument was engaged within its ample twists, and looked like a man standing inside the coils of a whiskey-still. The broad-belted band-master was puffing with all the vigor of a quack-medicine advertisement, his eyes were riveted

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23 Frank Rauscher, Music on the March, 1862-1865, 114th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. (Wm. F. Fell & Co., Philadelphia, 1892), p. 217.

> upon the music, and it was not an easy task to attract his attention. Like a sperm-whale, he had come up to blow, and was not going to be put down till he had finished; but finally he was made to understand that, like the hand-organ man, he was desired to more on. With a look of disinheritance on his countenance, he at last marched off his band to its camp. On my return the general said: "I fear that band-master's feelings have been hurt, but I did not want him to be wasting his time upon a person who has no ear for music." A staff-office remarked: "Well, general, you were at least much more considerate than Commodore _____, who, the day he came to take command of his vessel, and was seated at dinner in the cabin, heard music on deck, and immediately sent for the executive officer and said to him: 'Have the instruments and men of that band thrown overboard at once!' " [24]

General Grant established a good working relationship with his staff at City Point. The atmosphere of the camp was informal yet Grant maintained the dignity of his position. However close his staff were to him in their relations, there was never any obtrusive intimacy. [25] Grant always addressed his Chief of Staff as "Rawlins," General Sherman as "Sherman" and General Sheridan as "Sheridan." However, in addressing Meade and all other commanders he used the title "General" Sherman always called the Commander-In-Chief "Grant" Ingalls and other West Point classmates used this same form of address when alone with Grant. When others were present they called him "General." When talking to a personal aide he

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[24] Porter, p. 234-235.

[25] Ibid., p. 331.

knew well Grant would use their last names. He was considerate to his staff and showed a genuine politeness to all who came to visit, invariably inviting his visitor to be seated before offering the inevitable cigar. He never criticized a person who had just left, and would never listen to any camp gossip. He had an aversion to people who whispered information in his ear and would invite that person to the rear room of his cabin if a confidential interview was needed. Grant was especially courteous to women and treated all who came to see him with great respect. [26]

While Grant was courteous to the officers and men of his staff and to the men serving in the Army of the Potomac, the common soldier could be abrupt as Porter relates:

> There was an officer serving in the Army of the Potomac who had formerly been a surgeon. One day he appeared at Meade's headquarters in a high state of indignation, and said: "General, as I was riding over here some of the men in the adjoining camps shouted after me and called me 'Old Pills,' and I would like to have it stopped." Meade just at that moment was not in the best possible frame of mind to be approached with such a complaint. He seized hold of the eye-glasses, conspicuously large in size, which he always wore, clapped them astride of his nose with both hands, glared through them at the officer, and exclaimed: "Well, what of that? How can I prevent it? Why, I hear that, when I rode out the other day, some of the men called me a 'd_d old goggle-eyed snapping-turtle,' and I can't even stop that!" The officer had to content himself with this

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26 Ibid., p. 323-333.

> explosive expression of sympathetic fellow-feeling, and to take his chances thereafter as to obnoxious epithets. [27]

Grant never wasted his time on details that could be handled by others. He never reviewed court-martial reports or spent time on a project that was not of some importance. He would find a man he could trust and then detail responsibility to that man. Grant concentrated his efforts on doing his job and would not let himself be diverted. He would consider a problem as long as he deemed necessary and than make his decision. Unlike other generals, Grant never held a council of war. He just didn't believe in them, as Porter points out:

> It was suggested, one evening, that he instruct Sherman to hold a council of war on the subject of the next movement of his army. To this General Grant replied: "No; I will not direct any one to do what I would not do myself under similar circumstances. I never held what might be called formal councils of war, and I do not believe in them. They create a divided responsibility, and at times prevent that unity of action so necessary in the field. Some officers will in all likelihood oppose any plan that may be adopted; and when it is put into execution, such officers may, by their arguments in opposition, have so far convinced themselves that the movement will fail that they cannot enter upon it with enthusiasm, and might possibly be influenced in their actions by the feeling that a victory would be a reflection upon their judgment. I believe it is better for a commander charged with the responsibility of all the operations of his army to consult his generals freely but informally, get their views and opinions, and

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27 Ibid., 247-248.



then make up his mind what action to take, and act accordingly. There is too much truth in the old adage, 'Councils of war do not fight.' " [28]

As the months passed by City Point grew into a huge supply depot for the Union Army. On any given day an eyewitness could count more that forty steamboats, seventy-five sailing ships and one hundred barges in the river. [29]

Morris Schaff, a young ordnance officer fresh out of West Point, said City Point reminded him of thecontinuous range of levees at New Orleans,with its network of railroad tracks running to the jetties out in the stream. [30]

In the painting below by Edward Lamson Henry in the Addison Gallery of American Art we can see an example of the frenzied activity at City Point during the Siege of Petersburg.

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28 Ibid., p. 316

29 Edward Boykin, Beefsteak Raid (Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1960), p. 116.

30 Ibid.



Figure 31. E.L. Henry painting depicting City Point during the Winter of 1864-1865.
Source: Appomattox Manor-City Point File, Petersburg National Battlefield, Petersburg. Virginia.

One of the biggest attention getters at City Point was the hospital which was large enough for over 6,000 men. It was located between points 12 and 13 and F and H on the map.

In the two following photos we have several different view of the hospital at City Point.

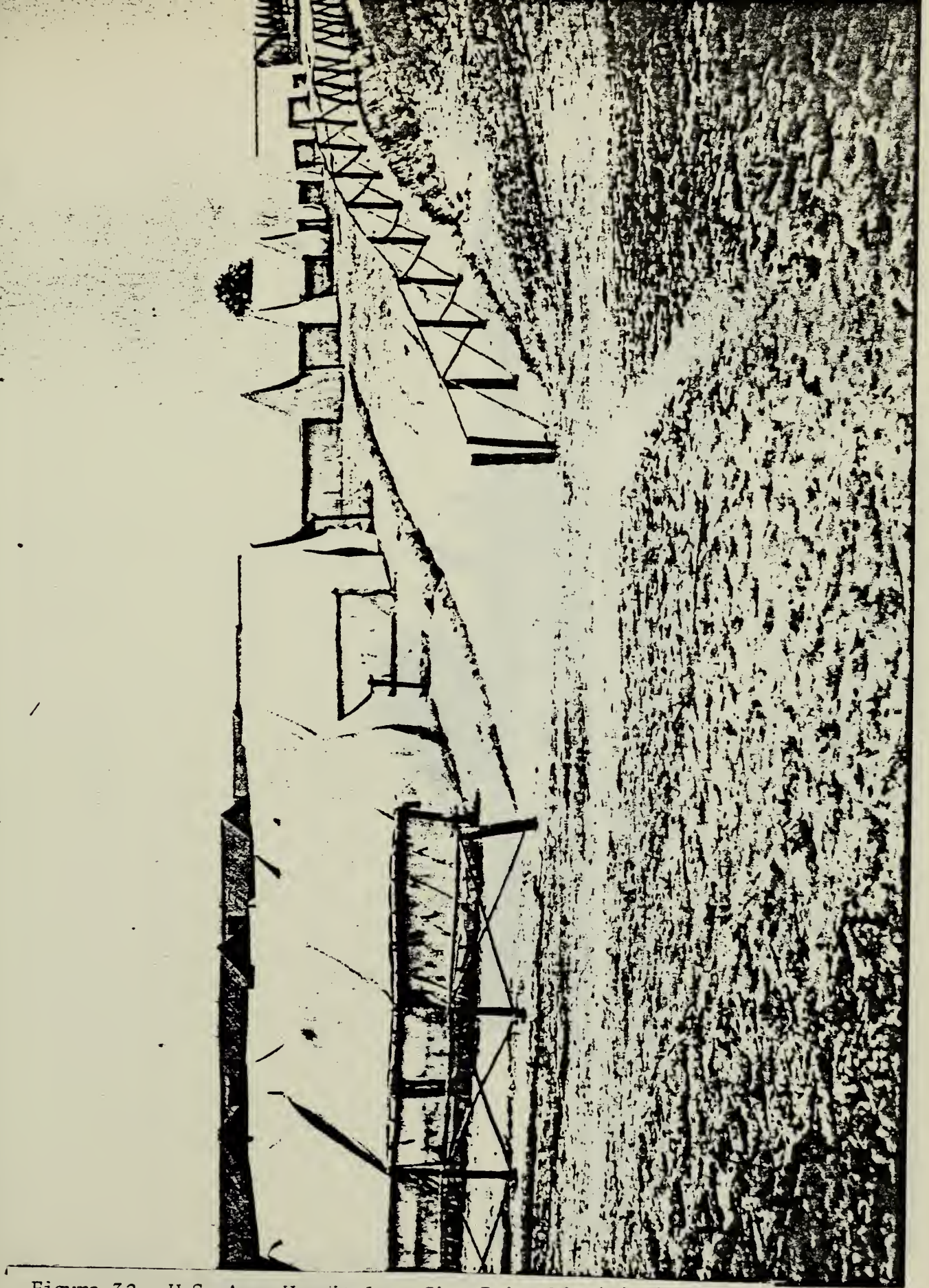


Figure 32. U.S. Army Hospital at City Point Virginia in 1865.
Source: Mollus Collection # 1417.



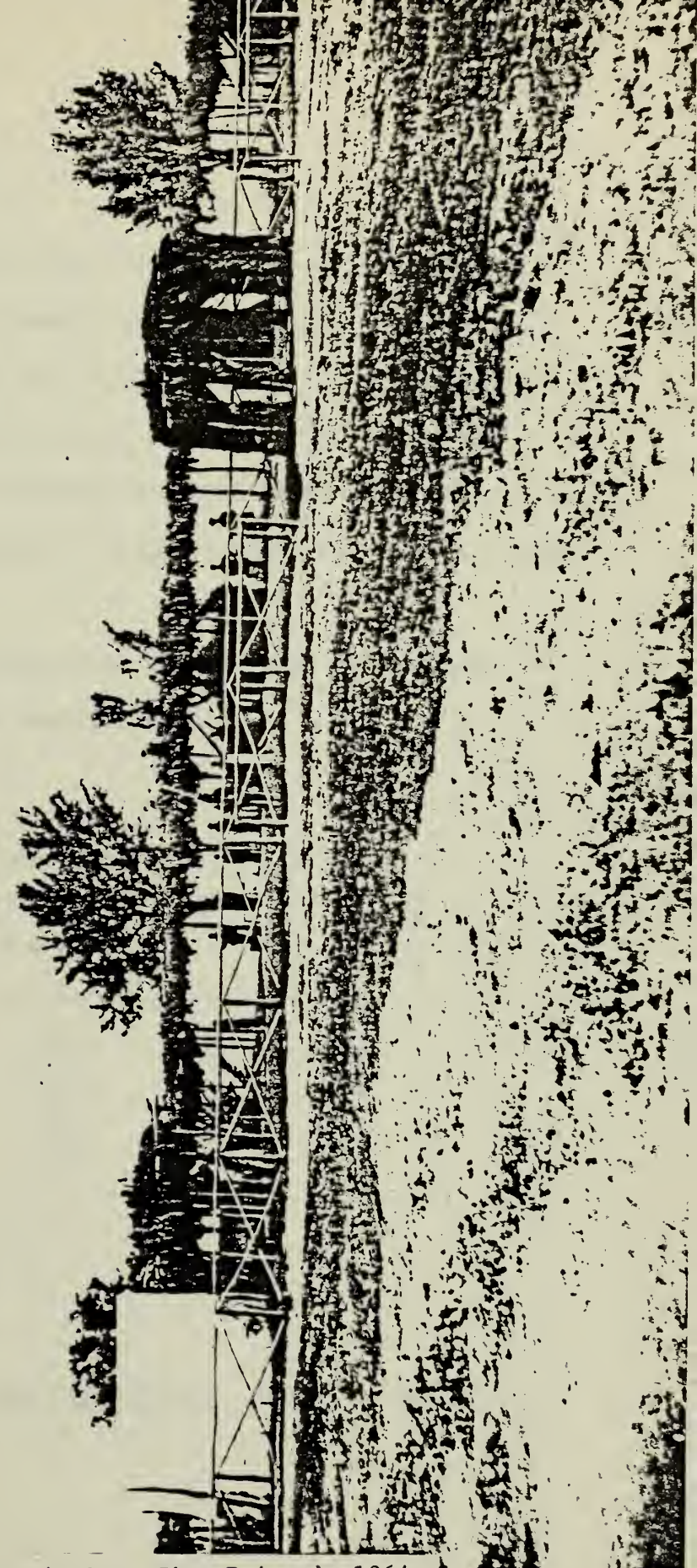
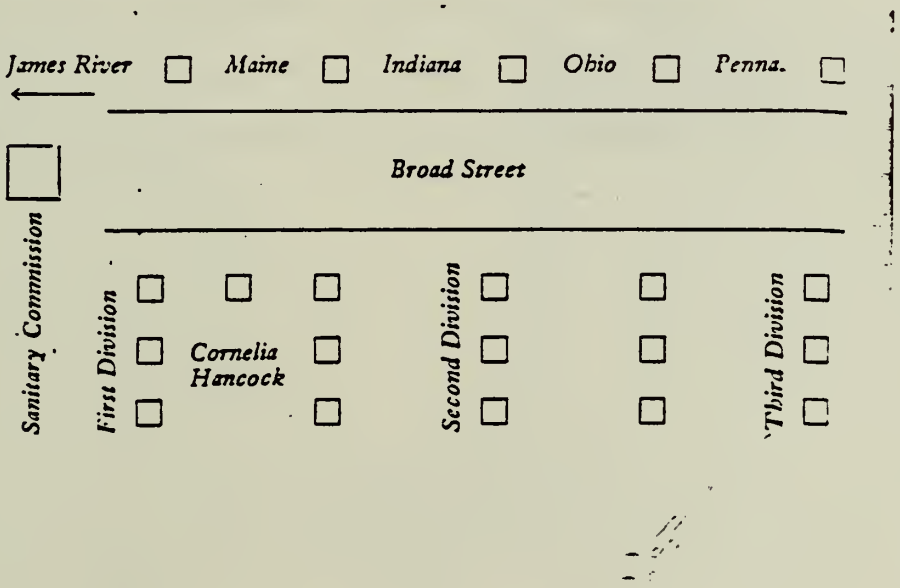


Figure 33. U.S. Army Hospital at City Point in 1864.
Source: Mollus Collection # 1929

The hospital was organized very soon after the arrival of Grant at City Point in June 1864, to handle the mass casualties of the campaign. It handled as many as 10,000 patients during the summer of 1864, and the following winter could provide for 6,000 men in warm winter quarters. Twelve hundred hospital tents lined its streets, while other conveniences included running water and a stream laundry. [31]

Cornelia Hancock, a nurse stationed at the hospital at City Point, drew the following map of the hospital ground.



31 Cornelia Hancock, South After Gettysburg (Books for Libraries Press, Freeport), p. 120.

The hospital covered some two hundred acres of land near Grant's headquarters. The hospital had easy access to water transportation which carried casualties to Washington and points north. Every effort was made to treat the sick and wounded soldiers at City Point. Through bitter experience, the army learned that once a man was sent north for treatment he was usually lost to the army. By treating the sick and the wounded at City Point, more men could be returned to the ranks.

The medical department had its own wharves and transports but could call on the quartermaster department for additional ships. In the picture below we can see the medical supply steamer "Planter" unloading supplies near City Point in September 1864.



Figure 34. Medical supply boat "Planter" landing supplies near City Point in 1864.

Source: Petersburg National Battlefield, Petersburg, Virginia, File 18, Logistics and Communications.

Drugs and supplies as well as ice and delicacies were plentiful. Every patient had a bed with clean sheets and pillows. Shortly after the tents were erected, the quartermaster installed two four horsepower steam engines at the edge of the river to draw water into a 6,000 gallon tank supported on a trestle 30 feet high. Pipes were laid throughout the area and river water was supplied for laundry, bathing and other purposes. Wells and natural springs supplied drinking water. [32]

When City Point had no rain for several weeks during the summer, dust and heat became a serious health problem. Hospital authorities requested sprinkling carts from Washington to water down the streets. This soon provided the necessary relief. [33]

Hospital latrines were primitive and consisted of mainly open ditches. Even after these ditches were treated with sulfate of iron, flies and mosquitoes were common. The tents and grounds were kept clean and regular inspections were made to see to this. As the siege continued month after month the ration of sick to wounded began to increase. [34]

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32 McPherson, p. 244.

33 Ibid.

34 See Appendix VI for a comparison of common Civil War diseases to diseases of World War I.

Convalescent patients were put to work around the hospital. In addition to this help the medical staff had a detail of cavalry and contingents of civilians working for the semi-official Sanitary and Christian Commissions and commissions from many of the states, which supplied food, clothing and nursing care. One hundred and sixty adult negroes were also employed as cooks and laundresses. They washed some 6,000 pieces of laundry each week. [35]

As winter approached the tents were replaced with 90 log barracks with board roofs, measuring 50 ft. by 20 ft. The walls were made cheerful by covering them with brightly colored paper. Four hundred and fifty-two tents were also used. [36]

Everything was done to make the sick and wounded at City Point as comfortable as possible. At the time Lee's army was starving in the trenches the Union army had an abundance of supplies. In a letter dated December 29, 1864, Cornelia Hancock, an army nurse, described the Christmas dinner for the men at the hospital.

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35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

City Point, Dec. 29th, 1864

My Dear Sister

Christmas is over. We had it to perfection here, a splendid dinner for 1400 men; just to think of it, cooking a sumptuous dinner of turkeys, pies, etc. for that number. It is not appalling? Miss Hart had charge of the dinner and, of course, it was a success. She is so smart. I had moved into my new kitchen and gave her full sway there. It was handy to where the dinner was set in the government kitchen where 400 can be seated at once. The hall was decorated tastefully with evergreens and was really pretty as a picture. It was photographed, I believe. [37]

The U.S. Sanitary Commission had offices located at City Point. The Sanitary Commission had been established on June 9, 1861 to look after the health and welfare of the volunteer army, and also to act as a means of communication between the government and the people. The Sanitary Commission followed the army and set up its offices to help the soldiers. Many northern cities contributed money to the Commission and by the time the Commission arrived at City Point on June 18, 1864, it was a large and well run organization. Workers of the Sanitary Commission spent their first days setting up a restaurant for soldiers and putting three large barges in the river to act as aid stations. Moored permanently side by side in the river, the barges were full of things needed by the soldiers. Food and lodgings were offered to any needy soldier, white or black. [38]

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[37] Hancock, p. 163.

[38] William Quentin Maxwell, Lincoln's Fifth Wheel (Longmans, Green & Co. New York, 1956), p. 256.

By 1865 the U.S. Sanitary Commission at City Point employed two hundred workers and teamsters. A steam tug moved up and down the river carrying supplies to various relief stations scattered along the 30 mile front. Each army corps had its own Sanitary Station and two four horse wagons to accompany the army on the move. Agents of the commission cared for soldiers at the City Point Hospital and the various regimental hospitals. The commission even sent letters home for soldiers at the front and informed relatives of deaths in battle.

By the end of June 1865, the Sanitary Commission had purchased 103 tons of canned tomatoes, 1,200 barrels of pickled cucumbers, 18,000 gallons of onions and tomatoes and 17,000 gallons of sauerkraut. The commission also purchased 1,500 barrels of potatoes to give to the soldiers. Woolen socks, shirts, drawers and tobacco were supplied endlessly. Both officers and men of the army praised the work of the commission. [39]

The Sanitary Commission proved to be an invaluable ally of the soldiers at City Point. Much of the bitterness and horror of war at Petersburg was dissipated by the prompt work of this commission.

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[39] Ibid.

City Point was a bustle of military activity during the summer of 1864. Supplies of every shape and description were funneled through the docks and onto the trains heading for the front. Quartermaster General Meigs boasted that City Point could victual and supply half a million fighting men if necessary.[40] Episcopal Bishop Henry C. Lay of Arkansas who visited City Point on a pass provided by General Sherman, described the scene as, "not merely profusion, but extravagance, wagons, tents, artillery, ad libitum. Soldiers provided with everything, comforts of all sorts."[41]

To funnel this food and material to the soldiers Grant built a military railroad and hooked it onto the existing Petersburg-City Point Line. Horace Porter observed the railroad and remarked, "Its undulations were so marked that a train moving along it looked in the distance like a fly crawling on a corrugated washboard."[42] The railroad was small by today's standards but it did its job well and the Union army nevered suffered from want of supplies.

As City Point grew into a large city, union officials began to worry about the defense of the depot. Confederate lines were not too distant and the threat of a quick cavalry raid was ever present. To meet this threat, Grant's engineers ran a fortified defense line

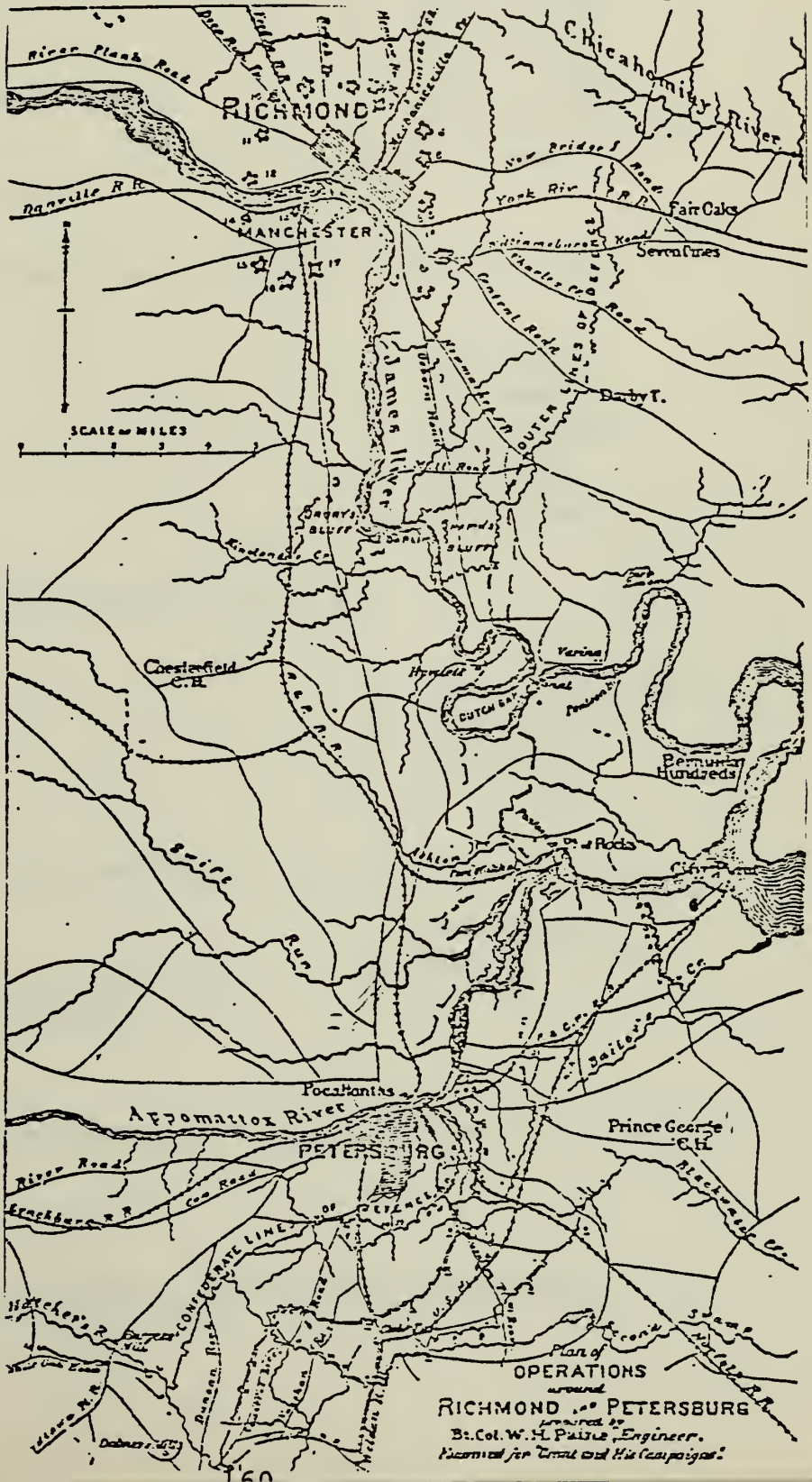
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40 Boykin, p. 116.

41 Ibid., p. 117.

42 Ibid., p. 118.

behind City Point. They lined this defense perimeter with eight forts. In the map below we can see this defense line as well as the siege lines at Petersburg.



e 35. Plan of Operations
d Petersburg and Richmond
64-1865.
e: William Swinton
igns of the Army of the
ac New York, Charles
ner's Sons, 1882.

Names of Union Forts Around Petersburg. (See Map.)

A. Fort McGilvery.
B. Fort Steadman.
C. Fort Hascall.
D. Fort Morton.
E. Fort Meikle.
F. Fort Rice.
G. Fort Sedgwick, or Fort Hell
H. Fort Davis.
I. Fort Prescott.
K. Fort Alexander Hayes.
L. Fort Howard.
M. Fort Wadsworth.
N. Fort Dushane.
O. Fort Davison.
P. Fort McMahon.
Q. Fort Stevenson.
R. Fort Blaisdel.
S. Fort Patrick Kelley.
T. Fort Bross.

Forts on the Prolongation of the Lines West of the Weldon

A. Fort Keene.
B. Fort Urmston.
C. Fort Conahey.
D. Fort Fisher.
E. Fort Welch.
F. Fort Gregg.
G. Fort Wheaton.
H. Fort Sampson.
I. Fort Cummings.
K. Fort Emory.
L. Fort Siebert.
M. Fort Clarke.

Forts Protecting City Point.

O. Fort Abbott.
P. Fort Craig.
Q. Fort Graves.
R. Fort McKeen.
S. Fort Lewis O. Morris
T. Fort Merriam.
U. Fort Gould.
V. Fort Porter.

Names of Certain Rebel Forts Around Petersburg.

a. Colquit's Salient.
b. Pegram's Battery, the fort blown up at the mine explosion
c. Reeves' Salient.
d. Fort Mahone.
e. Fort New Orleans.
f. Fort Lee.

X. Fort Harrison (on Chapin's Farm, north of James River.) [43]

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[43] Hyland C. Kirk, A History of the New York Heavy Artillery (C.T. Dillingham, New York), pp. 364-366.

Behind this line of forts the engineers ran a fortified line manned by many well-gunned redoubts. On the map of City Point this line runs from point 5A to point 8K. The following pictures show some of the details of this line.

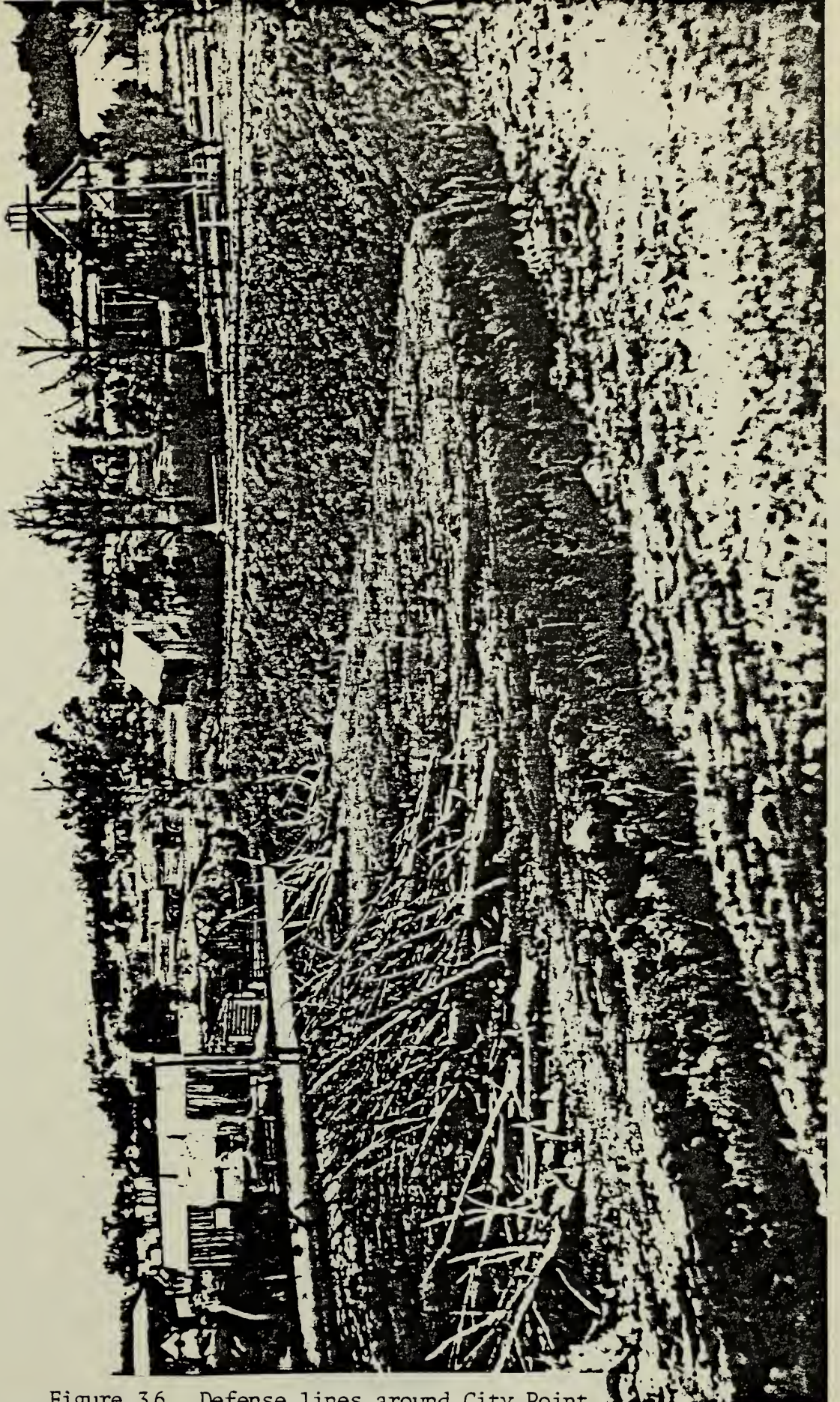


Figure 36. Defense lines around City Point.
Source: Mollus Collection #771

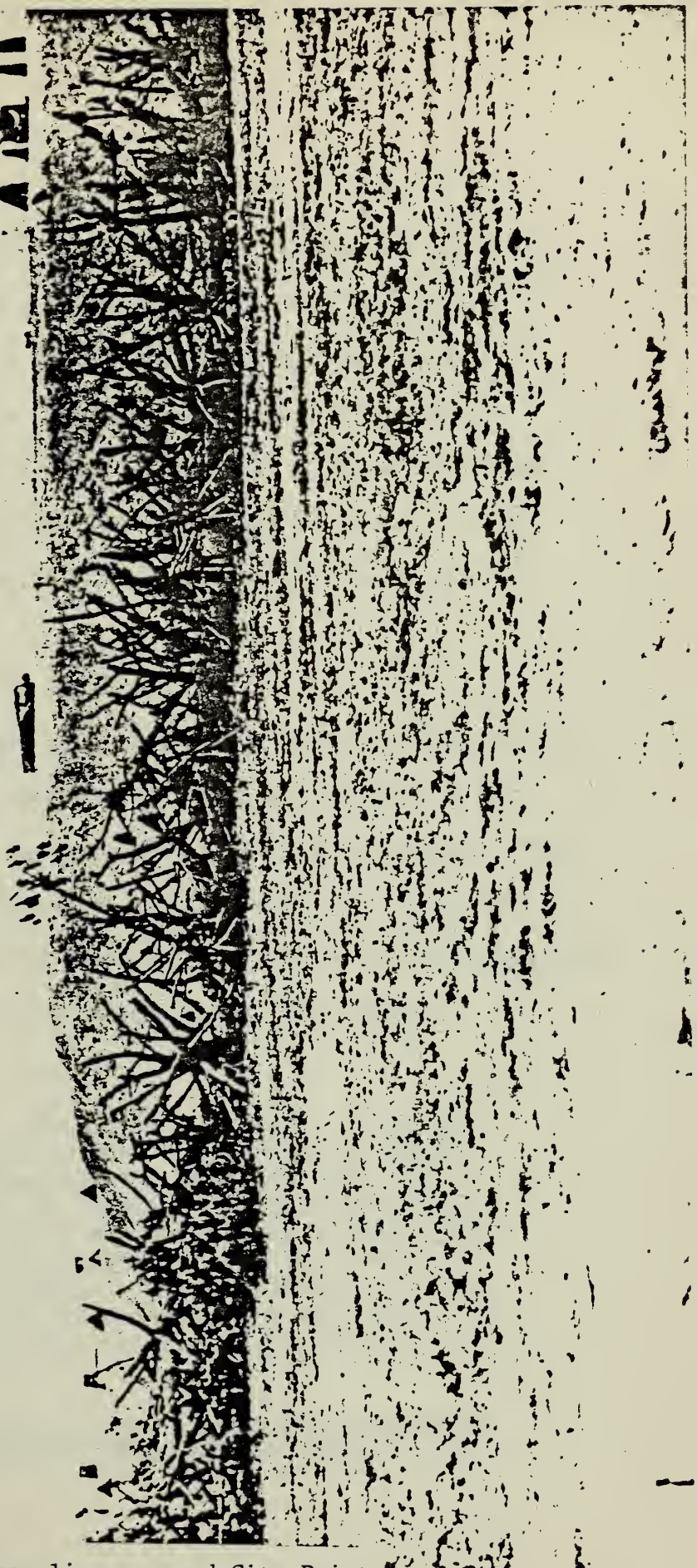


Figure 37. Defense lines around City Point
Source: Mollus Collection # 1337

Construction details on the defense lines are lacking but we do know that companies A,B,C,D, and E of the Eighteenth New Hampshire Volunteers under the command of Captain Potter was kept at work erecting fortifications from October 4, 1864 until some time in December.[44] The forts were about two miles in front of City Point. These fortifications comprised three and two-thirds miles of works and extended from the Appomattox on the North to Bailey's Creek on the South.

The inner line of defense was much closer to Grant's headquarters and consisted of sharpened branches piled high in a row behind which a deep ditch was constructed and sharpened spikes were implanted. The Eighteenth New Hampshire labored on construction projects at City Point throughout the winter of 1864-1865,and left us a good description of life in their command at City Point during these months.

> For winter life at City Point, in its camp on a high and dry plateau about two miles west of the James and half a mile south of the Appomattox, the battalion built log huts of the pine which was abundant in the vicinity. The skill in wood-craft, which was common among the men of the Eighteenth, here came into good use, and there was warm rivalry between the companies. The pine forests close at hand were drawn upon for the materials for the walls. The soil furnished the clay and the brigade quartermaster, axes,

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44 Thomas L. Livermore History of the Eighteenth New Hampshire Volunteers 1864-1865 (Fort Hill Press, Boston, 1904), p. 36.

shovels, picks, and wheelbarrows. Logs of the straight-grained native pine, ten to twelve feet long, were cut longitudinally in half; smoothed with the axe on the split side, the halves were set up on end in trenches two feet deep, with the bark, or a roughly hewn surface, on the exterior. Projecting several them out of the ground the walls thus made gave sufficient head room . The joints were thoroughly plastered with clay. The pieces of canvas, six feet square, one of which served each man as his portion of a "shelter tent," were laid over a ridge pole for a roof. Doors were made of boards split from the timber and hewn with the axe. Fitting an aperture at one end or side of the wall a fireplace was laid up of bricks when they were found, or of stones thickly coated with clay, topped with a chimney of sticks "cob-house fashion," coated with clay on the inner surface, and generally prolonged with an empty and headless beef or pork barrel. Each hug - eight feet by twelve, or twelve feet by sixteen - was for four or more men. The ambitious band house was sixteen feet by twenty-four. The officers' huts were rather larger than the men's, and each served for three or less. Bunks were built which raised the beds above the ground a foot or two, and sometimes a bunk above made the "double-decker." Tables, chairs and cupboards were also made, and sometimes neither bunk, bed, nor furniture contained a nail, for wooden pins in holes bored by the solitary "bitstock" in the command, made all fast. Doors were often hung on improvised wooden hinges. Wood was cut and drawn to camp and prepared for use according to the custom of New Hampshire yeomen at home in preparation for a New England winter. At Christmas time the houses were handsomely hung outside with evergreen. Although these quarters were narrow they were comfortable, and life in them during waking hours was made sociable and agreeable with tales, songs, and merriment. The company cooks, who had served their apprenticeship with the lumbermen of the Connecticut and Merrimac and the New Hampshire lakes, were at home in cooking for the men who labored on the earthworks for the defense of City Point.

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45 Ibid., pp. 38-40.

Below we can see a picture of the camp of the Eighteenth New Hampshire Volunteers.



Figure 38. Camp of the Eighteenth New Hampshire Volunteers at City Point, Va.
Source: Thomas L. Livermore History of the Eighteenth New Hampshire Volunteers 1864-1865, Boston, Fort Hill Press, 1904, p. 39.

By December 1864 the defense and engineering work was completed and the regiment went into the trenches at Petersburg. [46]

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46 Ibid., p. 41.

There were at least three separate attempts to breach the security of City Point. The first occurred in the afternoon of August 9, 1864, and endangered the life of U.S. Grant. According to Porter, Grant had returned to City Point and was setting in front of his tent surrounded by several staff officers:

> General Sharpe, the assistant provost-marshal-general, had been telling him that he had a conviction that there were spies in the camp at City Point, and had proposed a plan for detecting and capturing them. He had just left the general when, at twenty minutes to twelve, a terrific explosion shook the earth, accompanied by a sound which vividly recalled the Petersburg mine, still fresh in the memory of every one present. Then there rained down upon the party a terrific shower of shells, bullets, boards, and fragments of timber. The general was surrounded by splinters and various kinds of ammunition, but fortunately was not touched by any of the missiles. Babcock of the staff was slightly wounded in the right hand by a bullet, one mounted orderly and several horses were instantly killed, and three orderlies were wounded. In a moment all was consternation. On rushing to the edge of the bluff, we found that the cause of the explosion was the blowing up of a boat loaded with ordnance stores which lay at the wharf at the foot of the hill. Much damage was done to the wharf, the boat was entirely destroyed, all the laborers employed on it were killed, and a number of men and horses near the landing were fatally injured. The total casualties were forty-three killed and forty wounded. The general was the only one of the party who remained unmoved; he did not even leave his seat to run to the bluff with the others to see what had happened. Five minutes afterward he went to his writing table and sent a telegram to Washington, notifying Halleck of the occurrence. No one could surmise the cause of the explosion, and the general appointed the president of a board of officers to investigate the matter. We spent several days in taking the testimony of all the people who were in sight of the occurrence, and used every possible means to probe the matter; but as all the men aboard the boat had been killed, we could obtain no satisfactory evidence. It was attributed by most of those present to the careless handling of the ammunition by the

> laborers who were engaged in unloading it; but there was a suspicion in the minds of many of us that it was the work of some emissaries of the enemy sent into the lines.

It was only seven years later that Grant learned the explosion was no accident but the result of a bomb planted on the ordnance stores by a confederate agent. [48]

After this accident members of Grant's staff began to think how easily Grant might be assassinated. To prevent this,one officer always stayed on watch outside of Grant's tent after he retired for the night. This was a personal obligation and was arranged by the officers at Grant's headquarters without his knowledge at the time.[49]

In the photograph below taken after the explosion,the debris and damage caused by the blast is still visible.

A second attempt was made on the defense at City Point on September 16, 1864,when Confederate scouts reported a large number of cattle in a camp at Coggin's Point,Virginia,which was located ten miles from Grant's Headquarters at City Point. The Confederates started for the

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47 Porter, pp. 273-274 .

48 Ibid., p. 274 .

49 Ibid.

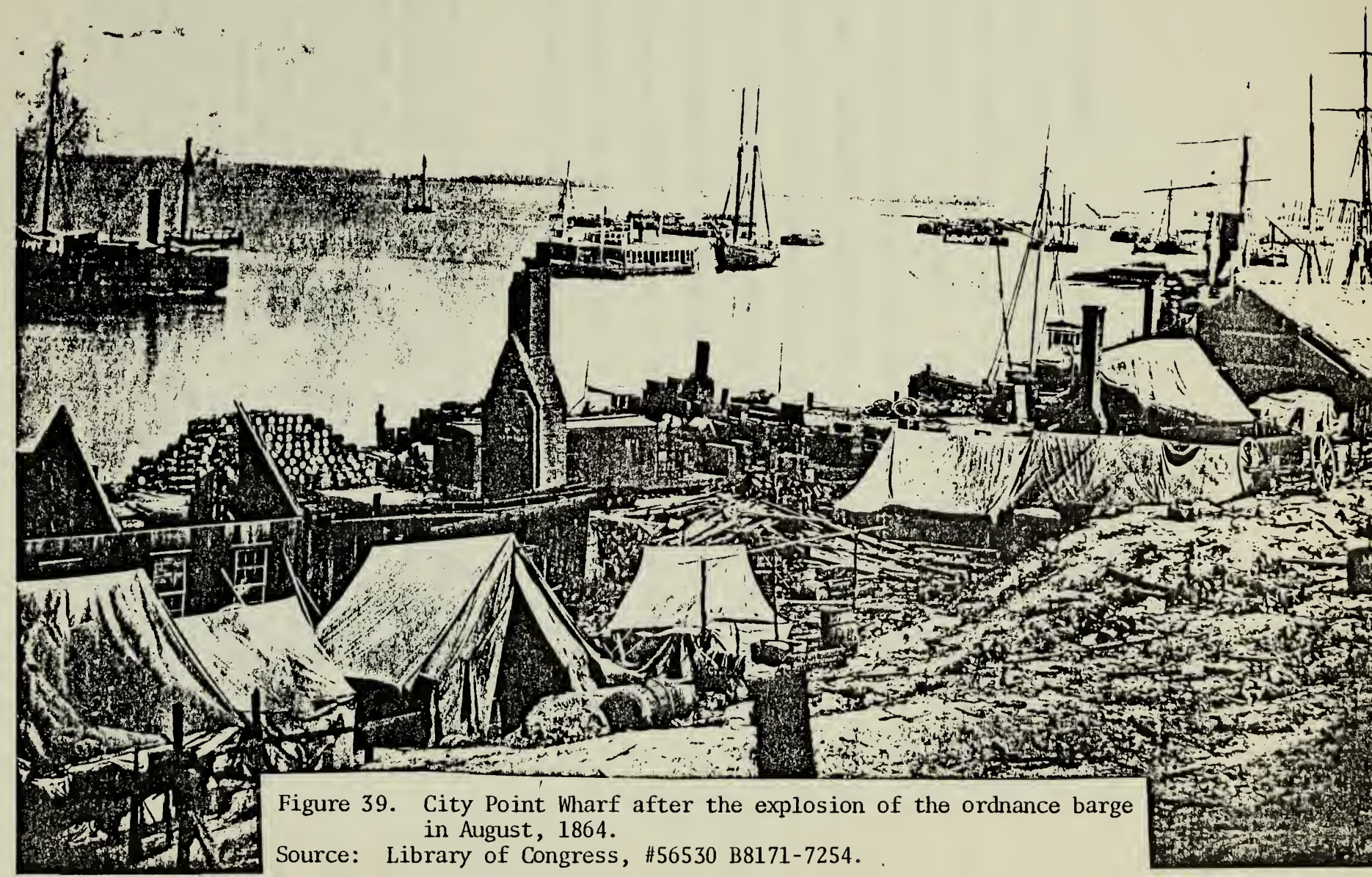


Figure 39. City Point Wharf after the explosion of the ordnance barge in August, 1864.
Source: Library of Congress, #56530 B8171-7254.

cattle on September 17, 1864 after pushing aside the union guards rounded up 2,500 cattle, which were promptly delivered to Lee's hungry men. Materially, the loss to the Union Army was insignificant as was the gain for Lee's troops. Tactically, the raid showed the need to strengthen the defenses at City Point. An ever present threat from a Confederate cavalry dash was always possible. It was shortly after this event that the Eighteenth New Hampshire began its work on strengthing the fortifications around City Point. The most serious attempt on the defenses at City Point by the Confederates was made on January 25, 1865,when several Confederate warships made a dash down the river to Grant's headquarters. An observer described the event as follows:

> The first desperate attempt to relieve himself was made by Lee on the 24th of January, when three iron-clads and three wooden vessels, with a flotilla of torpedo-boats, came down the James river, intending to run the batteries, take City Point, and thus cut off the base of supplies for the whole army, and divide the forces north and south of the James. A large rebel force was massed north of the river to make an overwhelming assault on the army there, as soon as City Point was reached. A high tower, erected at the latter place for observation by Grant, was to be set on fire as a signal of success, and at the same time, of attack. The vessels came boldly down in the darkness, and it was soon evident that we had nothing on shore of in the river that could stop their progress, and consternation seized our army along the banks. Most of our gun boats were away with Porter, and the Onondaga, on guard, retreated down the river without

> attempting a defense. By good fortune, or rather through an over-ruling Providence, the iron-calds ran aground, and were stopped midway in their triumphant career. 50

Grant and the Union Army had a narrow escape. Had City Point been occupied by Lee, if only for a short time, Union supplies would have disappeared.

Additional fortifications were constructed throughout the winter. Lining the south bank of the James were batteries emplaced to enfilade three peninsulas that became extensions of the City Point base-Jordan's, Indian and Coggin's Point. Lookout towers sprouted along the shore, manned around the clock by army signalman.[51]

In the end, the defenses of City Point held and no serious disruption occurred as a result of Confederate interference. City Point functioned efficiently and did the job assigned to it. The Union Army was supplied, and Grant lived there for ten months in peace and security.

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50 J.T. Headly, Grant and Sherman Their Campaigns and Generals (E.B. Treat & Co., New York, 1866), p. 118.

51 Boykin, p. 119.

Chapter IV

Logistics and Communications at City Point

The Civil War was the first large scale conflict involving an industrial nation in the nineteenth century. Because of this, it revealed, for the first time, many trends in modern warfare that would become readily apparent in the twentieth century. These trends are most easily observed in the area of logistics and communications.

The Industrial Revolution came to America almost forty years before the start of the American Civil War. As the years of the nineteenth century passed, America began to change from a rural agrarian society of small farmers to a commercial and industrial society. This change occurred throughout the entire country, but in the years immediately prior to 1861, this change was most frequent and far ranging in the Northern states. While the North welcomed new immigration and the construction of factories, the South seemed determined to cling to its previous style of life.

The industrial revolution meant a substitution of machine skill and strength for human skill and strength, and inanimate power for animate power. These changes meant

that dull and monotonous tasks could be performed by machines that never tired or made a mistake. Goods which had previously been scarce and expensive could now be produced cheaply and in abundance. New breakthroughs in transportation, such as the building of canals and railroads meant that heavy industrial goods could be shipped cheaply to distant markets. As a result of these changes the face of America was forever altered.

The impact of the Industrial Revolution on the war-making capacity of the North was also profound. By 1861, for the first time in modern history, a modern industrial power stood on the threshold of a major war. The result of this was a great increase in military violence. Only 80 years before, George Washington could raise and equip relativly small armies. The men were available but the means to equip and feed them for extended periods of time were lacking. Wars cost money and required an economic surplus generated by the society. Colonial America, although rich by the standards of the day, was not rich enough to fight a long sustained war over a period of years, involving large numbers of men. Washington's army remained small, and the use of locally recruited and part-time militia was encouraged.

The Civil War showed how far America had progressed as an industrial power. Large armies were raised by the North and kept in the field for years at a time. Troops could be shifted back and forth between the fighting fronts with relative ease. The longer the war lasted, the stronger the North grew. Military loses were slight in terms of the total population, and northern factories produced all the war material that was needed. Northern farms also produced an abundance of food that could be shipped to the fighting fronts.

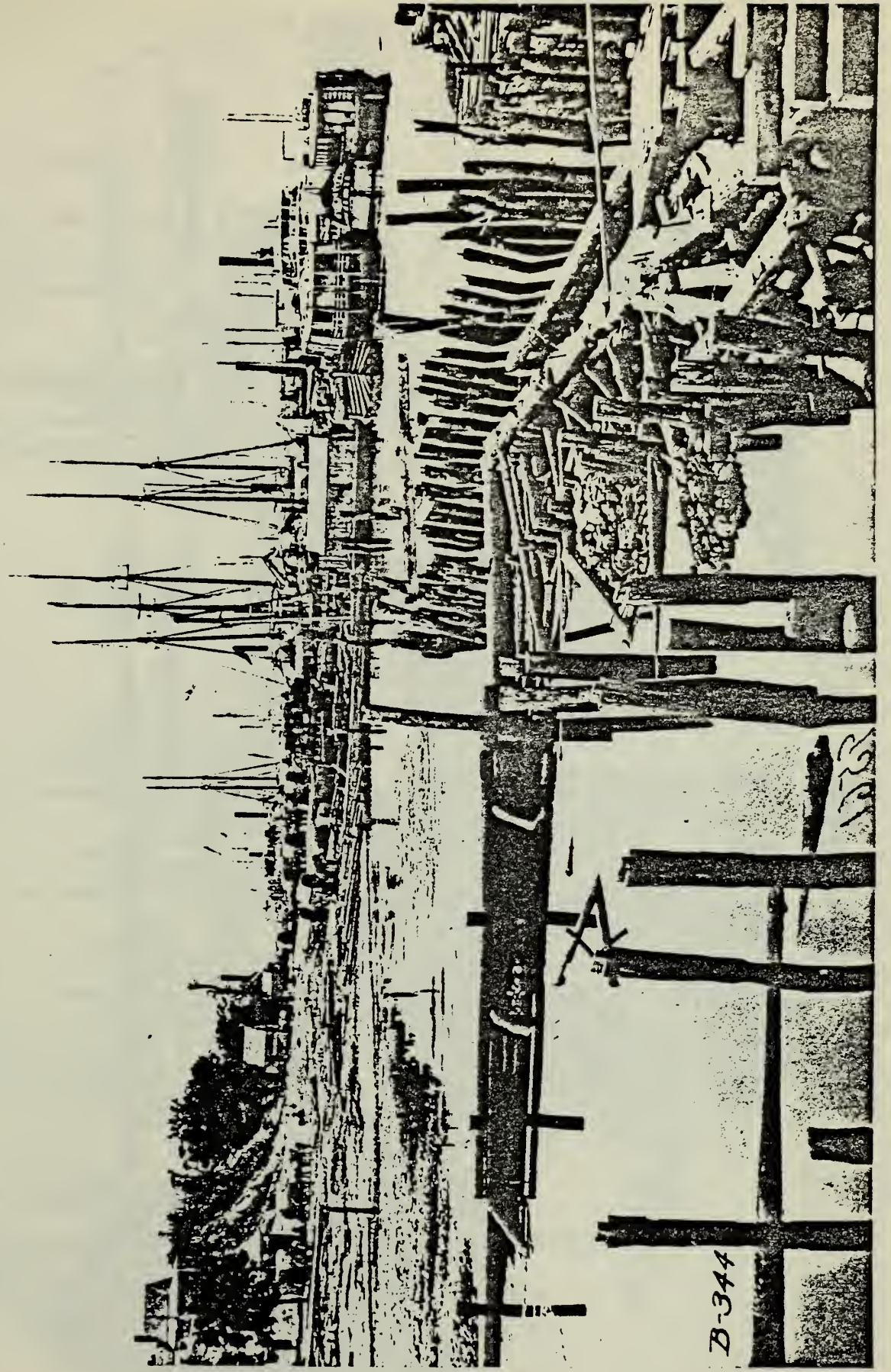
By way of contrast, the South became weaker as the war progressed. Few factories were located in the south and machines rapidly became unserviceable due to the lack of spare parts. Even in the best years, Lee's army was short of supplies. The lack of adequate supplies and the means to transport them meant that Lee could never invade the North in a way equal to Grant's invasion of Virginia in 1861. Lee's movement into Pennsylvania in 1863 was a large scale raid, which had to end when supplies ran low. The North held the decisive edge in the Civil War because of the Industrial Revolution and City Point tells this

story better than any other place in American history. If City Point is important at all, it is because of the fact that it was the main supply depot for the Union armies besieging Petersburg. Here, at City Point, the threads of the Industrial Revolution were woven into the fabric of northern victory.

The following pictures illustrate this with various scenes of—from the docks at City Point as army laborers struggle to unload the many ships that landed supplies every day.



URE 40
Negro laborers unloading supplies at the docks at City Point.
RCE: Petersburg National Battlefield, Petersburg, Virginia, File #9 Soldiers Life.



E 41
e riverfront at City Point.
E: Petersburg National Battlefield, Petersburg, Virginia, File #18, Logistics and Communications.

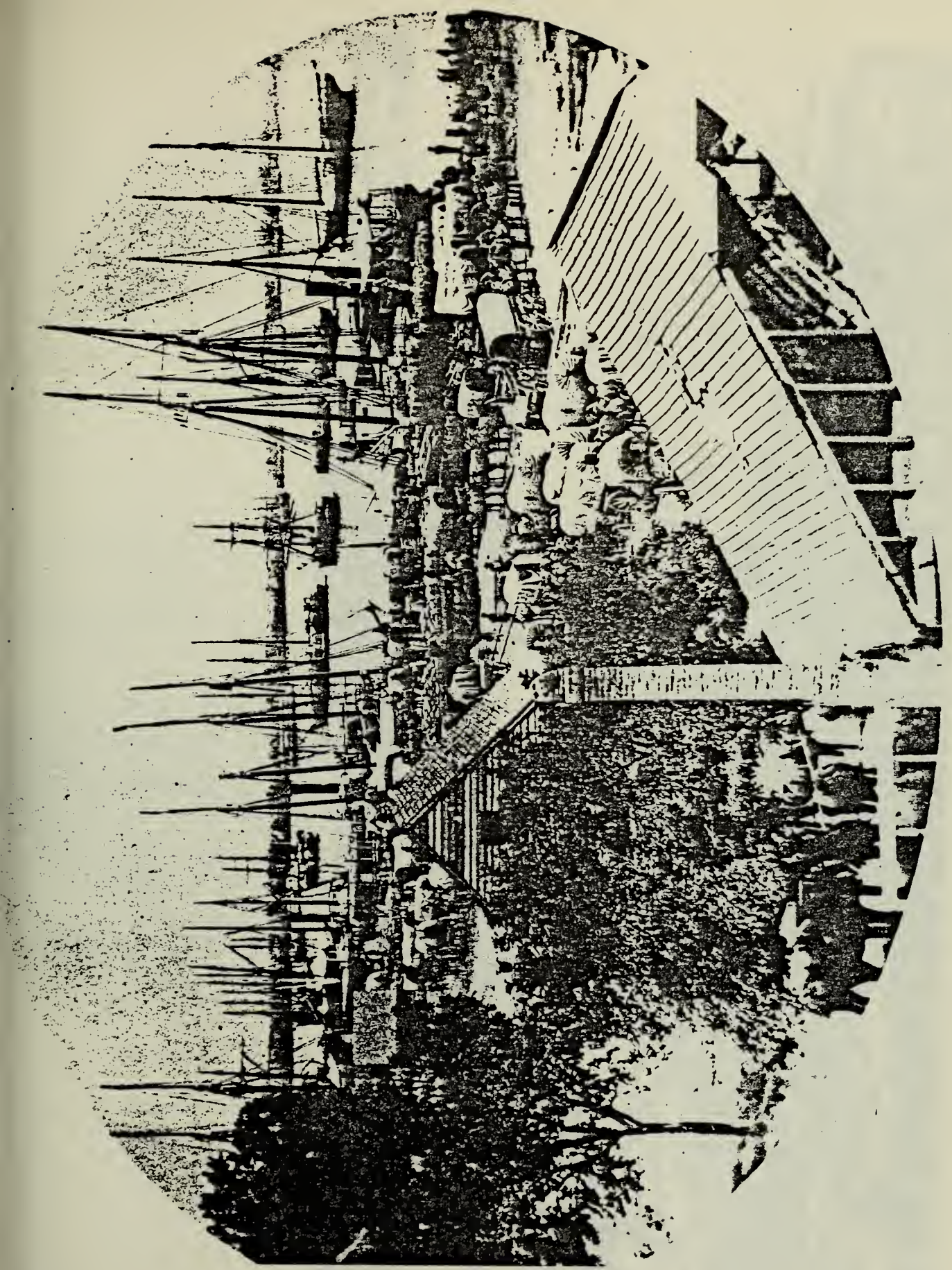


FIGURE 42
The riverfront at City Point.
Source: Library of Congress #16173 B 8184-10501

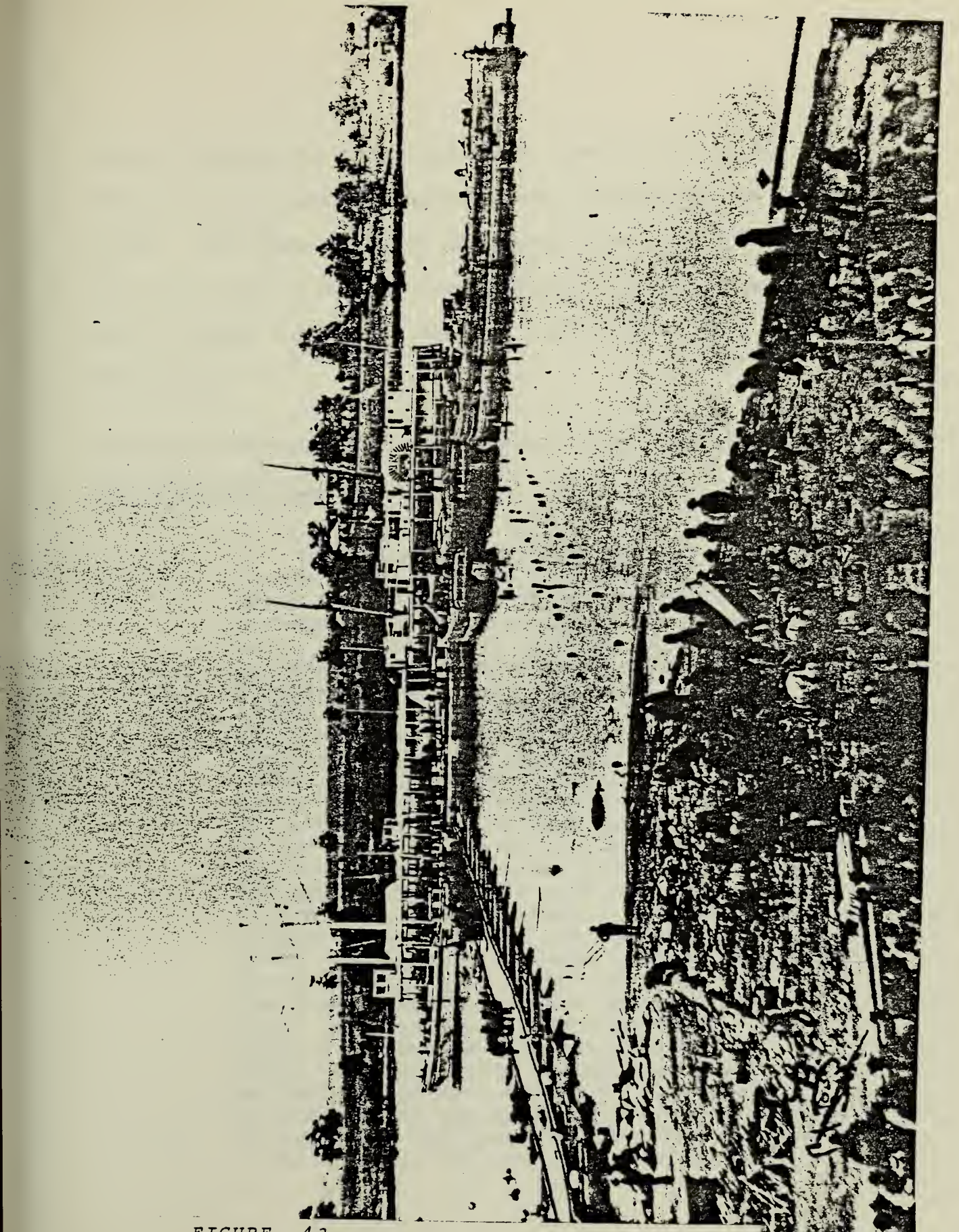


FIGURE 43
Unloading Supplies at City Point.
Source: Library of Congress # 111-13-94

On an average day forty steamers, seventy-five sailing ships and one hundred barges would unload supplies at City Point. The wharves lined the James River for more than a mile and then turned up the Appomattox River. For a few short months City Point was one of the great seaports of the world.

Regis De Trobriand, an eyewitness to the activities, described his impression:

> My baggage having arrived, I left on the evening of the 12th for City Point, where I arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. Steamboats and sailing vessels, transports and lighters of all kinds, encumbered the river near the improvised wharves on which they were still working. Higher up, towards Richmond, the eye could distinguish at a distance the turrents of the monitors, which appeared to stand out of the water, and the gunboats, on which enormous pivot guns were visible. The river bank, rising up high, had been cleared and levelled, so as to make room for storehouses for supplies, and for a station for the railroad. All this had sprung out of the earth as if by magic, in less than a month. The railroad ran behind the docks; the locomotives were running back and forth, leaving long plumes of smoke, and on the ground trails of coals and sparks of fire. All was activity and movement. Legions of negroes were discharging the ships, wheeling dirt, sawing the timber, and driving piles. Groups of soldiers crowded around the sutlers' tents; horsemen in squadrons went down to the river to water their horses. And, on the upper plateau,

> huts of different forms and sizes overlooked the whole scene below. A great village of wood and cloth was erected there, where a few weeks before were but two or three houses.[1]

Once the stores and men were landed at City Point they would be loaded directly into a waiting train and be taken to the front. City Point provided the link between an efficient water transportation system and a rail transportation system. Without this supply link, Grant's siege of Petersburg would have been impossible. In the following two contemporary prints, we can see supplies and men being transferred from ship to train and from train to ship on the dock at City Point. These scenes were repeated dozens of timesevery day throughout the siege.

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[1]Regis De Trobriand, Four Years with the Army of the Potomac (Ticknor and Co., Boston, 1889) p. 544.



VIEW OF CITY POINT, VA., TERMINATION OF THE ARMY LINE RAILROAD.—SKETCHED BY HENRY BESANÇON.

FIGURE 44

View of City Point, Termination of the Army Line Railroad.

SOURCE: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, Vol. XIX, January 7, 1865, p. 244.



THE SIXTH CORPS EMBARKING AT CITY POINT, TO PROCEED TO THE RELIEF OF WASHINGTON.—

FIGURE 45

The Sixth Corps embarking at City Point.

Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, Vol., XCIII, August 6, 1864

The U.S. Military Railroad at City Point was built on the tracks of the previously existing City Point Railroad. Grant chose City Point for his headquarters complex because of the existence of the City Point Railroad and the good water transportation available on the James River.

The City Point Railroad predated the Civil War by many years. As early as 1833, Benjamin Cocke, the father of Dr. Richard Eppes, signed a petition presented to the General Assembly of Virginia, requesting permission to build a railroad from Petersburg to City Point to replace the badly worn road. The City Point Railroad was incorporated on January 26, 1836, and construction on the line began the following April. The entire length of the railroad was ten miles from City Point to Petersburg. Soon after the railroad was completed, a wharf was also proposed at City Point which would "admit vessels of the largest class, alongside, that reached City Point, together with suitable cranes for effecting the transition of produce and goods between the car on the roads and the vessels."[2]

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[2]John W. Starr, Jr., One Hundred Years of American Railroading (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1928) p. 163.

When the railroad was built, City Point was a small community that was home to between 90 to 100 residents. In the town there were twenty-five dwellings, three taverns, three retail shops, a school, a post office and a church. There were five wharves and a small mill making flour. City Point could also boast of having one doctor.[3]

By December 1838, City Point Railroad showed a total of twelve officials and employees on the payroll. Included in this total was a superintendent, captain of the train, an overseer of the road, a fireman, one watchman, and six laborers. The rolling stock consisted of two six-wheel locomotives, valued at over $13,000, 28 four-wheel freight cars, one eight-wheel and two four-wheel passenger cars.[4]

Although more information on the rolling stock of the City Point Railroad at this time is lacking, we can assume that the engines were ordered from the Baldwin Locomotive Works

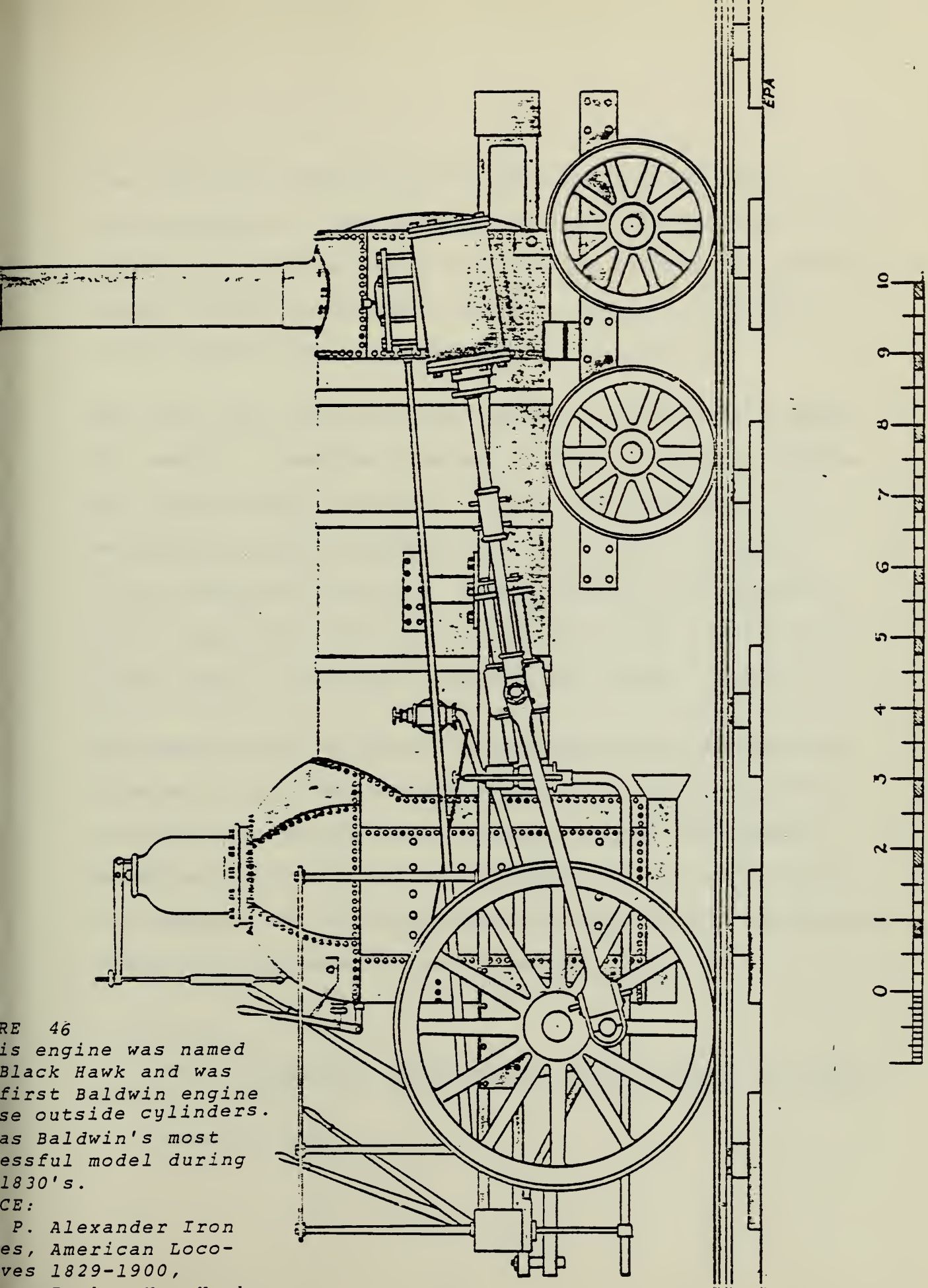
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[3]Lutz, p. 131.

[4]Starr, p. 163.

of Philadelphia and supplied to City Point by boat.[5] A picture of the Baldwin Locomotive Works most successful model in 1836 follows:

[5]The Baldwin Locomotive Works produced almost all of America's steam engines in the 1830's, and had shipped several successful models to southern railways prior to 1836. It is logical to assume that the engines at the City Point Railroad were also built by Baldwin.



RE 46
is engine was named
Black Hawk and was
first Baldwin engine
se outside cylinders.
as Baldwin's most
essful model during
1830's.
CE:
P. Alexander Iron
es, American Loco-
ves 1829-1900,
nza Books, New York.

The engine was named the Black Hawk and was the first Baldwin engine to use outside cylinders. It was also the first to use the method of transmitting part of the tender's weight to the locomotive in order to increase traction.[6] It was the most advanced locomotive of its day.

The City Point Railroad never became a financially successful venture. Revenues remained low, while costs of salaries and repairs began to grow. In 1847, the Corporation of Petersburg acquired possession of the line and renamed it the Appomattox Railroad. The line became the property of the South Side Railroad in 1854, and finally in 1887, it became part of the present Norfolk and Western System.[7]

The story of the City Point Railroad reflects the history of modern industrial development in the South before 1861. Railroads and industry were present but not sufficiently developed to fight a war with the North on an equal basis. The industry and railroads that were present were absolutely vital to the success of the Confederate army.

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[6]E. P. Alexander, Iron Horses (Bonanza Books, New York, 1941) pp. 50-51.

[7]Starr, p. 165.

By 1864, the supply of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia had become a railroad problem, since food supplies in Virginia were exhausted. Both prestige and sentiment also forced Lee to defend Richmond; an additional reason to defend the city was that important manufacturing plants and arsenals were located there. If Richmond were to be held, and Lee's army supplied, Southern railroads had to do the job. It was for this reason that Petersburg was so important to the Confederate cause—the railroads connecting Richmond with the deep south ran through Petersburg. It was not necessary for Grant to take Richmond, all he had to do was to seize Petersburg and cut off supplies, and Richmond and Lee's army must then surrender. Both Lee and Grant were concerned with railroads in the Spring of 1864. Both were dependent on them for supplies and new recruits. At Petersburg, while Lee was defending his logistical supply lines to the south, Grant was developing his. The success of the Union water and rail communications at City Point translated into victory for Grant and the end of the war.

The United States Military Railroads

Early in the war the Federal government recognized the need to control and use railroads for military purposes. In an act dated January 31, 1862 the Federal government set up the machinery for an agency to control the operations of captured Southern railroads, and on February 11, 1862, Daniel C. McCallum was appointed military director and superintendent of railroads in the United States. McCallum had authority to take possession of railroads, rolling stock, and equipment and to operate such lines as might be required for the transport of troops, arms and ammunition and military supplies.[8] As a result of this action the foundation was laid for the creation of the United States Military Railroads.

In addition to establishing government control over captured lines, the Act of January 31, 1862 gave the government the authority to order the nation's railroads to transport troops and the necessities of war to the exclusion of all other business.[9] McCallum had sweeping power

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[8]George B. Abdill, Civil War Railroads (Superior Publishing Co., Seattle) p. 9.

[9]Ibid.

to take over any railroad or railroad equipment needed to transport troops or military supplies. He did his job well, and caused little friction with the civilian owners of the lines he used. His major problem was to prevent various union officers from interfering with his trains, and to force local commanders to unload and release empty cars that were needed elsewhere. By 1866, when McCallum made his final report the U.S., Military Railroads controlled 611 miles of track.[10]

Grant had acquired some experience in siege warfare at Vicksburg, and even before his arrival at City Point he ordered the construction of a railroad behind the lines to supply his army.[11] Grant directed Mr. C. L. McAlpine, engineer of construction and repairs, to proceed to City Point and Petersburg as soon as possible. McAlpine arrived on June 18, 1864, and began to build the railroad.[12]

McAlpine found the old City Point Railroad tracks in a state of complete disrepair and began to build almost from

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[10]See Appendix VII for details.

[11]Badeau, III, p. 2.

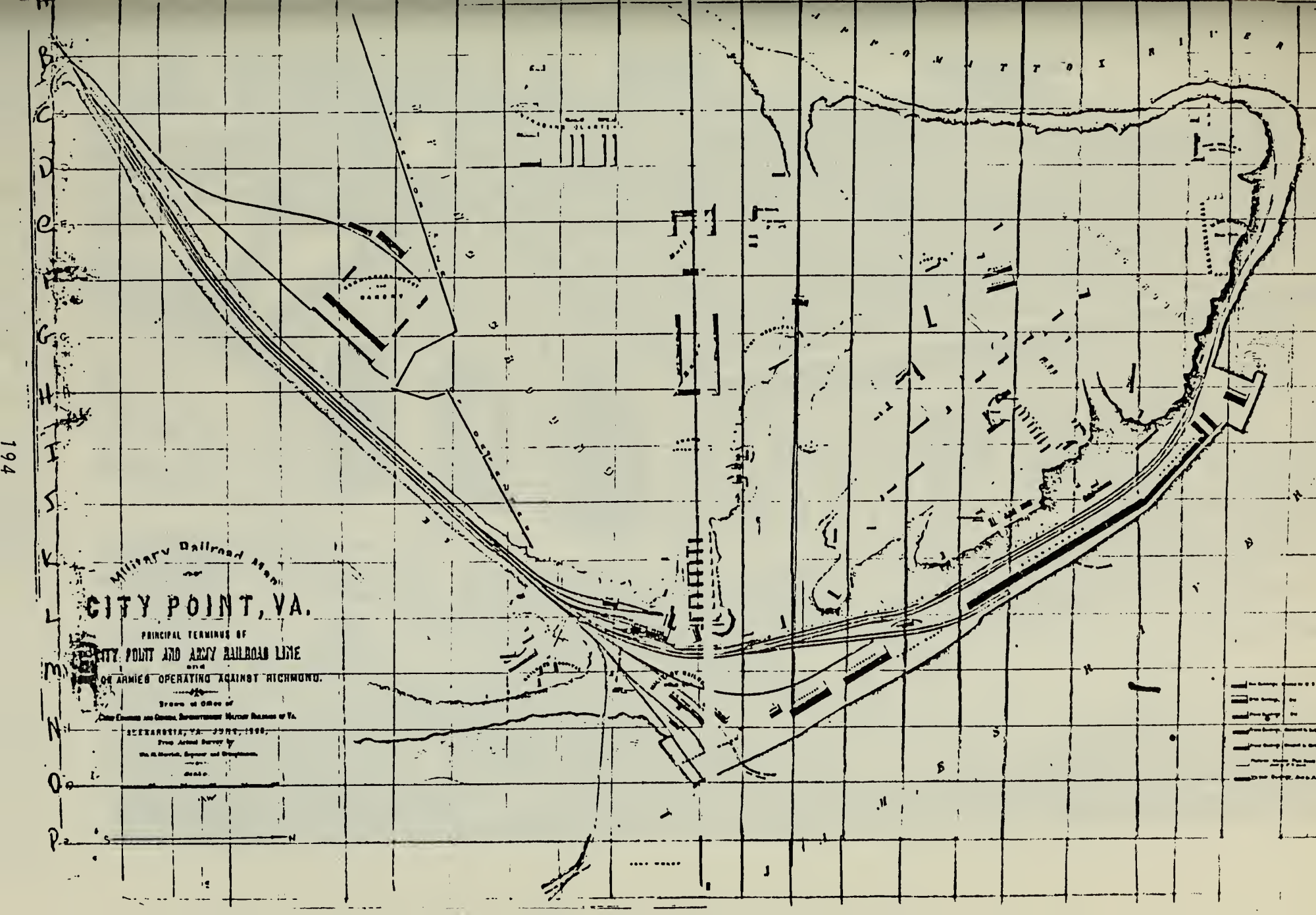
[12]See Appendix VIII for a complete description of the construction history of the U. S. Military Railroad at City Point.

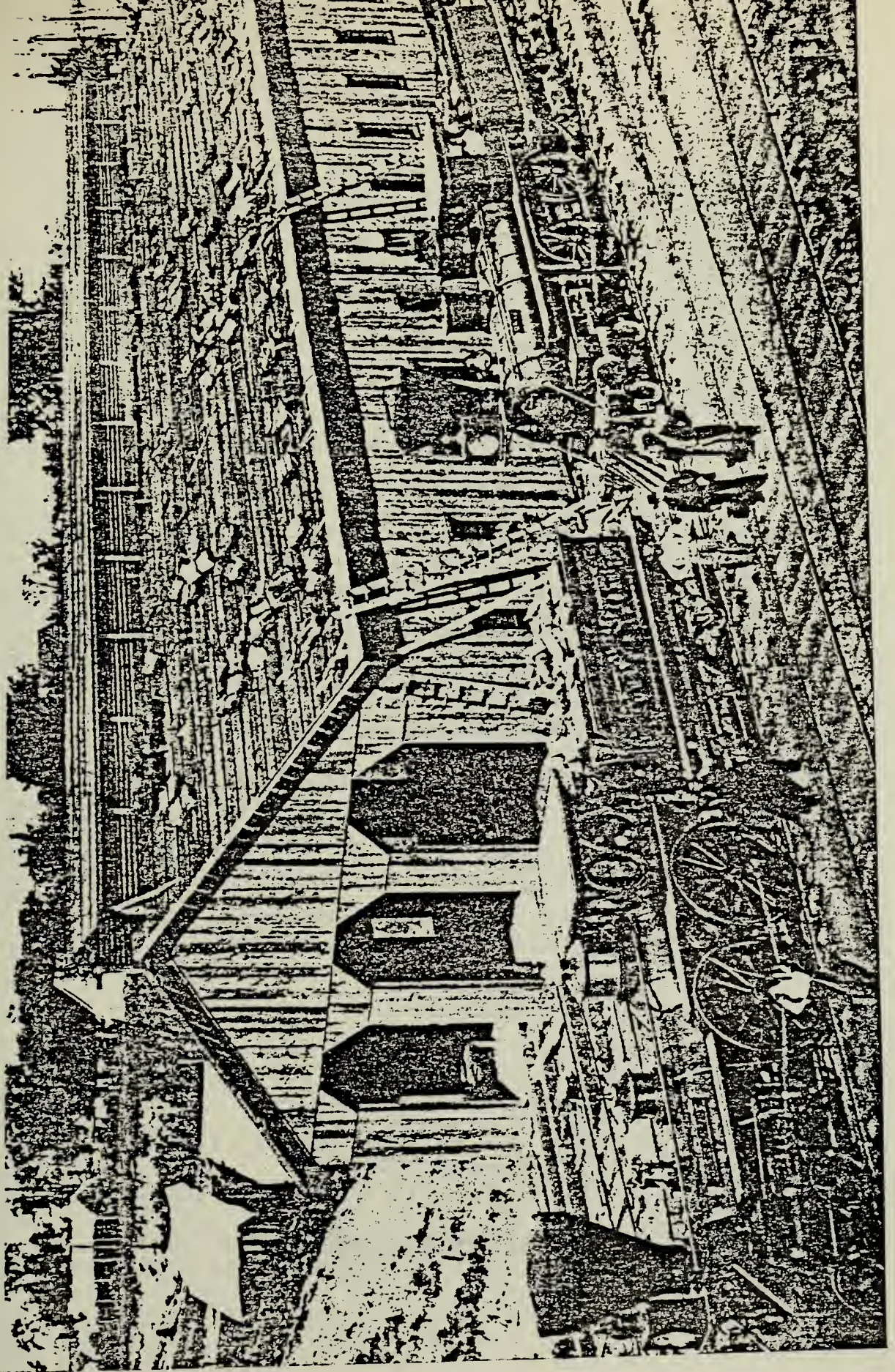
scratch. The men of the construction corps worked hard, and on July 7, 1864 the line was fully constructed and running men and material to the front.[13] Supplies now moved easily to the troops in the trenches.

By following the Military Railroad base map of City Point, it is possible to locate many of the structures shown on contemporary photographs. In the following picture we can see the unfinished engine house at City Point on September 1, 1864 (Map reference 10-11, L-M).

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[13]O. R. 111, V, p. 70.


Military Railroad Map
of
CITY POINT, VA.
PRINCIPAL TERMINUS OF
CITY POINT AND ARMY RAILROAD LINE
and
OF ARMIES OPERATING AGAINST RICHMOND.
Drawn at Office of
ALEXANDRIA, VA. JUNE, 1865.
From Actual Survey by



URE 47
Unfinished engine house at City Point on September 1, 1864.
rce: George B. Abdill Civil War Railroads, New York, Bonanza Books, 1961, p. 2.

The U.S.M.R.R. locomotive at the left is the Lt. General Grant, built by Rogers, Ketcham & Grosvenor in 1852, Shop No. 326, and named the Delaware for the Central Railroad of New Jersey. This engine was acquired second-hand by the U.S.M.R.R. and was refitted by the Army in the Alexandria Shops with a Mason bell stand and a headlight bracket. Her cylinders were also rebored. A new cab stand was also applied.[14] The engine behind her is the Baldwin locomotive General Dix.[15] Between May 1862 and June 1864, the Baldwin locomotive Works at Philadelphia built thirty-three engines for the United States Military Railroads.[16] The following two pictures show the engine house at a later date.

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[14]Abdill, p. 2.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Fred Westing, The Locomotives that Baldwin Built (Bonanza Books, New York), p. 43.

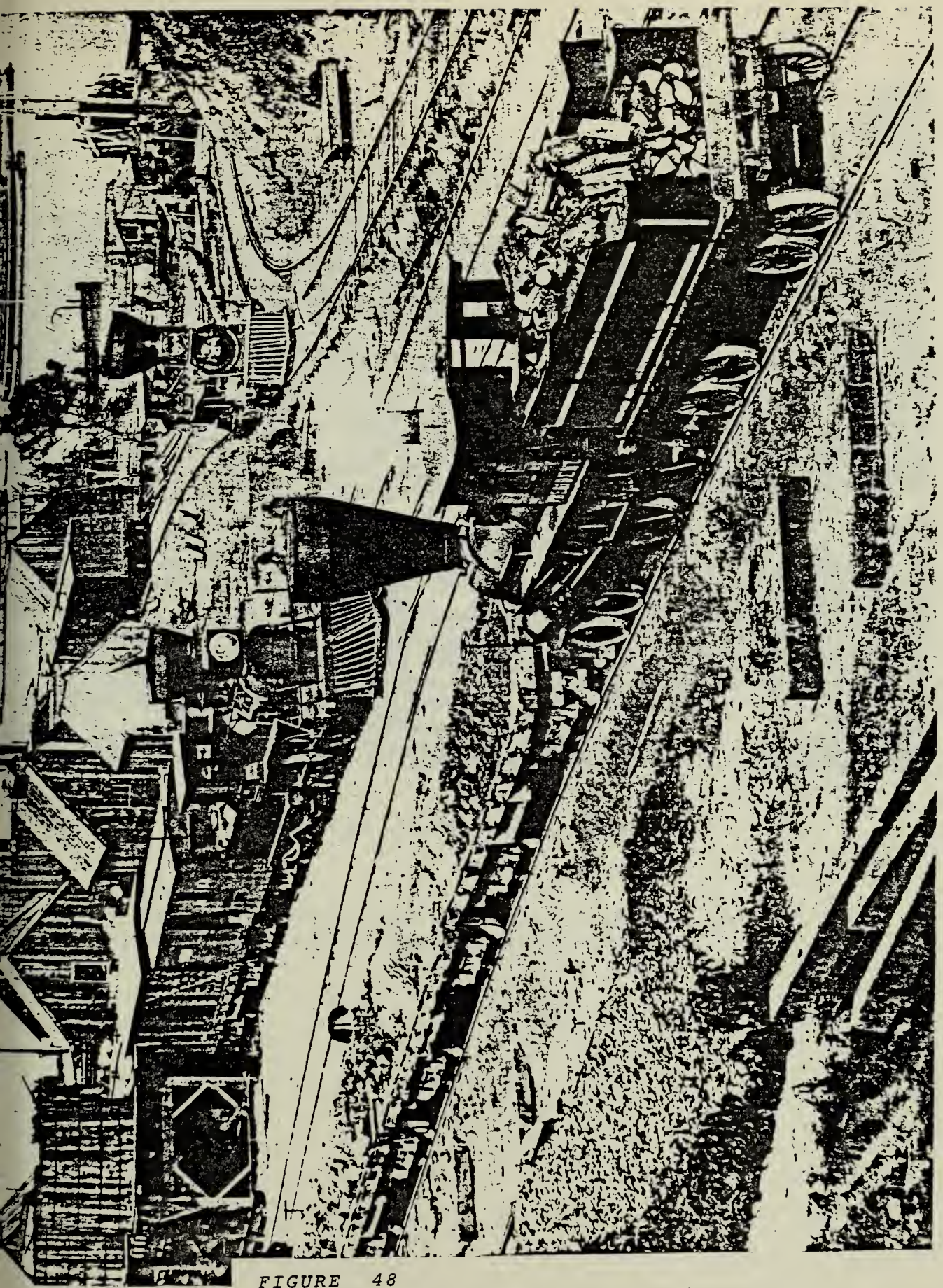
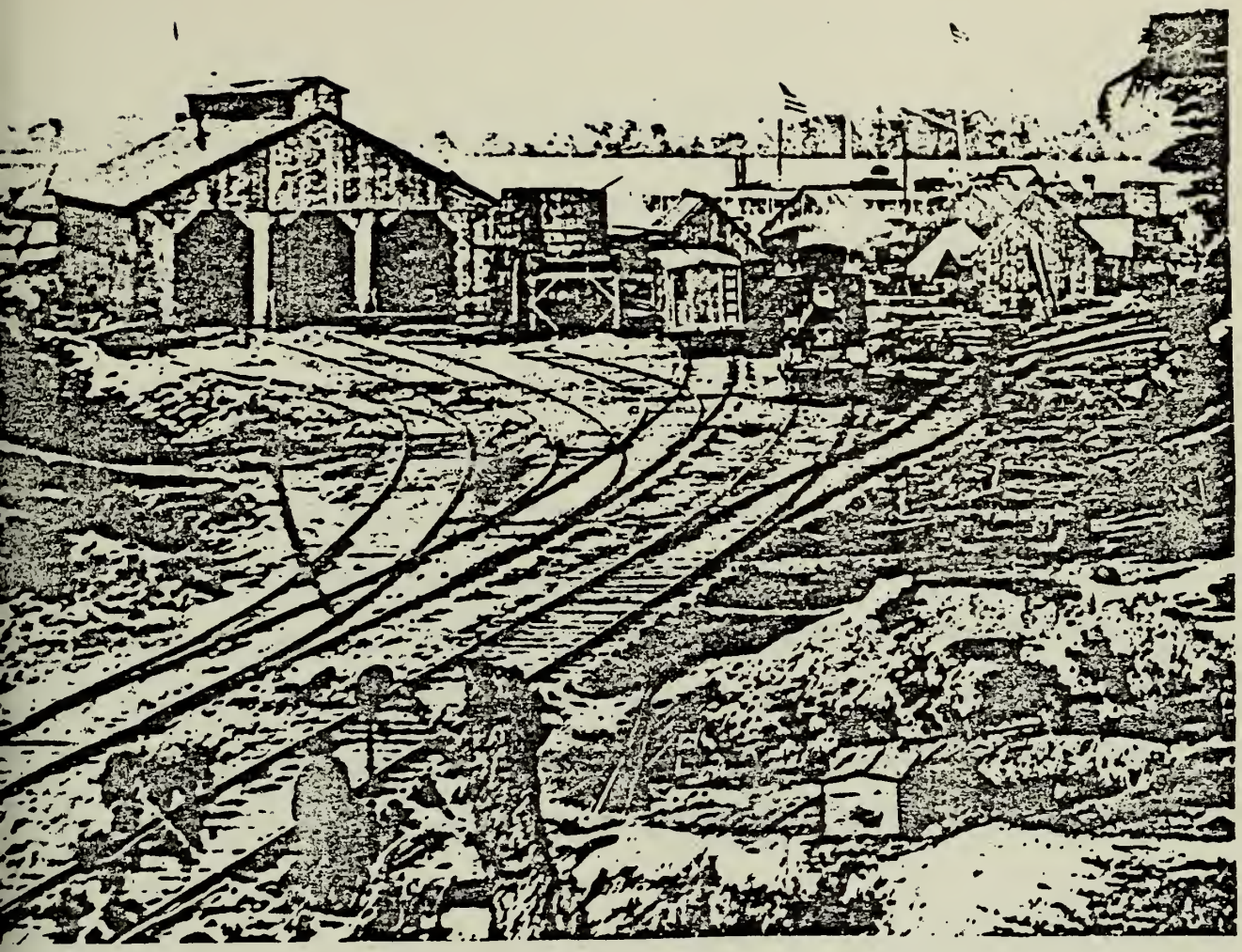


FIGURE 48
Railroad engines at City Point.
Source: Library of Congress #565B1 BH841-32.



The engine house and new track being worked on.

Figure 49
The engine house and new track construction.
Source: Library of Congress #111-B-5182.

These two pictures show the engine house and water tanks from two different views. In the first picture we can see three locomotives. The engine on the right foreground, with her tender reversed, is the President, an old Eastwick & Harrison 4-4-0 that was confiscated by Federal forces from the Winchester & Potomac Railroad, which ran to Harper's Ferry.[17] The cars coupled ahead of the President are loaded with material being used to create a fill to the left of the three tracks leading to the engine house. A track was later laid on this fill leading to a turntable, which was installed at the left of the engine house.[18] This turntable is located on line L between points 10 and 11 of the base map.

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[17] Ibid., p. 103.

[18] Ibid.

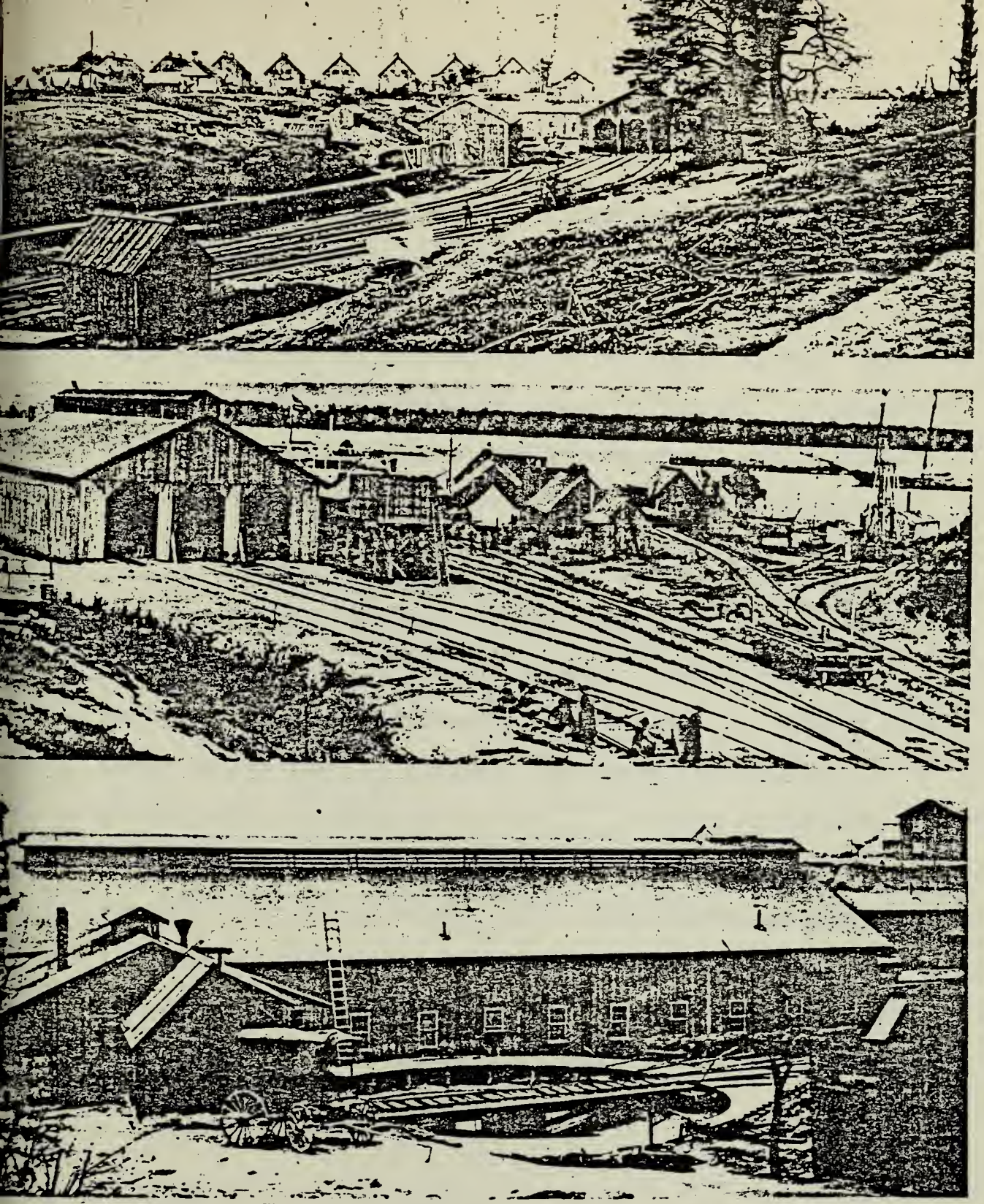


FIGURE 50

These three photos show the track leading to the turntable beside the engine house.

SOURCE: Edwin P. Alexander, Civil War Railroads and Models, New York, Crown Publishers, Inc., p. 223.

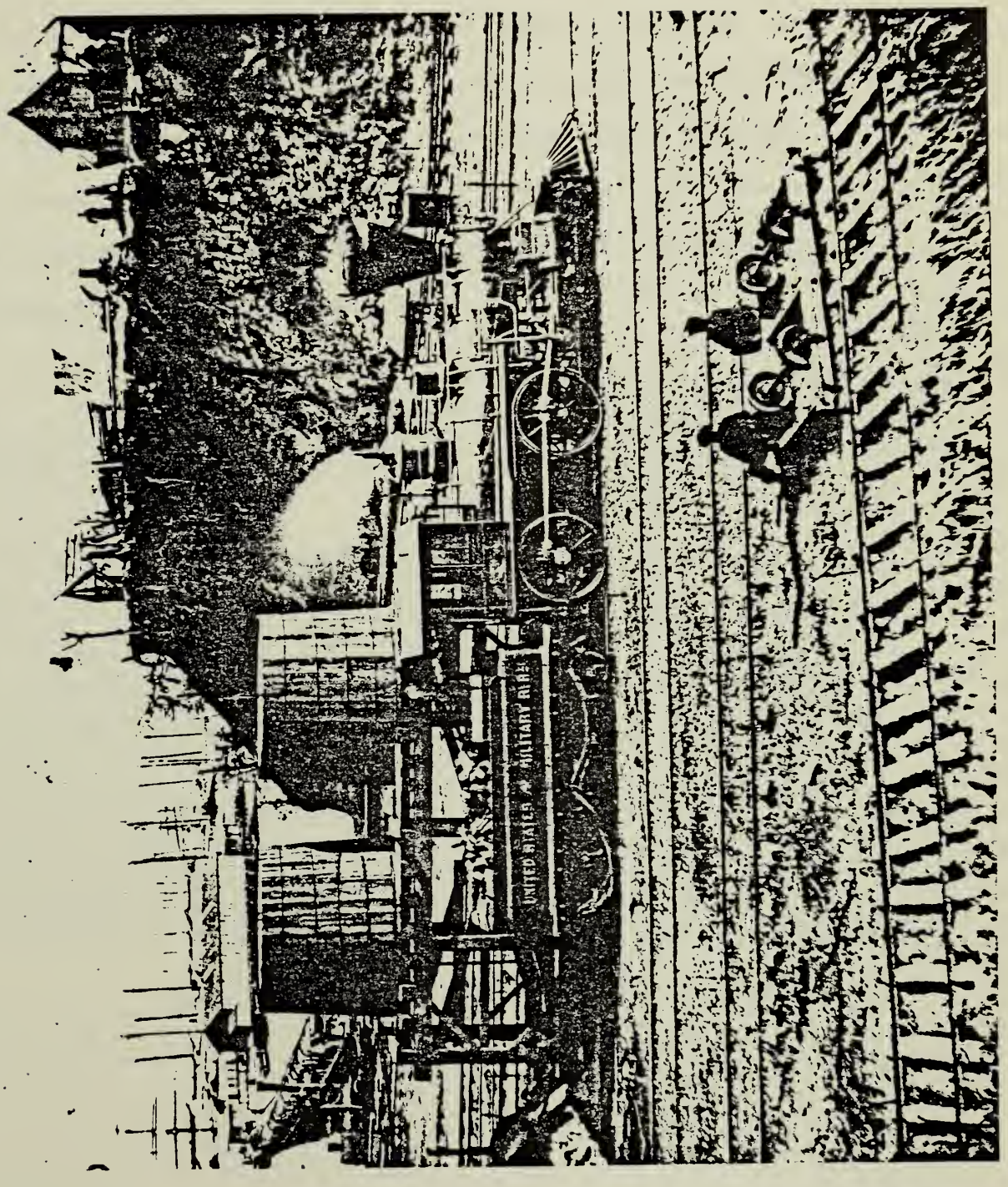
Water supply for both men and locomotives along the line often created a serious problem. Water was often scarce and of poor quality. To overcome this problem, troops were instructed to dig wells from twelve to fifteen feet deep in areas where water was known to occur. To protect the water from the heat of the sun, canopies were erected over the wells, and as a result, both the locomotives and men had a cool supply of water.[19]

The photograph below was taken at the water tanks at City Point. The location is just north of line 10, between points M and N on the base map. The tanks are wooden tubs about twelve feet in diameter and eight feet deep, placed upon a wood-framed stand.[20] In this photograph we see a good broadview of one of the 4-4-0 type wood-burners built by R. Norris & Son. The engine is probably the Governor Nye. Behind the water tank at left is the spur track leading out on a trestle to the Magazine Wharf, where munitions for Grant's army was unloaded for transfer to the freight cars.

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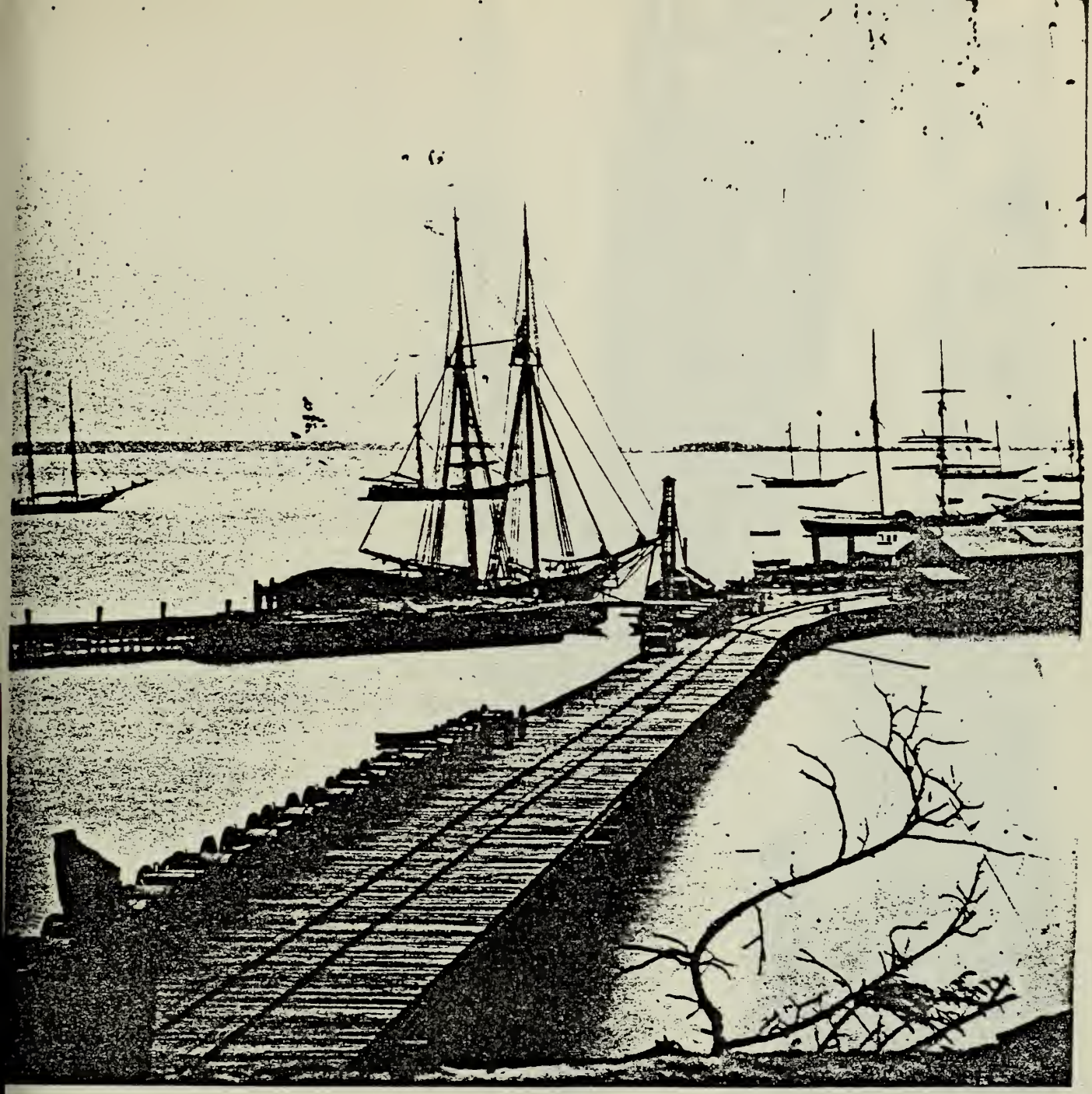
[19]Rauscher, pp. 188-189.

[20]Abdill, p. 103.



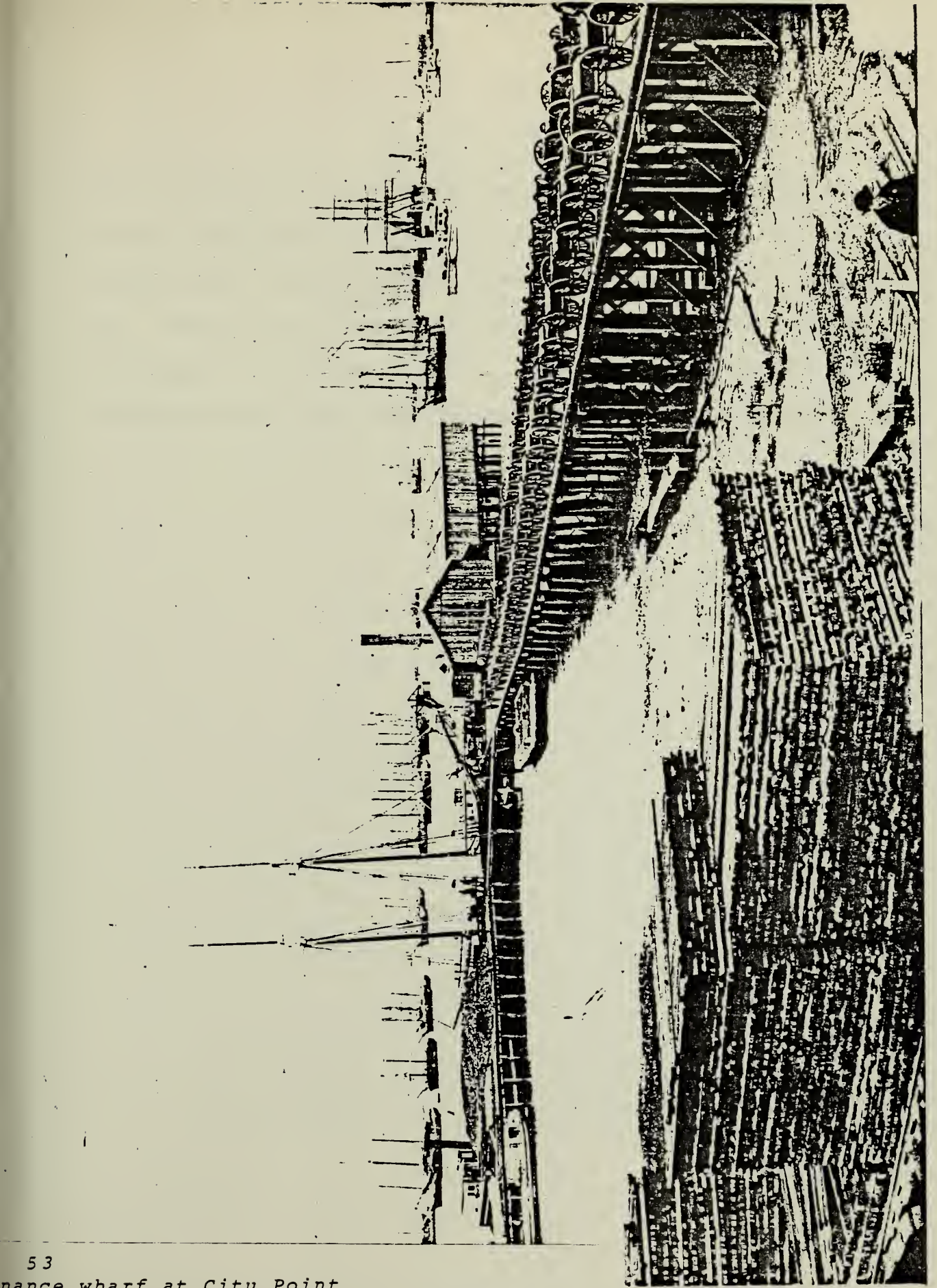
IGURE 51
The water tanks at City Point.
ource: Library of Congress #56530 B8171-2513.

In the following two pictures we can see the spur track leading out to the ordnance wharf (from point 10M to point 9Q). The ordnance wharf was probably constructed after the August 9, munitions explosion which claimed many lives. It was built five hundred feet into the river to minimize the effect of any future disaster. Fortunately, none occurred.



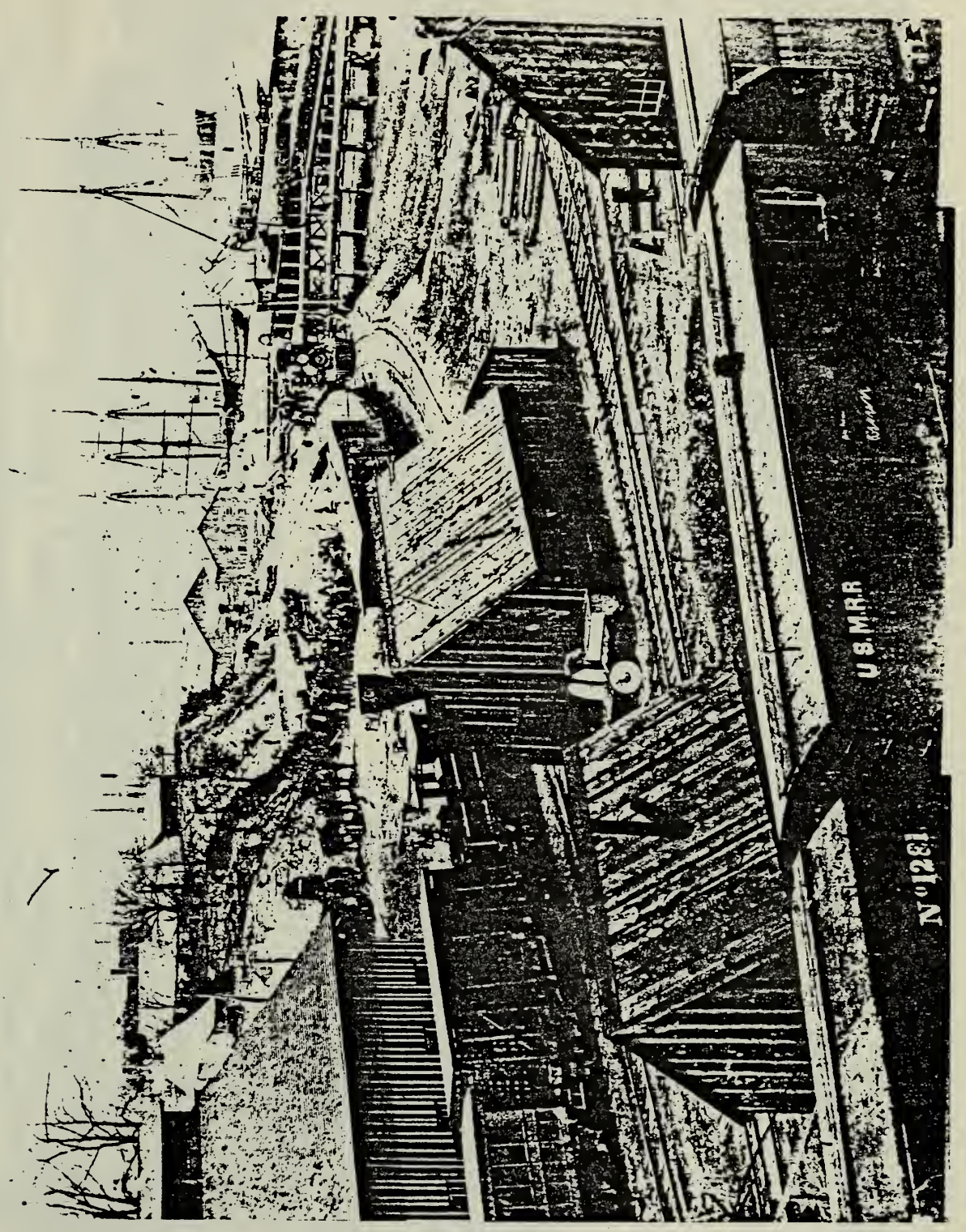
GURE 5 2
Spur track leading to the ordnance wharf.
URCE: Petersburg National Battlefield, Petersburg, Virginia, File #18, Logistics and Communications



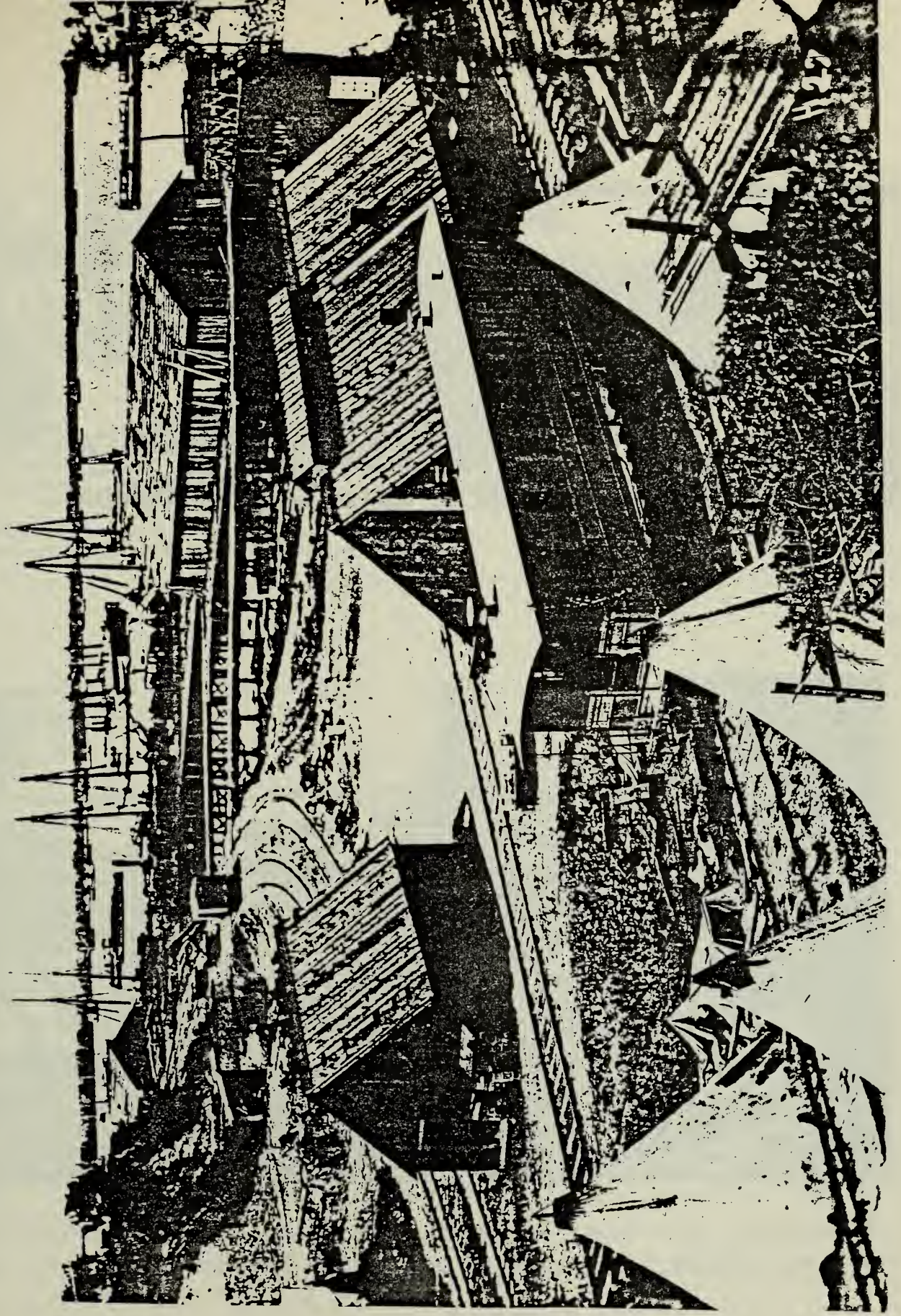


53
nance wharf at City Point
: Library of Congress #16173 B8184-10503.

The following picture shows the north end of the engine house just before the bend in the tracks leading to the water front. (Map location Line 11, between points L and M). The railroad car in the second picture (same location) belonged to President Lincoln. The last two pictures show an early wharf and other structures under construction.



54
th end of the engine house just before the bend in the tracks
ding to the water front.
: Library of Congress #56530 RS252-29438.



55
ident Lincoln's private railroad car at City Point.
Library of Congress #56531 RS B4825-15.

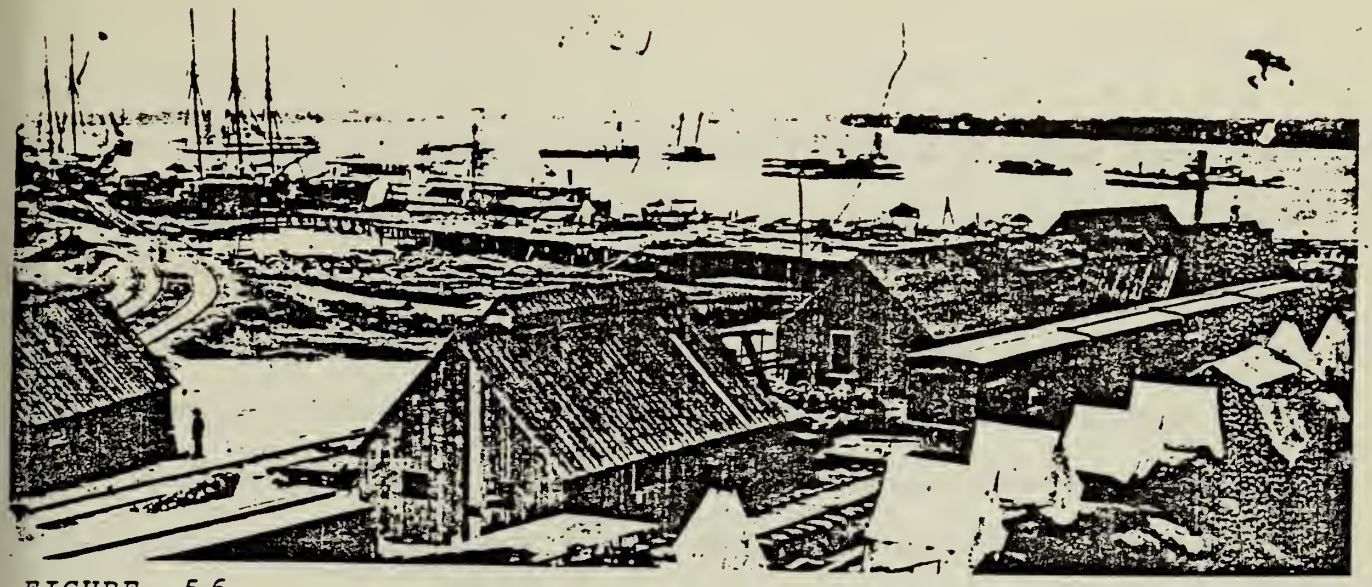


FIGURE 56
Wharf construction at City Point.

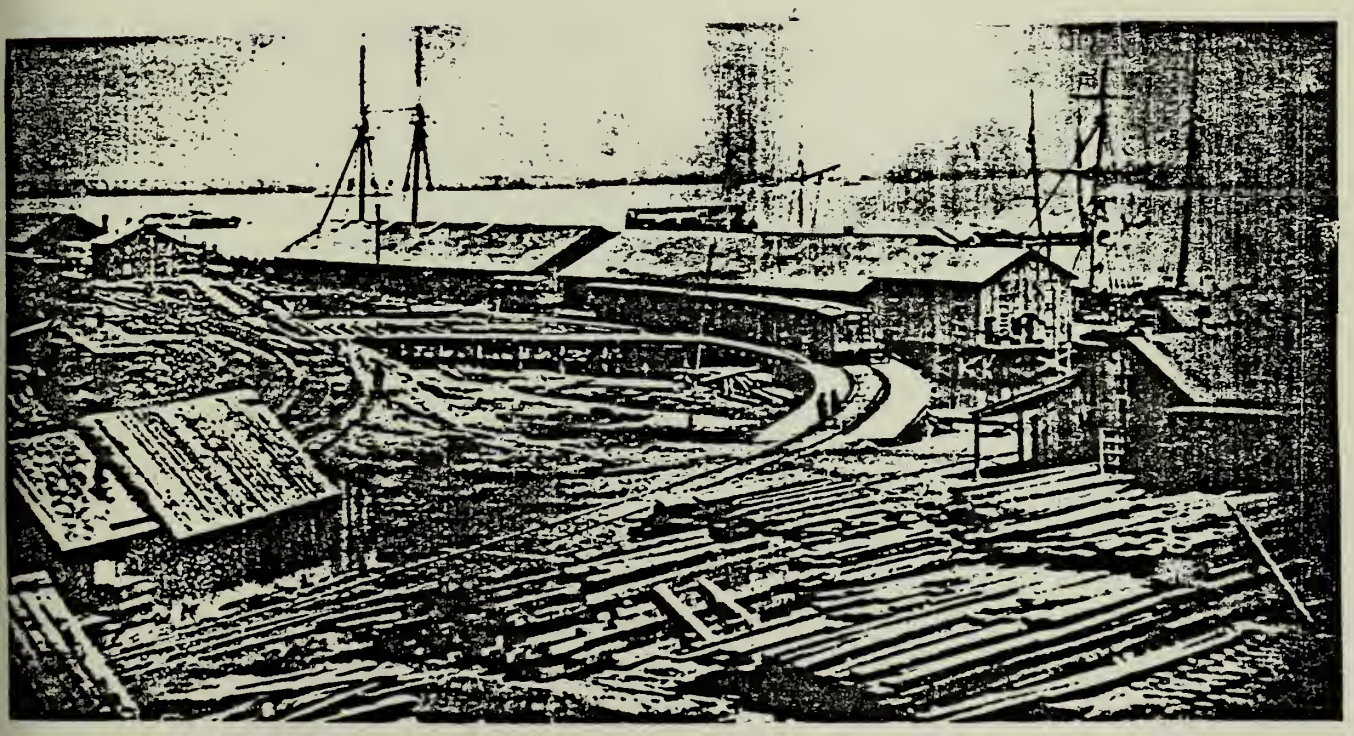


FIGURE 57
Construction of a temporary trestle and additional structures.
SOURCE: E. P. Alexander, Civil War Railroads and Models, pp. 224-225.





Traveling North along the tracks toward the water front (between lines 11 and 12 and L and M), we see in the following photograph the 4-4-0 engine, Col. A. Beckwith. This engine, formerly named the P.H. Watson, was built by R. Norris & Son and was received by the Military Railroad on June 23, 1863. At the close of the war, the engine was sold to the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad for $10,500.[21] In the background of this photograph can be seen a footpath and crude steps cut into the bank leading up to a commissary building, and other structures occupied by the Army Quartermaster Corps.

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[21] Abdill, p. 101.



FIGURE 58
United States Military Railroad engine at City Point.
SOURCE: Mollus Collection #5670.



The next picture shows an engine of the U. S. Military Railroad traveling on the bank of the James river (located between lines 14 and 15 and L and M on the base map). To the left of the trains can be seen a six-horse team and wagon ready to carry supplies. In spite of the industrial efficiency of the railroads at City Point the horse and mule were still indispensable.

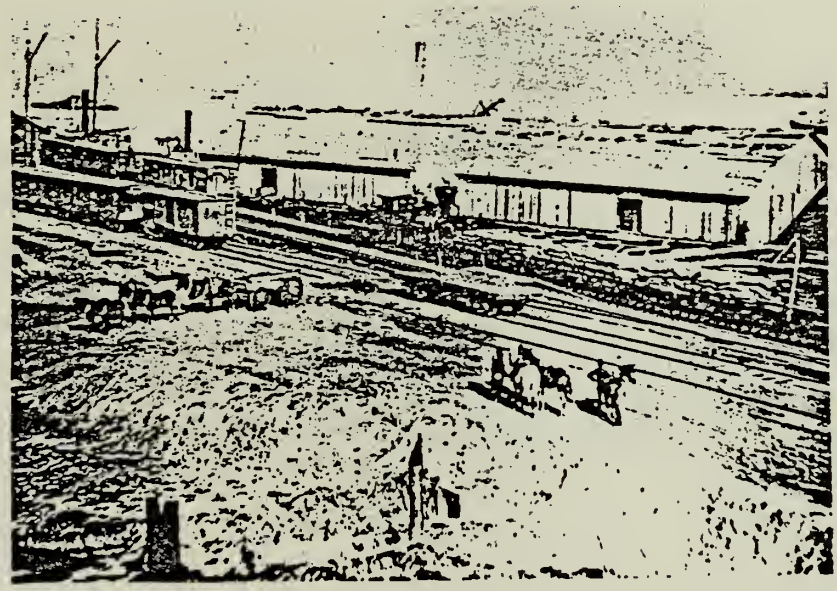


FIGURE 59
Horse and mule transportation at City Point
SOURCE: Abdill p. 101.

Traveling further north, in the nexf picture we can see an unfinished warehouse along the water front. (Points 16 to 19 and L to J on the base map). The picture was probably taken in late July or in early August, 1864. The engine in



the picture appears to be a 4-4-0 engine built by Danforth, Cooke & Company, and is typical of the motive power at City Point. This engine had 54 inch driving wheels and cylinders 16 by 22 inches. It weighed 62,000 lbs. and was intended for general freight service.[22]

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[22]E. P. Alexander, Iron Horses (Bonanza Book, New York) p. 136.



GURE 60
Unfinished warehouse and railroad engine along the waterfront.
July 5, 1864.
URCE: Library of Congress #56530 RS B8184-795.

In the next picture we can see a more detailed version of this same engine in civilian use.

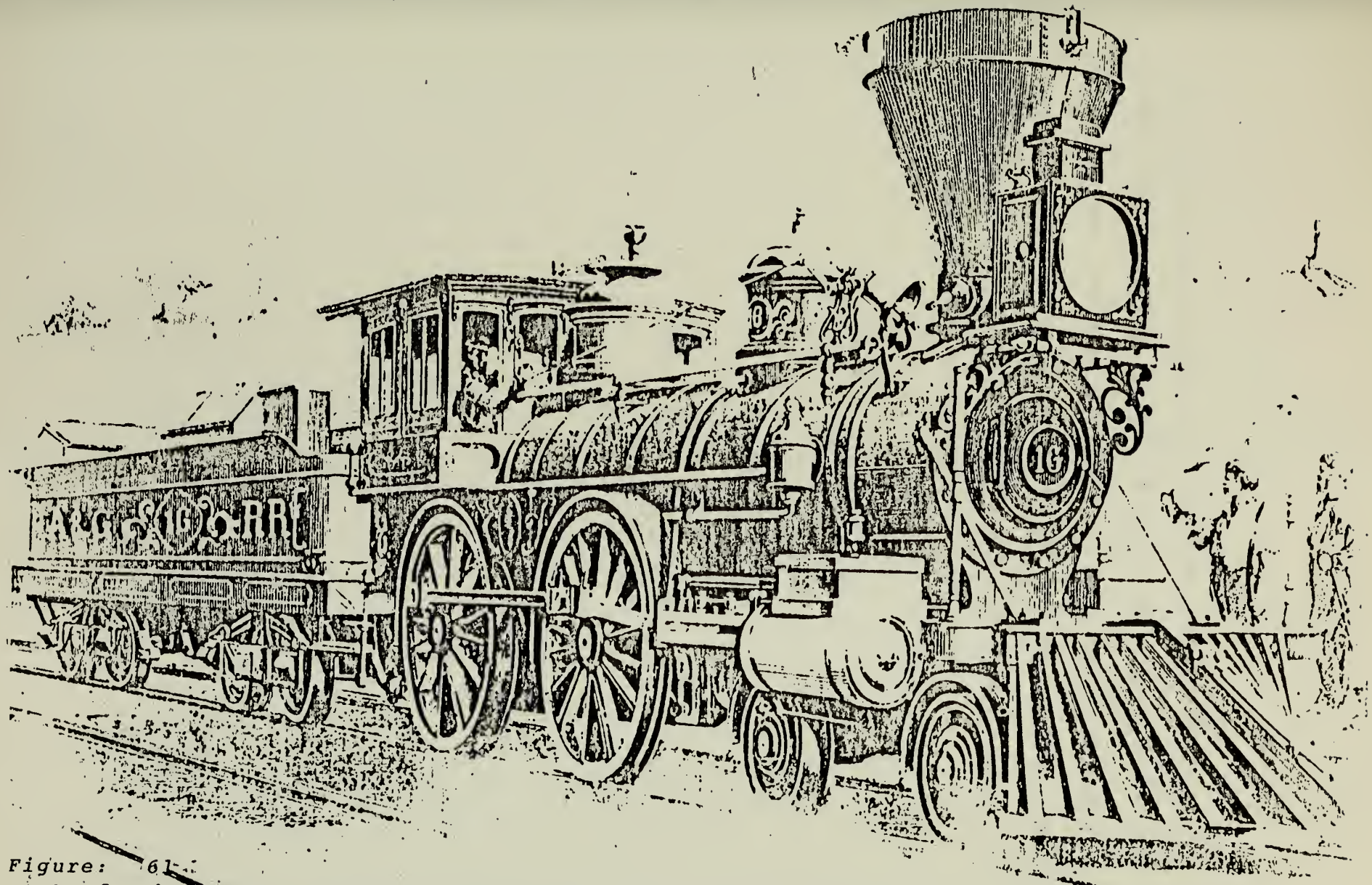
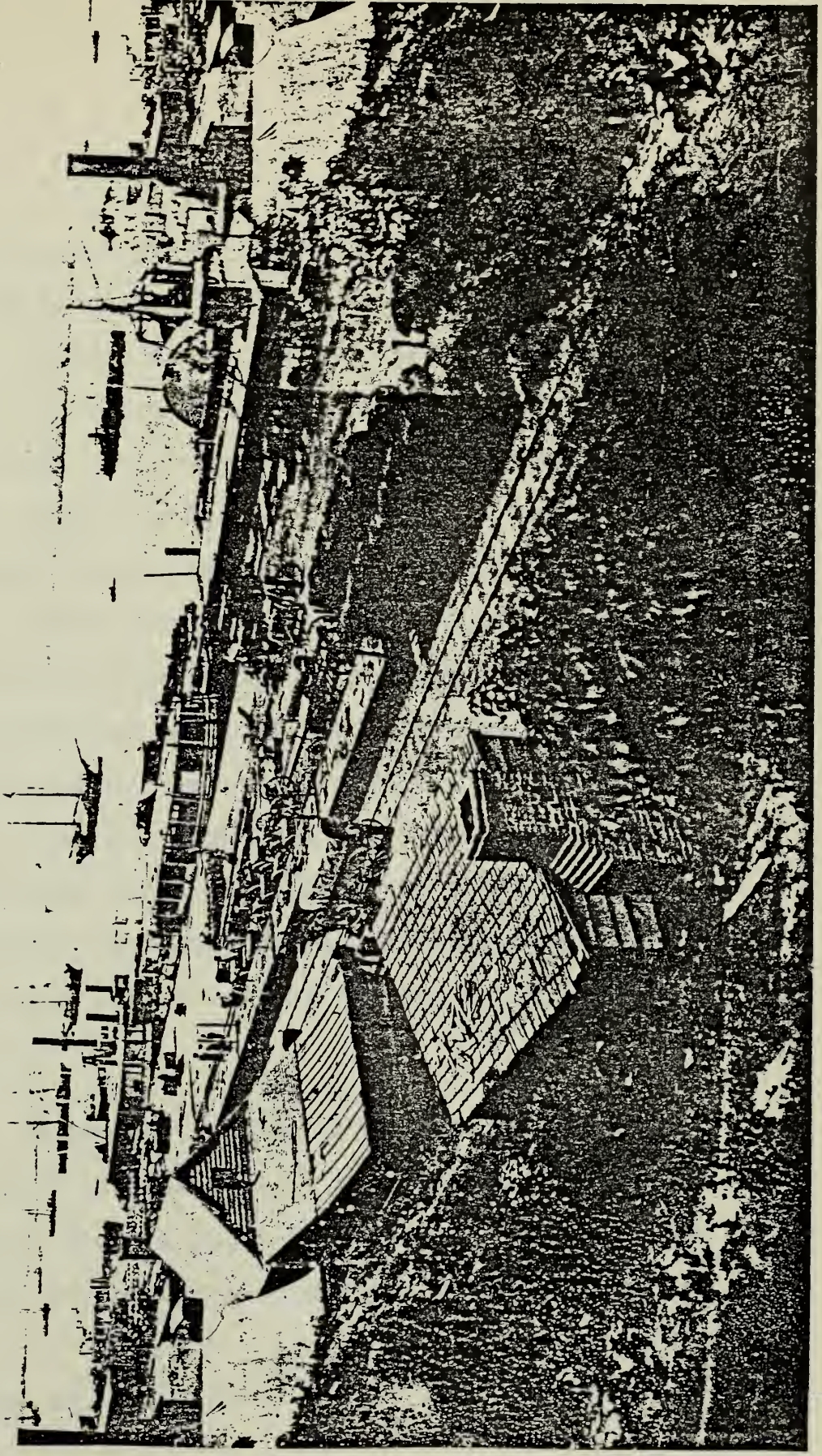


Figure: 61.
Danforth, Cooke & Company engine which was typical of the motive power at City Point.
SOURCE: Alexander, From Horses, American Locomotives 1829-1900, p. 136.

The next picture shows the dock area further down the James River (points 20 and 22 and G to B on the base map). This is near the area of Grant's cabin and Appomattox Manor. It is interesting to note that even though we are now past the main docking area and warehouses, there is still considerable activity.



62
area at City Point July 5, 1864.
Library of Congress #56530 RS B8184-796.

The railroad not only carried supplies and men to the the fighting front, but was also adapted for direct military use. Included among the big guns at Petersburg was a thirteen-inch seacoast mortar in the inventory of the 1st Connecticut Artillery commanded by Colonel Henry L. Abbott. Its extreme weight of seventeen thousand pounds rendered it almost unmanageable under field conditions.[23] This gun could throw a two-hundred pound projectile nearly two miles. General Benjamin Butler mounted this mortar on a heavily reinforced railroad flat car (see following picture). The "Dictator" or the "Petersburg Express" as the weapon was variously known, was highly successful and was used within easy range of Confederate lines. It was placed on a curved siding so that the direction of fire could easily be changed by rolling the car a few feet in either direction.[24]

With a nominal charge of fourteen pounds of powder, the recoil would shift the mortar less than two feet on the car and move the car about a dozen feet along the track. The principal target of the "Dictator" was the Confederate's

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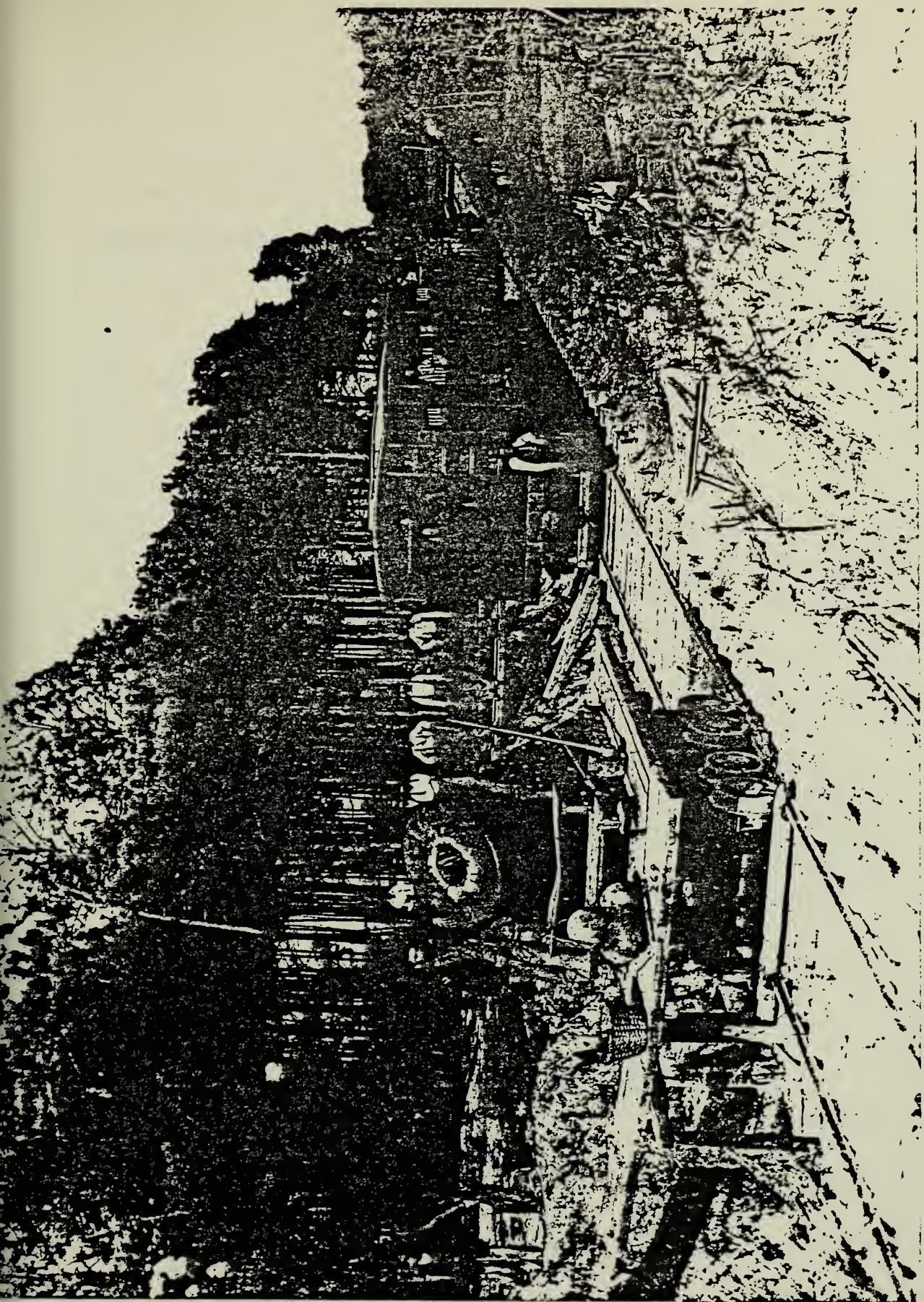
[23]Sylvester, pp. 311-312.

[24]Ibid.

"Chesterfield Battery," which was situated on the banks of the Appomattox River and maintained an annoying enfilade fire along the Federal lines.[25] Occasionally, fire from the Dictator would overshoot the Confederate line and reach Petersburg.

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[25] Ibid.



63
mortar "Dictator" in front of Petersburg, Va.
Library of Congress #56530 B8184-B269.

In the next picture the "Dictator" is seen resting in a semi-permanent position on the tracks near the front.

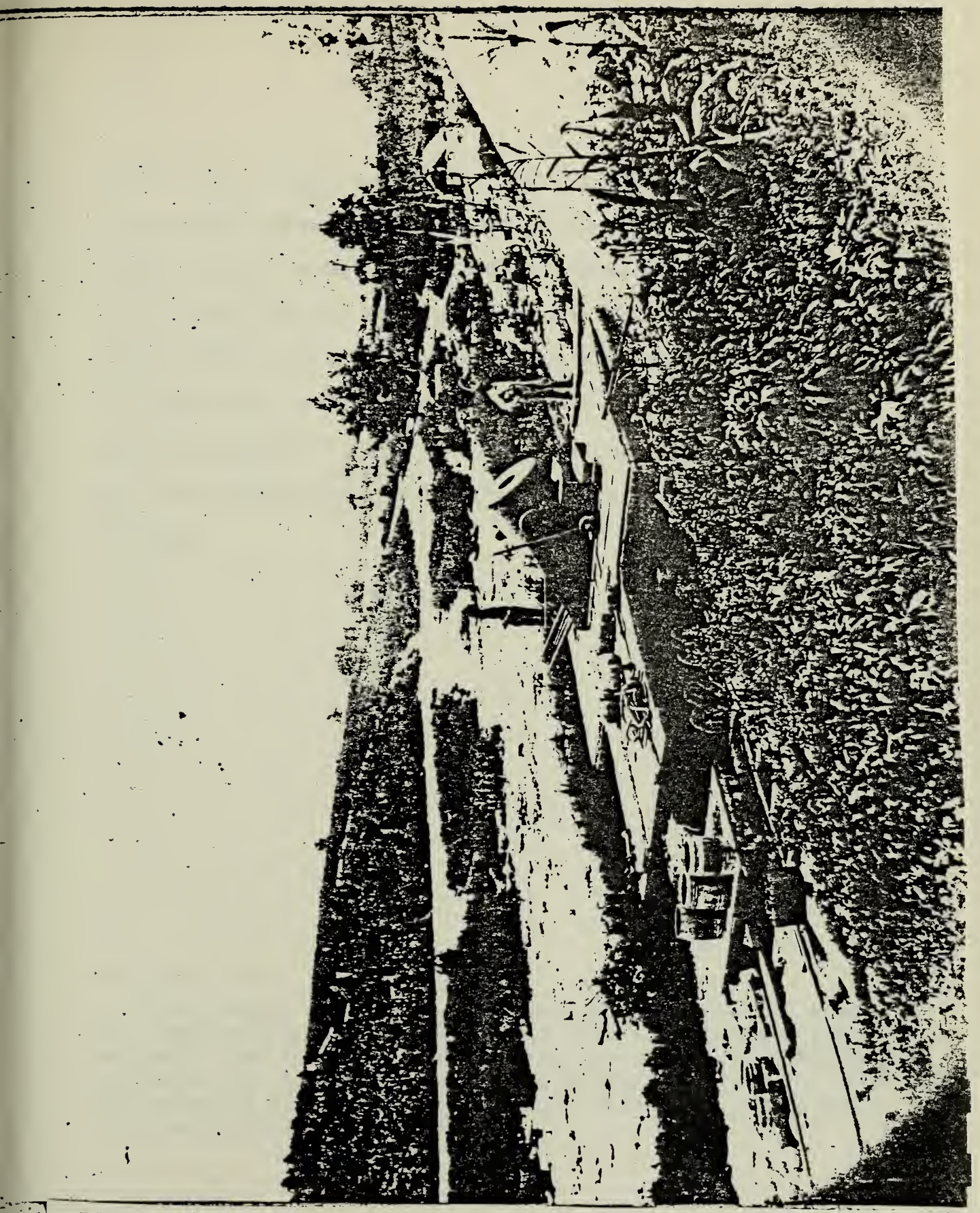


FIGURE 64
"Dictator" resting in semi-permanent position.
SOURCE: Library of Congress #57340

Working on the trains at City Point could occasionally be dangerous. Rebel gunners would listen for the trains and fire at them. Rebel snipers and sharpshooters would also try to pick off the engineers on the trains. Generally, these efforts were unsuccessful, but the tension and shell fire made the civilian engineers some of Uncle Sam's best paid employees.[26] The following picture shows some of the superintendents and conductors in a more relaxed setting.

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[26]The demand for skilled locomotive engineers was great, and experienced men were recruited from all over the North to handle the throttles on the military lines. The engineers ranked at the top of the operating crews' wage scale. Their pay averaged $3.00 per day. Fireman made $1.75, conductors $1.66 and brakemen about $1.33.



FIGURE 65
Superintendents and conductors of the United States Military Railroad.
SOURCE: Mollus Collection #1419.

A rebel battery of Whitworth guns did most of the shooting at the trains, and many men in the ranks would run out from the trenches after the shooting was over and pick up the unexploded rebel shells as curiosities.[27]

All through the Fall and Winter, as Grant kept extending his lines, the military engineers kept building the railroad behind him. Grading was held to a minimum and the worst spots were bridged with extensive trestles built almost overnight. Some of the resulting grades were so steep that many onlookers wondered how a locomotive could ever make the climb. The men in the construction camps knew their business and the trains kept the army supplied.

City Point kept the men in the ranks well equipped and supplied during the siege. According to one private, "the army fared better on the lines before Petersburg than at any other time in my experience."[28] Food was plentiful and varied. A list of the rations included salt pork, fresh beef, salt beef, ham and bacon, hard bread, soft bread, potatoes, onions, flour, beans, split peas, rice, dried

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[27]Charles M. Clark, M.D. The History of the Thirty-ninth Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Veteran Infantry (Chicago, 1889) pp. 218-219.

[28]Warren Lee Gross, Recollections of a Private (Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York) p. 33.

apples, desiccated vegetables, coffee, tea, sugar, molasses, vinegar, candles, soap, pepper and salt.[29]

Not all of this was served at one time, but the troops did enjoy a varied diet. In addition to army rations the Sanitary Commission supplied fruit and vegetables and other luxuries. Wagons loaded with fresh produce were driven along the lines, and the articles were place directly in the hands of the men who would consume them.[30] The men also had access to sutlers, who followed the army and sold almost anything that could realize a profit. Numerous sutler establishments were located at City Point near Grant's Headquarters. (Between lines 17 and 18, B and I) Sutlers sold butter, bologna sausages, pies, self-rising flour, liquor (unofficially), canned fruits, sweet potatoes and pots and pans. Sutlerships at City Point and elsewhere were eagerly sought after, and could return an enormous profit.[31] Considering the lack of supplies on the other side of the line, the Union soldiers in the trenches before Petersburg were rich men.

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[29]John D. Billings, Hardtack and Coffee (R.R. Donnelley & Sons, Chicago, 1960), p. 111.

[30]Charles J. Still, History of the U.S. Sanitary Commission (Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1866), p. 399.

[31]Donald P. Spear, "The Sutler in the Union Army," Civil War History, June, 1970, pp. 122-129.

Communications

The modern telegraph and the instant communications it afforded were indispensable to the operations of the headquarters complex at City Point. When Grant assumed the rank of Lieutenant General, he was given command of the Armies of the United States. Headquarters were located in Washington, and with General Grant in the field. This did not mean that Grant was going to assume responsibility for the day-to-day operations of the Armies of the United States. Grant had his own hands full with Lee in the East, and had to rely on trusted subordinates. However, in terms of major decisions and overall strategy, Grant was always consulted and very often issued the final orders. All of this was possible only because of the existence of the telegraph system.

The telegraph followed Grant into the field, and he used it to keep in contact with the various elements of the Army of the Potomac and with Washington. Grant had at his disposal all of the resources of the army telegraph and the fine commercial system of the North. Telegraph operators were civilian employees of the Quartermaster Corps and had

no official standings. They suffered casualties from disease, death in battle, wounds and capture, and were denied pensions after the war. The operators lived a dangerous life, and often had to work alone in dangerous and isolated places. They were favorite targets for Confederate sharpshooters. Writing years after the Wilderness Campaign, one operator, William R. Plum, relates:

> In a diary of an operator on the field, I find: "Very heavy fighting indeed. The telegraph played an important part; offices being opened at head-quarters on the right were under heavy fire, and one, if not two of them, retreated in decidedly had order." (The only instance during the campaign of an operator being frightened from his post. "Operator Sam Edwards was ordered to go there, and did so fearlessly, although exposed to great danger." Edwards and E.A. Hall especially distinguished themselves for bravery on many occasions during this campaign. Rose and W. C. Hall's office, like most of the others, was within easy reach of the enemy's guns, and sustained quite a heavy shelling during the action at Cold Harbor. One shell passed directly over their telegraph tent and cut off two legs of a mule standing near by. On four other occasions their office was under fire, and during one of them Captain McCune, provost marshal at head-quarters lost a leg. The Eighteenth Corps having reinforced Grant's army, George Henderson

> and C. K. Hambright, operators kept its commander, Smith in telegraphic communication with Meade's quarters. The enemy's shells killed a soldier close by the operators' office, near Cold Harbor. C. J. Ryan arrived shortly after and relieved Hambright at a time when head-quarters was subjected to a galling fire.[32]

When Grant arrived at City Point, telegraphic offices were promptly established in the East Dining Room of Appomattox Manor. Marks can still be seen on the window sills from the heavy wires that came into the house. Telegraphic communication was promptly established with other commands in the field. The importance of these communication links between the various armies cannot be over emphasized. General Sherman discussed the value of the telegraph during this period and said:

> The value of the magnetic telegraph in war can not be exaggerated, as was illustrated by the perfect concert of action between the armies in Virginia and in Georgia, in all 1864. Hardly a day intervened when General Grant did not know the exact state of facts with me, more than fifteen hundred miles off, as the wires ran.[33]

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[32]William R. Plumb, The Military Telegraph (Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1882), pp. 138-139.

[33]Ibid., pp. 140-141.

Telegraphic operators had to be discreet. They had led important dispatches containing secret and confidential information. On occassion, they were suspected of having leaked this information

After the Battle of the Crater, Meade was very critical of Burnside's handling of the affair and sent Grant many messages to this effect. Burnside managed to obtain copies of this correspondence. Meade learned of this and was furious, and had Burnside's telegraph operators arrested and confined with other prisoners to the guard-house. The two suspected men were eventually tried for the offense and acquitted. Meade was still furious and had the two sent away from Petersburg. A short time later, Meade needed additional telegraph operators and, since operators were always in short supply, the two men were returned to Petersburg and returned to duty.[34]

In the next photograph are five men who served as telegraph operators at City Point in 1864-1865. When Lincoln visited City Point in 1865, he virtually lived in the telegraph office in the company of the following men.

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[34]Ibid., p. 259.

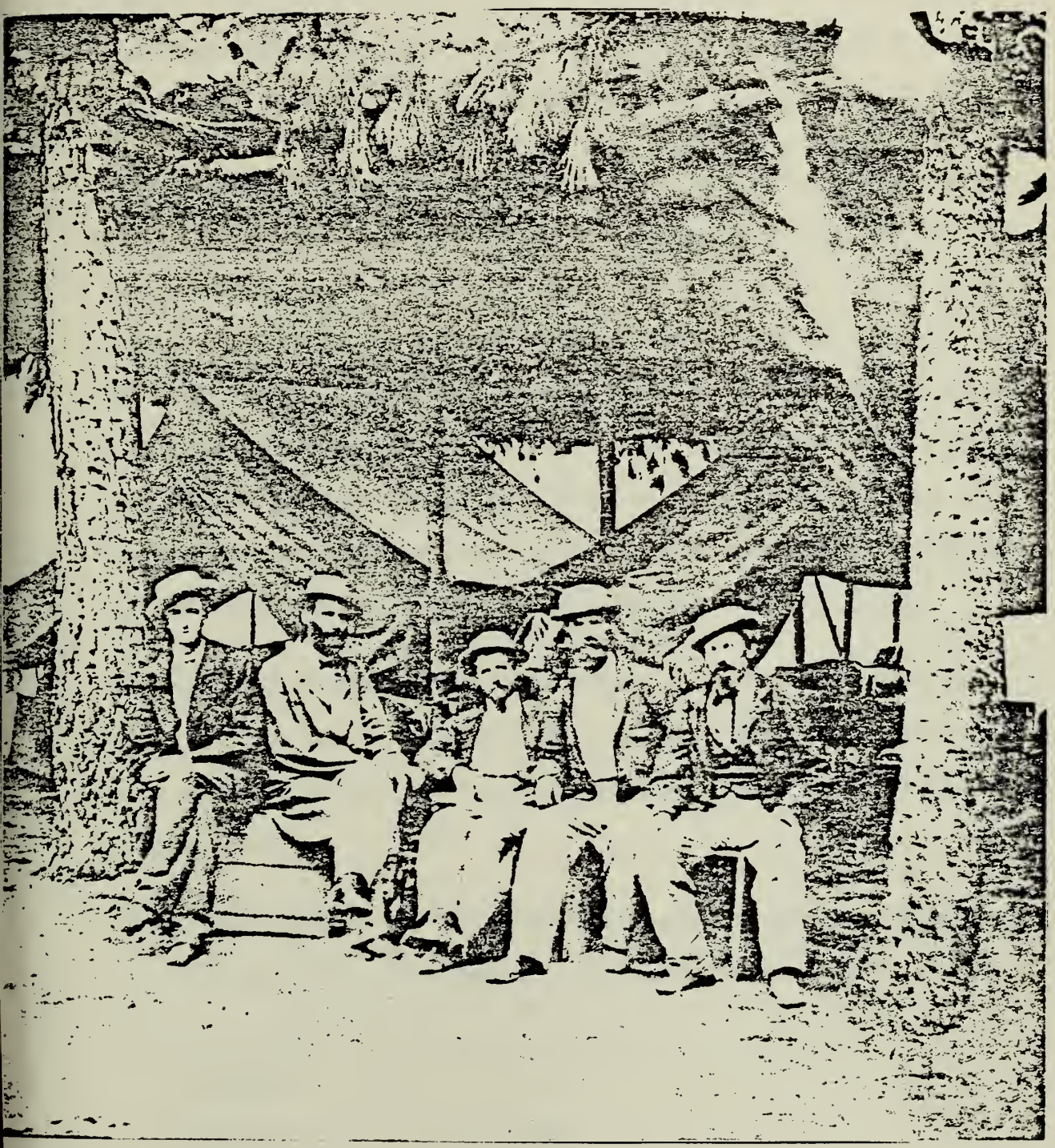


FIGURE 66
Telegraph operators at City Point.
SOURCE: Francis Trevelyan Miller ed., The Photographic History of the Civil War, New York, Thomas Yoseloff, 1957. Vol. VIII, p. 359.

All military telegrams from the front went to City Point and then to Washington via Fort Powhatan, Jamestown Island, Yorktown, Fort Monroe, Cherrystone and Wilmington.[35]

Wiretapping on the lines always remained a problem. The most successful and prolonged wiretapping operation of the war occurred at Petersburg when C. H. Gaston, Lee's confidential operator, tapped union lines from City Point for six weeks. Although he was unable to read the military codes and this information was never translated and used by Lee, he did learn that 2,586 cattle were to be landed at Coggins Point on a certain day.[36] Lee gave this information to Wade Hampton, who used it to plan his famous raid.

The strategic use of the telegraph to coordinate the movements of the Union Armies can best be seen in the correspondence between Grant and Sherman concerning Sherman's march to the sea.

After the capture of Atlanta the question arose concerning the next move for Sherman. A discussion immediately took

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[35]Ibid., p. 260.

[36]Miller, vol. 8, p. 364.

place concerning the advisability of a march to the sea.[37] Telegrams went back and forth between the two Generals and the question was studied by Grant and his officers daily. On September 10, 1864, Grant sent Sherman the following telegram.

City Point, Va., Sept. 10, 1864

Major-General Sherman,
Atlanta, Georgia.

So soon as your men are sufficiently rested, and preparations can be made, it is desirable that another campaign should be commenced. We want to keep the enemy constantly pressed to the end of the war. If we give him no peace whilst the war lasts, the end cannot be distant. Now that we have all of Mobile Bay that is valuable, I do not know but it will be the best move to transfer Canby's troops to act upon Savannah, whilst you move on Augusta. I should like to hear from you, however, in this matter.

U. S. GRANT
Lieutenant-General.[38]

Sherman replied favorably, and two days after Grant turned to Col. Horace Porter of his staff and said:

Sherman and I have exchanged ideas regarding his next movement about as far as we can by correspondence, and I have been thinking that it would be well for you to start for Atlanta to-morrow, and

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[37]Porter, p. 287.

[38]Grant, Memoirs, vol. 11, p. 348.

> talk over with him the whole subject of his next campaign. We have debated it so much here that you know my views thoroughly, and can answer any of Sherman's questions as to what I think in reference to the contemplated movement, and the action which should be taken in the various contingencies which may arise. Sherman's suggestions are excellent, and no one is better fitted for carrying them out. I can comply with his views in regard to meeting him with ample supplies at any point on the sea-coast which it may be decided to have him strike for. You can tell him that I am going to send an expedition against Wilmington, North Carolina, landing the troops on the coast north of Fort Fisher; and with the efficient cooperation of the navy we shall no doubt get control of Wilmington harbor by the time he reaches and captures other points on the sea-coast. Sherman has made a splendid campaign, and the more I reflect upon it the more merit I see in it. I do not want to hamper him any more in the future than in the past with detailed instructions. I want him to carry out his ideas freely in the coming movement, and to have all the credit of its success. Of this success I have no doubt. I will write Sherman a letter, which you can take to him.[39]

Porter carried out this job successfully and plans for the march to the sea were crystallized. Porter returned to City Point on September 27, and reported to Grant. While Sherman made his plans, Grant began to grow worried about Hood's army. Grant made known his concern to Sherman in a telegraph

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[39]Porter, p. 288.

on November 1, 1864.

City Point, November 1, 1864—6p.m.

Major-General SHERMAN:

Do you not think it advisable, now that Hood has gone so far north, to entirely ruin him before starting on your proposed campaign? I believed and still believe, if you had started south while Hood was in the neighborhood of you, he would have been fared to go after you. Now that he is far away he might look upon the chase as useless, and he will go in one direction while you are pushing in the other. If you can see a chance of destroying Hood's army, attend to that first, and make your other move secondary.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General[40]

Sherman was more familiar with the situation and replied on November 2, 1864.

Rome, Georgia, November 2, 1864

Lieutenant-General U.S. GRANT, City Point, Virginia:

Your dispatch is received. If I could hope to overhaul Hood, I would turn against him with my whole force; then he would retreat to the southwest, drawing me as a decoy away from Georgia, which is his chief object. If he ventures north of the Tennessee River, I may turn in that direction, and endeaver to get below him on his line of retreat; but thus far he has not gone above

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[40]William T. Sherman, Memoirs, (Henry S. King & Co., London, 1875), p. 164.

the Tennessee River. General Thomas will have a force strong enough to prevent his reaching any country in which we have an interest; and he has orders, if Hood turns to follow me, to push for Selma, Alabama. No single army can catch Hood, and I am convinced the best results will follow from our defeating Jeff. Davis's cherished plan of making me lease Georgia by maneuver ing. Thus far I have confined my efforts to thwart this plan, and have reduced bag- gage so that I can pick up and start in any directions; but I regard the pursuit of Hood as useless. Still, if he attempts to invade Middle Tennessee, I will hold Decatur, and be prepared to move in that direction; but, unless I let go of Atlanta, my force will not be equal to his.

W.T. SHERMAN, Major-General[41]

Grant was satisfied,and on November 2, 1864,he telegraphed Sherman, authorizing him to move according to the plan he had proposed. Sherman then cut loose from his base, gave up Atlanta and the railroad back to Chattanooga,and began his famous march to the sea.

City Point, Virginia, November 2, 1861—
11:30a.m.

Major-General SHERMAN:

Your dispatch of 9 a.m. yesterday is just received. I dispatched you the same date, advising that Hood's army, now that it had worked so far north, ought to be looked upon

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[41] Ibid., p. 165.

> now as the "object." With the force, however, that you have left with General Thomas, he must be able to take care of Hood and destroy him.
>
> I do not see that you can withdraw from where you are to follow Hood, without giving up all we have gained in Territory. I say, then, go on as you proposes.
>
> U.S.GRANT, Lieutenant-General[42]

This episode illustrates how Grant used his telegraph service to exercise control over the other Union armies outside of the immediate area of City Point. Grant had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the Union armies and he exercised this control through the use of the telegraph.

Other examples could also be given. In a letter by Adam Badeau written on July 21, 1865, to George Stuart of the U. S. Christian Commission, Badeau pointed out that from Grant's Cabin on the grounds of Dr. Richard Eppes estate great events occurred.

> Here he received the reports of his great subordinates almost daily, and sent them each their orders and their rewards. Here he watched Sherman's route as he came across the continent to the sea, and afterwards along his memorable march through

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[42] Ibid, p. 166.

> the Carolinas; from here he dispatched his instructions to Thomas, which resulted in the battle of Nashville and the discomfiture of Hood, so that a concentration of any great force in front of Sherman was impossible. From here he directed Terry in the operations which culminated in the fall of Fort Fisher. From here he directed Sherman and Schofield, bringing one Northward through the Carolinas and the other Eastward in dead winter across the North, and then sending him by sea to meet his great captain at Goldsboro, the cooperation being so complete that the two armies arrived one from Nashville and the other from Savannah, on the same day. Here he received the Rebel commissioners on their way to meet President Lincoln; here he ordered Sheridan's glorious movements, whose importance in producing the last great result can hardly be overestimated; from here he directed Canby in the campaign whose conclusion was the fall of Mobile; from here he dispatched Wilson and Stoneman on their final raids. Here he received the President, Gen. Sherman, Gen. Sheridan. Gen. Meade and Admiral Porter in an interview interesting beyond comparison in the meeting at one time and place of so many men of such importance by their talents and their positions; and here the lamented Lincoln passed many of the latest hours of his life before its crowing success had been achieved. Here the latest orders for all these generals were penned before the commencement of the great campaign which terminated the war.[43]

Just as the railroad and steamship kept the troops supplied with food and munitions, the Military Telegraph kept Grant and his headquarters staff supplied with information. If City

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[43]Badeau Letter, Fairmount Park Files.

Point is important at all in the development of military tactics and in military history, it is because of the impact of logistics and communications and the way these problems were handled and solved. It was here at City Point in 1864 and 1865 that modern industrialized war first came to America and the world.

Chapter V

Lincoln and other Visitors at City Point

Soon after Grant's arrival at City Point on June 15, 1864, he began to receive a stream of official and unofficial visitors. These visitors included everyone from President Lincoln, to generals in command of other armies, to members of Lincoln's cabinet and members of Congress. Grant also received many visits from civilians seeking help. This stream of visitors soon reached flood proportions and Grant was forced to post guards around his camp to keep the curious and favor seekers away.

Grant received his visitors in front of his office tent and later in the front room of his cabin. A rustic bench and a number of folding chairs with backs were placed there, and it was here that important interviews were held. When secrecy was required, Grant and his visitor would retire to his office tent.[1]

President Lincoln and his son Tad arrived at City Point on Tuesday, June 21, 1864. Porter described the meeting

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[1]Porter, p. 212.

between the two men on that day:

> On Tuesday, June 21, a white river-streamer arrived at the wharf, bringing President Lincoln, who had embraced this opportunity to visit for the first time the armies under General Grant's immediate command. As the boat neared the shore, the general and several of us who were with him at the time walked down to the wharf, in order that the general-in-chief might meet his distinguished visitor and extend a greeting to him as soon as the boat made the landing. As our party stepped aboard, the President came down from the upper deck, where he had been standing, to the after-gangway, and reaching out his long, angular arm, he wrung General Grant's hand vigorously, and held it in his for some time, while he uttered in rapid words his congratulations and expressions of appreciation of the great task which had been accomplished since he and the general had parted in Washington.[2]

Porter, taking copious notes, recalled the conversation that followed.

> The group then went into the after-cabin. General Grant said: "I hope you are very well, Mr. President." "Yes, I am in very good health," Mr. Lincoln replied; "but I don't feel very comfortable after my trip last night on the bay.

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[2] Ibid., pp. 215-217.

> It was rough, and I was considerably shaken up. My stomach has not yet entirely recovered from the effects." An officer of the party now saw that an opportunity had arisen to make this scene the supreme moment of his life, in giving him a chance to soothe the digestive organs of the Chief Magistrate of the nation. He said: "Try a glass of champagne, Mr. President. That is always a certain cure for seasickness." Mr. Lincoln looked at him for a moment, his face lighting up with a smile, and then remarked: "No, my friend; I have seen too many fellows seasick ashore from drinking that very stuff." This was a knockdown for the officer, and in the laugh at his expense Mr. Lincoln and the general both joined heartily.
>
> General Grant now said: "I know it would be a great satisfaction for the troops to have an opportunity of seeing you, Mr. President; and I am sure your presence among them would have a very gratifying effect. I can furnish you a good horse, and will be most happy to escort you to points of interest along the line." Mr. Lincoln replied: "Why, yes; I had fully intended to go out and take a look at the brave fellows who have fought their way down to Petersburg in this wonderful campaign, and I am ready to start at any time."[3]

Grant introduced Lincoln to members of his staff. The two men then mounted horses and rode to Meade's and Butler's

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[3] Ibid.

headquarters. Lincoln was cheered by the troops at the camp of the colored Eighteenth Corps and was mobbed by enthusiatic well wishers.

> Always impressionable, the enthusiasm of the blacks now knew no limits. They cherred, laughed, cried, sang hymns of praise, and shouted in their negro dialect, "God bress Massa Linkum!" "De Lord save Fader Abraham!" "De day ob jubilee am come, shuah." They crowded about him and fondled his horse; some of them kissed his his hands, while other ran off crying in triumph to their comrades that they had touched his clothes. The President rode with bared head; the tears had started to his eyes, and his voice was so broken by emotion that he could scarcely articulate the words of thanks and congratulation which he tried to speak to the humble and devoted men through whose ranks he rode The scene was affecting in the extreme, and no one could have witnessed it unmoved.[4]

That evening Grant and his staff entertained Lincoln at the City Point headquarters. Lincoln talked freely and told his famous stories and all had a good time.

That night Lincoln slept on the boat that brought him to City Point. The next day he traveled up river to meet with

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[4] Ibid., pp. 219-220.

Admiral Lee and General Butler. Soon after, he returned to City Point, and then returned to Washington. According to Porter, Lincoln's visit to the army was a memorable event and he (Lincoln) and General Grant had a good visit and that they parted from each other with unfeigned regret, and both felt that their acquaintence had ripened into a genuine friendship.[5]

On Saturday, July 23, 1864, William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, visited Grant at City Point. Seward arrived early in the morning on the steamer, the City of Hudson. Grant had seen little of the Secretary of State and made him welcome. After the officers of the staff were presented, Seward began to talk and talk. Since Seward had been involved in so many complex negotions, members of Grant's staff were anxious to hear the details. The first topic of conversation was the strained state of American relations with England during the first year of the war, and especially the Trent Affair. Mr. Seward related the story to Grant's staff.

> The report first received from the British government gave a most exaggerated account of the severity of the measures

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[5]Ibid., pp. 223-224.

> which had been employed; but I found from Commodore Wilkes's advices that the vessel had not been endangered by the shots fired across her bows, as charged; that he had simply sent a lieutenant and a boat's crew to the British vessel; that none of the crew even went aboard; that the lieutenant used only such a show of force as was necessary to convince the 'contraband' passengers he wanted that they would have to go with him aboard the *San Jacinto*. The books on international law were silent on the subject as to exactly how an act such as this should be treated; and as our relations abroad were becoming very threatening, we decided, after a serious discussion, that whatever was to be done should be done promptly, and that, under all the circumstances, it would be wise and prudent to release the prisoners captured, rather than contend for a principle which might not have been sound, and run the risk of becoming involved in a war with Great Britain at that critical period. The great desire of the Davis government was to have this incident embroil us in such a war, and we were not anxious to please it in the respect. Our decision in the matter was the severest blow the Confederacy received in regard to its hope of 'assistance from abroad.'"[6]

Seward continued with a discussion of the recent destruction of the Alabama, and Louis Napoleon's efforts to establish an empire in Mexico. After additional conversation,

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[6]Ibid., pp. 253-254.

Seward visited some of the nearer army camps and traveled up the James River to visit General Butler. Seward left City Point that same day to keep an appointment at Norfolk.

Late in August, General Grant's family came to visit him at City Point. Mrs. Grant, Colonel Dent, her brother, and the four Grant children, Frederick, fourteen years old, Ulysses Jr., twelve, Nilke, nine and Jessie, six, all were there.

Grant's wife was a frequent visitor to City Point in the following months, and Grant always sent a ship to meet her. Grant would come down the James River and meet his wife at Fortress Monroe and take her onto his boat for the trip to City Point. Even on board ship, Grant was not free from petitioners. Mrs. Grant recalled one incident.

> On one occasion, as I came out of my stateroom where the General was still asleep—he always slept late and went late to bed—an excited young woman approached me carrying a rosy baby in her arms, saying, "I want to see General Grant." I replied: "He is not awake. You cannot see him." She exclaimed wildly, "I must see him! I must see him! I will!" and, bursting into tears, cried, "Oh Madam, let me see him. My husband is sentenced to be shot." "When?" I asked. She exclaimed, "this day, at

> twelve o'clock, and it was all my fault. You see, the baby here was over seven months old, and he had never seen it, and, sure, I though they could never miss him from out all these thousands of men. So I wrote and begged him to come just to see the baby, you know, He did come, and now they have caught him and say he is a deserter, and, sure, Madam, it is all my fault, as sure as I stand here, before my God! Oh, let me see General Grant!"
>
> I went to the stateroom and hurriedly repeated the woman's statement. The General replied: "I cannot interfere. She must go to General (Marsena R.) Patrick." "But," I exclaimed, "it is today the man is to be shot, at twelve o'clock, and it is nearly nine now." He still said: "I cannot interfere." So I threw open the door and said to the woman: "You may enter and tell the General youself." The baby was amusing itself by reaching up and pulling down its mother's veil, whose face was bathed in tears. I told her to sit down and tell her own story. The General soon called to me to send him paper and ink. And the woman shortly came out, looking almost transfigured, saying, "God bless you, Madam, and God bless the General." When I went in to thank the General, he replied: "I'm sure I did wrong. I've no doubt I have pardoned a bounty jumper who ought to have been hanged."[7]

Grant was fond of his children and saw as much of them as possible. His family was lodged on the boat in the James River and spent many hours with Grant at his camp. The morning

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[7]Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant, The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York), pp. 132-133.

after their arrival, Porter entered Grant's tent and saw him playing with his children.

> I found him in his shirt-sleeves engaged in a rough-and-tumble wrestling-match with the two older boys. He had become red in the face, and seemed nearly out of breath from the exertion. The lads had just tripped him up, and he was on his knees on the floor grappling with the youngsters, and joining in their merry laughter, as if he were a boy again himself. I had several despatches in my hand, and when he saw that I had come on business, he disentangled himself after some difficulty from the young combatants, rose to his feet, brushed the dust of his knees with his hand, and said in a sort of apologetic manner: "Ah, you know my weaknesses—my children and my horses." The children often romped with him, and joined in their frolics as if they were all playmates together. The younger ones would hang about his neck while he was writing, make a terrible mess of his papers, and turn everything in his tent into a toy; but they were never once reproved for any innocent sport; they were governed solely by an appeal to their affections. They were always respectful, and never failed to render strict obedience to their father when he told them seriously what he wanted them to do.[8]

Mrs. Grant was well know to the members of the staff. While at City Point she would visit sick soldiers and make

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[8]Porter, pp. 283-284.

suggestions to the cook for delicacies for their comfort. She took all of her meals in the mess, kept up a pleasant run of conversation at the table, and added greatly to the cheerfulness of the headquarters.[9]

In the afternoon of October 16, 1864, a steamer arrived from Washington with the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of the Treasury,, Mr. Fessenden and many other friends. They came to the headquarters and were warmly received by Grant, whom they greatly praised.[10] They congratulated Grant for the progress of the campaign. Stanton wanted to see the war close up and was given a tour of the front lines. After two days the party returned to Washington.

Throughout the Fall of 1864, the stream of visitors towards City Point continued. Grant was by this time a well known celebrity throughout the North and attracted considerable attention whenever he left the camp. During one visit to New York in November 1864, he was mobbed by a group of well wishers.[11]

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[9] Ibid., p. 304.

[10] Ibid., p. 304.

[11] Ibid., pp. 325-327.

During Christmas 1864, Mrs. Grant and the family arrived at City Point to spend the holidays together. During this time Frederick almost joined the army. According to Porter:

> Fred crossed the Mississippi with his father on the gunboat *Price*. Early in the morning the general went ashore to direct the movement of the troops, leaving the boy coiled up on the forward deck fast asleep. When he woke up the youngster insisted on following his father, but was told by a staff-officer to stay where he was and keep out of danger; but he happened just then to see some troops chasing a rabbit, and jumped ashore and joined in the fun. Thinking the men were a pretty jolly set of fellows, he followed along with the regiment in its march to the front, thinking he would meet his father somewhere on the road. The troops soon encountered the enemy, and Fred found himself suddenly participating in the battle of Port Gibson. That night he recognized a mounted orderly belonging to headquarters, and hailed him. The orderly gave him a blanket, and he rolled himself up in it and managed to get several hours' sleep. About midnight his father came across him, and his surprise may be imagined when he discovered that the boy had left the boat and turned amateur soldier. The general had crossed the river in true light-marching order, for he had no encumbrances but an overcoat and a toothbrush. A couple of horses were soon captured. The general took one and gave the other to Fred. They were ungainly, ragged-hipped nags, and the general was

> greatly amused at seeing the figure the boy cut when mounted on his raw-boned war-charger. At the battle of Black River Bridge, Fred saw Lawler's brigade making its famous charge which broke the enemy's line, and rode forward and joined in the pursuit of the foe; but he had not gone far when a musket-ball struck him on the left thigh. A staff-officer rode up to him, and asked him how badly he was hurt; and Fred, not being an expert in gunshot wounds, said he rather thought his leg was cut in two. 'Can you work your toes?' asked the officer. The boy tried, and said he could. 'Then,' cried the officer, 'you're all right'; and taking him to a surgeon, it was found that the ball had only clipped out a little piece of flesh, so that he was not damaged enough to have to join the ranks of the disabled.[12]

If this was not enough excitement, Fred decided that he must go duck shooting and received permission from his father.

> As sporting-guns are not found among army supplies, Fred had to content himself with an infantry rifled musket. The general's colored servant, Bill, accompanied the boy. Bill was not much of a shot himself. He usually shot as many a man votes, with his eyes shut. But he was a good hand to take the place of the armor-bearer of the ancients, and carry the weapons. Taking a boat, they paddled down the river in search of game. They had not gone far when they were brought to by a naval pickets who had been posted on the river-bank by the commander of one of the

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[12] Ibid.; pp. 363-364.

> vessels. A picket-boat was sent after them, and they were promptly arrested as rebel spies, and taken aboard a gunboat. The declaration by the white prisoner, who, it was supposed, was plotting death and destruction to the Union, that he was the son of the general-in-chief, was at first deemed too absured to be entertained by sailors, and fit only to be told to the marines; but after a time Fred succeeded to convincing the officers as to his identity, and was allowed to return to headquarters. When he arrived he wore a rueful expression of countenance at the thought of the ingratitude of republics to their "veterans." His father was greatly amused by the account of his adventure, teased him good-naturedly, and told him how fortunate it was that he had not been hanged at the yard-arm as an enemy of the republic, and his body consigned to the waters of the Potomac.[13]

Among the many visitors Grant had at City Point were a number of inventors who had some novel ideas as to how to end the war. Some of the more rational suggestions are described by Porter.

> A proposition from an engineer was received one day, accompanied by elaborate drawings and calculations, which had evidently involved intense labor on the part of the author. His plan was to build a masonry wall around Richmond, of an elevation higher than the tallest houses,

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[13] Ibid., pp. 365-366.

> then to fill the inclosure with water pumped from the James River, and drown out the garrison and people like rats in a cage. The exact number of pumps required and their capacity had been figured out to a nicety. Another inventive genius, whose mind seemed to run in the direction of the science of chemistry and the practice of sternutation, sent in a chemical formula for making an all-powerful snuff. In his communication he assured the commanding general that after a series of experiments he had made with it on people and animals, he was sure that if shells were filled with it an exploded within the enemy's lines, the troops would be siezed with such violent fits of sneezing that they would soon become physically exhausted with the effort, and the Union army could walk over at its leisure and pick them up as prisoners without itself losing a man. A certain officer had figured out from statistics that the James River froze over about once in seven years, and that this was the seventh year, and advised that troops be massed in such a position that when the upper part of the James changed from a liquid to a solid, columns could be rushed across it on the ice to position in rear of the enemy's lines, and Richmond would be at our mercy.[14]

As far as it is known, Grant did not implement any of the above suggestions.

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[14] Ibid., p. 372.

On the morning of January 31, 1865, General Grant received a letter from the Petersburg front signed by Confederates Alexander H. Stephens, J. A. Campbell and R.M.T. Hunter, asking permission to come through the lines. Permission was granted, and Babcock was sent to meet them and escort them to City Point. Stephens was the Vice-President of the Confederacy, Campbell was Assistant Secretary for War, and Hunter, President Pro Tempore of the Confederate Senate. Grant treated his visitors with every possible courtesy, but refused to be drawn into any political discussions with them. The Commissioners twice tried to discuss the proper conditions for a proposed peace with Grant, but both times he refused to discuss the matter.[15]

On February 2, 1865, the Commissioners were sent down the James River for a meeting with Lincoln which produced no results. After stopping at City Point again and discussing the exchange of prisoners with General Grant, the Commissioners returned to Richmond.

Mrs. Grant, who was at City Point at this time, did talk to the Confederates about her brother, who was being held a prisoner.

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[15] Ibid., p. 383

> I had quite an interview with the commissioners, telling them they held a brother of mine as a prisoner and that he was a thorough rebel if there ever was one. I knew this to be so as I had had many a battle royal with him on this subject. These gentlemen asked if General Grant could not exchange him. "Why, of course not." I explained, "my brother is not a soldier." He was on a visit to a friend in Louisiana when he was captured. I had already approached General Grant on the subject, and he had asked me if I thought it would be just for him to give a war prisoner in exchange for my brother, when we had so many brave men languishing in prison who had fought for the Union. It was hard, but I knew he was right. He consoled me by saying, "It will not hurt John to have a good, wholesome lesson, and I hope and trust the war will soon be over, and then John will come home with the crowd, and I will do all I can for him then." So dear brother did not get back until the general exchange of prisoners took place at the close of the war.[16]

General Grant did intervene to help another relative of his, but had no success.

> There was another war prisoner, young Hewitt, a cousin of the General, who was confined for months at Johnson's Island in Lake Erie. His mother and family, who were living in Paris for security, often wrote to General Grant, making earnest appeals for his release.

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[16]Mrs. Grant, p. 138.

> Of course, the General could only follow the routine and wait until it should be Mr. Hewitt's turn to be exchanged. So when this young man arrived at the depot where the prisoners were exchanged, General Grant telegraphed: "When Mr. Hewitt's exchange is accomplished, have him report to my headquarters." The telegram was read to Mr. Hewitt, who, with evident disappointment repaired to the Commanding General. The General greeted him kindly and said: "I have some letters here from your mother," and, handing him the package, continued, "If you wish to avail yourself of this opportunity, I will be most happy to give you safe conduct, and if you need money, that also. You must read these letters and decide." The young soldier read the letters and sat thinking, Then he arose, thanked the General, and said: "For me to accept this now, at the very gates of Richmond, would savor of desertion. The cause, our cause, needs every man at his post, and I must go on to Richmond." The General said: "I can't but admire your decision, but I think it most unwise." The young gentleman proceeded to Richmond, and about a fortnight afterwards we heard of his death.[17]

Alexander Stephens had worn a large greatcoat during his trip to City Point and this became the object of some humor at his expense. When Lincoln visited City Point later he said to Grant:

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[17] Ibid., p. 139.

> "Did you see Stephens's great-coat?" "Oh, yes," answered the general. "Well," continued Mr. Lincoln, "soon after we assembled on the steamer at Hampton Roads, the cabin began to get pretty warm, and Stephens stood up and pulled off his big coat. He peeled it off just about as you would husk an ear of corn. I couldn't help thinking, as I looked first at the coat and then at the man, 'Well, that's the biggest shuck and the littlest nubbin I ever did see.'"[18]

This story later became one of General Grant's favorites, and he never tired of telling it.

In late February, Grant acquired a new addition to his staff-Captain, Robert Todd Lincoln, the President's eldest son. Robert Lincoln had graduated from Harvard in 1864, and asked his father's permission to join the army. Lincoln reluctantly agreed and mentioned the matter to Grant. Grant told Lincoln that if his son could join his staff he would see that he saw some active duty in the field. Thus, with honor satisfied and the safety of Robert Lincoln protected, Grant acquired a new captain and assistant adjutant-general on his staff on February 23, 1865.[19]

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[18] Ibid., p. 385.

[19] Ibid., p. 388.

Peace proposals were still discussed at City Point. Rumors of peace and theories on how to end the war abounded. Mrs. Grant even volunteered to go on her own mission of peace.

> Late one afternoon, about four o'clock, not long before the last move toward Richmond, I entered from my bedroom, General Grant's office, where I found General Grant in conversation with General Ord. General Grant said to me: "See here. Mrs. Grant, what do you think of this? Ord has been across the lines on a flag of truce and brings a suggestion that terms of peace may be reached through you, and a suggestion of an interchange of social visits between you and Mrs. Longstreet and others when the subject of peace may be discussed, and you ladies may become the mediums of peace." At once, I exclaimed: "Oh! How enchanting, how thrilling! Oh, Ulys, I may go, may I not?" He only smiled at my enthusiasm and said: "No, I think not." I then approached him, saying, "Yes, I must. Do say yes. I so much wish to go. Do let me go." But he still said: "No, that would never do." Besides, he did not feel sure that he could trust me; with the desire I always had shown for having a voice in great affairs, he was afraid I might urge some policy that the President would not sanction. I replied to this: "Oh, nonsense. Do not talk so, but let me go. I should be so enchanted to have a voice in this great matter. I must go. I will. Do say I may go." But General Grant grew very earnest now and said: "No,

you must not. It is simply absurd. The men have fought this war and the men will finish it."[20]

With peace efforts at an end, the war took its final course.

Mrs. Grant did ask her husband to invite Lincoln to visit City Point again. Grant believed Lincoln needed no invitation, but at his wife's prodding he sent a telegram inviting the President to visit the front.[21]

Grant was now nearing the pinnacle of his military career. He was on the verge of victory at Petersburg, and the eyes of the nation were on him. His fame and stature were enormous. Congressman E. B. Washburne of Illinois presened Grant with a gold medal voted him by the Congress. After the award ceremony, which was held at City Point in the main cabin of the steamer that had brought Washburne to City Point, Mrs. Grant improvised a dance for the officers and ladies present. All present had a wonderful time.[22]

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[20]Mrs. Grant, pp. 140-141.

[21]Ibid., pp. 141-142.

[22]Ibid., pp. 393-394.

The next morning while Washburne was shaving a young woman burst into his cabin, fell at his feet, and pleaded with him to save her husband, who was scheduled for execution. After calming down the woman, Washburne managed to convince her that he was not General Grant. Washburne showed her to Grant's cabin where she repeated her performance. Grant yielded and another soldier was saved from execution.[23]

Lincoln arrived at City Point on the evening of March 24, 1865. He had intended to come alone, but at the last minute Mrs. Lincoln decided to join him. The Lincolns were to remain at City Point for the next two weeks and live on the *River Queen* which was anchored in the James River.

On the morning of March 25, 1865, Grant boarded the *River Queen* and greeted Lincoln. Early that morning, Lee directed General J. B. Gordon to attack Fort Steadman in an attempt to break the Union Line. The attack, after some initial success, failed with a great number of casualties. Grant

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[23] Ibid., pp. 394-395.

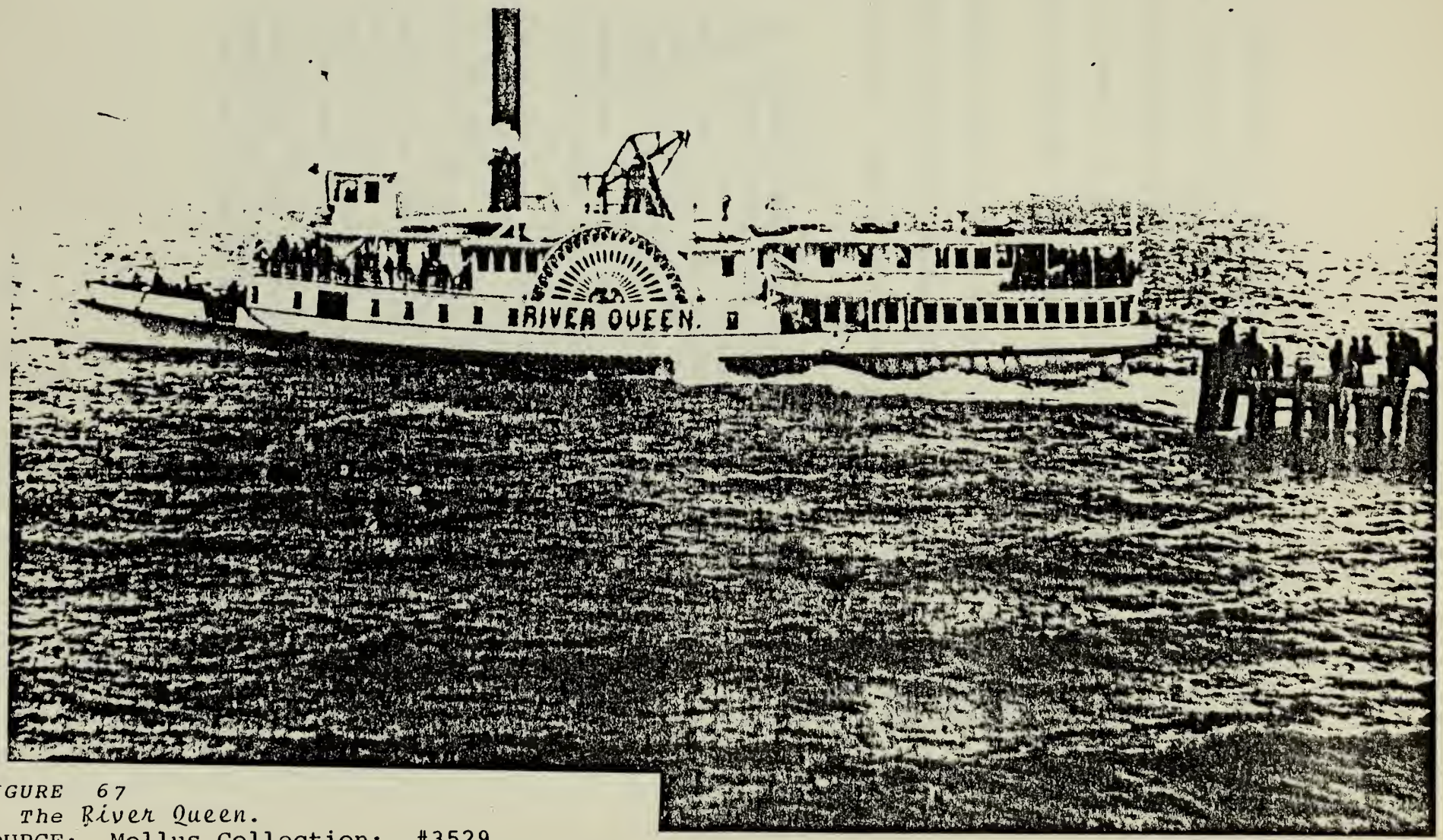


FIGURE 67
The River Queen.
SOURCE: Mollus Collection: #3529.

asked the President to accompany him to the front to view the scene of the attack. The ground was still strewn with the dead and wounded of both sides and Lincoln saw the results of combat, close up, for the first time. The trip deeply affected the President.

Frank Rauscher, who was a musician with the 114th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, recorded the following personal observation about Lincoln the next morning:

> The next morning we had the pleasure of seeing President Abraham Lincoln for the first, and, unfortunately, it was the last time. While there (at City Point) he made his temporary home on board the River Queen, along side the flagship of Admiral Porter. On that morning I strolled out to one of the abandoned forts, having just received the morning paper and while resting myself on one of the parapets two men came in the fort—one was Admiral Porter, the other President Lincoln. They halted in front of the spot I was sitting. The Admiral, from the high position of the fort, could overlook a broad expanse of our lines of works. He pointed out to the President the positions of the two lines and discussed the hardships and dangers encountered while erecting them in the face of the enemy guns and during the rigors of the severe winter he also recounted the suffering and deprivation incident to the long siege. President Lincoln was greatly moved, and

> his feeling were apparent in his rough-hewn featured. As they joined arms and returning from the fort this remark the President made, "The country can never repay these men for what they have suffered and endured.[24]

Lincoln and Grant discussed the progress of the war during the day and swapped stories around the camp fire at night. Both men seemed to enjoy the other's company. Lincoln got along well with the army officers at City Point, but his wife was in a bad temper. During a review of the Army of the James, Mrs. Lincoln lost her temper and began to snap at the officers and their wives. Both Mrs. Grant and Porter agree that Mrs. Lincoln was tired from the trip and not in her best mood.

The Siege of Petersburg was nearing a climax and Grant invited both Sheridan and Sherman to City Point for a final conference. Sherman arrived on March 27, 1865 and immediately began to fill Grant in with the details of his march across Georgia.

Speculation was rife that Sherman had been called to City Point to replace Meade as Commander-in-Chief of the Army

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[24]Rauscher, p. 226.

of the Potomac. In the following letter written on March 28, 1865, J. R. Hamilton describes the atmosphere at City Point during these critical days.

City Point
March 28/65
8. A.M.

Dear Swinton:

The army moves this morning. Head-quarters are being abandoned—for the time at least—by tonight General Grant will have moved off with his staff for the field.

Sherman arrived here last night, from Newbern with Admiral Porter; and I heared it hinted among the officers, who should know, that he is to supersede Meade.

We had quite a gay batch last night holding their consultation of war. The President, Grant, Sherman and Sheridan and Porter. The most ceaseless activity is everywhere in the quarter-master and ordnance departments. A million cartridges in addition were sent out yesterday, and Sheridans' men were being remounted all yesterday and during the whole night, with fresh horses that come pouring in by the boat-load from Washington. There is no doubt that, this morning, the curtain rises upon the last act of this great drama. What Grant proposes to do I don't know, but it seems to me, as I wrote you once before at some length, that his object is to throw a powerful army between Richmond and the rebel forces opposed to Sherman— (now Schofield or Slocum, which latter I believe takes rank) so that Johnston, who it is supposed now commands the forces to Richmond, must either come out of the trenches and fight at a disadvantage, or stay where he is and see himself hopelessly cut off by the Southside and Danville Roads coming into our immediate protection.

The army leaves with 12 days rations; so that allowing only 15 miles for a day's march, they go provided for a tramp of 180 miles.

The next ten or twelve days may prove the most eventful and decisive ones of the way. Everyone mounts his horse or shoulders his musket as if he feels it so, and great enthusiasm is forming wherever I go, among the officer and men.

Latest
9:30 A.M.

Although it is generally believed that Lee has gone to join his armies South, his latest dispatch to the Secretary of War, which I saw, would seem to show that he is still here—commanding this front.

General Collip has just told me that he does not credit the superseding of Meade by Sheridan; but it is very significant that in the Council of War held last night Meade was not present.[25]

Grant, Sherman and Lincoln met on the *River Queen* to discuss strategy.

> It began by his explaining to the President the military situation and prospects, saying that the crisis of the war was now at hand, as he expected to move at once around the enemy's left and cut him off from the Carolinas, and that his only apprehension was that Lee might move out before him and evacuate Petersburg and Richmond, but that if he did there would be a hot pursuit. Sherman

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[25]Virginia Historical Society, J. R. Hamilton Letter.

> assured the President that in such a contingency his army, by acting on the defensive, could resist both Johnston and Lee till Grant could reach him, and that then the enemy would be caught in a vise and have his life promptly crushed out. Mr. Lincoln asked if would not be possible to end the matter without a pitched battle, with the attendant losses and suffering; but was informed that that was a matter not within the control of our commanders, and must rest necessarily with the enemy. Lincoln spoke about the course which he thought had better be pursued after the war, and expressed an inclination to lean toward a generous policy. In speaking about the Confederate political leaders, he intimated, though he did not say so in express terms, that it would relieve the situation if they should escape to some foreign country. Sherman related many interesting incidents which occurred in his campaign. Grant talked less than any one present. The President twice expressed some apprehension about Sherman being away from his army; but Sherman assured him that he had left matters safe in Schofields hands, and that he would start back himself that day.[26]

That same day Sherman left City Point to return to his army in the field.

By March 29, 1865, Grant decided to leave City Point and move closer to the front. The siege was almost over and he

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[26]Porter, pp. 323-324.

was afraid Lee would steal away from him. Grant was determined to capture Lee and end the war. Lincoln and Grant parted company, and the President shook hands with Grant and each member of the staff. Porter described the moving scene in his book:

> Mr. Lincoln looked more serious than at any other time since he had visited headquarters. The lines in his face seemed deeper, and the rings under his eyes were of a darker hue. It was plain that the weight of responsibility was oppressing him. Could it have been a premonition that with the end of this last campaign would come the end of his life. Five minutes' walk brought the party to the train. There the President gave the general and each member of the staff a cordial shake of the hand, and then stood near the rear end of the car while we mounted the platform. As the train was about to start we all raised our hats respectfully. The salute was returned by the President, and he said in a voice broken by an emotion he could ill conceal: "Good-by, gentlemen. God bless you all. Remember, your success is my success." The signal was given to start; the train moved off; Grant's last campaign had begun.[27]

Within a few days the war was over and a few days later Lincoln was dead.

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[27]Porter, pp. 425-426.

Shortly before the final campaign began Grant sat on the front porch of his cabin on the ground of Appomattox Manor and posed for one last picture with his staff.



FIGURE 68
Grant's Staff at City Point in March 1865.
SOURCE: Petersburg National Battlefield, Petersburg, Virginia, File #17 Generals.



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Adam Badeau Letter to George H. Stuart, July 21, 1865.

Adam Badeau Letter to Russel Thayer, February 12, 1885.

Adam Badeau details the construction and subsequent history of Grant's Cabin in both of these letters. The first is addressed to George H. Stuart of Philadelphia, and the second is addressed to Russel Thayer of the Fairmount Park Commission.

S. Einlen Meigs Letter to Commissioners of Fairmount Park, September 11, 1916.

George H. Stuart Letter to James McManes, May 20, 1898.

George H. Stuart was the son of the man to whom Grant gave the cabin in 1865, and in this letter he asked the President of the Fairmount Park Commission to take steps to protect and preserve the cabin, and cited the historical importance of the structure.

Library of Congress, Archives.

Civil War Photographs

The collection of Civil War photographs in the possession of the Library of Congress is limited and was culled thoroughly for evidence for this report. The most interesting photographs found were three pictures of General Rufus Ingalls and other people sitting on the front porch of Appomattox Manor just after the end of the siege.

Petersburg National Battlefield Park, Archives, Virginia.

City Point Railroad Map.

The best map of City Point during the siege was made by the Chief Engineer of the Military Railroad in Virginia in 1865. All of the railroads and many of the structures used by Grant at City Point are detailed. The park has four copies of this map and the original is located in the National Archives.

Civil War Diseases.

This is a short unpublished study which makes a comparison of major diseases of the Civil War with those of the First World War.

Mrs. Elise Eppes Cutchins Transcript.

This is a transcript of the conversation between Historian Harry Butowsky and Mrs. Elise Eppes Cutchins made in her home in Franklin, Virginia on November 30, 1977. Mrs. Cutchins is the granddaughter of Dr. Richard Eppes, and she related the family tradition concerning Appomattox Manor. The tapes should also be consulted.

Development of the General Staff of the Army.

This is a short unpublished study of the above subject with emphasis on the Civil War period.

Philadelphia Inquirer article "Relics of the War-Grant's Cabin"

This article was originally published in the Philadelphia Inquirer on August 4, 1865, when the cabin was placed in Fairmount Park. It gives the background and history of the cabin to that point in time.

Timothy E. Wilcox Statement.

Mr. Wilcox was a civil war veteran who visited City Point during the Summer and Fall of 1865,

and in 1918 he described his memories of the camp as it existed immediately after the end of the war.

Pennsylvania Historical Society, Archives, Philadelphia, Pa.

George Gordon Meade Maps.

The entire collection of the personal maps of General Meade are located here. They provide little additional information on the camp site because of their lack of detail. One interesting specimen shows the location of Grant's headquarters staff at City Point in Meade's handwriting.

Virginia Historical Society, Archives, Richmond, Va.

Appomattox Manor-City Point Map.

In 1856, Dr. Richard Eppes had his property surveyed and the boundaries and buildings recorded in the above map. It is interesting because it shows what the area looked like before the Civil War.

Stuart Burrus Letter to Dr. Richard Eppes, February 1, 1866.

In this letter from the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands writer on February 1, 1866, Dr. Richard Eppes had his land at City Point officially returned to him.

Charles Comer Letter to Dr. Richard Eppes, October 24, 1865.

This letter was written on October 2, 1865, and given Dr. Richard Eppes the names and rents of the people who were living on his property at that time.

Richard Eppes Diary, 1849-1896.

Dr. Richard Eppes kept a very detailed record of his farming operations and personal life during the above years. There was no facet of his farm operation that was not recorded in the journal. The only break in the record is from 1862 to 1865, when Dr. Eppes was away from home and in the service of the Confederate Army as a contract surgeon. Dr. Eppes recorded many detailed descriptions of his property after his return to City Point in 1865. There is a great deal of information in this source that could be used to write the story of a larger Virginia Plantation and its operation before the war.

Richard Eppes Discharge Papers, 1862.

Dr. Eppes was discharged twice from the Confederate Army in 1862, and the above two papers tell the story.

Richard Eppes Letter to Major John Gibon, November 6, 1865.

Dr. Eppes wrote this letter to the local military commander of City Point on November 6, 1865, and requested the return of his property. There is no record of a response.

Richard Eppes Letter to J. H. Pierpont, June 24, 1865.

Dr. Eppes wrote this letter to the Governor of Virginia on June 2, 1865, seeking his help in the return of his property at City Point. The letter contains an interesting discussion of his motives for supporting the rebellion in 1861, as well as a short discussion of his Civil War service history

Eppes Family Photographs.

All of these photographs date from the post-civil war period and show the condition of the house and lands during that time.

Repair Receipts for Appomattox Manor in 1866.

When Dr. Eppes finally reacquired his property, he discovered that much damage had been done to the house during the war and repairs had to be made. He borrowed the money from his Philadelphia relatives and went to work repairing the damage. The receipts are all here.

Special Order No. 68, October 23, 1865.

This order was issued by the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands on October 3, 1865 and gave Dr. Eppes a qualified return of his property at City Point.

Virginia State Library, Archives, Richmond.

Eppes Family genealogical chart.

The genealogical charts in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society are limited and incomplete. They cover mainly the late nineteenth century period. Mr. Prentice Price, who works at the library every day and is employed by the family, had much more detailed and complete charts going back to the time of the early sixteenth century. His mailing address is the Virginia State Library. Most of the genalogical information in this report was obtained from the book by Mrs. Clark and the charts of Mr. Prentice Price.

Eppes Family Coat of Arms.

The Eppes family had its own coat of arms that it brought from England, and an original copy is located here.

U. S. Army Military History Institute Archives, Carlisle, Pa.

Mollus Collection of Civil War Photographs

This is perhaps the finest collection of Civil War Photographs in the country. The photographs are all original prints of Civil War scenes,and many were copied for this report.

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Petersburg Va June 24th 1865

His Excellency
F. H. Pierpoint
Governor of Virginia

Feeling that you occupy almost the same relation towards the citizen that the parent does to the child from acts and words are warmly interested in the future prosperity our dear old State, I have taken the liberty of asking for advice in the section I now find myself. — By the Proclamation of the 29th May 1865 President Johnson I finds myself embraced under the 13th section among those not permitted to derive any benefit from taking the oath. Previous to the war being a plain farmer, never having been a politician or aspired to any office in the gift of the people, never having been present in a Secession meeting or exerted any influence in forwarding the movement, but when applied to by a gentleman to represent us in the Convention, who I otherwise highly respected, declined to do so and urged as my only reason his strong secession proclivities, I have always confined myself strictly to agricultural pursuits. — For two months previous to the rebellion, I had been a member of a Cavalry company, though only private and when hostilities ensued against the General Government followed this company to the field and served fourteen months. Having been a member of this company previous to the war I cannot honestly leave it without having a stigma attached to me nor at the breaking out of the rebellion, however much I sought to leave the unfortunate combination of circumstances that compelled

so to act. Several members of the company, knowing that
had some funds at my command, obtained to me to aid
him in equipping themselves and I yielded to their request,
though at no time did I endeavour to procure volunteers or
urge upon any one to join in the movement. Having retired
to private life, where I desired to remain during the war, attending
my farming operations, I was again forced to enter the army again
some capacity by the Conscript bill and hence secured the
tion of Contract Physician (without commission) and was
employed only as such during the balance of the war.
I have never held a commission in the Confederate Army.
When Petersburg was evacuated by the Confederates I was ab-
tached to a Hospital in that city and remained in attendance
the sick and wounded. As soon as order was reestablished
the United States Army and my duties would permit I took
Amnesty Oath of President Lincoln in good faith, intending
abide by it in all its provisions. In making this true statement
the part I have taken in the much to be deplored difficul-
s that have taken place between the South and the General
overnment, I have done so that you might be able to form
correct judgement of my case and be enabled to advise
me how to act.
Having taken the Amnesty Oath of President Lincoln and
n relieved of my duties at the Hospital I visited my estate
ere I found a scene of perfect desolation, barns, stables, hay
uses, dwellings and fences back with scarcely an excep-
on disappeared. Under the most disadvantageous circum-
ances I succeeded in getting in a small corn crop and then

cuded North to endiavour to raise funds to rebuild and
ry on my farming oberations under the new order of things.
aving many warm friends at the North I met with a most hospita-
reception, procured a small advance of Capital with a promise
more should I require it and then returned to Virginia to
new my farming oberations. A few days since I was informed
ough up to that date I had thought myself exempted by the
nnesty oath of President Lincoln's Proclamation) that I was
braced in the class of exemptions of President Johnson's Procla-
ation or rather those who possessing property to the amount of
enty Thousand dollars would not be allowed to derive any
vantage from taking the Amnesty Oath. Since then my energies
e been completely paralyzed and I know not what to do, I have
tten a petition for pardon and shall forward it to Washington
d among the many thousands that will be sent in, when
ay I or ever expect to hear from them. In the mean time
ere so much uncertainty and doubt are resting over our
ture, are we justified in making any improvements,
utting up barns, stables, repairing fences or even taking
y risks to put in large wheat crops this fall, as was our inten-
n, especially with borrowed Capital. Being much interested
h your ideas of dividing our farms and selling off a portion
s in negotiation with parties from the North to effect a sale, but
e been compelled to decline taking further steps, not knowing what
ould be able to give a clear title. Prostrated as we all are by the late long
d bloody contest we need a little comfort and encouragement, especially the
oral of our people at the present time. Feeling that my application to you will not
in vain I subscribe myself Very Respectfully Your Obt. Servant [illegible]

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen & Abandoned Lands.

Head Quarters Asst. Commissioner, State of Virginia.

Richmond, Va,. October 3rd 1865.

Special Order
No 68

II So far as any jurisdiction of this Bureau extends over it the property of Richard Eppes situated at and near City Point Va, is restored to him with all the rights and privileges of ownership, subject to the requirements of Circular No. 3 U.S. War Dept. Bureau R. F. and A.L. and upon the following conditions Viz.

1st The property will be turned over to Richard Eppes upon the expiration of the lease to any third party or parties, if any exist

2nd That nothing in this order be construed as entitling him to compensation for damages to the property, or rents which may have accrued.

By order of Col. O. Brown Asst. Comr

H. B. Scott
Lt. Col. & Insp. Genl.

Richard Eppes

Petersburg November 6th 1865

Major General Orlando Gibbon

Sir

I have the honor to request the restoration of my houses and lots, located at City Point, now in the occupancy of the Military. Having procured from the President of the United States a warrant of Pardon, date June 28th 1865, I applied sometime since verbally, but could obtain no definite answer, about its restoration from the Commandant of the Post, and as my means are very limited and my expenses very large in this city I am extremely anxious to get possession of my family residence to enable me to change my location, and of my other houses to raise means to support my families. The houses are four in number, my own residence, in the ground attached to which, Genl Grant formerly located his Headquarters, the other three adjoin the property of Mess Prosters Cook. There are also

several wharves, now occupied by Government
warehouses, one of which was on a lease of
Twenty years to the Southside Rail Road,
for which they paid Three Hundred Dollars
a year groundrent; could you inform me
when the property will be restored or whether
the Government will allow any compensation
for its use. Being much straightened in my
financial affairs I will feel under many
obligations if you will give this subject your
earliest attention and oblige

Very Respectfully
Your Obt Sl
Richard Epps

L. R. L. 44 L. B. V. 3. P. 324.

Head-quarters, District of the Nottoway,

Petersburg, Va., 7th May 1865.

Respectfully forwarded for the decision of the Major General Commanding the Dept.

E 213. W 3 D. V. 1865.

John Gibbon

Major General Commanding.

H^Q^rs Dep^t of V^a

Richmond V^a May 8 1865

Respectfully returned to H^Q^rs District of the Nottoway.

By order of Lieut Genl Grant dated May 1865

City Point is reserved over

for military purposes

that order has not been revoked.

By command of

Maj Genl Ord

Ed. Smith

a. a. Genl

E. B. Vol. 3. P. 382.

Headquarters District of the Nottoway

Petersburg Va. 21st May 1865

Respectfully returned to Major General E. O. C. Ord Commanding Department of Virginia.

By Command of

Maj Genl E. Gibbon.

Asst Adjt Genl

October 24th 1865

Dr Richard Eyster

Sir

I send you the following
is a list of persons who Round-
hill have been paying rent to the
Government, and occupy your house
and who are living upon your land.

Malby Noble	$25.00
Lewis Black	$10.00
D. F. Perkinson	$8.00
H W Armistead	$5.00
Land Trusty (Colld)	$3.00

The Government has only been
Persons who were merchandising
only when they were actually doing
Business, There are several little
establishments in the C.S. Land, who
will or will not have to pay as you may
choose,

Very Respectfully
Chas Lomax

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands,

Head Quarters, Superintendent 2d District.

Petersburg, Va., Feb 24th 1866

Dr. Richard Epps

City Point Va

Sir

In accordance with [illegible]
Circular No. 15 C. B. 1865. You are hereby notified that
all property belonging to you situated
near City Point Va. is with the exception of
[illegible] property, hereby restored and turned over
for your own use

Very Respy

Your Obt Svt

Lt. Col. Burnett

Supt 2d Dist

SOME OF THE MOST COMMON DISEASES OF THE CIVIL WAR AND WORLD WAR I

DISEASES	Civil War		World War I	
	Cases	Deaths	Cases	Deaths
Diarrhoea (Chronic and Acute)	1,411,613	35,127	22,433	21
Dysentery	287,522	9,429	4,738	73
Malarial Fever	57,400	5,360	15,555	36
Typhoid	79,462	29,335	1,529	227
Apoplexy	1,184	927	394	55
Scurvy	30,714	771	17	0
Erysipelas	24,812	2,107	2,598	39
Smallpox	12,236	7,068	853	14
Consumption (Tuberculosis)	13,499	5,286	36,169	2,138
Diphtheria	8,063	777	10,909	177
Alcholism (Delirium Tremens) (Inebriation)	10,293	611	5,333	56
Cancers and Malignant Tumors	2,813	52	606	132
Venereal (Syphilis) (Gonorrhoea) (Orchitis)	190,972	141	357,969	173
Measles	76,318	5,177	98,225	2,370
Epilepsy	9,029	332	88,782	35
Bronchitis	221,008	1,583	255,148	439
Diabetes	1,169	51	718	104

APPENDIX VII

Name of lines	Terminal stations		Length in Miles
	From—	To—	
Alexandria and Washington	Alexandria	Washington	7
Alexandria, Loudon, and Hampshire	Alexandria	Vienna	15
Orange and Alexandria	Alexandria	Mitchell's	68
Warrenton Branch	Warrenton Junction	Warrenton	9
Manassas Gap	Manassas	Strasburg	62
Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac	Aquia Creek	Fredericksburg	15
Richmond and York River	White House	Fair Oaks	20
Richmond and Petersburg	Manchester	Petersburg	22
Clover Hill Branch	Clover Hill	Coal Mines	18
Richmond and Danville	Manchester	Danville	140
South Side	City Point	Burkesville	62
Army Line and Branches	Pitkin, & Co.	Humphrey, & Co.	18
Norfolk and Petersburg	Norfolk	Blackwater	44
Seaboard and Roanoke	Portsmouth	Suffolk	17
Winchester and Potomac	Harper's Ferry	Stevenson	28
Western Maryland	Baltimore	Westminster	36
Hanover Branch and Gettysburg	Hanover Junction	Gettysburg	30
Total miles			611

APPENDIX VIII

CITY POINT AND ARMY LINE

After taking up the track of the Richmond and York River Railroad, and removing all the material of value (June 13, 1864), Mr. C. L. McAlpine, engineer of construction and repairs, was ordered to proceed to City Point with part of the Construction Corps and adequate material, in anticipation of an order to build the wharves at that place and reopen the City Point and Petersburg Railroad. The expedition was delayed nearly four days on account of a pontoon bridge stretched across the James River, about twenty-five miles below City Point, upon which the Army of the Potomac was crossing to the South bank of the river. Immediately on the arrival of the construction force at City Point (June 18, 1864) orders were received to rebuild the City Point and Petersburg Railroad; also to construct wharves and buildings for the use of the army in unloading and receiving supplies. An examination was made on the road and it was ascertained that the bridges were gone, track taken up, and the iron removed for a distance of four miles. From there on to within two miles and a half from Petersburg the track had not been disturbed, but the ties were very much decayed and the gauge needed changing from five feet to four feet eight and one-half inches. By the 5th of July the bridges were all rebuilt, track repaired, and the road was in complete running order for a distance of seven miles from City Point. By the time the repairs were completed a full equipment of engines and rolling-stock had been received, and regular trains commenced running July 7, 1864. A large force was kept constantly employed in building wharves, warehouses, and all other improvements asked for by Quartermaster's Department.

Orders were received July 22 to make a preliminary survey of a branch line of railroad from a point near Pitkin Station (distant five miles and a half from City Point) to the headquarters of the Fifth Army Corps, on the Weldon railroad at Yellow House. The survey was made (without instruments) and everything got in readiness for

the proposed extension. An explosion occurred on the 9th of August, caused by the accidental ignition of ammunition stored in an ordnance boat lying at the wharf at City Point. The force of the explosion completely demolished some 400 feet of warehouse just completed and a large portion of the wharves in the vicinity; also a large quantity of supplies accumulated for shipment to the front. The damage to railroad property was very slight, and only a few of our men were injured. July 26 a force of trackmen equipped with tools were sent to Deep Bottom to report to General Sheridan, for the supposed purpose of destroying the track of the railroad connecting Petersburg with Richmond. They returned July 30 without effecting anything of importance. Again, August 13 another part in charge of John Morgan, assistant engineer, was ordered to report to General Hancock for the purpose of destroying the track on the Weldon railroad. Nine miles and a quarter of track were destroyed, and the iron made useless by heating and then bending the rails.

Orders were received August 30 to commence building Army Line from Pitkin Station to Yellow Tavern, on the Weldon railroad. Work was commenced September 1, and by the 10th of September the new line was completed a distance of nine miles from Pitkin Station and fourteen miles and a half from City Point. The grading on the new line was comparatively light, but some very extensive trestle-works were constructed. For quite a distance the rebel batteries had full range of the track, and trains passing and our Construction Corps were much annoyed by the constant fire kept up on them. This difficulty, however, was obviated by the construction of a line of earthworks about half a mile in length, completely protecting the road.

Extensive tracks for the accommodation of the hospitals and bakeries were built; also very large warehouses for the storage of quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance stores. Substantial and roomy wharves were built for a distance of nearly one mile at City Point; also wharves at Bermuda Hundred and Light-House Point. An extension wharf was built on the Appomattox River for the accommodation of the hospitals. Water tanks and steam pumping engines were also

furnished to keep up an adequate supply of water. The construction of hospital buildings on a very large scale for the several army corps was ordered October 8. After most of the lumber and other material had arrived at City Point the plans were changed. They concluded to build them more temporary than was at first proposed. One hundred and ten of these buildings were constructed during the fall and winter. While this work for the accommodation of the army was being done the various improvements to facilitate the operations of the road were not neglected. The road bed was put in first-rate order, and the track would compare favorably with any first-class road. During the month of October the yard at City Pont was enlarged, switches and sidings were put in, turn-tables were constructed at all necessary points, a substantial and convenient engine-house was built capable of accommodating nine locomotive engines; also shops with all the requisite machinery for the repairs of engines and cars. At all the stations on the line sidings were laid and station-houses built. An average of nine trains, exclusive of specials, were run each way daily, amply supplying the wants of the army. The amount of rolling-stock for the working of the road was increased from time to time, as the demands for transportation became more heavy. Orders were received October 22 to proceed with the extension of the City Point and Army Line from General Warren's headquarters at the Yellow House to the Peebles house, a distance of two miles and a quarter.

The work on this extension (now called the Patrick Branch) did not commence until November 2 on account of an engagement that took place near where the proposed line was to run. It was completed with all the necessary sidings November 9. The grading was not very heavy on account of our conforming to the surface of the ground. The grades are heavy (a maximum of 228 feet). Eight hundred and fifty feet to trestle-work, averaging twenty feet in height, was built. During its construction the weather was very unfavorable, it raining nearly all the time, making it almost impossible to do any work on track.

From November 10 to December 19 the construction force were busily engaged in constructing hospital buildings,

repairing wharves, laying additional side tracks, and building quarters for the Quartermaster's Department and railroad employes. A large clothing warehouse and extensive commissary buildings were then built; also distribution barracks for the accommodation of the troops passing through City Point. The coal wharf at City Point and a large wharf at Bermuda Hundred were also completed. Trains continued to run on good time without accidents, business constantly increasing. Some days fifteen trains were run over the road each way. Work was commenced December 21 on a branch line of road running from Hancock Station, on the main Army Line, to Fort Blaisdell, on the Jerusalem plank road. It was completed December 29, but trains did not run over it for some days after on account of the very wet weather, which made it impossible to get the track in good order. January 2 orders were received to extend this branch line still farther, to the headquarters of General Crawford, who commanded one division of the Fifth Army Corps, a distance of two miles and a quarter from Hancock Station. Work was immediately commenced, but owing to the inclement weather progress was not very rapid. The track was laid, 1,040 feet of trestlework 18 feet high was built, and the line opened by January 20. Station-houses, platforms, and water-stations were built.

This line is called the Gregg Branch of the City Point and Army Line. During January a plank road, extending the whole length of the wharves at City Point, was built. Orders were received from Lieutenant-General Grant January 25 to send a construction force (with materials) to Beaufort, N. C., to repair railroad running inland as far as Winton. In obedience, I dispatched Mr. C. L. McAlpine, principal assistant engineer, in charge of a force of carpenters and trackmen, with tools, camp equipage, and materials, from City Point for that place, January 26, on steamers Detroit, Rebecca Barton, and Charles Barton. The whole force reached New Berne without any serious detention January 30, They immediately went to work relaying track, getting out cross-ties, and rebuilding bridges. By February 2 the track was repaired to Batchelder's Creek bridge, and bridge rebuilt. February 5 Col. W. W. Wright, chief engineer, with his construction force, arrived at Morehead

City. Our party kept at work till February 8, when they were relieved by Colonel Wright's force and embarked for City Point the same day. The whole force arrived at City Point February 12, in time to take part in the extension of the Army Line. From January 25, to February 12 the construction force remaining at City Point were engaged in constructing quarters, offices, & c., for the Quartermaster's Department, repairing and extending wharves, and building a large wharf at Deep Bottom, on the James River, and keeping the track of the City Point and Army Line and branches in good repair. Our forces made an advance to the left of Petersburg February 5, and after three days' fighting succeeded in gaining and holding a position on the Vaughan road, a distance of about five miles in advance of their former line.

An order was received February 8 to extend the Army Line. The proposed extension was located the 12th. The line, leaving Warren Station, ran down the old bed of the Weldon railroad about two miles then, diverging to the right, across the most favorable ground to the Cummings house, on the Vaughan road, a distance of five miles from Warren Station. Work was commenced February 13, and completed to the Cummings house (Humphreys Station) on the 24th. We also furnished all the necessary sidings, buildings, platforms, water stations, and Y for the proper working of the road. During the progress of this work the weather was very unfavorable, raining almost with intermission making the ground so soft that it was almost impossible to do any work or get the teams over it with material. Two thousand seven hundred and eighty-one feet of trestle-work was built on this extension, averaging twenty-five feet high. Most of the timber was cut in the woods and hauled to the work with teams detailed for that purpose. A number of hospital cars were fitted up for the purpose of moving the sick and wounded from the front and along the line to City Point. These were kept in almost constant use. Trains were running regularly and amply supplying all the wants of the army. In addition to the regular freight business two passenger trains were run each way daily for the accommodation of mails, officers, and others, to and from the front. At the time of building the Army Line many of the officers of the Army of the Potomac, together with the regular Engineer Corps,

denounced this location, declaring that it would be impossible for an engine alone to ascend the heavy grades; and as for furnishing the necessary supplies for the army over it, they considered it altogether out of the question. It was discovered, however, that engines hauled an average of fifteen loaded cars per train, and in many cases twenty-three loaded cars, with one of our ordinary engines, thus demonstrating the practicability of supplying a large army over a temporary road constructed in this manner. The total length of track laid on Army Line, branches, and aidings was 21 miles 3,955 feet, and total length of trestle work, 1 mile 1,393 feet, an average of twenty-one feet high.

Not much of note in railroad affairs occurred from February 28 to April 3. The construction department was kept busy making additional improvements wherever needed, and building a wharf at City Point in the gap between the quartermaster's and railroad wharves. I also increased our force and made heavy additions to our rolling-stock, iron, timber, and other material in anticipation of a movement of our army. April 3, immediately after the successful advance of our forces, we abandoned the Army Line and commenced relaying the track taken up on the South Side Railroad to Petersburg, our troops having taken possession of that place on the morning of the 3d. The road was opened and in running order to Petersburg April 4. A large force was set to work changing the gauge of side-tracks and switches in yard at Petersburg from five feet to four feet eight and a half inches, to suit our rolling-stock. We also commenced changing the gauge on main line of South Side Railroad and completed it to Burkeville, sixty-two miles from City Point, April 11, and trains commenced running through with supplies to that point. The road was found to be in wretched condition. The ties were decayed and worthless, and most of the iron nearly worn out. For two or three days it was with the greatest difficulty that trains could be got over the road; but very soon the condition of it was improved by placing a large construction force at work renewing ties, relaying and repairing the track. Trains commenced to run regularly and on time without any accident of a serious nature, and easily filling all requisitions for transportation. We also opened the

Petersburg and Richmond Railroad, and regular trains commenced running from City Point to Manchester (opposite Richmond), via Petersburg, April 7. On the 24th of April orders were received through General Ingalls to make the necessary repairs on the Richmond and Danville Railroad and open communication with Danville, and also to advance on the South Side Railroad and rebuild the High Bridge near Farmville, seventy-six miles from City Point. I sent a large force with material to this bridge, but before the work was fairly under way the order was countermanded. April 30 an order was received from you to suspend all work on repairs or rebuilding railroads in Virginia, and only finish such improvements as had been commenced and were nearly completed. In compliance, immediate steps were taken to reduce the expenses in the different departments. As soon as the men could be spared the greater part of the Construction Corps and transportation departments were sent to Alexandria and discharged.

By the 1st of June all the force that possibly could be spared had been discharged, and only a sufficient number retained to insure the successful operation of the roads. Twenty-four new locomotive engines and about 275 new box-cars (all 5-feet gauge) arrived at City Point, loaded on a fleet of about ninety vessels. By your directions this stock was sent to Manchester (opposite Richmond) and there unloaded. A wharf had to be built, long sidings laid, and connections made with the Richmond and Danville road for the purpose of storage. Possession was taken of the machine-shops at Manchester belonging to Richmond and Danville road, and a force engaged to put the engines and cars in proper condition before they were sold. Most of the stock had been on board vessels for nearly three months, exposed to all kinds of weather, and was in bad condition when received.

During the month of June the Army Line Railroad was taken up and material brought to City Point. All property not in use was collected from the lines of the several roads and brought to City Point for shipment. Regular trains were run on the South Side and Richmond and Petersburg roads, connecting with trains on Richmond and Danville

road, amply supplying all the troops along the lines. A large number of discharged troops were brought to City Point, and transportation furnished a large number of rebel troops returning to their homes.

July 3 the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad was turned over to the company, and the Richmond and Danville road was turned over July 4. All material and rolling-stock that could be spared had in the meantime been shipped to Alexandria. We continued running the South Side Railroad from City Point to Burkeville, transporting supplies and large numbers of troops en route north from North Carolina, until July 24. At this date the road was turned over to the company, which closed up our operations of military railroads at City Point. The whole force (with the exception of some sixteen men left to take charge of property, & c.) were brought to Alexandria and discharged. All the property has been removed from City Point, with the exception of some material which will remain there until sold. Mr. C. L. McAlpine, principal assistant engineer, in charge of construction department, and G. M. Huntington, superintendent, in charge of transportation department on this line, were preserving in the discharge of their varied and arduous duties. May 15, Mr. McAlpine having resigned his position, Mr. T. D. Hays was then appointed "in charge" of all our railroad operations at City Point; and to him I am indebted for valuable assistance rendered.

Source: O.R. 111, V, pp. 69-75.

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