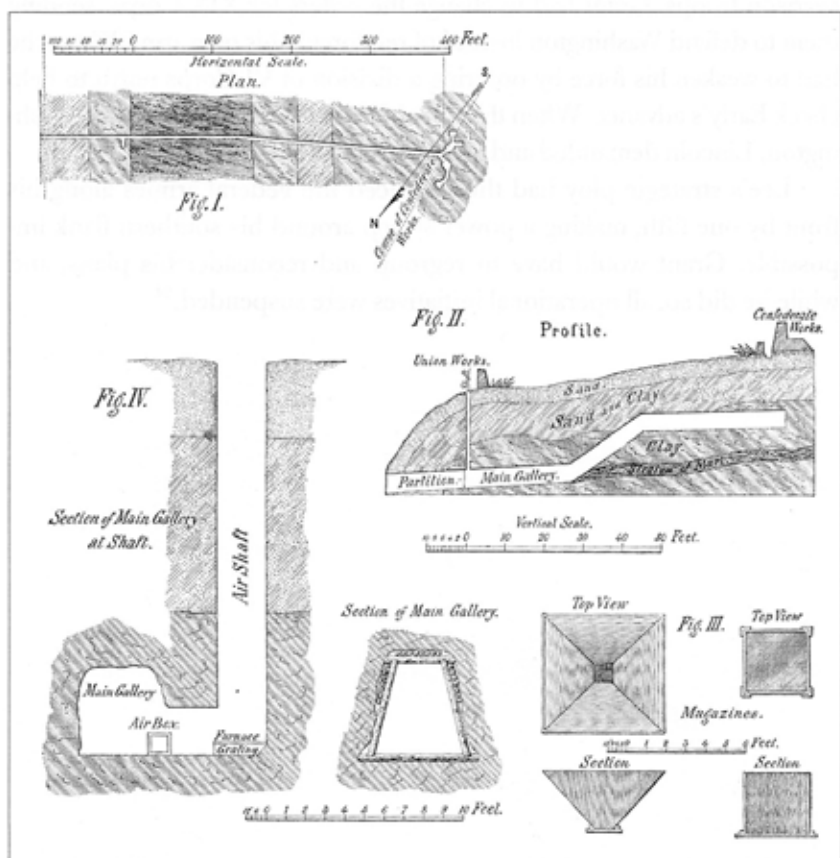
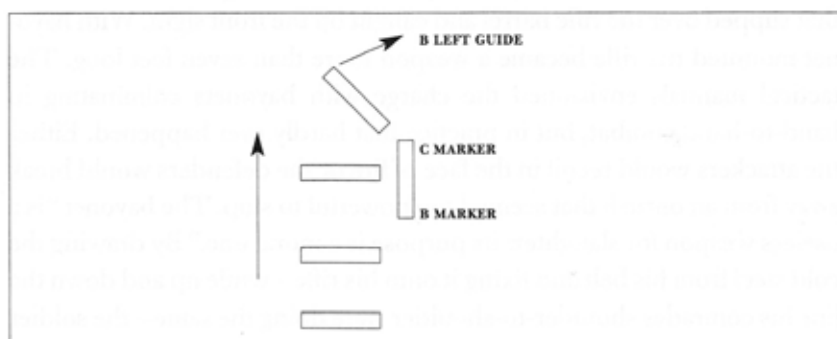


Duane had already told Burnside he considered the project "claptrap and nonsense." So when, on July 4, Hunt and Duane arrived at Colonel



THE MINE, FROM COLONEL PLEASANT'S'S DIAGRAMS

Now picture them doing that over ground churned and broken, under fire from rifles and artillery.

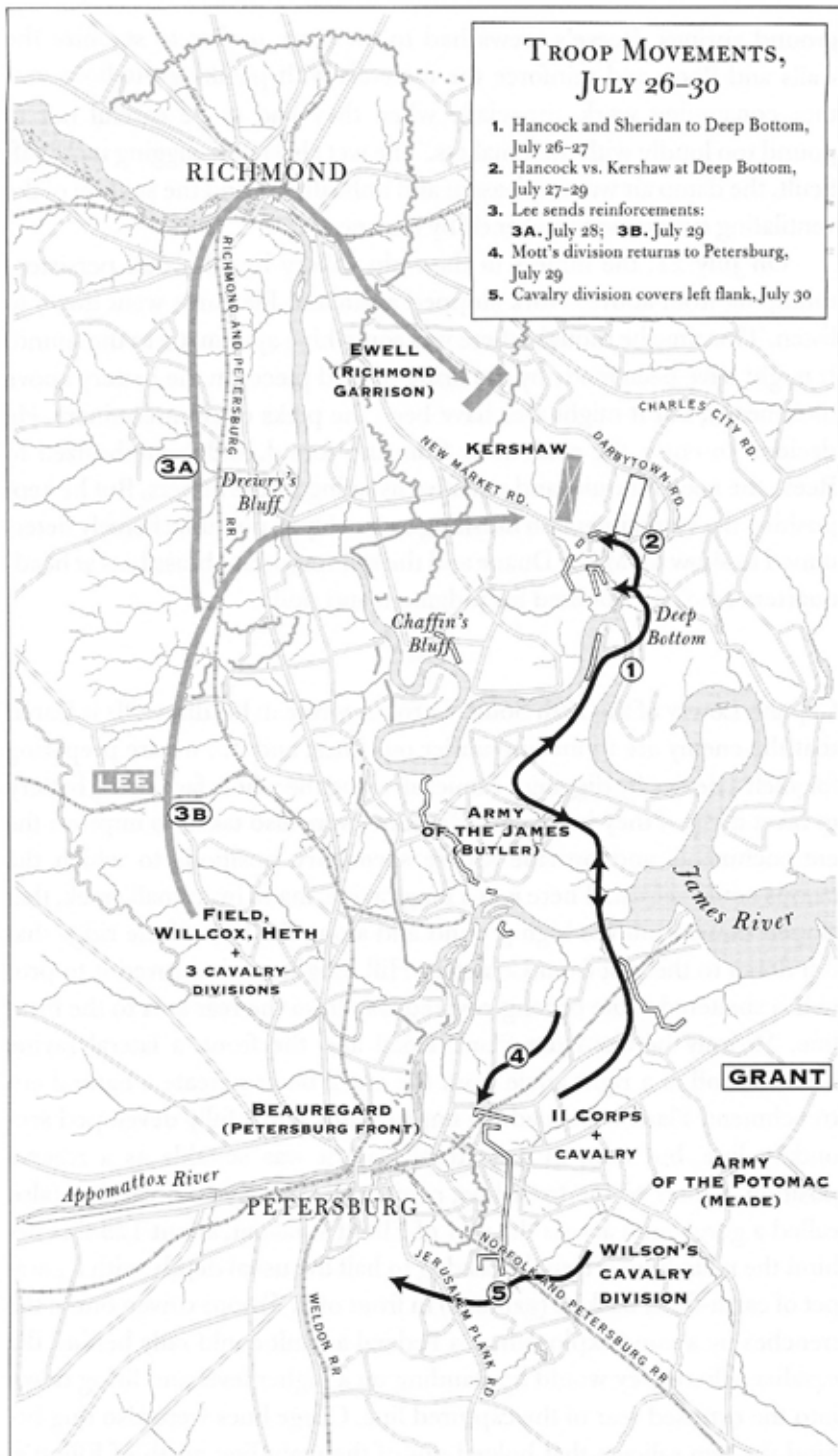


“ON THE RIGHT, INTO LINE” —BY FIRST LIEUTENANT IAN STRAUS

Source: http://www.6thtx.org/Maneuver_On%20the%20right%20into%20line.htm

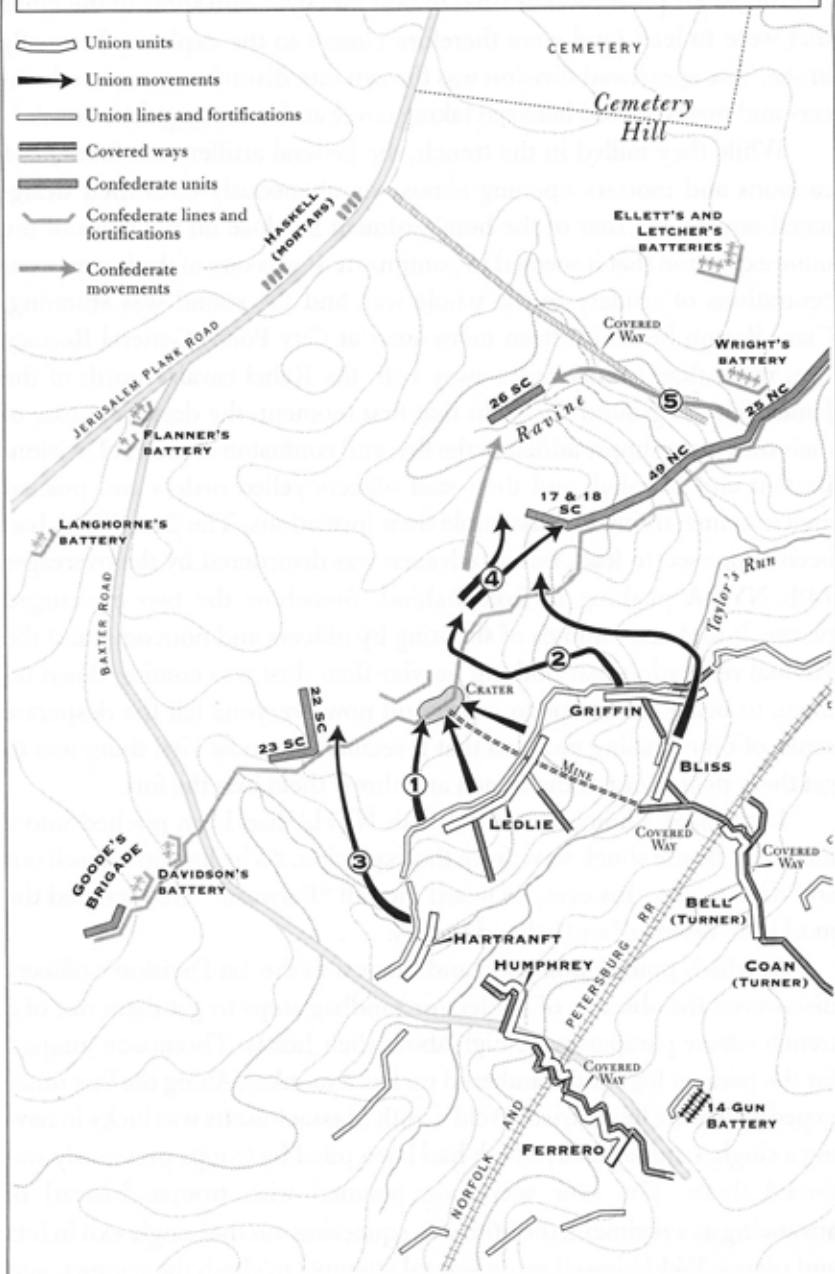
TROOP MOVEMENTS, JULY 26-30

1. Hancock and Sheridan to Deep Bottom, July 26-27
2. Hancock vs. Kershaw at Deep Bottom, July 27-29
3. Lee sends reinforcements:
3A. July 28; 3B. July 29
4. Mott's division returns to Petersburg, July 29
5. Cavalry division covers left flank, July 30



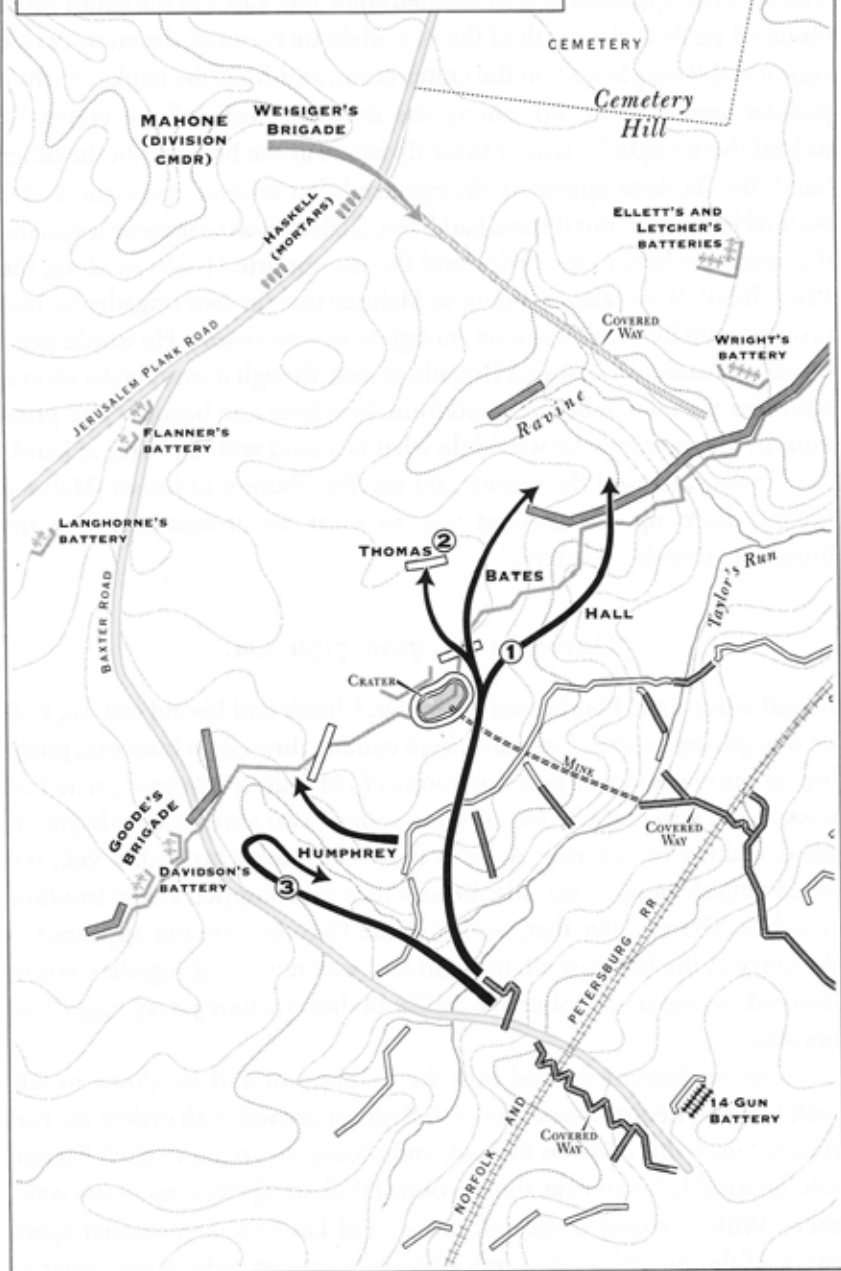
THE IX CORPS ATTACKS, 5:45-7:45 A.M.

1. Ledlie's division advances to the crater
2. Griffin's brigade (2nd Division) advances to the crater and attacks to the right
3. Hartranft's brigade (3rd Division) advances to ruined fort
4. Bliss's brigade (2nd Division) joins Griffin and attacks to the right
5. 26 SC retreats to the ravine, joined by 25 NC



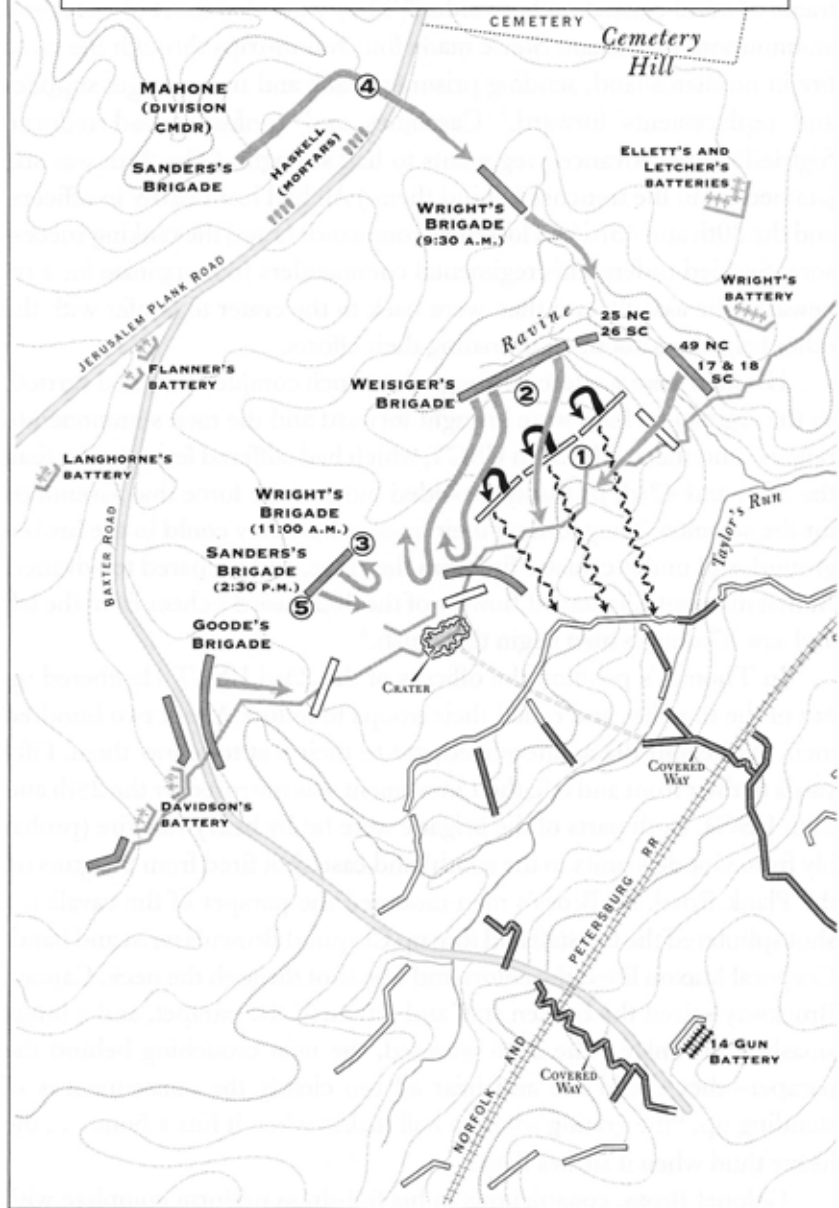
THE COLORED DIVISION ATTACKS, 7:45-9:00 A.M.

1. Sigfried's brigade (4th Division) storms trenches to the right
2. Thomas's brigade (4th Division) is checked trying to attack ravine
3. Attack by Humphrey's brigade (3rd Division) fails on left



MAHONE'S COUNTERATTACKS, 9:30-10:00 A.M., 11:00-11:30 A.M., 1:30-3:00 P.M.

1. Abortive attack by Thomas, Griffin, and Sigfried—routed by Mahone
2. Counterattack by Mahone's Virginia brigade, supported by SC and NC regts, sweeps up to crater perimeter
3. At 11:00, Wright's Georgia Brigade attacks crater, repulsed
4. Sanders's Brigade follows same route to final position
5. Sanders's Brigade storms the crater at 2:30 P.M.





Notes

PREFACE

1. Ulysses S. Grant, *Papers*, Vol. 11, pp. 361–3.

CHAPTER 1. STALEMATE: PETERSBURG, JUNE 21, 1864

1. Allen D. Albert, *History of the Forty-fifth Regiment*, p. 294; Bruce Catton, *Bruce Catton's Civil War: Stillness at Appomattox*, pp. 572–3.
2. Charles Austin, 14th NYHA, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~snugaza/austin/june181864.html>
3. *OR* 40:2, pp. 167, 179, 205.
4. Charles F. Adams, Jr. *A Cycle of Adams Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 155.
5. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, pp. 742–4.
6. Catton, *Stillness*, p. 577; Stephen M. Weld, *War Diary and Letters*, p. 318.
7. Earl J. Hess, *The Union Soldier in Battle*, p. 63 and ch. 5; Charles F. Adams, pp. 154–6.
8. Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War*, pp. 28–30, 35, 38.
9. Gallagher, pp. 26, 31–2, 34; Douglas Southall Freeman, ed., *Lee's Dispatches*, pp. 154–8; J. Tracy Power, *Lee's Miserables*, pp. 3–4, 38, 57, 76.
10. Power, p. 5; Hess, pp. 2–3, 102–3; Gallagher, pp. 57, 87.
11. Keith Wilson, ed., *Honor in Command*, p. 2; Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, p. 173 and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South*, chs. 2–4.
12. Power, p. 87; Gallagher, pp. 3, 57–8, 73; McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades and What They Fought For*.
13. For a full discussion of these issues see Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South*.
14. Hess, p. 101; Gallagher, p. 105; Joseph Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle*, p. 25.
15. McPherson, *Battle Cry*, pp. 242–3.
16. Byron M. Cutcheon, *The Story of the Twentieth Michigan*, p. 138; Lyman Jackson, *History of the Sixth New Hampshire*, pp. 302–3; William Marvel, *Burnside*, p. 390.

17. John W. De Forest, *A Volunteer's Adventures*, p. 116; Warren Wilkinson, *Mother, May You Never See*, p. 144.
18. Oliver C. Bosbyshell, *The 48th in the War*, p. 163.

**CHAPTER 2. "WITH AS LITTLE BLOODSHED AS POSSIBLE":
PARAMETERS FOR A FEDERAL OFFENSIVE, JUNE 21-23, 1864**

1. Horace K. Porter, *Campaigning with Grant*, p. 217.
2. See William S. McFeely, *Grant: A Biography*, ch. 9, and Stephen Taaffe, *Commanding the Army of the Potomac*.
3. Porter, pp. 218-23; McPherson, *Battle Cry*, p. 560.
4. Theodore Lyman, *With Grant and Meade*, p. 192.
5. Benjamin F. Butler, *Private and Official Correspondence*, Vol. 4, pp. 428, 435, 451, 510-2.
6. Marvel, *Burnside*, pp. 5-6, 12-5, 32.
7. Bosbyshell, p. 41. Burnside was always willing to listen to advice—while an operation was in planning—though as a listener he lacked discrimination. He often discussed his plans with Robert, his elderly Black manservant, because he believed Robert always took *his* interests to heart. (Belief in the selfless loyalty of Black servants was not restricted to Southern planters.)
8. *OR* 40:2, p. 284.
9. Marvel, *Burnside*, pp. 390-1; Bosbyshell, pp. 166-7; Michael A. Cavanaugh and William Marvel, *The Petersburg Campaign: The Battle of the Crater*, pp. 5-6, 9.

CHAPTER 3: THE MINERS, JUNE 25-JULY 2, 1864

1. Jim Corrigan, *The 48th Pennsylvania*, ch. 3; Cavanaugh, ch. 1; Joseph Gould, *The Story of the Forty-eighth*, pp. 22, 69-70, 142-5, 197-207; Henry Pleasants, Jr., *Tragedy of the Crater*, pp. 15-6; Bosbyshell, pp. 157, 163. For Rozas see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juan_Manuel_de_Rosas
2. Kevin Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*, pp. 48-9, 57-65.
3. Kenny, pp. 44, 70; Wayne G. Broehl, Jr., *The Molly Maguires*, pp. 85-6.
4. Kenny, pp. 74-83.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-302; Gould, pp. 399 ff.
6. Kenny, pp. 82-3, 87-8, 91, 94, 101; Broehl, pp. 86-93; Bosbyshell, ch. 10; Gould, p. 18.
7. Bosbyshell, p. 167; Cavanaugh, pp. 5-6; Gould, p. 166; Corrigan, pp. 33-5.
8. Corrigan, pp. 35-8; Bosbyshell, pp. 146-7, 156, 168; Gould pp. 167, 171.
9. James J. Chase, *Charge at Day-break*, p. 8; Jackman, ch. 17, pp. 300-4; Wilkinson, pp. 191-2, 194.
10. Albert, pp. 144-5.
11. <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~snugaza/austin/index.html>

- Wilkinson, pp. 204, 208; Edward O. Lord, *History of the Ninth New Hampshire*, p. 466; De Forest, pp. 116–8.
12. Lord, pp. 463–4, 466–7.
 13. De Forest, p. 118; Lord, pp. 457, 461; Jackman, pp. 302–3, 307–8.
 14. Wilkinson, pp. 191–2, 196, 200, 202; Jackman, p. 456.
 15. Albert, p. 144–5; Jackman, pp. 303, 308; Lord, pp. 459, 461, 464.
 16. George W. Whitman, *Civil War Letters*, pp. 66–8, 79, 123–5; <http://www.dmna.state.ny.us/historic/reghist/civil/infantry/51stInf/51stInfCWN.htm>
 17. Jackman, p. 306; Lord, p. 459.
 18. Albert, pp. 144–5; Jackman pp. 304–8; Cutcheon, ch. 22.
 19. The modern instruments had telescopes that pivoted 180 degrees, so observations could be made in both directions without having to rotate the whole apparatus.
 20. Barnard to Pleasants, and v/v, *OR* 40:Part 2, pp. 611–2; Gould, pp. 209–10.
 21. *OR* 40:2, pp. 598–9.
 22. *OR* 40:1, pp. 629–30.
 23. Corrigan, p. 35; Gould, p. 363; William H. Powell, “The Battle of the Petersburg Crater,” in *Battles and Leaders*, p. 545. Cavanaugh p. 8 says they hit quicksand first on July 2 and then marl on July 5. But Pleasants couldn’t have told Duane he was two hundred fifty feet in unless he had already gone past the marl.
 24. United States. Congress. *Report of the Committee*, pp. 1–3.

CHAPTER 4. CONFEDERATE STRATEGY: THE BEST DEFENSE. . . ,
JUNE 21–JULY 5, 1864

1. Freeman, *Lee’s Dispatches*, pp. 253–7; on Lee’s character and career see Freeman, *R. E. Lee* and Alan T. Nolan, *Lee Considered*.
2. Freeman, *R. E. Lee’s Lieutenants*, Vol. 3, p. 498.
3. Power, p. 59; Jefferson Davis, *Papers*, Vol. 10, p. 556.
4. To calm Davis’s concerns about the defense of Richmond, Lee insisted troop strength was of less concern than “our ability to procure supplies for the army.” Lack of supply “will oblige me to attack Gen Grant in his entrenchments.” He thought his chances of success would be slim, and “a want of success, would in my opinion be almost fatal.” Davis, *Papers*, Vol. 10, pp. 484–5; Steven E. Woodworth, *Davis and Lee at War*, pp. 296, 304.
5. Freeman, *Lee’s Lieutenants*, Vol. 3, 513–4; Power, pp. 38, 54–5, 59, 70. Technically, Beauregard commanded the divisions of Pickett, Hoke, and Johnson, but Pickett had been detailed from the Army of Northern Virginia (ANV). Mahone’s Division, which held the right of Beauregard’s front, was administratively part of III Corps, ANV. However, Lee was effectively in command of all units, though he usually consulted and in some matters deferred to Beauregard.
6. Freeman, *Lee’s Lieutenants*, Vol. 3, pp. 450–67.
7. Power, pp. 112–3, 121.

8. Cavanaugh, pp. 10–1; Noah Andre Trudeau, *The Last Citadel*, pp. 99–100, 102.
9. Woodworth, pp. 300–1.
10. Power, pp. 125, 131. Sanders's name is sometimes given as "Saunders" in the sources.
11. Power, pp. 117, 123; DeWitt Boyd Stone, Jr., *Wandering to Glory*, p. 180.
12. *OR* 40:1, p. 621.
13. Nelson M. Blake, *William Mahone*, ch. 1, pp. 34, 38.
14. John Sergeant Wise, *The End of an Era*, pp. 320–6.
15. The names of Confederate brigades or divisions are capitalized (e.g., Elliott's Brigade, Johnson's Division), while those in the Union army are not. Federal units were identified by number, while the Confederates named them for the commander. This can be confusing, because a unit *officially* commanded by one general might have been temporarily commanded by another. For example, at the Crater, the unit officially designated as Wise's Brigade was commanded by Colonel Goode.
16. 8th Alabama, <http://www.37thtexas.org/html/CoI8thAla.html> and <http://www.37thtexas.org/html/gerfus1.html>; 10th Alabama, <http://home.earthlink.net/~larsrbl/CW/10ALInpage.htm>; 3rd Georgia, <http://www.3gvi.org/ga3hist8.html>; 61st Virginia, <http://www.nkclifton.com/61streg2.htm>
17. W. B. Judkins, "History of Co. G, 22nd Georgia," pp. 2–4, 12–6, 39, 84 at <http://www.mindspring.com/~jcherepy/memoir/judkins.txt>
18. Fred L. Ray, *Shock Troops of the Confederacy*, pp. 131–2, 148–50, 207–15. http://www.mahonesssharpshooters.org/Index/Unit_History.html
19. William D. Henderson, *12th Virginia Infantry*, pp. 1–6, 49; George S. Bernard, *War Talks*, Introduction and p. 155.
20. Cavanaugh, p. 93; Corrigan, pp. 89–90; Wise, pp. 358–9; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, pp. 157–8.
21. <http://members.aol.com/jweaver300/grayson/wise.htm>
22. Wise, pp. 346–51; Power, p. 127.
23. Stone, pp. 12, 15–6, 23, 175, 180.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
25. David Logan, "A Rising Star of Promise," pp. xvi–iii, 18–9, 128–9; Stone, pp. 97, 138, 174.
26. Willie Lee Rose's *Rehearsal for Reconstruction* is a detailed study of the project that makes frequent reference to the Elliott family and its holdings.
27. Stone, pp. 180–1; Power, p. 129.
28. Stone, pp. 12, 166, 177–9, 181–3. Because Pegram's battery was located there, it was also known as Pegram's Salient.
29. Wise, pp. 351–2; Corrigan, p. 40; *OR* 40:3, pp. 772, 776–7; Power, pp. 128–9; Cavanaugh, pp. 10–2. Douglas refers to Elliott's as "Pegram's Salient" because the battery there was commanded by Captain Richard Pegram.
30. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, Vol. 3, p. 464; Power, p. 119.
31. Power, pp. 131–2.

32. Woodworth, p. 305; Power, p. 113. For Early's campaign see Edward J. Stackpole, *Sheridan in the Shenandoah*, chs. 2-3.

CHAPTER 5. BURNSIDE SELECTS THE SPEARHEAD, JULY 5-9, 1864

1. Cavanaugh, ch. 2.
2. Jackman, pp. 205-6; Lord, pp. 6, 10-1; Fox, *Regimental Losses*, p. 142.
3. <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/acohn.html>
http://www.acjna.org/acjna/articles_detail.aspx?id=241 <http://jewish-history.com/civilwar/simonwolf.html> Cohn's feat is remarkable because troops in such a crisis generally refused to recognize orders given by officers from other regiments, let alone NCOs.
4. Wilkinson, pp. 116, 119; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, p. 277; <http://www.civilwararchive.com/Unreghst/unnyinf2.htm#17> Weld, *War Diary*, pp. 311-2, 339, 344; Francis W. Palfrey, *Memoir of William Francis Bartlett*, pp. 112, 116; Corrigan, pp. 58-9.
5. Wilkinson, "Mother, May You Never . . .," pp. 403 ff.
6. Palfrey, pp. 1-5, 5, 11-2, 70, 76-80, 135-43, 225; Wilkinson, chs. 7-8.
7. Wilkinson, p. 197; Oates, *A Woman of Valor*, p. 243. Barton's cousin Clara, founder of the American Red Cross, also served at Petersburg, organizing hospitals for the Army of the James.
8. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 23.
9. Warner, *Generals in Blue*, pp. 150-1 http://library.morrisville.edu/local_history/sites/gar_post/ferrero.html Gould, pp. 363-4.
10. Bosbyshell, pp. 146-7; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, p. 502.
11. Ferrero's plan is a variation on the innovative tactics used by Emory Upton to storm trenches at Spotsylvania. It has been described in various ways, by participants and by later historians. Bates and Hall (the commanders directly involved) recalled that their regiments were assigned the lead roles, and trained to peel off left and right. Henry G. Thomas, "The Colored Troops at Petersburg," in *Battles and Leaders*, Vol. 4, p. 563; Delevan Bates, "A Day with the Colored Troops," p. 6; Henry Seymour Hall, "Mine Run to Petersburg," *War Talks*, pp. 219-22; Corrigan, p. 53; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 119-20.
12. Grant, *Papers*, Vol. 11, p. 250.
13. http://aotw.org/officers.php?officer_id=1106 Hall, pp. 220-1; Jeremiah Marion Mickley, *The Forty-third Regiment*, pp. 12-5; H. G. Thomas, p. 563; Griffith, *Battle Tactics*, p. 97; Hess, pp. 152-3.
14. Hess, pp. 114-5, 152-3.

CHAPTER 6. "GUIDE ON DE ARMY": AFRICAN AMERICANS GO TO WAR

1. H. G. Thomas, pp. 563-4; Wilson, pp. 62-3, 69.
2. H. G. Thomas, pp. 563-4.

3. Charles F. Adams, pp. 167–8; Glatthaar, pp. 13–8, 38–42; J. C. Adams, “Battle of the Crater,” *National Tribune*, June 25, 1903 p. 1.
4. Glatthaar, pp. 39, 49.
5. McPherson, *Battle Cry*, pp. 566–7. Although propaganda exaggerated some aspects of Fort Pillow, careful analysis by modern historians has confirmed that mass killing of surrendered troops did occur. See John Cimprich, *Fort Pillow* and Andrew Ward, *River Run Red*.
6. Glatthaar, p. 10; William J. Jackson, *New Jerseyans in the Civil War*, p. 161.
7. Hall, p. 216.
8. Theodore Lyman, pp. 102, 180.
9. Glatthaar, pp. 56–7, 87.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–2; Bosbyshell, pp. 146–7, 156; Jackman, pp. 114, 138, 204; Gould, pp. 167, 171.
11. Catton, *Never Call Retreat*, pp. 110–5; Glatthaar, p. 12; Robert F. Crawford, ed., “The Civil War Letters of S. Rodman,” *Delaware History* 31:2, 1984, p. 92.
12. Wilson, pp. 45–8, 60, 64–5.
13. C. M. Tyler, *Memorials of Lieut. George H. Walcott*, pp. 5–6.
14. Robert Beecham, *As If It Were Glory*, pp. 144, 164–8.
15. Glatthaar, pp. 79, 87, 96–7, 197–8.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
17. Charles F. Adams, pp. 194–5, 216–9; Glatthaar, p. 84.
18. Glatthaar, pp. 65, 70; <http://home.nycap.rr.com/civilwar/usctblakely.htm>
19. Tyler, p. 50. Young Lieutenant Walcott of the 30th savored the crowd’s hostility because it showed that Southerners “fear the negro soldiers.” Christian though he was, the thought did not displease him. But his service was brief: he died of a camp disease, probably typhoid, on July 10.
20. Kevin Conley Ruffner, *Maryland’s Blue & Gray*, p. 58; James H. Rickard, “Services with Colored Troops,” pp. 14–5; Ruffner, p. 58. On Dobbs see <http://www.pa-roots.com/~pacw/reserves/11thres/11threscok.html> and http://www.interment.net/data/us/ks/leavenworth/leavenat/leaven_dodum.htm. Thanks to the Jefferson, Erie, and Crawford (Pennsylvania) county historical societies for this information.
21. For a full discussion see Glatthaar, chs. 3–4.
22. Glatthaar pp. 271–2 gives the breakdown for sample companies in two of the regiments. For answers to my inquiries, thanks to the Maryland State Historical Association; the historical associations of Charles County and Howard County; the African American Heritage Society of Charles County, Inc.; Howard County Center of African American Culture; St. Mary’s County Historical Society; and Susan G. Pearl, historian, Prince George’s County Historical Society.
23. See the roster of enlistees at <http://www.msa.md.gov/msa/speccol/3096/html/00010001.html#alphD> for Prestley Dorsey, see http://www.afrigenas.com/library/dawson_article.html for Decatur Dorsey, see <http://www.nps.gov/archive/pete/mahan/edbiosdd.html>

24. Wilson, p. 82.
25. Rickard, pp. 9–13, 20–2; Crawford, p. 109; Wilson, pp. 92–3.
26. From a sample company raised at the same time and place, in Glatthaar, pp. 71, 272; <http://www.correctionhistory.org/html/chronicl/nycdoc/html/usct01.html>; Ira Berlin, *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation*, Vol. 1, p. 523. For Asians see <http://members.aol.com/gordonkwok/cacwpart14.html>
27. Laurence M. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires*, pp. 148–51.
28. William Blair and William Pencak, eds., *Making and Remaking Pennsylvania's Civil War*, pp. 143–5.
29. Glatthaar, pp. 72, 84, 91; Jackson, p. 180; Blair and Pencak, pp. 146–7; Brenna King, Pennsylvania Historical Society.
30. Hall, pp. 218–9; Mickley, pp. 71–3.
31. Mickley, Introduction and pp. 12–36, 69–71, 148–9.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 72–3; Hall, pp. 218–9.
33. Blair and Pencak, pp. 150–2.
34. Versalle F. Washington, *Eagles on Their Buttons*, pp. 2–3, 16, 36–7; <http://www.angelfire.com/oh/chillicothe> <http://www.washingtonch.k12.oh.us/mapsite/usctcw/lest/contents/History/hisusct.htm> <http://www.correctionhistory.org/html/chronicl/nycdoc/html/usct01.html>
35. Glatthaar, pp. 115, 228 (includes sample company); Washington, pp. 13–4.
36. William R Forstchen, *The 28th United States Colored Troops*, pp. 43–4, 46; E. Miller, *Black Civil War Soldiers*, pp. 7–9.
37. Forstchen, pp. 39, 41, 47, 54–7; E. Miller, pp. 5–7, 10–3, 22–3; Glatthaar, p. 181; http://civilwarindiana.com/black_soldiers.html
38. Forstchen, pp. 45, 51–7; E. Miller, pp. 12, 2–3, 29; Glatthaar, pp. 70, 77, 272.
39. Glatthaar, p. 272; E. Miller, pp. 14–20, 24, 26, 29–31; Forstchen, pp. 74–5.
40. E. Miller, pp. 36, 46; Forstchen, pp. 87–8; Martin Öfele, *German-Speaking Officers*, pp. 42, 53, 69–70, 173–4.
41. E. Miller, pp. 12–3, 34–6; *Memorial of Colonel John A. Bross*, pp. 10–1, 21.
42. E. Miller, p. 23.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–40; *Memorial*, pp. 10–1; Forstchen, p. 40.
44. Glatthaar, p. 155; C. F. Adams, p. 154.
45. Greiner, *Subdued by the Sword*, pp. 8, 55, 89, 104, 197; Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War*, p. 128. Comradeship also played a role in the decision to transfer. Three regimental commanders came from the 121st New York: Colonels H. Seymour Hall (43rd), Cleaveland Campbell (23rd), and Delevan Bates (30th). And there were similar instances of group transfer among the junior officers.
46. Wilson, pp. 102, 121. Lt. Bowley says the training began on July 2—probably an error of memory.
47. See W. J. Hardee, *Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics* (1855), available online at <http://www.usregulars.com/hardeehome.html#school%20of%20the%20soldier> Bernard, p. 141.
48. Griffith, p. 101.

49. Hall, p. 221.
50. Hess, pp. 114-5; Howard C. Westwood, *Black Troops*, p. 419; Wilson, p. 58.
51. Hall, p. 221.
52. Philip Katcher, *The Complete Civil War*, p. 55; Weld, *War Diary*, pp. 311-2.
53. Hess, p. 84.
54. Westwood, pp. 426-7.

CHAPTER 7. THE POLITICS OF RACE:
WASHINGTON AND RICHMOND, JULY 1864

1. McPherson, *Battle Cry*, pp. 558-9, 565, 620 ff, 699-713, 762, 766-71; Bruce Catton, *Terrible Swift Sword*, p. 383; Catton, *Never Call Retreat*, pp. 5, 110-5, 272-81; Davis, *Papers*, p. 407.
2. Stephen A. Douglas, quoted in Lincoln, *Speeches*, Vol. 1, p. 598, and contrast Lincoln, Vol. 1, pp. 717-8; McPherson, *Battle Cry*, p. 560; Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, pp. 11, 28-9; Alexander H. Stephens, "Cornerstone Address, March 21, 1861," in *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, etc.*, ed. Frank Moore, Vol. 1, pp. 44-6.
3. Iver Bernstein's *New York City Draft Riots* is the best full-length study.
4. McPherson, *Battle Cry*, pp. 600-11, 789-90; Catton, *Never Call Retreat*, pp. 164, 264; Jackson, p. 161. For a study of the "Miscegenation" hoax see Forrest G. Wood, *Black Scare*.
5. Catton, *Never Call Retreat*, pp. 264-5, 352-62.
6. Lincoln, *Speeches*, Vol. 2, pp. 498-9.
7. Lincoln, *Speeches*, Vol. 2, pp. 612-3.
8. Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*, p. 197.
9. Wise, pp. 26, 36-7, 76, 139-41, 145, 346-8.
10. David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, ch. 1; D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America*, Vol. 1, pp. 139, 397, and Vol. 2, pp. 278, 292; Wilbur Zelinsky, *Cultural Geography of the United States*, p. 122; James H. Webb, *Born Fighting*, Pt. V, chs. 3-4.
11. Davis, *Papers*, Vol. 10, p. 506; McPherson, *Battle Cry*, p. 690.
12. For a detailed discussion of these issues see David Williams, *Rich Man's War*, especially chs. 1-3; McPherson, *Battle Cry*, pp. 439-42, 611-20; Gallagher, pp. 22-3; Davis, *Papers*, Vol. 10, pp. 365-6, 511, 515; Bruce Levine, *Confederate Emancipation*, pp. 23-4. The situation was exacerbated in the cotton states by the fact that while other forms of property (land, businesses) lost value, slave property maintained or increased its value because so much labor power had been drained off by the army. See for example David Logan, "A Rising Star of Promise," pp. 128-9.
13. McPherson, *Battle Cry*, pp. 242-3; Dew, pp. 11, 28-9, 76-7.

14. Catton, *Terrible*, pp. 444-5; Dew, pp. 13, 78-9; Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*, pp. 290-1; Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia," in A. Koch and W. Peden, eds., *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, p. 256.
15. Levine, pp. 17, 25.
16. Robert F. Durden, *The Gray and the Black*, pp. 58-60, 102-3; Levine, p. 26.
17. Durden, pp. 184-5; Bruce Catton, *Coming Fury*, pp. 203-4.
18. E. Miller, pp. 38-40; *Memorial*, pp. 10-1; Forstchen, p. 40.
19. McPherson, *Battle Cry*, pp. 566, 634; Catton, *Terrible*, pp. 444-5.
20. Bill I. Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, p. 314.
21. William W. Holden, *Memoirs*, pp. 39-41; Durden, pp. 95-6; McPherson, *Battle Cry*, pp. 695-9.
22. Wayne K. Durrill, *War of Another Kind*, chs. 3 and 8 and epilogue; for the Plymouth campaign see Weymouth T. Jordan and Gerald W. Thomas, "Massacre at Plymouth," in G.J.W. Urwin, ed., *Black Flag over Dixie*, pp. 153-202.
23. For the 26th North Carolina see <http://www.26nc.org/History/26th-Full-History/26th-full-history-chapter-5.html> for 25th North Carolina see <http://home.att.net/~jddlhd/index.html>
24. Jordan and Thomas, pp. 167-8.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-7, 171-5, 184, 190.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
27. *OR* 40:3, pp. 301, 598; Power, pp. 128-9; Cavanaugh, p. 11.

CHAPTER 8. SETTING THE STAGE, JULY 15-29, 1864

1. Bosbyshell, p. 168.
2. Corrigan, p. 41; *OR* 40:3, p. 772; Cavanaugh, pp. 10-12.
3. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, pp. 541-2; Wise, pp. 351-2; Stone, p. 182-3.
4. Stone, p. 183.
5. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 3, 240.
6. David Donald, *Lincoln*, pp. 521-3; Stackpole, pp. 85-6; Lincoln, *Speeches*, Vol. 2, p. 609; Grant, *Papers*, Vol. 11, pp. 262-3. Lincoln also intercepted a telegram Grant sent to Sherman and sent a sharply worded instruction, which implied closer and more critical surveillance of Grant.
7. Grant, *Papers*, Vol. 11, p. 306.
8. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 33, 47-8.
9. Grant, *Papers*, Vol. 11, pp. 266-78; for the Deep Bottom operations see Cavanaugh, ch. 3.
10. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 46-51.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-6, 87-8, 239-41; Corrigan, p. 45. Burnside says the tunnel is 522 feet; actual length was 511 feet.
12. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 239-41.

13. The point of having the outer line wheel by companies was to get some riflemen facing the enemy as soon as possible, to defend against enfilade.
14. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 157, 239–41.
15. *OR* 40:1, pp. 762–3, 767; Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, pp. 465–7.
16. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 157–8.
17. Corrigan, p. 47; *OR* 40:2, p. 529.
18. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 17.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 57. Meade gave two slightly different versions of his statement, but the gist is the same in both cases.
20. Cavanaugh, pp. 143–4.
21. Trudeau, p. 79.
22. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 5.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 160, 241.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 164.
26. Corrigan, p. 60.
27. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 160; Cavanaugh, p. 23.
28. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 142–3.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 124; Wilkinson, p. 237; Porter, pp. 268–9.

CHAPTER 9. PREPARATION FOR BATTLE, JULY 29, 1864

1. For a full account of the operation see Cavanaugh, ch. 3; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 238–40; Corrigan, p. 62.
2. Ulysses S. Grant, *Memoirs and Selected Letters*, pp. 543, 701–2; *OR* 40:2 6/23/64; Lyman, p. 147; Stephen Taaffe, pp. 127–8.
3. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 81, 119–21, 195–9.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 155; *OR* 40:1, pp. 158–9.
5. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 39–41.
6. Thomas Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*, pp. 116–7; Cavanaugh, pp. 39, 128–9.
7. Source references to key features of the terrain (e.g., “the ravine,” “the crest,” “the cavalier”) are subjective and not always clear. There were several important ravines, crests, and cavalier trenches, and it often requires a careful tracing of movements and angles of vision to establish which is being referred to. For the sake of clarity I have assigned unique names to the most important features of the terrain, below and on the map on p. 183, The IX Corps Attacks. The best map of the battlefield is in Time-Life Books, *Echoes of Glory*, p. 175, and compare Gould, p. 231. See also Corrigan, pp. 74, 95; Cutcheon, p. 141; Powell, p. 554; F. W. McMaster, “The Battle of the Crater,” p. 122; B. L. Beaty, “The Battle of the Crater,” p. 50.
8. John Cheves Haskell, *The Haskell Memoirs*, p. 72; for a list of Confederate artillery see Cavanaugh, Appendix E.

9. P. M. Vance, "Incidents of the Crater Battle," p. 178. For Confederate dispositions see John Cannan, *The Crater*, p. 82; Cavanaugh, pp. 39, 44; and Time-Life, p. 175. Ransom's Brigade had served under Hoke in the Plymouth campaign but was assigned to Johnson's Division at Petersburg.
10. Stone, p. 195; Robert W. Barnwell, "A View on the Crater Battle," p. 177; Austin C. Dobbins, *Grandfather's Journal*, pp. 205-6; Gary Loderhouse, *Far, Far from Home*, p. 79.
11. Bernard, p. 150.
12. Oates, pp. 259-60.
13. Jackman, pp. 311-2; Marvel, *Race*, p. 259.
14. Peter Dalton, *Union vs. Dis-Union*, pp. 12, 80; Henry Clarence Houston, *Thirty-second Maine*; DeAnne Blanton and Lauren M. Cook, *They Fought Like Demons*, p. 23.
15. Chase, pp. 4, 8-13.
16. <http://51stnewyorkinfantry.tripod.com/ContentsPage.htm>
17. Wilkinson, pp. 116, 119; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, p. 277; <http://www.civilwararchive.com/Unreght/unnyinf2.htm#17> Weld, *War Diary*, pp. 311-2, 339, 344; Palfrey, pp. 112, 116; Corrigan, pp. 58-9.
18. Palfrey, pp. 1-2, 112-6; R. Miller, *Harvard's Civil War*, pp. 10-1.
19. Wilkinson, pp. 228, 238-9.
20. Palfrey, pp. 118-9.
21. Cannan, p. 90.
22. Rickard, p. 26; E. Miller, pp. 65-6.
23. Wilson, pp. 121-3.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 122; Cavanaugh, pp. 169-70; Bates, "A Day." I've paraphrased Bates's version of dialect.
25. Cavanaugh, p. 26; Beecham, pp. 180-1; Hall, p. 222; H. G. Thomas, p. 563; Freeman S. Bowley, "The Crater."
26. Cavanaugh, pp. 26-7, 37; 57; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 173, 239; Cannan, p. 51; Jeff Kinard, *The Battle of the Crater*, p. 49; Charles H. Houghton, "In the Crater," p. 561.
27. Weld, *War Diary*, pp. 351-3; Wilkinson, pp. 228, 239-43; Corrigan, p. 63.
28. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 103-5; Wilson, pp. 122-3; Cutcheon, p. 141. These statements correct the map in Cavanaugh, p. 38, which puts the reserves in the railroad cut, rather than behind Fort Morton. Sigfried's brigade was first assembled in the railroad cut, and then moved to the rear of Fort Morton at 3:00 A.M.
29. Emory M. Thomas, *Robert E. Lee*, pp. 224-5; P. M. Vance, p. 178.
30. Cutcheon, pp. 137-8; Herek, *These Men*, p. 216. Bowley, "The Crater," calls them Chippewa, but a number of tribes were represented. In his memoirs, Bowley refers to "Indians." Wilson, pp. 117, 139; Hauptman, pp. 126-33. On the other Michigan regiments in the brigade see David T. Hardy, "A Tale of Two Regiments," http://www.hardylaw.net/2d_27th_Mich_Inf Fox, pp. 381, 391.

31. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 204; Cutcheon, pp. 137–8.
32. Wilson, pp. 121–2.
33. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 242–3.
34. For the mine's part in the operation see Corrigan, pp. 65–8.
35. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 206; Cutcheon, pp. 138–9.
36. Houston, pp. 312–4; Corrigan, p. 68; Chase, p. 16.
37. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 243–4; Cannan, pp. 55–6; Cavanaugh, p. 26.
38. H. G. Thomas, p. 564; Delevan Bates, "War Reminiscences," <http://www.usgennet.org/usa/ne/topic/military/CW/bates/batenws5.html>
39. Rickard, p. 26; Edwin S. Redkey, ed., *A Grand Army of Black Men*, p. 111.
40. Hall, p. 235; H. G. Thomas, p. 564.

CHAPTER 10. INTO THE BREACH, 4:45–7:30 A.M.

1. Cutcheon, p. 139; Cavanaugh, p. 40; Weld, "The Petersburg Mine," p. 208; Powell, p. 551; Beaty, pp. 52–3; Régis de Trobriand, *Four Years*, p. 618. Events during this part of the action are covered in Cavanaugh, ch. 4; Cannan, ch. 8; Alan Axelrod, *The Horrid Pit*, ch. 7.
2. George L. Kilmer, "The Dash into the Crater," p. 774; Cavanaugh, p. 41; Cannan, p. 83; Houghton, p. 561; Wilkinson, p. 245.
3. Cannan, p. 85; Oates, p. 261; Mary Daughtry, *Gray Cavalier*, p. 199; Wilkinson, pp. 245–7; Houghton, pp. 561–2; Kilmer, pp. 774–5. Weld, "The Petersburg Mine," pp. 208–9.
4. Porter, pp. 263–4; Lyman, p. 199. These sources disagree on the timing of Grant's two trips to the front. Though Porter's memory of specifics is detailed, his book was written many years later and he seems to have conflated encounters that can only have occurred on the earlier trip (i.e., the meeting with Colonel Thomas) with later events. Lyman's account is based on a diary written at the time.
5. Wise, p. 355; Robert N. Rosen, *Jewish Confederates*, pp. 189–91; Power, p. 136.
6. Cavanaugh, pp. 40–1; Stone, p. 189; Bosbyshell, p. 175.
7. Cavanaugh, pp. 41–3; Stone, pp. 189–93.
8. Weld, *War Diary*, p. 353–6; Weld, "The Petersburg Mine," p. 209; Corrigan, p. 73.
9. For the initial movement to the breach see Wilkinson, pp. 247–8; Houghton, pp. 561–2; Cannan, pp. 84, 89–90; Weld, *War Diary*, p. 353–6; Weld, "The Petersburg Mine," p. 209; Corrigan, p. 73; Gould, p. 230; Bosbyshell, pp. 175–6; Cavanaugh, pp. 40–1. Union observers estimated the crater was as wide as one hundred seventy feet—probably including the zone of extreme destruction just outside the crater proper. After the battle, Confederate Henry Douglas was able to define the borders of the crater; he measured the width as 125 feet.
10. Cavanaugh, p. 99; Cannan, pp. 91–3; Weld, "The Petersburg Mine," p. 209; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 20, 104.

11. Houghton, p. 562.
12. Wilkinson, p. 251, says Bartlett was in the left lobe, but Weld places him in the right.
13. Houghton, p. 562; Kilmer, p. 775; Cannan, p. 84. Kilmer's account compresses the time sequence so that it appears the guns in the wrecked battery were restored early in the battle, when in fact it was not until 8:30–9:00 A.M. that they were able to fire. The estimate of effective troop strength is based on unit strengths in Cavanaugh, pp. 128–9. Ledlie's division sent about 3,660 men into the action. Nearly a third of these were in the crater and unable to fight. The remainder were distributed among three fighting positions: Weld's on the right; the defensive line across the face of the crater; and Marshall's on the left, which cannot have contained more than 1,200. Many of these were engaged in repairing the battery, and others were unable to advance through the trenches or unwilling to leave cover.
14. Weld, "The Petersburg Mine," pp. 209–10; Stone, pp. 190–1.
15. Estimates based on F. W. McMaster, pp. 119–30; Cavanaugh, pp. 128–9.
16. *OR* 40:1, pp. 280–1; Corrigan, p. 69.
17. Corrigan, pp. 80–1; Haskell, pp. 72–3; Cavanaugh, pp. 42–3.
18. Barnwell, p. 177; Bernard, pp. 228–9.
19. Haskell, Foreword and p. 35.
20. Stone, pp. 190–2; Houghton, p. 562; Cavanaugh, p. 34; Barnwell, pp. 177–8; Corrigan, pp. 79–80.
21. Stone, pp. 192–4; Cavanaugh, pp. 43–6.
22. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 104–5; Cavanaugh, p. 49.
23. Cannan, pp. 101–6; Cavanaugh, pp. 44–6; Cutcheon, pp. 140–1.
24. Cannan, pp. 95–6; Wilkinson, pp. 250–1; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 20; Powell, pp. 551–3.
25. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 99; Cutcheon, pp. 140–1.
26. Cannan, p. 83; Chase, pp. 16–7.
27. For Griffin's movements see Cavanaugh, ch. 4; Cannan, chs. 8–9, especially pp. 92–4, 101–4; Sumner U. Shearman, "Battle of the Crater," pp. 12–3; Chase, pp. 19–20; Lord, pp. 490–1, 496–7.
28. Cavanaugh, pp. 42–4; Cannan, pp. 94–5.
29. Cannan, p. 103; Stone, p. 194.
30. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 100; Chase, pp. 19–20; Cavanaugh, pp. 45, 49; Houston, pp. 312–6.
31. Cavanaugh, p. 44; Wilson, p. 128; and Stone, p. 194, disagree on how far this drive went. Cutcheon, pp. 140–1, says they were at the foot of the "hill," presumably the ridge descending from the cemetery. It might have appeared so from Cutcheon's point of view, but no other observer saw it that way. Confederates on the main line say Griffin never got more than fifty yards from the crater. Observers from the Plank Road, reporting at various times (some much later in the

morning), say the advance stretched between one hundred and two hundred yards north of the crater. I have attempted to correlate these observations and make allowances for differences due to the angle of vision, the imprecision of memory, and the time of day they were made. I am satisfied that the reports of Federal advances more than fifty to seventy-five yards from the crater reflect the two advances made *after* Griffin's initial drive: the attacks by Griffin and Bliss between 6:30 and 7:00 A.M., and the attack by Sigfried's brigade between 7:30 and 8:30 A.M.

32. Powell, p. 553; Cannan, pp. 93-4.

33. Powell, pp. 555-6.

34. Cannan, p. 111; Porter, p. 264; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 123; Beecham, p. 182; H. G. Thomas, p. 564.

CHAPTER 11. AT HEADQUARTERS, 5:40-7:50 A.M.

1. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 144, 244. *OR* 40:3, pp. 657-8 gives 5:10 A.M. as the time of Burnside's reply. Either there was a transcription error or Burnside's dispatch was delayed.
2. Lyman, p. 199; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 245, 253, 255.
3. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 147-8, 181, 255-6; Cannan, p. 63.
4. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 245-6, 256-7.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 105, contradicts Cavanaugh, p. 49.
6. *OR* 40:3, p. 663; Cannan, pp. 61-3.
7. *OR* 40:3, p. 663; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 245; Corrigan, p. 86.
8. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 246.
9. Porter, pp. 266-7; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 123. As Porter remembered it, Grant then added, "There is now no chance of success. These troops must be immediately withdrawn. It is slaughter to leave them there." Coming from the lieutenant general commanding, these words would have seemed to be a positive order. However, this exchange is not corroborated by any other source. It is possible that Porter misremembered the exchange, strengthening what may have been a suggestion or concern into a definitive verdict; or he may have conflated Grant's criticism at this early moment with a more dire evaluation reached after his second visit to the front, between 8:15 and 9:15 A.M. It is hard to believe that if Grant thought a "slaughter" was impending, he would not have told Meade—especially in view of Lincoln's strong and repeated injunctions against risking heavy losses. If Grant was willing to defer to Burnside's view that it was still possible to succeed, it does not seem likely that he thought the battle hopeless.
10. Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, p. 475; Rogers, "The Crater Battle," p. 12; Gould, p. 247.
11. Bernard, pp. 150-1; Cavanaugh, pp. 53-4.
12. Rosen, p. 198; Cavanaugh, pp. 48, 53; Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, pp. 467-9, 471; Bernard, pp. 150-1. Wise, pp. 361, 367, has a different sequence.

13. Wise, pp. 366-8.
14. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 21.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100; Corrigan, p. 73; Bosbyshell, p. 172.
16. Jackman, pp. 318-24.
17. Powell, pp. 554-5.
18. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 99; Cavanaugh, p. 45.
19. Powell, p. 554; *OR* 40:3, p. 663.
20. Cannan, pp. 103-4; Cavanaugh, pp. 44-50; Whitman, pp. 127-8; Corrigan, pp. 84-5; *OR* 40:1, pp. 554-6.
21. Colonel White, leading Griffin's advance, informed the brigade commander that he could do nothing more unless Ledlie's men advanced in support. Griffin sent back to say they were advancing—but he had been misled by the rising clatter of musketry from the south, where Willcox's men were trying to clear the south side of the breach. Cavanaugh, p. 45-6.
22. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 108-9.
23. Whitman, pp. 127-8; Stone, p. 194; Corrigan, pp. 84-7; Cannan, pp. 103-7; Cavanaugh, pp. 47-50; Beaty, pp. 49, 51, 53; Hall, p. 224.
24. Chase, pp. 21, 28, 22-4; Corrigan, pp. 98-9; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 203.
25. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 164, 172, 224-5, 253.
26. Cannan, p. 65; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 181, 265. At the court of inquiry Warren would still insist on his view that there was a second line, and that the reinforcements came from north of the James, although by then it was clear that both assertions were false.
27. Cavanaugh, p. 49; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 21, 94, 161.
28. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 257-8; Cavanaugh, pp. 49-51.
29. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 29.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, 247.
31. The exchange is in *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, 247-9.
32. Lyman, p. 200; Cavanaugh, pp. 52-3; Cannan, p. 71; Porter, pp. 264-7.

CHAPTER 12. THE CHARGE OF THE COLORED DIVISION, 7:00-8:30 A.M.

1. For this phase of the operation see Cavanaugh, ch. 5; Axelrod, ch. 8; Cannan, chs. 10-11; Bernard, *War Talks*, pp. 193ff, 213-7; Freeman, *Lee*, p. 470-1.
2. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 20, 105, 206-7; Cannan, pp. 107-12; Wilkinson, pp. 253-4; Corrigan, pp. 94-5. There is disagreement about the precise timing of the orders to Ferrero. The first was most likely sent after Meade's 6:30 telegram that ordered all troops "black and white" to attack. But Ferrero was unable and/or unwilling to advance until the peremptory order conveyed by Loring at 7:30 A.M.
3. *OR* 40:1, p. 595.
4. E. Miller, p. 67; H. G. Thomas, p. 564; Wilson, pp. 125-6.

5. Redkey, pp. 110–12.
6. Hall, pp. 222–3 and Bowley (in Wilson, p. 130) disagree on which regiment led. Hall's account is more persuasive, and is consistent with the testimony of Bates ("A Day," p. 6) and Van Buren (U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 109). Bowley's version and (perhaps) his memory seem to have been influenced by Hall's memoir. Since the regiments did not go up together, Bowley (whose company was toward the rear of the regiment) would not have seen the 43rd ahead as he approached the Rebel line, and he had been told the 30th would lead the attack—as it would have under the tactics developed by Bates and Hall.
7. Hall, pp. 222–3; Cutcheon, p. 142; Wilson, pp. 126–7.
8. Cannan, pp. 117–9.
9. Hess, pp. 17, 22; Hall, pp. 228–9.
10. Cannan, p. 114.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 115; Hall, pp. 236–9.
12. Hall, pp. 223–5, 228–9; Bates, "A Day," p. 6.
13. Bates, "A Day," p. 6; Wilson, p. 129.
14. Hess, p. 15; Cavanaugh, p. 56; Corrigan, pp. 95–6; Wilson, p. 130.
15. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 109. Bates, writing many years later, says he spoke to Van Buren after the assault. But Van Buren's account was given right after the battle, so it is probably more accurate on the time sequence. Bates's memory seems to have merged several phases of his advance into a single movement. Bates, "A Day," p. 6.
16. Wilson, pp. 131–2; Power, pp. 138–9; Stone, p. 196; Edward Alexander, *Fighting for the Confederacy*, p. 462.
17. E. Miller, p. 69; Bowley, "The Crater"; Wilson, p. 131; Cavanaugh, p. 58 and footnote on pp. 169–70.
18. Corrigan, pp. 95–6; D. E. Proctor, "The Massacre in the Crater," p. 6.
19. Forstchen, p. 126; E. Thomas, p. 342.
20. Cavanaugh, pp. 56–7, says Bates's movement was facilitated by Turner's attack on the right. But Turner (*OR* 40:1, p. 699) says his troops didn't attack there till after the 4th Division went forward. So it was Hall's efforts that made Bates's attack. See also Stone, p. 194; Power, p. 137; *OR* 40:1, pp. 596–7.
21. Hall says one hundred fifty prisoners were taken; Bates says two hundred fifty, which seems high. Van Buren credits Bates with all the captures, but he did not consult with Hall nor see his attack.
22. Hall, pp. 224–5; Proctor, p. 6.
23. H. G. Thomas, p. 563; E. Miller, p. 71; Hall, pp. 243–4.
24. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 100–1.
25. Reese quote in Forstchen, p. 137; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 109.
26. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 109, 216; *OR* 40:1, pp. 554–6.
27. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 109, 208; H. G. Thomas, p. 556–7; Beecham, pp. 182–3; *OR* 40:1, p. 598.

28. H. G. Thomas, pp. 564–5; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 208; *OR* 40:1, p. 598.
29. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 109.
30. Cutcheon, pp. 142–3; Cannan, pp. 107–8.
31. For the maneuvers of Humphrey's brigade see Cavanaugh, pp. 51–3; Cannan, pp. 107–8; Cutcheon, p. 142; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 21, 90–1; Herek, pp. 218, 220–2.
32. Cavanaugh, p. 51.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 85; Wise, pp. 362–3; Blake, p. 56.
34. Cavanaugh, p. 87.
35. Bernard, p. 190; William H. Etheredge, "Another Story of the Crater Battle," p. 167.
36. For Mahone's counterattack see Cannan, pp. 121–6; Cavanaugh, ch. 5; Bernard, pp. 151–4, 190; Etheredge, p. 167; William Stewart, "Carnage at the Crater," p. 41.

CHAPTER 13. MAHONE'S COUNTERATTACK, 9:00–11:00 A.M.

1. H. G. Thomas, pp. 564–5; *OR* 40:1, p. 598–9; Beecham, p. 183; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 210.
2. Kilmer, p. 775.
3. Hall, pp. 234, 239.
4. Wilson, p. 134.
5. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 210; Hess, p. 22; E. Miller, pp. 70–2; H. G. Thomas, p. 565; *Memorial*, pp. 17–9.
6. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 216; *OR* 40:1, pp. 595–7; Öfele, p. 174.
7. Bernard, p. 188; Stewart, pp. 41–2; Rogers, pp. 12–4.
8. Bernard, pp. 154–5; Cavanaugh, p. 88; Ray, pp. 214–5, 225, 250, 304, 313. <http://www.cfspress.com/sharshooters/articles2.html#Anchor-Furthe-16931>
9. Bowley, "The Crater," p. 6; Wilson, p. 134; Proctor, p. 6.
10. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 216; H. G. Thomas, pp. 565–7; *OR* 40:1, pp. 598–9; Bernard, p. 156; Bowley, "The Crater," p. 6.
11. H. G. Thomas, pp. 566–7; *OR* 40:1, p. 598–9; Beecham, p. 188.
12. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 216; H. G. Thomas, pp. 565–7; *OR* 40:1, pp. 542, 598–9; Bernard, p. 156; Bowley, "The Crater," p. 6; Herek, p. 224; Cutcheon, pp. 142–3; Proctor, p. 6.
13. Forstchen, p. 133; Walter Taylor, *Four Years with General Lee*, pp. 259–60. Colonel Taylor, Lee's aide, praised the man as the only Union soldier who understood the proper objective of the attack, and had the will to carry it through—a bit of sarcasm, since Taylor clearly thought the man's actions a symptom of Negro stupidity. It is too bad no one ever asked the soldier himself about it.
14. *OR* 40:1, p. 598–9; Bernard, pp. 155–6.
15. H. G. Thomas, p. 567; *OR* 40:1, pp. 598–9.

16. Frank Kenfield, "Captured by the Rebels," p. 233; Lord, pp. 498, 502; Etheredge, p. 167.
17. Bernard, p. 188; Houston, pp. 313-6; Lord, p. 502; William D. Henderson, *41st Virginia Infantry*, p. 70.
18. Weld, *War Diary*, p. 356.
19. Bernard, p. 156.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 187; Etheredge, p. 167; Stewart, pp. 41-2; George Burkhardt, *Confederate Rage*, p. 166.
21. Kenfield, p. 233; Bernard, pp. 158-60.
22. Cannan, pp. 125-9; Weld, *War Diary*, pp. 356-7.
23. Bowley, "The Crater," p. 6; Proctor, p. 6; Wilson, p. 134.
24. Wilson, p. 134.
25. *Ibid.*; Mickley, pp. 28-42, 74-5; *OR* 40:1, pp. 596-7; Hall, p. 239. Seagrave was also shot seven times but not killed outright; he was taken prisoner, was exchanged, and died ten months later. Beaty, p. 58, indicates that troops who had come down from the lateral ravine (12th Virginia and 26th South Carolina) joined in the fighting here.
26. Hall, pp. 233, 239; see Dorsey's citation at <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/html/moh/civwaral.html>: "Planted his colors on the Confederate works in advance of his regiment, and when the regiment was driven back to the Union works he carried the colors there and bravely rallied the men."
27. Whitman, p. 128; <http://51stnewyorkinfantry.tripod.com/ContentsPage.htm>
28. Hall, p. 239; Peter S. Carmichael, *Lee's Young Artillerist*, pp. 130-1.
29. *OR* 40:1, pp. 596-7.
30. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 180.
31. Jackman, p. 322.
32. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 101, 221-3.
33. Proctor, p. 6.
34. Cannan, p. 135; Hall, p. 236; Lord, p. 498.
35. Bowley, "The Crater," p. 6; Wilson, pp. 135-6.
36. Bowley, "The Crater," p. 6.
37. *OR* 40:1, pp. 554-5; Wilson, p. 136; Bowley, "The Crater," p. 6, differs slightly.
38. *OR* 40:1, pp. 554-6. For Wilkins's citation see <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/html/moh/civwarmz.html> for Hogan, <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/html/moh/civwaral.html>
39. Cannan, pp. 129-30; Bernard, pp. 187-8.
40. Bernard, pp. 158-60, 191-2.
41. Haskell, pp. 75-7; Cavanaugh, pp. 90-2; Power, p. 137; Beaty, p. 57; George S. Burkhardt, pp. 166-8.
42. Etheredge, p. 167; Cavanaugh, pp. 90-2; Kilmer, pp. 775-6; Rickard, p. 28; Hess, pp. 28-9.
43. U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 258.

CHAPTER 14. "THEY FOUGHT LIKE BULLDOGS, AND DIED LIKE SOLDIERS":
LAST STAND IN THE CRATER, 8:45 A.M.-2:30 P.M.

1. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 154-5, 248-9, 258-9; Marvel, *Burnside*, p. 406; Cavanaugh, p. 92; C. F. Adams, p. 171.
2. Lyman, pp. 200-1; Cavanaugh, pp. 92-3; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 145.
3. *OR* 40:3, p. 663.
4. Cannan, pp. 24, 71-6; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 165-6, 248-50; Cavanaugh, pp. 92-3; *OR* 40:3, p. 663.
5. The order was also attributed to General Willcox. Cavanaugh, p. 97; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 21; Herek, p. 226.
6. Beecham, pp. 188-9.
7. This very rough estimate is based on the number of MIA for units that did most of their fighting in or near the crater, and on estimates of the numbers of troops brought into the position by Ledlie's initial advance and the reinforcement from Willcox's division. Hartranft brought perhaps 1,200 troops to the ruined fort, of which no more than 1,000 were still in line; the three Michigan regiments brought 200 into the position. Thomas's brigade lost in total 253 MIA and 54 KIA—probably 200+ remained to fight in and around the crater, and were lost there. Lieutenant Bowley does not mention any troops other than his own company (no more than thirty) who made their way from Sigfried's command to the crater. The 45th Pennsylvania and elements of other regiments from Potter's division also wound up in the crater—perhaps two hundred to three hundred men (based on MIA figures). Ledlie's division took 3,600 into action, but it suffered the lightest casualties of the four divisions. Of these, sixty-five were KIA and three hundred fifty MIA, most of the latter captured, and of these perhaps one hundred were taken when Weld's position was overrun—so perhaps three hundred were lost in the crater itself. However, it is impossible to say how many of Ledlie's troops were still in the breach at this point in the action, and made their escape as the position was overrun. In the end, nine hundred Federals were captured in the crater itself. Cavanaugh, pp. 94-5; Cannan, pp. 134-5.
8. Cannan, p. 135; Hall, p. 236.
9. Bowley, "The Crater," p. 6; *OR* 40:1, pp. 554-6; Bernard, p. 162; Vance, p. 179; Wilson, p. 137.
10. Cavanaugh, pp. 93-4.
11. Hess, pp. 15-6; Katcher, p. 59.
12. Cannan, p. 134; Albert, pp. 155-6; Forstchen, p. 140, Bowley, p. 6.
13. Cavanaugh, pp. 95-6; Lord, pp. 466-7, 505-7, 510. Bowley, "The Crater," p. 6, erroneously identifies him as a sergeant of the 31st Maine.
14. Cavanaugh, pp. 94-5; Cannan, pp. 134-5; Bowley, "The Crater," p. 6; *OR* 40:1, pp. 555-6.
15. Bernard, pp. 161-2.

16. Hess, pp. 28–9; Cavanaugh, p. 95.
17. Bowley, “The Crater,” p. 6.
18. Cavanaugh, pp. 94–5; Bowley, “The Crater,” p. 6; Wilson, p. 137; Hess, p. 39.
19. Houghton, p. 559; Palfrey, pp. 119–22.
20. Bowley, “The Crater,” p. 6; Houghton, p. 558; Cavanaugh, p. 96.
21. Herek, p. 224; Cavanaugh, p. 96; *OR* 40:1, pp. 555–6.
22. *OR* 40:3, pp. 663–4; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 20–1, 205; Cavanaugh, p. 97.
23. Bowley, “The Crater,” p. 6; Kilmer, p. 776.
24. *OR* 40:1, pp. 555–6.
25. Lord, pp. 491–3; Wilkinson, pp. 202, 255–61; Cannan, p. 134.
26. *OR* 40:1, pp. 555–6; Cavanaugh, p. 96; Houghton, p. 562.
27. Houghton, p. 562; Kilmer, p. 776.
28. Cannan, p. 135; Hall, p. 236. See also Robert Poirier, “*By the Blood of Our Alumni*,” p. 223.
29. Bowley, “The Crater,” p. 6.
30. Herek, pp. 225–6; Cutcheon, pp. 143–4.
31. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, p. 268.
32. Cavanaugh, pp. 97–9.
33. John C. Featherston, “Incidents of the Battle of the Crater,” pp. 107–8; Wise, pp. 365–6. See Featherston’s letter to his wife at <http://www.aphillcsa.com/accountcrater1.html> his narrative of the battle is at that site and <http://www.aphillcsa.com/accountcrater2.html>
34. Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 107; Vance, pp. 178–9; Cavanaugh, p. 98.
35. Featherston, <http://www.aphillcsa.com/accountcrater1.html>
36. *OR* 40:1, p. 556.
37. Featherston, “Incidents,” pp. 107–8; Palfrey, pp. 119–22; Cavanaugh, pp. 98–9.
38. Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108, claimed he heard “Yankee officers in the fort trying to encourage their men, telling them among other things to ‘remember Fort Pillow.’” He took this as a spur and a justification of vengeance: “In that fort Forrest’s men had found whites and negroes together. History tells what they did for them.” It seems unlikely (though it is surely possible) that Federal officers would still be using that battle cry in the face of what most must now have recognized as certain defeat. “Fort Pillow” had the same significance for them that it had for Featherston: they believed that Forrest’s men had not only massacred surrendering Black troops, but had also refused quarter to the Whites who fought alongside them. Featherston was recalling this moment many years later, and his memory may have been colored by the need to rationalize what happened after the Confederates stormed the crater. In a letter to his wife, dated August 9, 1864, he does not mention hearing these words himself. “The enemy,” he says, “*have* shouted ‘No quarters!’ We then gave them what they justly deserved [*italics mine*].” Perhaps, like Stewart, he had heard the story of Sigfried’s attack from South Carolina troops who had escaped to the rear—either before or after

- the battle. In any case, as he himself says, the Alabamans did not need orders to tell them to deny quarter to Blacks.
39. Cavanaugh, pp. 98–9; Bowley, “The Crater,” p. 6; Marvel, *Race*, p. 270; Burkhardt, ch. 12; Bryce Suderow, “The Battle of the Crater: The Civil War’s Worst Massacre,” in G.J.W. Urwin, ed., *Black Flag over Dixie*, ch. 9; Kilmer, p. 776.
 40. Cavanaugh, p. 99; Wilson, pp. 139–40; Urwin, p. 205.
 41. Power, p. 139; Burkhardt, pp. 168–9; Haskell, pp. 77–8; Albert, p. 220; Wilson, pp. 140–1; Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108; Cavanaugh, p. 102; Jordan and Thomas, p. 168.
 42. Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108; Palfrey, p. 122; Urwin, p. 205; Jordan and Thomas, p. 168.
 43. Cannan, p. 140; Cavanaugh, pp. 99–100; U.S. Congress, *Report*, p. 205; Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, p. 476.
 44. Herek, pp. 226–8; Cavanaugh, p. 100; http://www.hardylaw.net/2d_27th_Mich_Inf
 45. Vance, p. 179.
 46. Stone, p. 201; Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108; Cavanaugh, p. 100; George Clark, “Alabamians in the Crater Battle,” <http://americancivilwar.50megs.com/1895/art9506.html>
 47. Power, p. 139.
 48. Rickard, p. 29.
 49. Burkhardt, pp. 169–70.
 50. Carmichael, pp. 130–1; Power, p. 139; Alexander, p. 462.
 51. Alexander, p. 462; Stewart, pp. 41–2; Haskell, pp. 78–9.
 52. Cannan, p. 144.

CHAPTER 15. FLAG OF TRUCE, JULY 30–AUGUST 1, 1864

1. Bernard, p. 163; Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108; Cavanaugh, p. 102.
2. *OR* 40:3, pp. 667–8; Cavanaugh, pp. 102–3, 128; Cannan, p. 76; Marvel, *Race*, p. 278.
3. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 24–5.
4. *OR* 40:3, pp. 637–40; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 250–1, 259.
5. Cavanaugh, pp. 128–9; Forstchen, p. 146. The medical director of IX Corps reported treating 93 officers and 1,300 enlisted men on July 30, out of a total 1,646 reported wounded in the corps (1,881 for all units engaged). Some fifty wounded managed to crawl into Union lines that night, and when the truce was finally granted on August 2, only about twenty wounded were still alive between the lines. Union officers reported burying two hundred twenty of their soldiers during the truce (many of whom had no doubt been killed outright). The Confederates buried hundreds more but made no exact tally, and they tended to in-

- clude bodies buried behind their lines. Any wounded Confederates left between the lines would have been POWs hit while being taken back to the Union lines. If these figures are correct, then there were at least three hundred lying between the lines when the fighting ended. If we assume that two men were wounded for every one killed—an atypically high ratio reflecting intense combat—then some two hundred wounded would have been alive when the major fighting ended at 3:00 P.M. on July 30. More than half of these were left to die without treatment because of the delay in starting the truce.
6. Hess, pp. 32–5, 45; Albert, p. 385; Hauptman, p. 141.
 7. Lord, pp. 505–8.
 8. Chase, pp. 24, 28; Hauptman, p. 157.
 9. Bernard, p. 189.
 10. Haskell, pp. 79–80; Cavanaugh, pp. 106–7; Albert, pp. 116, 296–300, 324 ff.
 11. *OR* 40:3, p. 707; Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108; Bernard, pp. 163–4; Stone, p. 201; Hess, p. 22. The description is from Gettysburg.
 12. Power, p. 136; Bosbyshell, pp. 175–6; Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108; Bernard, pp. 163–4; Stone, p. 201.
 13. *OR* 40:3, pp. 701–3.
 14. Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108; *OR* 40:3, p. 699; Bernard, p. 165; Oates, pp. 262–3.
 15. Axelrod, p. 224; Crawford, p. 108.
 16. Cavanaugh, p. 104.
 17. *OR* 40:3, pp. 703–7.
 18. Shearman, p. 15; Bowley, “The Crater,” p. 6; Wilson, pp. 137–8; Palfrey, p. 119; Beecham, p. 191.
 19. Beecham recalled that there were eleven hundred Whites and five hundred Blacks in the column, which is wildly overstated. (He may have taken his figures from published statistics of the total reported “missing” after the battle.) It is more likely that there were a hundred or so Blacks and perhaps eight hundred Whites. Beecham, p. 192; Hall, p. 231; Wilson, pp. 149–50.
 20. Hall, p. 231; Shearman, pp. 15–7.
 21. Beecham, pp. 192–3.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 193; Hall, p. 231.
 23. Wise, pp. 368–71; Washington, p. 60.
 24. Forstchen, p. 142.
 25. Power, p. 230.
 26. Herek, p. 230; Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108; Bernard, p. 165.
 27. Ernest Hemingway, “A Natural History of the Dead,” p. 337; Hess, pp. 40–1; Oates, p. 263; Blanton and Cook, p. 108; Albert, p. 148.
 28. Herek, p. 230; Beaty, p. 57; Power, p. 138.
 29. Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108; Hess, pp. 40–1.
 30. Featherston, “Incidents,” p. 108; Cavanaugh, pp. 107–8; Stone, pp. 201–2.

CHAPTER 16. COURT OF INQUIRY, AUGUST 6-SEPTEMBER 9, 1864

1. Grant, *Papers*, Vol. 11, pp. 361-3.
2. Cavanaugh, pp. 128-9 and 143-4, is definitive on casualties; Livermore, pp. 116-7, gives higher figures.
3. Bosbyshell, p. 171. Percentage assumes the average Union strength for July was about 77,300 and the Confederate strength 57,000.
4. *OR* 40:3, pp. 338-9; Grant, *Papers*, Vol. 11, pp. 353-4, indicates it was not received by Meade until 10:00 P.M.
5. Grant, *Papers*, Vol. 11, p. 363; C. F. Adams, pp. 172-3; Cavanaugh, pp. 108-11.
6. Bosbyshell, pp. 176-7.
7. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 57 ff, 65. For Meade's testimony see pp. 139-52; Burnside's cross-examination of Meade and his own testimony are on pp. 152-73.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-2.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-5, 181, 265; Cannan, p. 65.
10. Donald, p. 520; Stackpole, pp. 103-8, 146-9, 153-74, 180-5.
11. Power, pp. 108, 135-40, 262; Bosbyshell, p. 171. Statistics don't quite bear this out: desertions had reached a high in July and decreased somewhat during the month after the Crater. Mark Weitz, *More Damning Than Slaughter*, p. 246. But statistics are not everything: General Lee certainly thought that rates of desertion between July 30 and August 30 threatened his army's ability to maintain the field.
12. Carmichael, p. 130; Cavanaugh, p. 105.
13. Jeffrey D Marshall, ed., *War of the People*, pp. 250-1; C. F. Adams, p. 172.
14. Alvin C. Voris, *A Citizen-Soldier's Civil War*, p. 205; U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 33-4, 203, 223.
15. U.S. Congress, *Report*, pp. 125, 172-3, 210.
16. Wise, p. 366.
17. It was this flow of refugees that supposedly caused Bell's brigade to break. Other Federal formations faced with a similar rout either stemmed it or opened ranks to let the fugitives pass through. The court of inquiry ought to have asked why Bell's men broke, instead of accepting Turner's assertion that the Blacks were to blame.
18. C. F. Adams, pp. 216-9; Suderow, in Urwin, *Black Flag*, p. 205.
19. Cavanaugh, p. 128; Forstchen, p. 146, cites higher losses; Hauptman, p. 157.
20. H. G. Thomas, p. 567; for regimental histories see index in the Civil War Archive, <http://www.civilwararchive.com/unioncol.htm>
21. Forstchen, pp. 148-9.
22. *New York Herald*, August 4, 1864, p. 4; *New York Herald*, August 6, 1864, p. 4.
23. *The New York Times*, "The Assault—Its Character and Results," August 2, 1864, p. 1.

24. Jackson, p. 182; Forstchen, pp. 149–51; Redkey, pp. 110–5; Edward Longacre, *Regiment of Slaves*, p. 107.
25. Donald, p. 529; *Memorial*, p. 15.
26. Forty-two were MIA for reasons other than capture. Confederate officers reported seeing one hundred fifty wounded Blacks lying in a field a day or two after the battle, but this was an estimate rather than an actual count. Suderow, in Urwin, pp. 206–7; Cavanaugh, pp. 128–9.
27. Power, p. 139.
28. See Burkhardt, *passim*.
29. Peter Wallenstein and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Virginia's Civil War*, p. 35.
30. Forstchen, pp. 132, 142–3; Carmichael, p. 130; Featherston, "Incidents," pp. 107–8.
31. Durden, p. 75.
32. Levine, pp. 112–5.

CHAPTER 17. EPITAPHS

1. Biographies of Butler, Meade, Potter, Willcox, H. G. Thomas, and Ledlie in Warner, *Generals in Blue*; for Ledlie see <http://www.nevadaweb.com/cnt/cc/bmtn.html>
2. Greiner, pp. 197–8; http://aotw.org/officers.php?officer_id=1106
3. Wilson, pp. xxi, xxv, 3, 167. For his son the general see <http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/ajbowley.htm>
4. Palfrey, pp. 119–20; R. Miller, pp. 2–4; Warner, *Generals in Blue*, pp. 24–5.
5. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, pp. 157–8, 268, 330.
6. Rose, pp. 347–8; Warner, *Generals in Gray*, p. 82.
7. Stone, p. 287.
8. Kenny, pp. 48–9, 82.
9. Blake, pp. 72–4, 83–7, 91, 97–104; Carl N. Degler, *The Other South*, p. 274.
10. Foner, p. 592; Degler, pp. 276–7.
11. The most complete treatment is Donald R. Shaffer, *After the Glory*. See Forstchen, pp. 228–9; E. Miller, ch. 6; http://www.afrigeneas.com/library/dawson_article.html
12. http://civilwarmemory.typepad.com/civil_war_memory/my_civil_war/index.html
13. Forstchen, pp. 56–7, 220–2; Washington, p. 79.
14. Glatthaar, p. 228; Washington, pp. 3–14.
15. Mickley, pp. 85–8.
16. Beecham, ch. 9; Proctor, p. 6.
17. See the application for Federal funding of a historic district, <http://mdmunicipal.org/cities/index.cfm?townname=Brentwood&page=home>.
18. There is a historical marker honoring Dorsey and the Ellicott City Colored

School: see <http://www.visithowardcounty.com/history/trails.html> For Dorsey's later life see <http://www.nps.gov/archive/pete/mahan/edbiosdd.html> and Nicholas Acoella, "Famous Hobokenites: Decatur Dorsey: Civil War Sergeant from Hoboken Won Medal of Honor." at http://www.hudsonreporter.com/site/news.cfm?newsid=15203888&BRD=1291&PAG=461&dept_id=551343&rft=6

19. Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment*, ch. 19.
20. Haskell's account (pp. 77-8) of the post-Crater massacre is an almost perfect allegory of the ideology of the movement to "redeem" the South from reconstruction. The moral of the fable is that the "Bourbon" aristocrat is the Negro's only safe reliance. Poor Whites will lynch him, Yankees will cheat and betray him, his own people will prove too selfish and weak to aid him.
21. Kevin M. Levin, "The Battle of the Crater, National Reunion, and the Creation of the Petersburg National Military Park: 1864-1937," pp. 3-6.
22. Cannan, pp. 156-8.



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