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Civil War Sesquicentennial



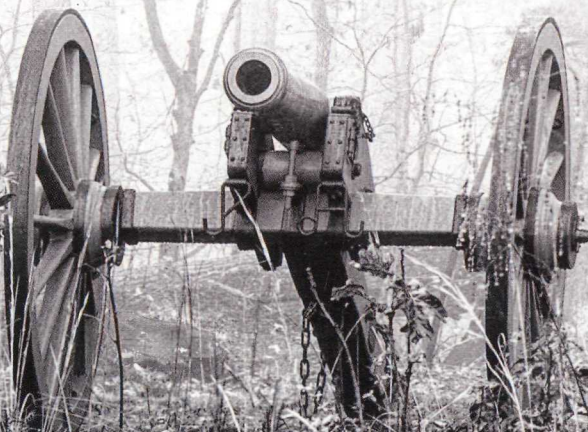
Overland Campaign 150th Anniversary 1864/2014

THE SENTINEL

Special Edition: 150th Anniversary
of the Overland Campaign

Grant & Lee: Masters of War

The Anishnaabek of
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*Commemorate
the 150th Anniversary
of the Overland Campaign.*

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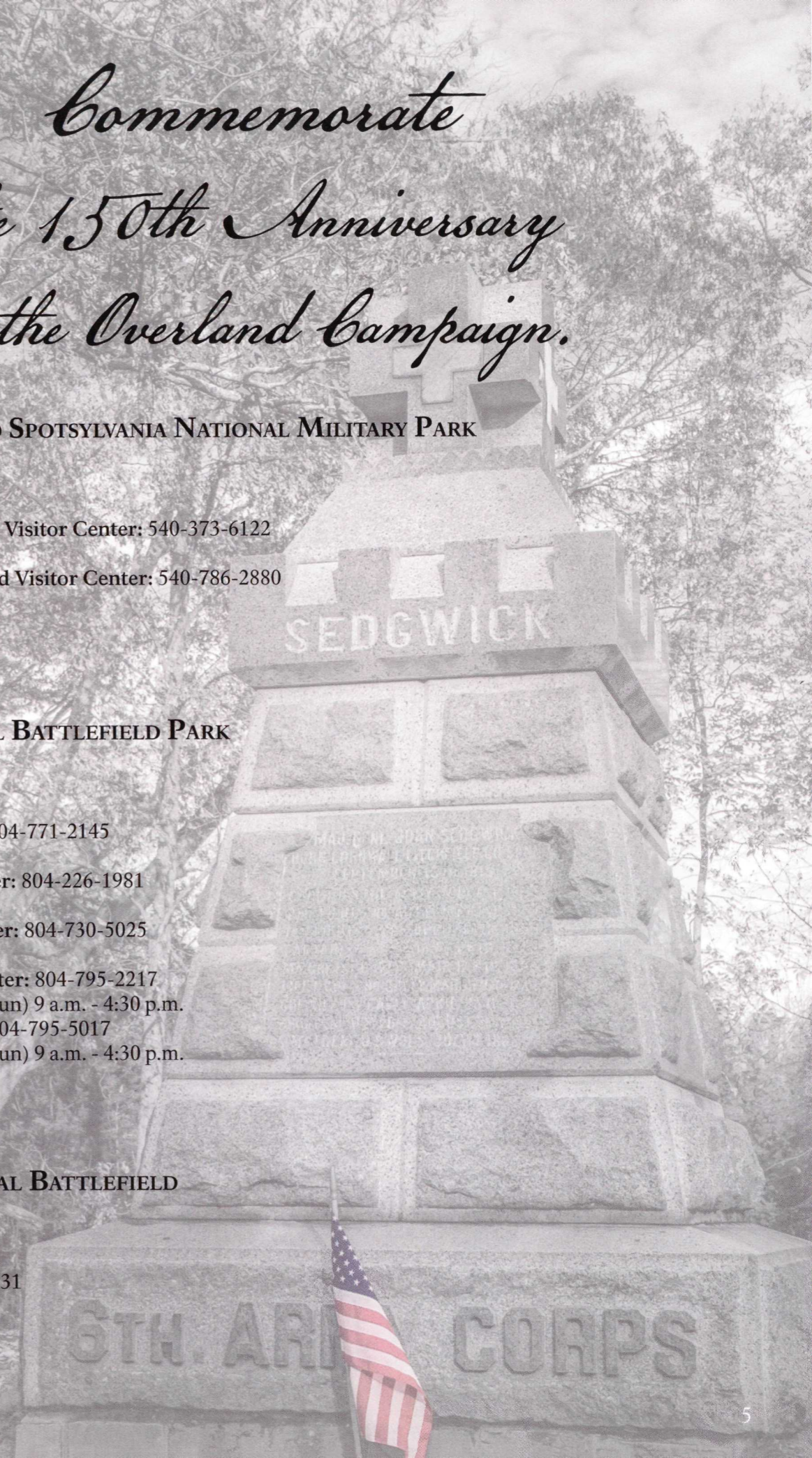
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Whirlwind South 1864

By John Hennessy
Chief Historian
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP

In the Civil War's first months, Americans on both sides believed the early battles would be decisive—the war would come to a quick conclusion. But by 1864, soldiers and mothers and politicians and generals wondered alike, “when, how will it end?”

In 1861, civilians flocked toward Manassas to watch the first major battle of the Civil War. By 1864, civilians fled the onset of armies, knowing well the destruction and danger that would soon follow.

In 1861 and 1862, a typical soldier might have been under fire for eight hours in a year. During the fierce fighting of 1864, many found themselves under fire eight hours in a day. Again and again.

For the war's first two years, Northerners debated fiercely the purpose of the war: should a war for Union also eradicate slavery? By 1864, in the wake of the Emancipation Proclamation, the war's purpose could no longer be doubted (though the debate continued): Union soldiers fought for both restoration of the Union and freedom for slaves.

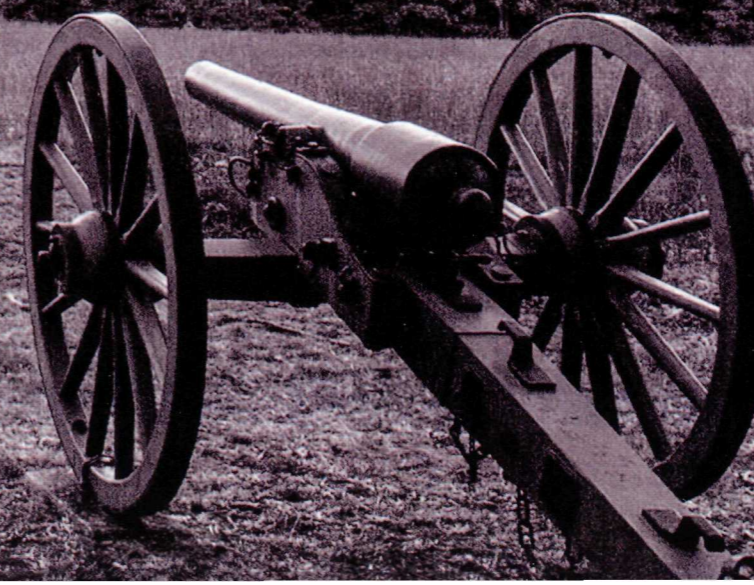
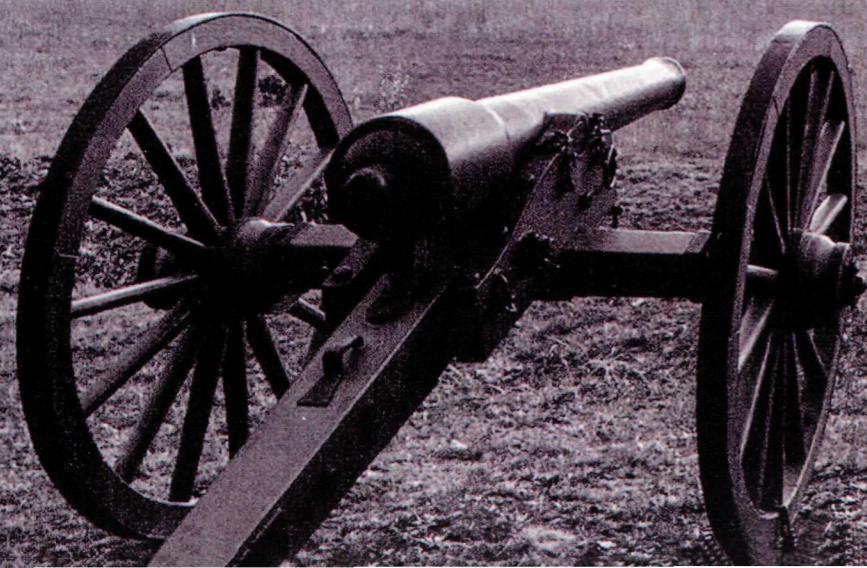
By 1864, the war had changed dramatically in scope and purpose, but its outcome remained in doubt. Across the South, Union armies had made great territorial gains. In Virginia, however, Robert E. Lee's Confederate Army of Northern Virginia still stood defiant, and the Confederacy's hopes for independence rode largely on the shoulders of Lee's men. Lee's success in 1862 and 1863 challenged the will of the Northern public to continue the war. He knew, the world knew, that more victories in 1864 would threaten the re-election of Republican President Lincoln. More Confederate victories might bring to power in the North a Democratic party more inclined toward a negotiated peace—and Southern independence.

Abraham Lincoln's antidote for Lee was a plain-looking soldier who had been unknown to the world four years before: the new General-in-Chief of all Union armies, Ulysses S. Grant. One soldier in the Union Army of the Potomac observed that Grant “rode his horse like a bag of meal,” and another called him “not a very fine-looking General,” but added, “he has the appearance of a man of determination.” So it would be. Practical, unpretentious, and direct, Grant promised to “hammer continuously” against Lee and his army until, he said, “there should be nothing left to him.”

The hammering began in May 1864, as Union armies advanced along a 2,000-mile front. In Virginia, Grant—

traveling with the Army of the Potomac—simply refused to accept the verdict of battle. Though confronted always and stopped often by Lee, Grant (unlike his predecessors) refused to retreat. Instead, the Union army maneuvered through Virginia, battering Lee's at the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, and then moved southward. The grinding experience left soldiers on both sides exhausted and bewildered. “I have no courage to tell you what I have seen and heard here,” wrote one soldier. “It has been a new revelation of human daring and suffering.” In less than two months of fighting—from the Rapidan to Petersburg—nearly 85,000 men fell killed, wounded, or captured.

The battles of 1861, 1862, and 1863 were bloody milestones on a darting timeline of shifting fortunes. But in the spring of 1864, the toil, sacrifice, and destruction merged into a swelling Union tide whose advance seemed inexorable, even if its success and destination remained in doubt. In May, June, and July 1864, the Civil War became a whirlwind, rushing southward through Virginia and the Confederacy. Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg joined the lengthening list of the nation's bloody battlefields. That divided nation and the world watched intently, for that spring and summer the final course of the war would be set.



THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES COLORED TROOPS IN VIRGINIA IN 1864

By Emmanuel Dabney
Park Ranger
Petersburg NB

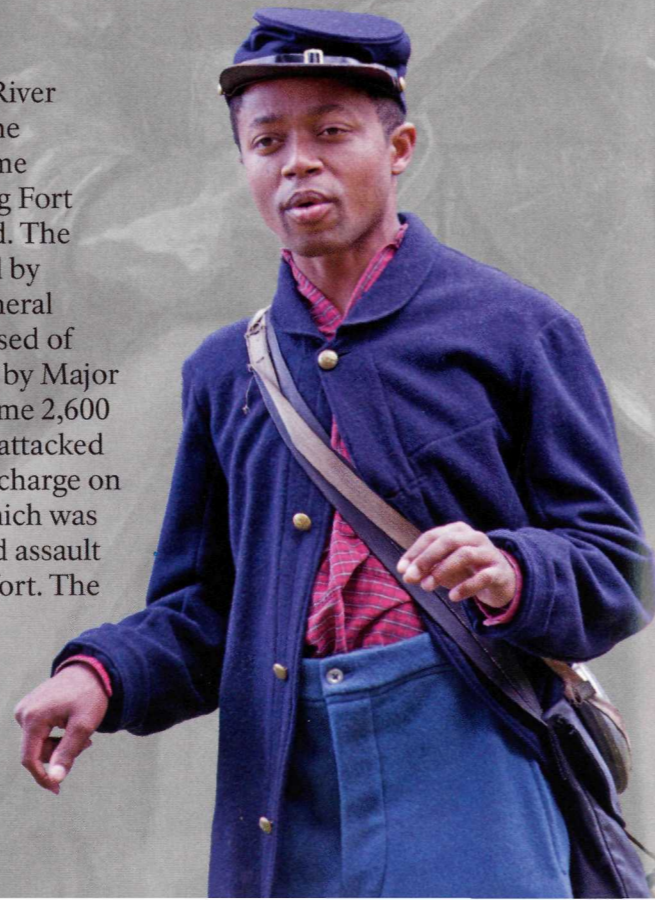
In 1862, some African-Americans served in the 1st Kansas Colored Infantry and the 1st South Carolina (Colored) Infantry. Initially, the U.S. War Department rejected the service of these men, but rejection became a thing of the past when President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation declared that enslaved people in areas of rebellion were free on January 1, 1863. This document also declared that black people "of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service." Men of African descent who served in United States Colored Troops (USCT) regiments were led by white commissioned officers.

In response to the proclamation, on May 1, 1863 the Confederate Congress legislated that officers commanding black troops would be "put to death or otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court" for "inciting servile insurrection." The resolution further stated that "All negroes and mulattoes who shall be engaged in war or be taken in arms against the Confederate States... shall, when captured in the Confederate States, be delivered to the authorities of the State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States."

In May 1864, the Union Army of the Potomac launched the Overland Campaign. Most of the division of United States Colored Troops attached to the Ninth Corps saw little combat in May, but those that did performed admirably. On May 15, when Confederate Brigadier General Thomas Rosser's brigade pushed some Federal cavalry on Catharpin Road toward the intersection with the Orange Plank Road in Spotsylvania County. The 23rd USCT marched two miles from the Chancellorsville ruins to oppose Rosser. This unit was mostly composed of formerly enslaved men like Andrew Weaver, who escaped from Chatham (now part of Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania County National Military Park). The 23rd charged, forcing the Confederate cavalry to retreat.

Nine days later, along the north bank of the James River in Charles City County, the 1st and 10th USCT and some Union artillerists manning Fort Pocahontas were attacked. The garrison was commanded by abolitionist Brigadier General Edward Wild and composed of about 1,100 soldiers. Led by Major General Fitzhugh Lee, some 2,600 Confederate cavalymen attacked at noon, with a mounted charge on the Federal picket line which was followed by a dismounted assault against the center of the fort. The central attack failed and about 1:30 p.m. Fitzhugh Lee demanded Wild surrender, which he refused to do. Naval support from the USS

Dawn aided the colored troops in holding the fort, and the Confederates retreated. Combat situations for African-Americans increased in the summer of 1864. On June 15, Major General William F. Smith's Eighteenth Corps of the Army of the James, which included Brigadier General Edward Hinks' USCT division, moved against Petersburg, Virginia, a railroad and manufacturing hub 25 miles south of the Confederate capital. There were about 3,500 men in Hinks' division. A skirmish that morning became some of the first combat seen by the 4th, 5th, and 22nd USCT, who captured a cannon during the fight. By early afternoon, Smith's corps was outside Petersburg facing the Dimmock Line, a system of earthworks protecting Petersburg,



which was defended by only 2,200 Southerners.

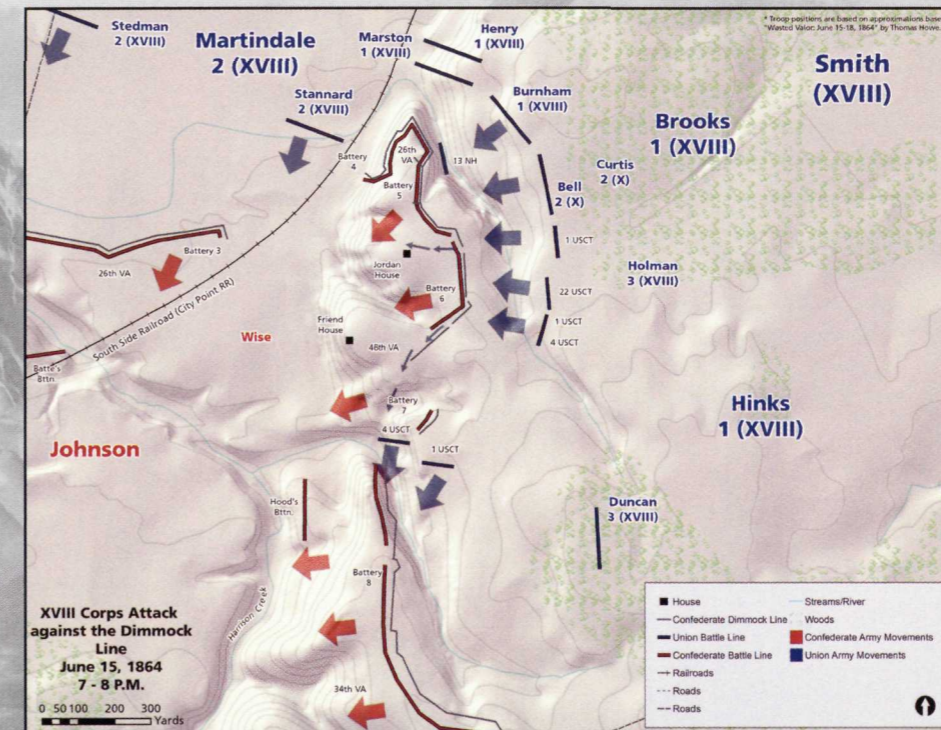
At 7:15 p.m. that evening, white and black Federal infantrymen assaulted the Confederate positions. The 1st USCT assisted white Union soldiers in capturing

maintained by impressed slave and free black laborers between the summer of 1862 and early 1864.

Only a few days after this, the 48th Pennsylvania Infantry began constructing a mine beneath the Confederate defenses. Major

on July 30, 1864, white soldiers were sent into action. Later that morning, eight regiments of black soldiers and their white officers went into combat screaming "No quarter" and "Remember Fort Pillow!" These battle cries stemmed from the Battle of Fort Pillow, Tennessee in April 1864. Confederate troops there refused to accept the surrender of many African-Americans in the Federal garrison. Only 58 of the black soldiers were taken as prisoners of war compared to 168 of the white garrison. Word of the massacre of surrendering black soldiers traveled throughout the nation, and African-American's cried out the fort's name in several battles in 1864.

On July 30, a combination of Federal blunders, devastating artillery fire, and the arrival of additional Confederate troops ultimately stopped the Union breakthrough at the crater caused by the detonation of the mine. Vicious hand-to-hand combat raged in and around the Crater that afternoon. Afterwards, many Confederates noted their anger with African-American soldiers. Petersburg native George Bernard, then in the 12th Virginia Infantry remembered: "the whole floor of the trench was strewn with the dead bodies of negroes, in some places in such numbers that it was difficult to make one's way



This battle map illustrates the collapse of the Confederate defenses in the initial assault.

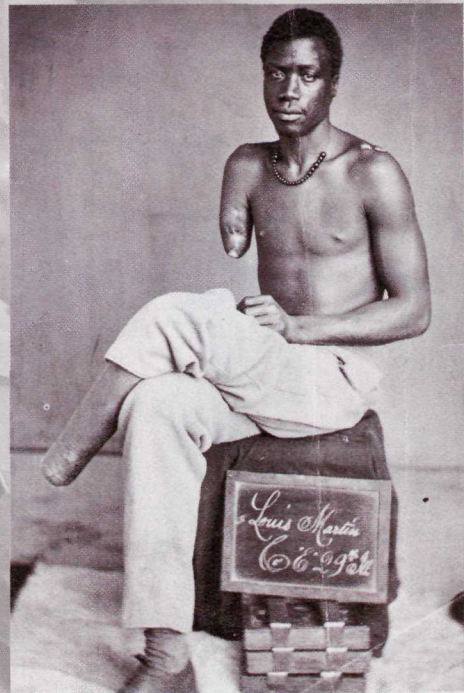
Battery 6. This breakthrough in the Confederate Line helped white Federal troops capture Battery 5. The USCT went on to capture Batteries 7 through 11 on the eastern side of Petersburg by 9 p.m. Ironically, these African-American soldiers captured earthworks which had largely been dug and

General Ambrose Burnside, commanding the Ninth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, planned on using his division of black troops to spearhead the assault; however, Major General George Meade, the army's commander, changed Burnside's plans at the last minute. When the mine exploded

The 1st USCT, shown here on parade, fought in the opening assault on June 15. The unit was organized in Washington, D.C. in June 1863.



along the trench without stepping on them.” Others joyfully wrote their families about bayoneting, clubbing, and shooting black soldiers point blank. Some white Union troops killed African-Americans in an effort to save their own lives. George Kilmer of the 14th New York Heavy Artillery remembered years later that some white Northerners “boasted in my presence that blacks had thus been disposed of, particularly when the Confederates came up.” One USCT



Lewis Martin of the 29th USCT had his right arm and left leg amputated due to wounds received at the Battle of the Crater. He died penniless in 1892 and remained in an unmarked grave until the fall of 2013 when Springfield, IL residents marked his burial location.

soldier, Decatur Dorsey, conducted himself with notable bravery. During the advance across the field he carried the 39th USCT flag up the Confederate earthworks, and in the subsequent retreat he rallied the regiment around the flag at the Federal earthworks. He was later awarded the Medal of Honor.

Of the 3,798 Union soldiers who were killed, wounded, captured or missing during the attack, 1,240 were from the division of African-American soldiers. Among the captured was Private Peter Churchwell of the 23rd USCT. While Churchwell was a prisoner his former owner claimed him as his property and sold him to a slave trader, who sold him to a man in Wilmington, North Carolina, who sold him again to a man near Raleigh. In early 1865 he escaped from his last owner and fled to Federal-occupied Wilmington where he worked for several years before spending many more years in Washington, D.C.

The last major action for the colored troops in the Army of the James in 1864 came on September 29 outside Richmond. Piecemeal assaults from two brigades against New Market Heights resulted in some 800 casualties for the USCT. Yet the bravery of 14 African-Americans resulted in them being

honored with a Medal of Honor. Later that afternoon, a portion of the 7th USCT and 9th USCT assaulted Fort Gilmer and the 8th USCT assaulted Fort Gregg. All suffered heavy casualties.

About 180,000 African-Americans served in United States Colored Troop regiments by the end of the war. As proud as many of these soldiers were of their military service, the post-war years would be very difficult. Many USCT veterans lived the rest of their lives nearly impoverished and surrounded by prejudice. They and their families were often denied access to formal education, feared retaliation by oppressive, racist organizations, and lived under segregation that was condoned by Federal, state, and local governments. In the postwar years it became abundantly clear that, although legally recognized slavery had ended in the United States, racism remained. These veterans were important contributors to the quest for all Americans to be recognized as equal citizens and inspired future generations to force the Federal government to live up to the ideals and laws in the nation’s founding documents.



The African American Civil War Memorial was completed in 1997 and transferred to the National Park Service in 2004. The memorial includes curved panel walls inscribed with the names of the men who served in the war. The monument is located at the eastern entrance to the U Street Metro station in Washington, D.C.

The Imagery of War

By Eric Mink, Historian, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP & Michael D. Gorman, Park Ranger, Richmond NBP & Grant Gates, Park Ranger, Petersburg NB

From the opening shots of the Battle of the Wilderness to the opening assaults upon Petersburg, Virginia, field artists and photographers provided those on the home front a glimpse of the realities of war. Eyewitnesses to the fighting and the suffering, field artists such as Alfred Waud and Edwin Forbes (among others) captured the sights and sounds of battle on paper. Those images were turned into engravings that illustrated the newspaper stories back home. Unable to capture the action of battle because of limited technology, photographers such as Matthew Brady, Timothy O’Sullivan and Alexander Gardner provided powerful post-battle visual accounts of the cost of war and the landscape and debris of battle. All of these men helped to bring home the fighting in the fields and woods of Virginia from the spring to mid-summer of 1864.

Today, through their lenses, the wounded and the displaced are still peering at us and the dead are still lying unburied on those battlefields. In their drawings we can still feel the rush of battle, the work of digging trenches, and the task of recovering the dead. These images convey their tragic stories as powerfully now as they did 150 years ago, reminding us of the cost and sacrifice in bringing the war firmly to the environs of Richmond.

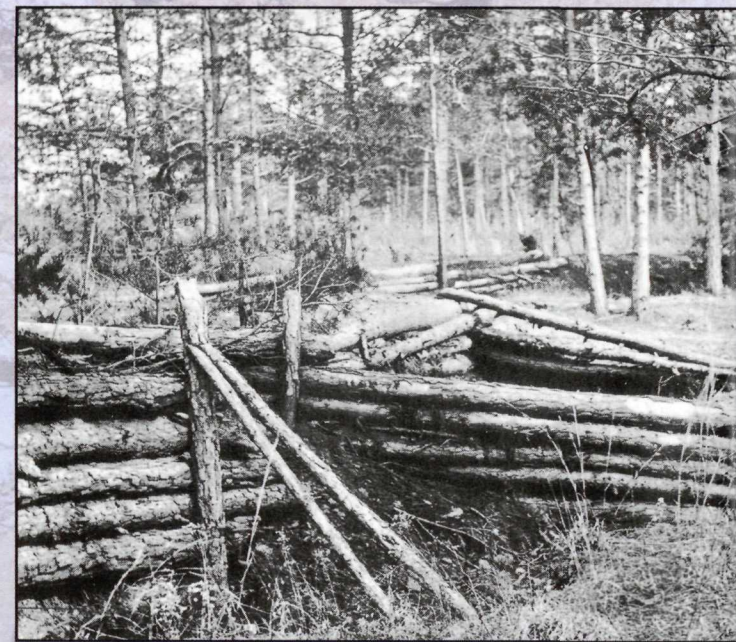
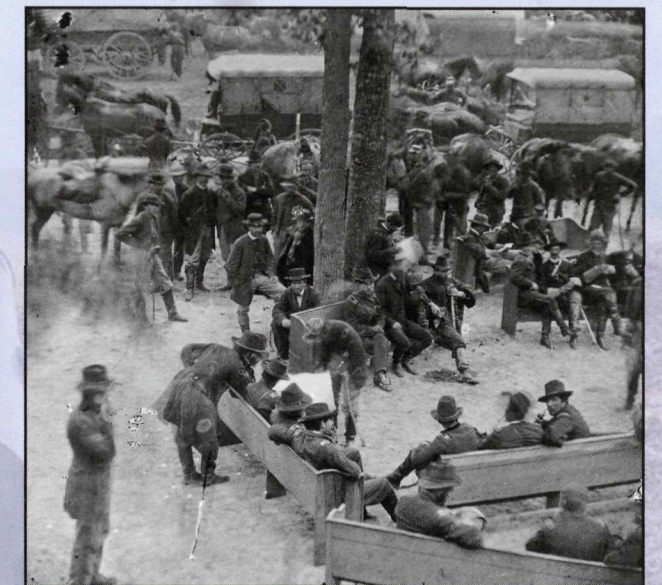


Photo Courtesy of U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center.

The opposing armies spent two weeks clashing among the fields and woods of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House. Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant realized he was no closer to destroying his foe than when the campaign commenced. He pulled his men out of their trenches and sent them south around the Confederate army. On May 21, Grant, Major General George Meade and their staffs stopped at Massaponax Church. Here, photographer Timothy O’Sullivan exposed this image, which shows the generals and their entourage gathered on the pews outside the church. Grant is leaning over the back of a pew and discussing a map with Meade.



All images in this article courtesy of the Library of Congress unless noted otherwise.



"Burnett's Inn, Cold Harbor, Va., June 4, 1864."

~Timothy O' Sullivan, photographer.

The Old Cold Harbor Tavern stood at an intersection of five roads, two of which led to Richmond, and gave its name to the area, and thus the battle. The battle that raged here for nearly two weeks in early June, 1864 has come to be known for (largely overstated) bloody futility. This photograph was made the day after the infamous June 3 assault, though photographing the front lines would have been impossible.

"Gen. Grant's Headquarters at Coal Harbour."

~M. B. Brady & Co., photographer.

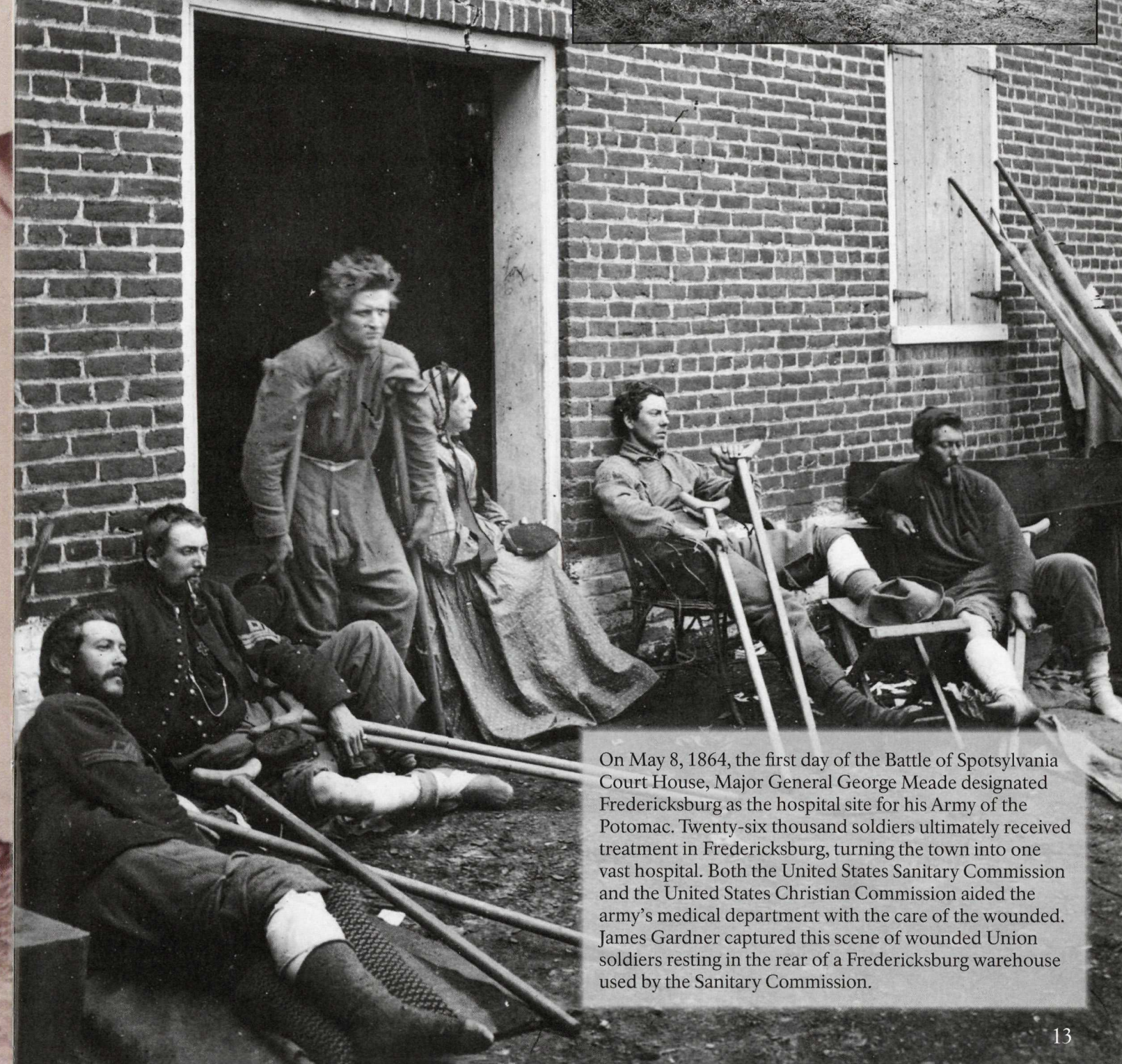
One of the most famous, and chronically mis-captioned, photographs of the war was actually made at Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant's headquarters at Cold Harbor on either June 11 or 12, 1864. Behind the steely determination of Grant's face lay a secret: within 24 hours, the army was going to embark again, this time towards Petersburg.



"A burial party on the battlefield of Cold Harbor."

~John Reekie, photographer.

April 15, 1865. No photograph better depicts what battle could do to a landscape, or why so many Civil War burials are unknown. Union burial parties would spend most of 1865 trying to locate and re-inter soldiers killed at Cold Harbor. Eventually their efforts resulted in the establishment of the Cold Harbor National Cemetery.



On May 8, 1864, the first day of the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House, Major General George Meade designated Fredericksburg as the hospital site for his Army of the Potomac. Twenty-six thousand soldiers ultimately received treatment in Fredericksburg, turning the town into one vast hospital. Both the United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission aided the army's medical department with the care of the wounded. James Gardner captured this scene of wounded Union soldiers resting in the rear of a Fredericksburg warehouse used by the Sanitary Commission.

"7th N.Y. Heavy Arty. in Barlows charge near Cold Harbor, Friday, June 3, 1864"

~Sketch by Alfred Waud.

The only success the Union army had during the attack on June 3, 1864 came when men of the 7th New York Heavy Artillery briefly pierced the Confederate lines. Though a division of reserves was close by, they were not committed to follow up the attack and Confederates mounted a successful counter-attack. This sketch was made during the brief time of Union success.



Making Parallels

~Sketch by Alfred Waud.

Eventually over 100 miles of trenches, all dug by hand, shaped the landscape of the battlefields from Petersburg to Richmond.



Hospital Attendants - collecting the wounded after the engagement - within our lines near Hatcher's run

~Sketch by William Waud.

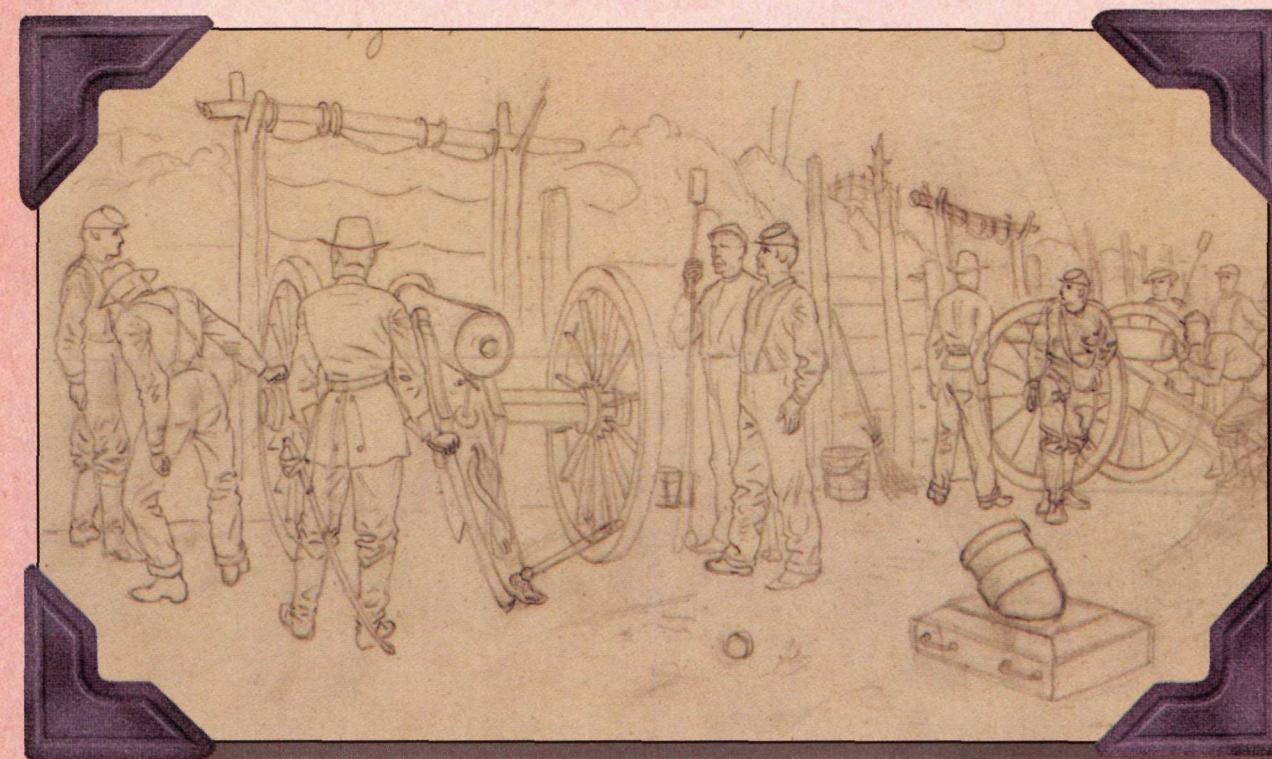
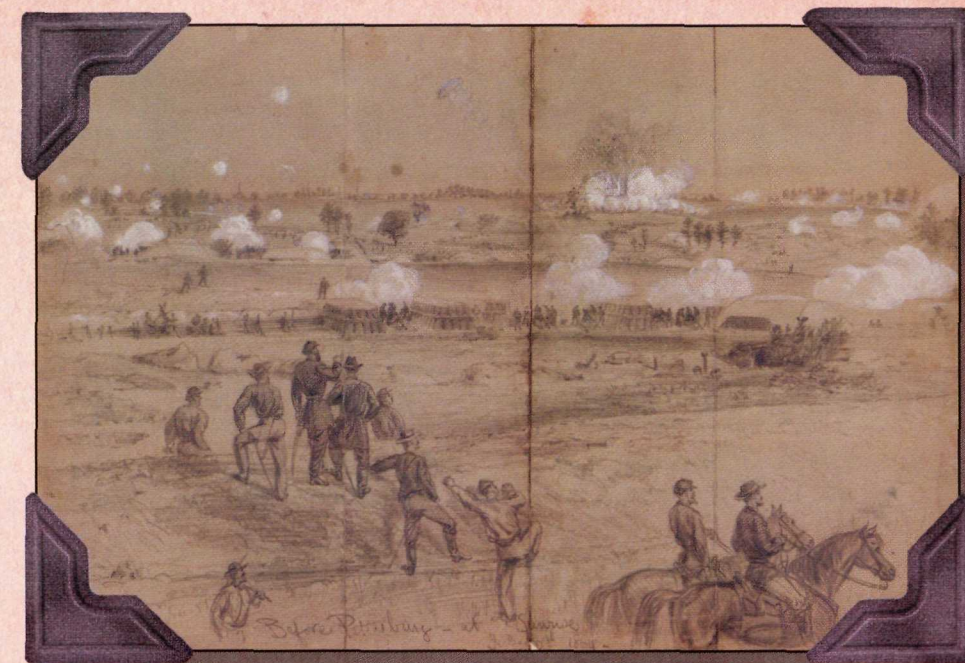
A month-and-a-half into the siege there were nearly 20,000 casualties on both sides. Though medical treatment was at its apex at Petersburg, with first aid stations, field hospitals and permanent hospitals available, the experience of recovering the wounded and dead from the battlefields stuck with many veterans long after the war.



Before Petersburg at sunrise, July 30 1864

~Sketch by Alfred Waud.

At 4:44 a.m. on July 30 a Union detonated mine destroyed a Confederate fortification. This started a ten hour-long struggle that ended with forty minutes of hand-to-hand combat. The battle would cost 5,000 casualties combined and no ground gained or lost. Gen. Grant would not directly attack the city's defenses again until April 2, 1865.



Union artillery at Petersburg

~Sketch by Alfred Waud.

Incessant shelling was part of siege life at Petersburg. With their lit fuses cutting arcs of light through the night sky and screaming over the trenches during the day, artillery rounds were a constant source of fear and stress for soldiers on both sides of the lines.

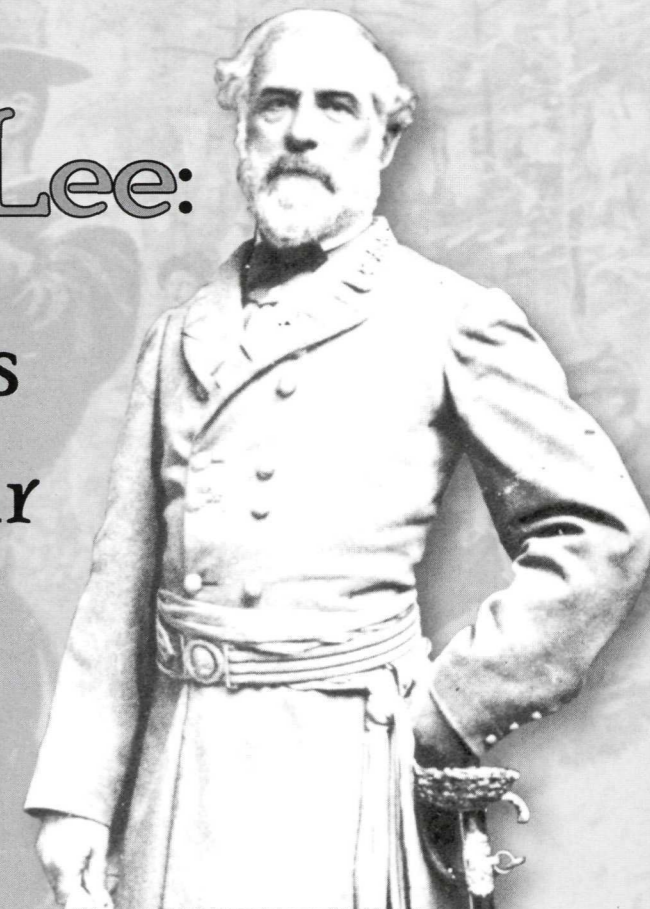
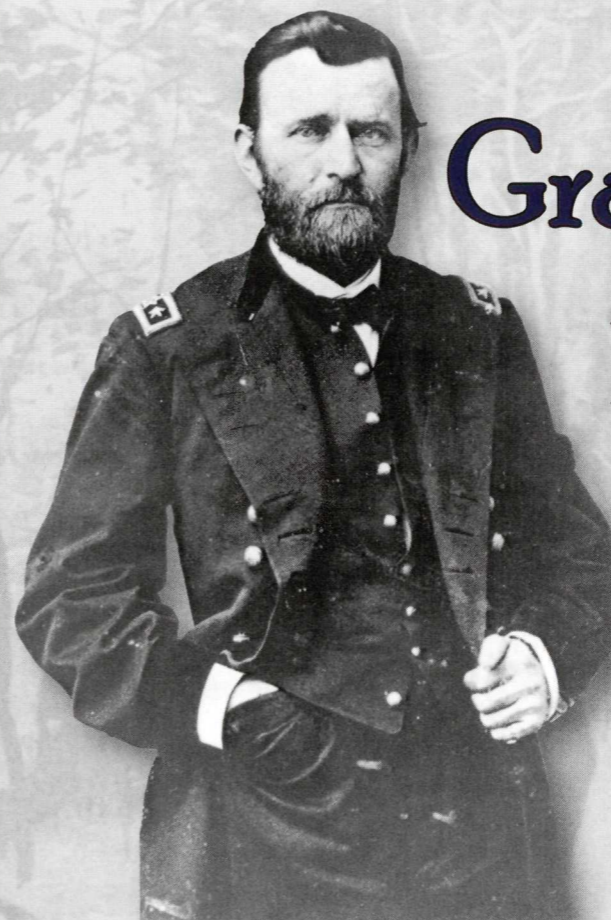


The campaign's intensity is best illustrated by the ferocious fighting on May 12-13 at the "Bloody Angle" – a slight bend in the Confederate earthworks at Spotsylvania Court House. For twenty-four hours the armies locked in hand-to-hand fighting, neither side willing to give ground. The Confederates ultimately established a new position a few hundred yards to the rear and relinquished these trenches. The site of this desperate fighting became known as "Hell's Half Acre." Union burial crews returned to Spotsylvania in 1866 to properly inter and mark the graves of the fallen. At the Bloody Angle, they nailed a headboard to a battle scarred tree, upon which they painted part of a stanza from Theodore O'Hara's poem "Bivouac of the Dead" – a simple memorial for a costly struggle.

The armies fought the Battle of the Wilderness on a dense and entangled forested landscape that made maneuver difficult and reduced the Union advantages of artillery and cavalry. The thickets provided cover, but also contributed a new horror when the woods caught fire and wounded soldiers perished amidst the flames. Two years after the battle, a photographer visiting the battlefield found the remains of these three men whose names will likely never be known.

Grant & Lee:

Masters of War



By Frank O'Reilly
Park Historian
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP

Generals Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant had a marked disdain for each other in 1864—but that soon changed. In the spring of that year, the two great captains of the Civil War prepared to do battle head-to-head for the first time in their careers. Lee had earned a reputation as a wily tactician—no one was bolder or more successful on the battlefield. Grant became the war's best strategist—a tenacious commander with a dogmatic focus on victory. One had dominated the Civil War in the East while the other gained preeminence in the West. Lee had become the living embodiment of the Southern Confederacy: his success was their success. Grant became a lieutenant general in 1864, a position previously held only by George Washington, with the expectation of total victory.

Because of their diverse backgrounds, the two generals had a surprising disregard for each other. Lee thought Grant had gained an easy ascendancy out West, where western rivers like the Mississippi coursed southward like large highways of invasion into the Confederacy, and where uninspired Confederate commanders could

not stop him. Grant had fought battles gracelessly, but he persevered in victory over generals like Simon B. Buckner, Albert S. Johnston, John C. Pemberton, and Braxton Bragg. For his part, Grant thought Lee had won his reputation at the expense of a conservative Northern army and timid Union leadership. Lee had mystified and exploited commanders like George B. McClellan, John Pope, Ambrose E. Burnside, and Joseph Hooker. Lee dismissed his second-in-command James Longstreet's warning that Grant "will fight us every day and every hour till the end of this war." Grant openly railed at the Union Army of the Potomac's cautious reverence, once observing, "Oh, I am heartily tired of hearing about what Lee is going to do!" Lee intended to rough-handle the Northerner like all of his Union predecessors. Grant expected to infuse a hard-bitten, hardscrabble fighting ethic in the Northern army that would ultimately crush the Confederate chieftain.

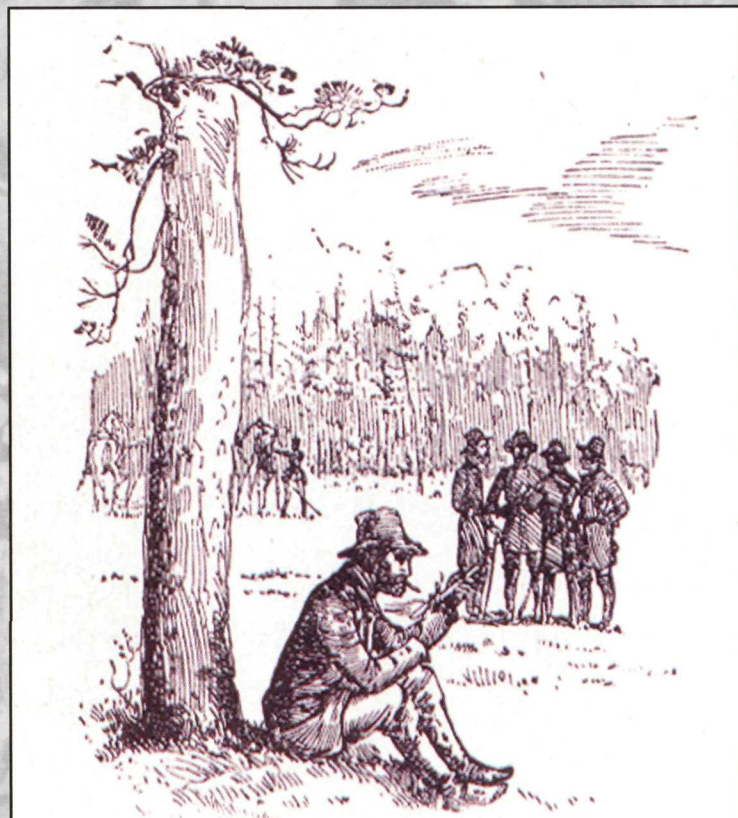
The world of Robert E. Lee and Ulysses S. Grant changed dramatically in 1864. In light of a looming presidential election in the North, there emerged a heretofore unknown urgency and imperative for Union victory. Grant had become the General-in-Chief of all the Union's field armies, and he crafted a plan to coordinate a grand offensive all

across the continent. Every Union army would attack its Confederate counterpart with grinding, inexorable pressure. If every Confederate army came under attack, all of them would be anxious for reinforcements—but none of them could provide them. In short, Grant had to win at any cost for Abraham Lincoln to be reelected as president. Lee understood the stakes and set out to thwart Grant. He needed to convince Northerners that it was impossible to defeat the Confederacy and it was time to vote for the Democratic peace candidate, George McClellan. He determined to influence voters first by avoiding defeat, and second, by inflicting overwhelming losses on the Union army to create general war-weariness. Ironically, larger armies with vast reserves are taught to wage wars of attrition, grinding down their opponent over an extended period of time; smaller armies with limited resources fight wars of annihilation, going straight for the jugular to gain a decisive advantage as soon as possible. In 1864, the presidential election created a timetable that reversed those roles: Grant needed a decisive victory quickly to impact the election—Lee needed to outlast the election to convince the North to give up the effort. For once, time favored the Confederacy.

The campaign began in the first week of May 1864, and the first clash between the Civil War's titans occurred in the Wilderness on May 5 and 6. The battle exploded with an intensity that quickly rattled both Lee and Grant—and made them reassess their foe. The Union army lost 18,000 men in two days. Grant had never experienced such loss. The Union leader chain-smoked 20 cigars in one day, and whittled for distraction, unwittingly slicing off the fingertips of his expensive new gloves. Two days into the struggle, a staff officer found Grant uncharacteristically weeping on his cot. The shaken staff officer withdrew at once. Despite the damage inflicted on Grant's army, Lee had never come so close to disaster. His right wing dissolved before his eyes, and he tried to rally General Ambrose Powell Hill's Confederate Third Corps. He lost his trademark composure and became very confrontational. "My God! General McGowan," he shouted at one of his most trusted subordinates, "is this splendid brigade of yours running like a flock of geese?" When Texans emerged into the Widow Tapp field, Lee enthusiastically cheered, "The Texas brigade always has driven the enemy!" He threw the reinforcements into the breach and recklessly followed them into battle. The men begged Lee to go back, shouting "Lee to the rear!" Lee had gone to the brink of destruction and had been badly shaken. But Lee was also resilient. No sooner had he stabilized the situation, than he counterattacked. Overall, the battle degenerated into a stalemate. Grant was resilient too. He emerged from his tent and already had a new plan.

Grant proved to be relentless—and Lee showed that he was uncannily prescient. The Union commander decided to abandon the Wilderness and proceed south toward Spotsylvania Court House and the direct route to Richmond. This turned out to be the single most important military decision of the entire Civil War. Once Grant headed south, he could not afford to return without complete victory. The general promised Lincoln, "There will be no turning back." That statement and conviction committed both armies to a non-stop season of bloodshed and horror.

Aware that Grant had abandoned the Wilderness, Lee did not know where he had gone. As a precaution, he decided to shift the Army of Northern Virginia to a point where he could monitor all the roads from the north—the crossroads of Spotsylvania Court House. Both commanders unwittingly engaged in a footrace to the crossroads, a race the Confederates won



GENERAL GRANT WHITTLING DURING THE BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS. FROM A SKETCH MADE AT THE TIME.



Lee to the Rear.

by a matter of minutes and yards when the burning Wilderness prevented them from camping on the evening of May 7. Their all-night trek took them directly into combat around Spotsylvania on May 8. Grant and Lee fought and fortified, mauled and maneuvered for the next two weeks around the sleepy courthouse village. Both armies engaged in a life-or-death struggle, and Grant vowed, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." The action culminated in a gruesome close battle over a slight bend in the Confederate earthworks, which became known as the Bloody Angle. Fighting lasted for 22 hours without interruption, punctuated with incredibly long periods of hand-to-hand combat. Lee again chanced fate and tried twice to personally lead counterattacks, virtually willing his army to survive. Grant refused to yield, determined to win at any cost. In the end, the fighting around Spotsylvania devolved into a fortified standoff. The armies sustained incredible losses and started to fray, particularly in the leadership. Some of Lee and Grant's subordinates showed fits of brilliance, but more betrayed exhaustion and ineptitude. Grant had lost another 18,000 men; Lee counted 12,000 casualties.

One Southern general scoffed that Grant had no ability beyond launching smashing frontal assaults. "Gentlemen," Lee quietly admitted, "I think that General Grant has managed his affairs remarkably well up to the present time."

Grant knew he had missed an opportunity to catch Lee in the open before he entrenched around Spotsylvania—and he determined to try it again. He dangled the Union Second Corps as bait and hoped to induce Lee to attack. Lee surmised Grant's plan and opted to take a defensive position farther south along the North Anna River.

The Union commander became cocky and bold; and Lee crafted a plan to exploit his adversary's aggressiveness. Union forces crossed the North Anna River above and below Lee's position. The Confederates dug in along the river, and bent both their left and right wings back to form an inverted "V" shaped line. Lee had caught the Union army divided with its wings cut off from each other, but a crisis prevented him from annihilating a portion of the Union army. Lee's health failed him at this critical

junction. He became intensely sick and too weak to even leave his tent. His normally self-possessed demeanor gave way to anger and frustration. He lashed out at A. P. Hill for a botched attack against the Union right wing. "Why didn't you do as ["Stonewall"] Jackson would have done," he lamented, "and thrown your whole force upon those people and driven them back?" He bemoaned, "We must strike them a blow! We must never let them pass us again!" One of Lee's staff officers, Lieutenant Colonel Charles S. Venable, had a heated exchange with Lee and confessed, "I have just told the old man that he is not fit to command this army, and that he had better send for [General P. G. T.] Beauregard." Lee refused to even consider it; he knew the golden opportunity had passed. Grant awoke to the danger and quickly withdrew from the trap. Lee had lost his best chance for victory. Both commanders began to reassess their opponent's abilities. Grant would tread with more respect as he sidestepped Lee and once more headed south.

The Union commander continued to drive across Virginia in a crab-like march. His cavalry secured a crossing over the Pamunkey River. Lee, still shaky and relegated to an ambulance, anticipated him. The cavalry clashed at Haw's Shop, allowing Lee to effectively block the Northern advance at Totopotomoy Creek. Both sides dug in and deadlock ensued again. Neither commander yielded. A Union incursion across the stream drew a Confederate counterattack at Bethesda Church. Union cavalry thrust south and secured a crossroads just eight miles outside of Richmond—a crossroads called Cold Harbor.

Unable to drive Grant from Cold Harbor, Lee furiously fortified, blocking the road to Richmond. Grant again misjudged his opponent. He had maneuvered his way to the very doorstep of Richmond. Convinced that Lee's army had been crippled, on June 3 Grant ordered a frontal assault to break through. The battle

turned into a debacle. Union forces lost heavily and made little headway. More telling, Union soldiers refused to obey orders to renew the attack against the heavy entrenchments. Grant conceded that Lee and his army were neither demoralized nor defeated.

Both sides entrenched and harassed each other with sharpshooters and shell fire. Grant and Lee tried to arrange a truce to recover the wounded trapped between the lines. It was customary for the defeated party to ask for the victor's benevolence. Several days lapsed as the generals wrangled over protocol. Eventually, Grant capitulated and formally requested a truce. Lee instantly granted it without lording it over him. Grant never doubted Lee's abilities as a general or a statesman again.

General Grant's attempt to take Richmond had been foiled, so he turned his attention to the railroad city of Petersburg instead. If he could seize the rail hub, he could cut off supplies to Richmond. Grant eluded Lee and nearly captured Petersburg on June 15, but his commanders were worn out and his troops intimidated by the elaborate fortifications around the city. Timid blows made small gains and wasted precious time. Lee fathomed Grant's plan in time to save Petersburg from the Northerner's final assault. The armies continued to fight and maneuver in the immediate vicinity of Petersburg, but, due to sheer exhaustion and expanding trench warfare, the fighting began to take on the aspect of a siege. Neither Grant nor Lee desired that. Grant needed victory; and Lee warned that once Grant crossed the James River, "it will become a siege, and then it will be a mere question of time." The Overland Campaign folded into a new campaign—a campaign centered on Richmond and Petersburg. The previous six weeks had generated 65,000 Union and 35,000 Confederate casualties. Neither side could pause to contemplate what Lincoln called the "awful arithmetic" of war.

The Army of Northern Virginia would never see its namesake area of operations again; and the Army of the Potomac would not see that river again until after the war ended. By June 1864, Grant had the strategic upper hand—and Lee held the tactical and operational advantage. Their impasse spoke to their consummate skills and determination. In the end, Grant could not defeat Lee before the 1864 presidential election. Relentless pressure produced Union victories elsewhere, but not at Petersburg. With Lincoln's reelection, the war ground on to its inevitable conclusion. Petersburg and Richmond eventually fell in April 1865. A week later, the cagey Confederate general asked to meet the dogged Union commander at a sleepy hamlet called Appomattox Court House.

When the two generals met, Lee dressed meticulously to honor Grant as the conqueror. Grant appeared in a mud-daubed uniform, afraid to keep Lee waiting. Grant shook Lee's hand and instantly recalled, "I met you once before, General Lee, while we were serving in Mexico." Grant set a tone by remembering a time when they fought together as colleagues rather than meeting now as foes. Both men had radically altered their opinions of each other in just eleven months—from the opening shots of the Overland Campaign to Wilmer McLean's parlor in Appomattox Court House. The road had been brutal and bloody, but the budding respect between the leaders became an essential cornerstone for reunion and reconstruction.





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Preservation and Stewardship: Uncovering the Past, Brick by Brick

By Bert Dunkerly
Park Ranger
Richmond NBP & Maggie L. Walker NHS

As with military tactics, preservation and management of historic resources has evolved over the years as new practices and theories have emerged and new technologies are available. Yet what unites historians and architects, curators and archeologists, and professionals and the general public is a passion for the preservation of the incredible places where our nation's story can be told.

When the Union and Confederate armies marched away from central Virginia, they left a scarred landscape--miles of trenches, crude graves, ruined fields, damaged homes, and torn fences. For civilians left in the armies' wake, putting their lives back together and reclaiming the land was the first priority.

Protecting the Battlefield Landscape

In the post-war years, veterans returned to central Virginia to tour and hold reunions. As the veterans passed on, local citizens became interested in recognizing the battle sites. Richmond offers a unique example: the Freeman markers. Named for the moving spirit behind the markers, historian Douglas

Southall Freeman, these granite tablets that dot Richmond's battlefield landscapes were the work of local preservationists in the 1920s. They were the first step toward marking and preserving the battle sites around the city and formed the basis of what is now Richmond National Battlefield Park. The markers were among the first of their kind, and their design inspired markers elsewhere.

Riding the wave of enthusiasm, the local Rotary Club next organized the Richmond Battlefield Parks Corporation to preserve the land itself. The group set aside the first acreage to be preserved in the Richmond area. In 1927, when land containing the earthworks of Fort Harrison was to be sold at auction, the association authorized a member to purchase it, at no more than \$15,000. When the price reached \$18,000 he went ahead anyway, feeling that he could not pass up the opportunity.

In 1932 the Battlefield Parks Corporation turned its holdings over to the state, becoming Virginia's first state park. In 1936, the state transferred the land to the National Park Service. During the park's early years, the Civilian Conservation Corps did a tremendous amount of work, building roads and stabilizing earthworks. Indeed, from the 1930s through the 1960s, parks placed great emphasis on improving infrastructure and providing visitor access. These years saw many tour roads, visitor centers, and other structures built at historic sites.

The 1980s brought renewed interest in battlefield preservation with the creation of a grassroots movement that culminated in the formation of the Association for the Preservation of Civil

War Sites in 1987, which later became the Civil War Trust. The group focused on purchasing land before it could be lost to development. Similar groups emerged at the local level, including the Richmond Battlefields Association, Friends of Wilderness Battlefield, and the Central Virginia Battlefields Trust.

Preservation through Stewardship

Preserving battlefields is more than preventing incompatible development of the landscape; a key component of preservation is responsible stewardship. Once historic properties are preserved, they must be carefully studied, maintained, and interpreted. The National Park Service has highly skilled staff members who care for the grounds, historic structures, and features like earthworks and cemeteries. Preservation science has evolved as well, with new materials and techniques that allow us to do a better job of documenting, understanding, and ultimately preserving and interpreting these sites for future generations. The process often appears slow, and it may seem like newly acquired (or even existing) sites languish without attention. Yet behind the scenes there is a great deal of research and planning to carefully document, understand, and prepare a site for public access and, more importantly, interpretation.

An example from Richmond National Battlefield Park illustrates many of these concepts. In 2006, the park acquired Rural Plains, a 124-acre property in the heart of the Totopotomoy Creek battlefield (May 29-31, 1864) which also includes the c. 1725 Shelton House. The park immediately undertook archeological and architectural studies to learn about the home and the landscape around it. Research focused on elements that are important in defining the site's historic character and which must be retained in order to preserve that character. Not only do these reports document existing conditions and note evidence of previous changes, they often recommend treatment and long range goals going forward.

In 2010 the park completed a Cultural Landscape Report for the property, which examined the landscape from the prehistoric period to the present and documented man-made features such as roads, structures, and earthworks. A 2012 Historic Structure Report detailed the history of the Shelton house, noting changes over time and documenting important clues found in the wallpaper, floorboards, brickwork, and other architectural details. Park staff, assisted by the National Park Service's Historic Preservation Training Center in Frederick, Maryland, have



The Shelton House.

conducted stabilization projects such as repairing flooring, replacing windows, replacing brickwork in the fireplaces, and other tasks.

Local support has been crucial in the preservation and stewardship of Rural Plains. In 2013 local citizens formed a nonprofit friends group, the Rural Plains Foundation. This organization will assist the park in opening the house to the public and raising funds for further rehabilitation work. The site was also adopted by members of the USS *Fort McHenry*, based in Norfolk. The ship's crew has helped with rehabilitation work at the site.

What Are We Discovering?

Since acquiring the property and starting the stewardship process, the park has learned a great deal about Rural Plains, its residents, those who toiled there, and the 1864 battle that engulfed the site. Dating the house itself proved to be one key result of the cultural resource investigations. Local tradition, and even a historic marker, supported a building date of 1675. Yet analysis of the bricks and dendrochronology (dating method using tree ring analysis) support a more likely date of c. 1725.

In addition, an archeological investigation of the slave quarters site, based on a wartime sketch by artist Alfred Waud, tested and verified the location of the structures, as well as their size and orientation. Despite decades of agricultural and residential use of the property, the park's investigations also uncovered artifacts like pottery fragments, broken bottle glass, oyster shells, and animal bones that shed new light on the life of those enslaved residents. Other information that has emerged includes the enlarging of fireplaces and windows in the main house, the removal of an exterior door, and the repositioning of the stairway.



Historical sketch of the Shelton House by Alfred Waud. Photo Credit: Library of Congress.

Combined with historical accounts, all of this new information gives us more insight into the battle and the impact of the fighting on the Shelton family and their slaves.

Planning for Interpretation

A better understanding of the site's history also assists with the next phase of planning for public access and interpretation. For example, landscape features guided the trail placement for the battlefield. New knowledge about the home's construction and interior will influence how visitors access and circulate through the home.

Stewardship and interpretation must work hand-in-hand. National parks endeavor to preserve remaining historic features and, when possible and appropriate, restore key missing ones. At the Malvern Hill battlefield, for example, Richmond National Battlefield Park staff have studied historic maps and accounts of the battle and cleared non-historic trees to replicate much of the 1862 landscape. This supports the interpretation of the battlefield, as these views affected what commanders could and could not see and influenced their decisions. Topographical features shaped the flow of combat and the movement of troops. Fences, stone walls, fields, orchards, and woodlots were all features of the nineteenth century landscape that are crucial to understanding how combat unfolded at the battle sites.

Basic National Park Service preservation philosophy may be summed up as: "Better preserve than repair,



Members of the National Park Service, Historic Preservation Training Center, work on the Shelton House exterior.

better repair than restore, better restore than [re]construct." As work is planned for Rural Plains, Malvern Hill, and other historic sites throughout the National Park Service system, it is done with this in mind, to preserve as much original material as possible, and only alter or rebuild when there is no alternative.

The process is often time consuming and expensive, yet necessary. Installing trails or opening structures to the public without proper care and study has the potential to destroy unknown historic features and overlook physical evidence that may aid in understanding a historic resource.

The historical and archeological research at sites like Malvern Hill and Rural Plains reinforces what many of us know to be true: that history is dynamic and exciting. New discoveries await us as we, quite literally in some cases, peel back the layers to learn more. These discoveries allow us to share with the public an increasingly accurate, more complete -- and often more complex -- story of our nation's past.

To learn more about the National Park Service's preservation work, philosophy, and programs, visit...
www.nps.gov/history/preservation

When visitors tour the parks, they encounter a variety of park staff: law enforcement rangers, interpreters, maintenance personnel, and scientists. What unites them in their mission is a passion for preservation. You can be involved too! Volunteer at a park or join a friends group and make a difference for your national parks!

Hard work, dirt and death everywhere

Civilian Relief Efforts through July 1864

By Emmanuel Dabney, Park Ranger
Petersburg NB
& Andrea DeKoter, Park Historian
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP

Civilians provided critical aid in many forms to the Civil War armies. Most often assistance came from family members. Despite popular memory, women rarely worked as nurses in hospitals. Those women who did serve as nurses coped with dire conditions at times, gender bias, and shocking scenes. Northern soldiers found additional support from the United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission, which were established in 1861. Additional aid came from Northern relief agents, who saw to the specific needs of the troops from individual state and soldiers' aid societies. In contrast to the North, there were no national organizations in the South. Confederate-sympathizing civilians provided aid to their troops through individual, local, and regional efforts. Collectively these organizations would be busier than ever in the last year of the war.



Sanitary commission barge at the docks, City Point, Virginia.
Photo Credit: Library of Congress.

Hundreds of northern civilian relief workers flocked to Fredericksburg in May 1864 to offer their services to Union troops. It is estimated that several dozen of these workers were women, some of whom left

behind detailed accounts of their experiences. Interestingly, though men outnumbered women by a significant margin in this field, female relief workers proved far more prolific; indeed, many of the well-known accounts historians have drawn on to detail the situation behind the front lines were penned by women. One letter, written by a young New Yorker named Georgeanna Woolsey, succinctly summarized the atmosphere in town as the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House raged nearby: "Hard work, dirt and death everywhere."

Such bleak descriptions permeated the letters and journal entries of relief workers, but the writers also noted the positive impact of their efforts, often sharing touching anecdotes about the soldiers they had tended and, in the case of northern relief workers, the efficacy of organizations like the United States Sanitary Commission. The sheer scale of devastation and want -- as many as 26,000 wounded soldiers poured through Fredericksburg that May -- highlighted how badly the assistance of these doughty aids was needed. Woolsey observed that "no confusion was ever greater. . . . You may easily see how important the irregular supplies of the Sanitary Commission and other organizations have been." Sarah Hopper Gibbons Emerson, another New Yorker who volunteered in Fredericksburg alongside her mother, Abby Hopper Gibbons, echoed Woolsey's assessment: "The Sanitary Commission is a blessing beyond calculation. I never before knew what it was after a battle. But for it, thousands would die, and then the comfort and confidence they give the poor fellows!"

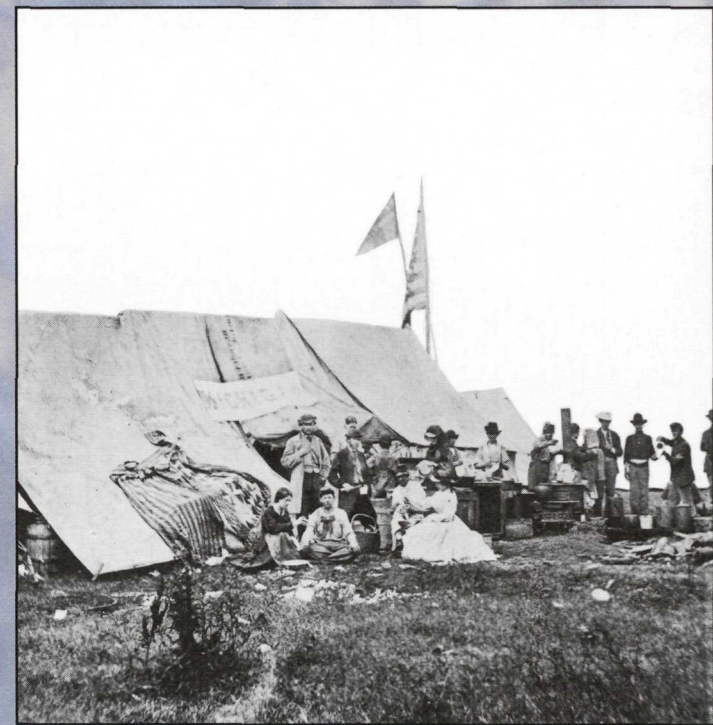
In addition to directly caring for soldiers, northern relief workers rendered logistical assistance to the Army of the Potomac in the aftermath of the Battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House, supplying transport ships and food to supplement the federal government's sometimes meager provisions. At Belle Plain, a staging area for Union troops on their way to and from Washington, D.C., the ambulance trains of the wounded and dying stretched for miles. Describing the scene to her sister, Woolsey wrote, "Nothing I have ever seen equals the condition of these men; they have been two or three days in the train, and no food. We have been at work with them from morning till night without ceasing, filling one

boat, feeding the men, filling another and feeding them." By May 27, most relief workers had left the area as they prepared to move on to the next battle front.

In mid-June 1864, the Federal base of operations shifted to City Point (now Hopewell), Virginia at the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers. This served as General Grant's headquarters until the spring of 1865. Northern nurses, escaped slaves (called contrabands), state relief agents, and Sanitary Commission representatives and Christian Commission delegates assisted the war effort from this location.

During the June assaults on Petersburg, Depot Field Hospital was set up at City Point. In the summer of 1864 it contained 10,000 beds on 200 acres. The hospital served troops of the Army of the Potomac, including a segregated ward for U.S. Colored Troops. In addition to nurses like Cornelia Hancock, some women like a Miss Duncan and Helen Gilson managed hospital kitchens.

In the summer of 1864, the Sanitary Commission dispensed 207,156 pounds of canned tomatoes, 16,218 gallons of sauerkraut, 16,060 pounds of canned fruit, and 36,273 gallons of pickled cucumbers, among other articles. The Christian Commission distributed 708 mosquito nets, 11,500 socks, 297 tons of ice, over 6,700 fans, and almost 2,500 pounds of soap among many other items to the Armies of the James and Potomac between May and July.



Michigan & Pennsylvania Relief Association camp. White House Landing, VA. Photo Credit: Library of Congress.

State relief agents from Maine, Indiana, Maryland, Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York were equally busy. Richard King reported that he and other Maryland relief agents did what they could for those in the Depot Field Hospital, and then he "visited the different Maryland regiments at the front" and distributed "articles of comfort or necessity, such as the government does not furnish and the soldiers in the field are unable to buy." Lucy Bainbridge, who briefly represented the needs of Ohioans at City Point that summer, recalled years later that her evenings were busy with letter writing to "wives, mothers, and sweethearts."



City Point, VA. African Americans unloading vessels at landing. Photo Credit: Library of Congress.

Contrabands provided valuable assistance to Federal forces throughout the war. At City Point, at least 160 formerly enslaved women worked as laundresses at the Depot Field Hospital, where they washed up to 6000 articles a week. Contraband men and women worked as cooks in the hospitals. Many formerly enslaved men unloaded ships bringing in Federal supplies.

Despite inflation and transportation problems, many people assisted Confederate troops in Virginia. By 1864, numerous soldiers' aid societies formed in 1861 were no longer meeting for a variety of reasons. Yet, an amazing amount of aid came to Southern forces.

The needs of the wounded received a lot of attention. Obadiah Pickle, representing the Central Association for the Relief of South Carolina Soldiers, tended South

Carolinians injured from the Battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House between May 7 and May 27. He traveled with 250 wounded to Columbia, SC and returned to Richmond by June 5. He visited hospitals to give out supplies and see patients in field hospitals at Cold Harbor. The manager of the Richmond Theater devoted "the proceeds to the relief of the wounded soldiers and destitute poor of this city" on May 17. Some soldiers' aid societies in King George County, VA sent into Richmond "a large four-mule wagon loaded down with eggs, milk, butter, lamb, potatoes, asparagus, bread, &c., &c. . . for the wounded soldiers" on May 18.

The number of wounded increased in Petersburg's hospitals, because of the battles between Major General Benjamin Butler's Army of the James and General Pierre Beauregard's troops in between Petersburg and Richmond in May. The editor of the Petersburg Daily Express begged that "Milk, eggs, butter, vegetables, fresh meats, etc, should be daily sent to the wounded in every hospital." Dr. John H. Claiborne, in charge of Petersburg's hospitals, distributed the contents of a box sent by his wife to his hospital patients.

A group of ladies from Milton, NC donated supplies directly to Seabrook's Hospital in Richmond in May. Between May 1 and the end of June 1864, the Richmond Y.M.C.A. and Ladies Soldiers' Aid Society received more than \$9,000 in donations from people including Robert E. Lee and Delia McCaw, the wife of Chimborazo Hospital's chief surgeon, which undoubtedly was used for the wounded and sick.

Civilians also provided clothing. Many Confederate soldiers were unknowingly thankful to Mary Buchanan Randolph, the great-granddaughter of President Thomas Jefferson who presided over the Albemarle County Ladies' Aid Society. Between December 1863 and the spring of 1864, this group donated 300 pairs of socks and the government paid them to produce 900 additional pairs. General Lee's wife, Mary, sent over 400 pairs of socks to the Army of Northern Virginia by mid-May 1864.

Whether through organizations or individual efforts, citizens in both the North and the South pitched in to render whatever aid they could to their troops for the duration of the Civil War. As the war roared to its bloody climax in the spring and summer of 1864, the demand for aid taxed the resources of the state and federal governments, making it clear, as Clara Barton



Mary Custis Lee.

wrote, "that in time of peace we must prepare for war, and it is no less a wise benevolence that makes preparation in the hour of peace for assuaging the ills that are sure to accompany war." Accordingly, in the wake of this national tragedy emerged the American Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations. The war also paved the way for the professionalization of nursing and expanded women's sphere beyond the home, though it would be many years before women were granted equal rights. Finally, the efforts of African Americans in the relief effort underscored to those on both sides that nothing less than the meaning of freedom depended on the outcome of this conflict.

The 1864 Campaigns



By Dennis E. Frye, Chief Historian,
Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

Abraham Lincoln was convinced he would lose. The Civil War was supposed to end in 90 days. It now dragged into its fourth year in 1864. Lincoln's popularity reached new lows. The war to save the Union and to terminate slavery seemed endless. Patience was breaking. War-weary Northerners despised the draft; detested war-time taxes; decried rampant inflation; and despaired over suppression of freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

And then there were the casualties. Hundreds of thousands of wounded - tens of thousands of dead. Casualties in the battles of Antietam and Gettysburg alone produced more dead and wounded Union and Confederate soldiers than in every previous American war combined.

"It seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be reelected," a dejected Lincoln informed his Cabinet near the end of August, 1864. Only ten weeks remained before Election Day. It was not supposed to be this way. Lincoln had expected a different outcome. The year had dawned hopeful. The President finally had discovered the general that would bring him victory - U.S. Grant.

Ulysses S. Grant rated as the North's best commander. The former store keeper from Galena, Illinois, had purveyed his West Point training into stunning and smashing successes. He had captured one Confederate army at Fort Donelson and captured a second at Vicksburg, securing the Mississippi River for the Union. He had defeated Southern armies at Shiloh and Chattanooga, and his military stardom propelled him to promotion as lieutenant general - the loftiest rank bestowed to George Washington.

President Lincoln had never met his new commander. Then Grant unexpectedly arrived at a White House reception in March, 1864, and an onlooker described his first impression: "He had no gait, no station, no manner, rough, light-brown whiskers, rather a scrubby

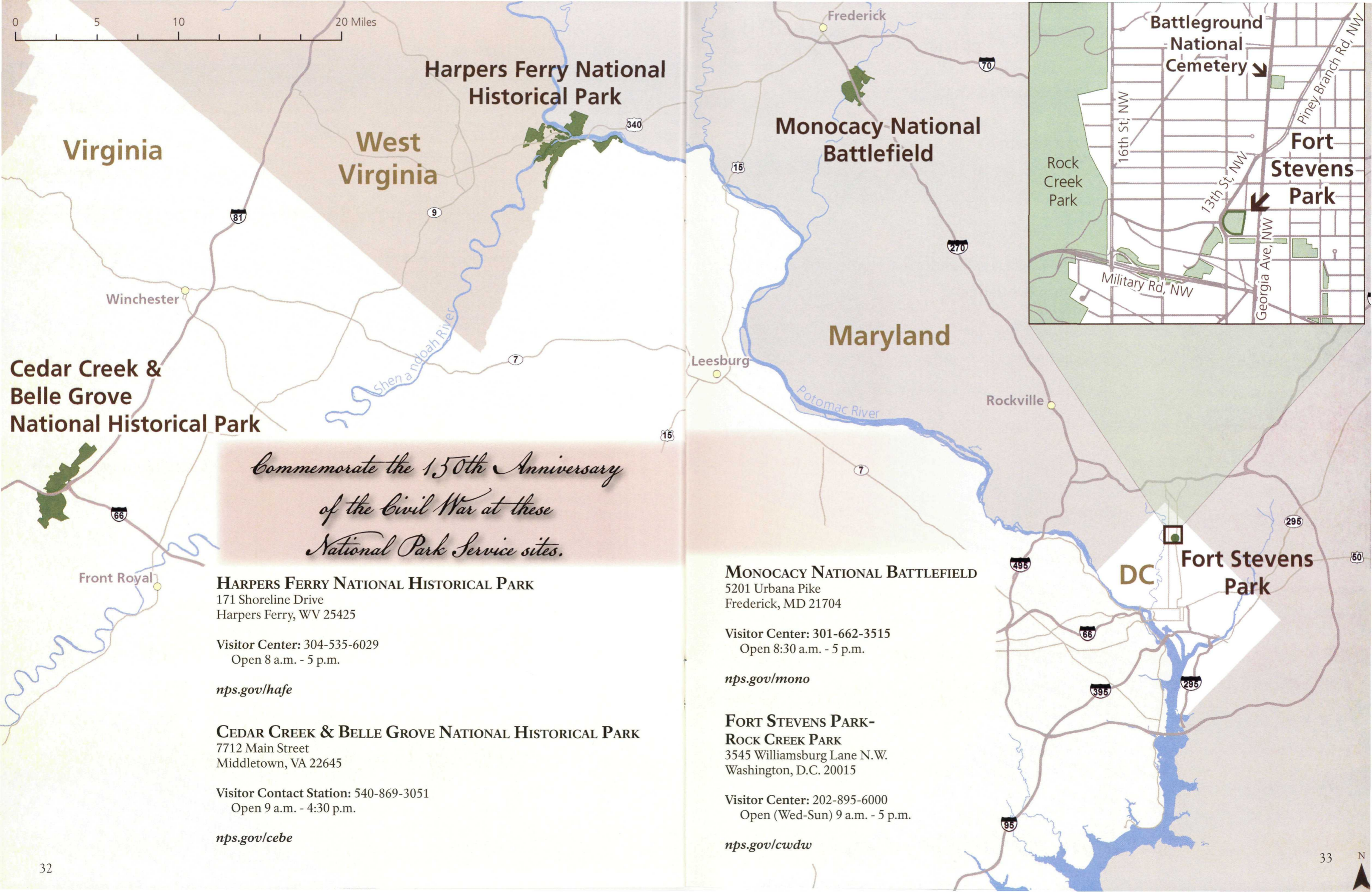
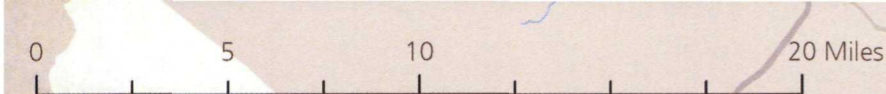
look." The observer noticed Grant's trademark appearance. "He had a cigar in his mouth, and rather the look of a man who did, or once did, take a little too much to drink." But despite Grant's "slightly seedy look," the recorder was transfixed by Grant's "clear blue eye and a look of resolution, as if he could not be trifled with."

General Grant conceived a master plan to win the war. Conferred with the title of commander of the armies, he now could choreograph the maneuvers of the armies. Grant envisioned two targets that could collapse the Confederacy - Richmond, the Southern capital; and Atlanta, a vital transportation and logistics center. To ensure the Confederates could not transfer reinforcements to these threatened targets, Grant ordered simultaneous attacks against Confederate positions along six different fronts from Virginia to Georgia to Alabama.

Grant's principal nemesis was General Robert E. Lee. Lee controlled the Virginia defense, and he had defeated five U.S. generals who had dared to move against Richmond. But Grant was undeterred by Lee's fame and prowess. "I am heartily tired of hearing what Lee is going to do," Grant complained to a subordinate. "Go back to your command, and try to think what we are going to do ourselves, instead of what Lee is going to do." According to one officer, Grant's face showed three expressions: "deep thought, extreme determination, and great simplicity and calmness. . . . He habitually wears an expression as if he had determined to drive his head through a brick wall and was about to do it."

Even Confederate high society expressed concern about Grant. "He don't care a snap if men fall like the leaves fall; he fights to win, that chap does," wrote Richmond diarist Mary Boykin Chestnut. "[T]hey have scared up a man who succeeds, and they expect him to remedy all that has gone wrong."

Unfortunately for Lincoln and Grant, much would continue to go wrong.



*Commemorate the 150th Anniversary
of the Civil War at these
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Visitor Center: 304-535-6029
Open 8 a.m. - 5 p.m.

nps.gov/hafe

CEDAR CREEK & BELLE GROVE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
7712 Main Street
Middletown, VA 22645

Visitor Contact Station: 540-869-3051
Open 9 a.m. - 4:30 p.m.

nps.gov/cebe

MONOCACY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD
5201 Urbana Pike
Frederick, MD 21704

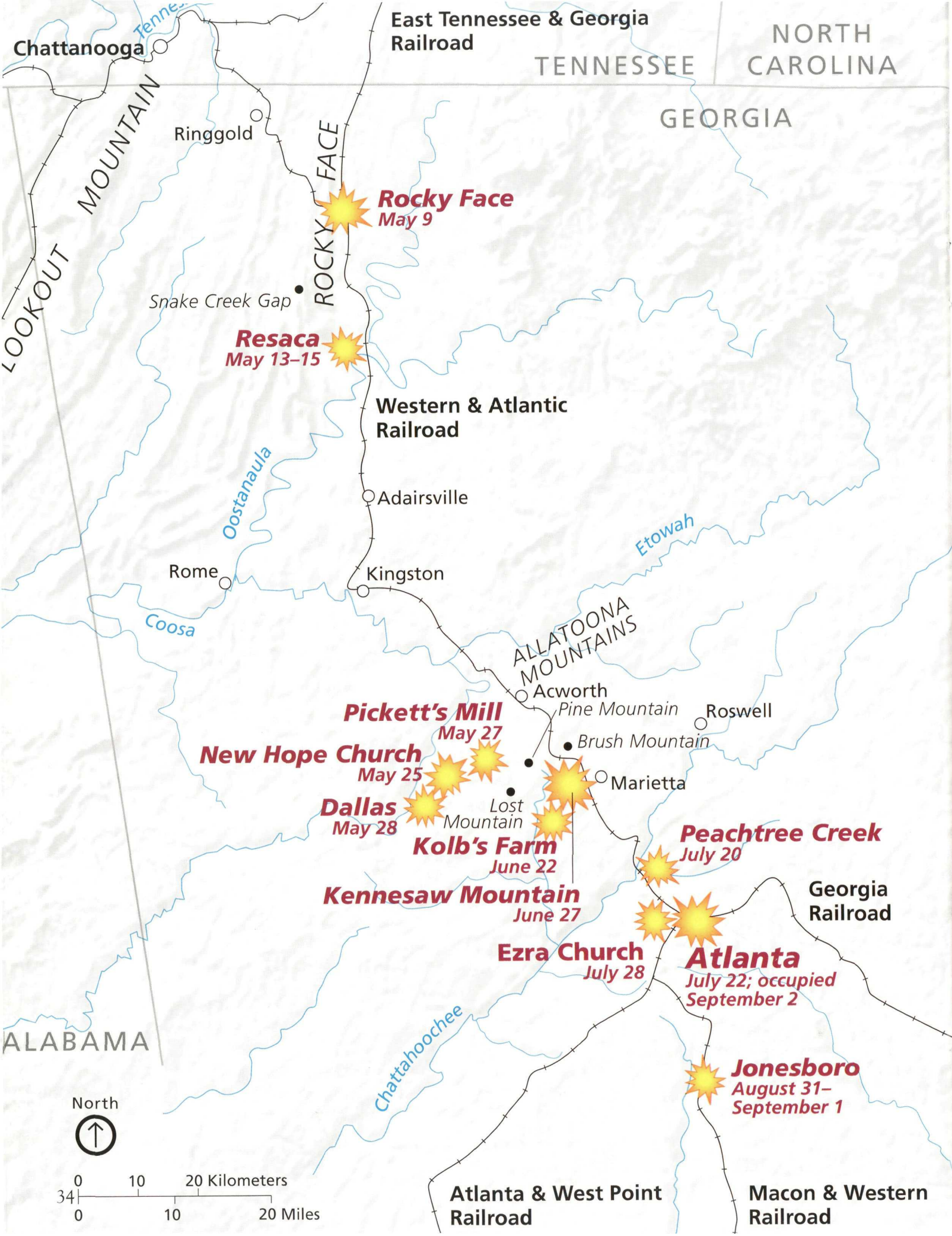
Visitor Center: 301-662-3515
Open 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.

nps.gov/mono

**FORT STEVENS PARK-
ROCK CREEK PARK**
3545 Williamsburg Lane N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20015

Visitor Center: 202-895-6000
Open (Wed-Sun) 9 a.m. - 5 p.m.

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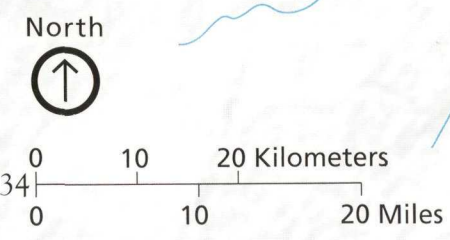
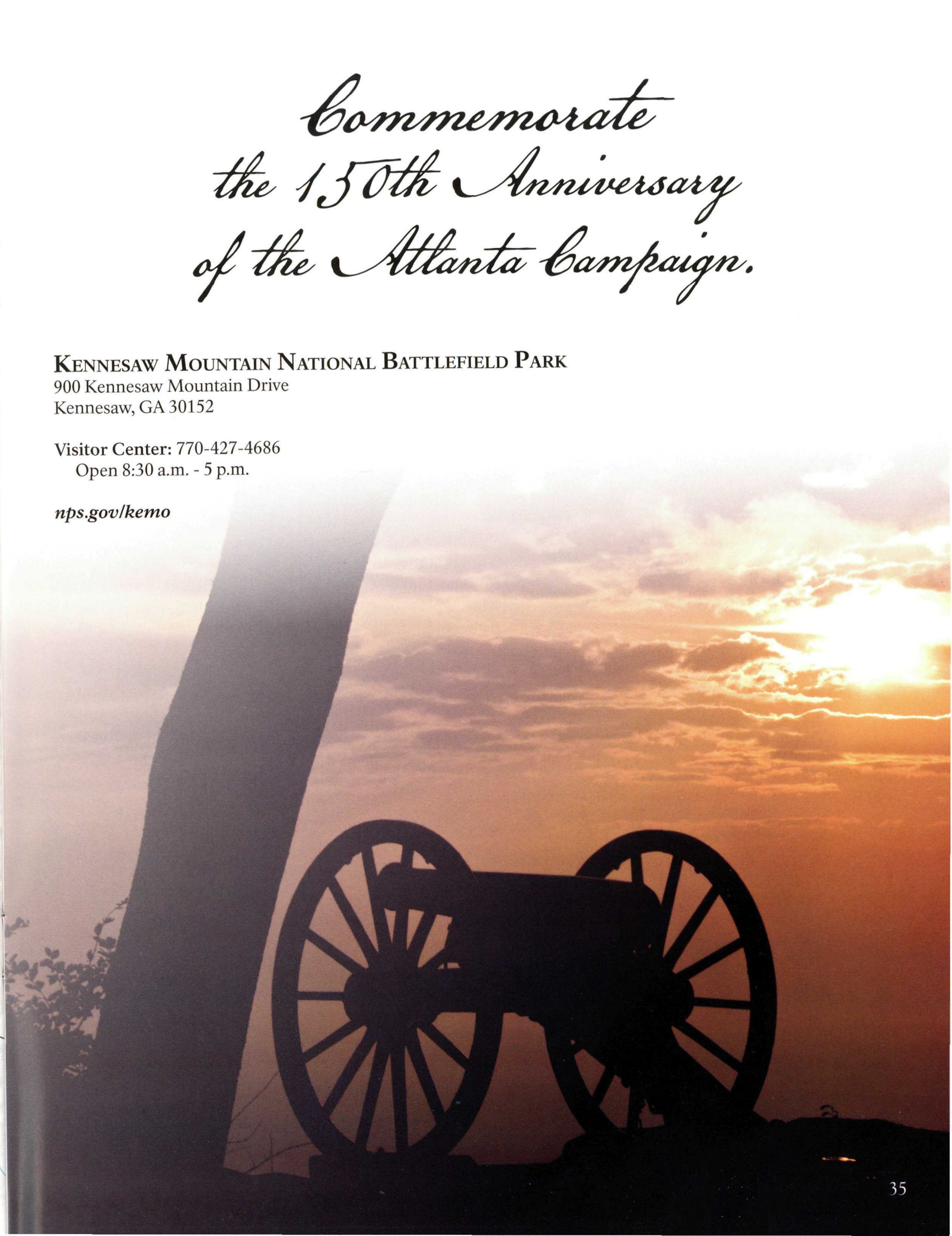


*Commemorate
the 150th Anniversary
of the Atlanta Campaign.*

KENNESAW MOUNTAIN NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD PARK
 900 Kennesaw Mountain Drive
 Kennesaw, GA 30152

Visitor Center: 770-427-4686
 Open 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.

nps.gov/kemo



THE ANISHNAABEK OF MICHIGAN'S COMPANY K:

The Complexity of an Indigenous Population's Involvement in the Civil War

By Eric Hemenway
Director of Repatriation, Archives and Records
Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians

The American Civil War helped define the United States as we know it today. Great sacrifices were made by both the northern and southern armies; undoubtedly the greatest sacrifice was the lives lost. Approximately 628,000 people died, an astonishing number, given that 3 million men fought in the Civil War and the population of America at the beginning of the war was nearly 31 million. Not counted in this figure of 31 million American citizens are Native Americans who also gave the lives of their warriors to the Civil War. Over 20,000 Native Americans fought in the Civil War, despite not being American citizens at the time. The North and South utilized tribal participation on the battlefield on many occasions, including in the state of Michigan.

The tribal nations of the Odawa/Ottawa, Ojibway/Chippewa and Potawatomi together comprise the Anishnaabek ("the Good People") of the Great Lakes. The Anishnaabek called Michigan and the surrounding Great Lakes home countless centuries before the arrival of Europeans

in the 17th century and the establishment of the United States in 1776. The Odawa, Ojibway and Potawatomi were no strangers to fighting for their lands and rights, as evidenced by their participation in the Iroquois war of 1640-1701, the Fox Wars at Detroit in 1711, the French and Indian War of 1754-61, Pontiac's War of 1763, and fighting against Americans on several occasions. These contests against the Americans include the Revolutionary War, Little Turtle's War along the Wabash River in 1790-91 and the conclusion of the War of 1812. For over 200 years the Anishnaabek fought for their own interests and rights as sovereign nations, but by the onset of the American Civil War in 1861, the Anishnaabek of Michigan had suffered unimaginable changes at the hands of the American government in Michigan. Despite that history, by 1863, 139 Anishnaabek men had volunteered to join the northern cause and create the largest, all-Indian regiment in the Union

army east of the Mississippi River. This regiment was Company K of the 1st Michigan Sharpshooters.

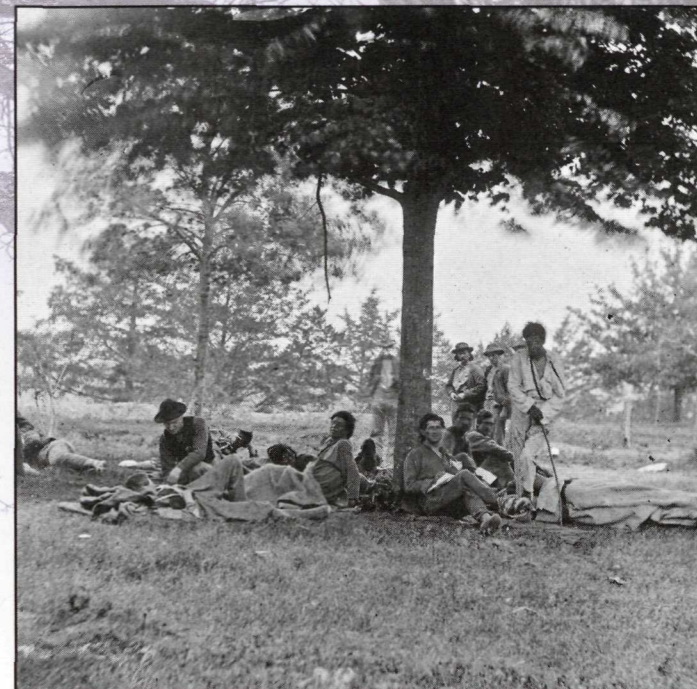


Monument to the 1st Michigan Sharpshooters located on the grounds of the Michigan State Capitol. Company K of the regiment was the largest all-Indian unit in the Union army east of the Mississippi River.

The complexities of what the tribal communities in Michigan dealt with from the conclusion of the War of 1812 to the onset of the Civil War is what makes the story of Company K so compelling. Immediately after the War of 1812 concluded in 1815, Michigan's Anishnaabek communities had to contend with a series of events, policies and actions that were set against them. First was President Andrew Jackson's Removal Act of 1830. This law stated all Indian tribes east of the Mississippi River were to be removed west of that river to lands deemed "Indian Territory," which included Oklahoma and Kansas. Michigan's tribes were not exempt from this genocidal law. In order to avoid forced removal from their aboriginal homelands in Michigan, various bands of Odawa, Ojibway and Potawatomi engaged in a series of treaties with the United States. The treaty of 1836, one of the major treaties in Michigan, saw the Odawa and Ojibway cede to the United States over 22 million acres of land in order to stay on tribal reservations, many of which were the size of a single county. The Odawa and Ojibway had to enter into treaty again in 1855 to avoid removal to Kansas. By 1860, the Anishnaabek were vastly outnumbered by white settlers in Michigan.

The Michigan Anishnaabek in 1861 had no voting rights, were not American citizens, were forced off their lands, faced intense racism and prejudice, had no legal rights, and faced religious persecution. It would not be until 1978, under the Indian Religious Freedom Act, that all Native Americans could practice their respective religions openly. During the Civil War, it was illegal for tribes to practice their traditional beliefs. Despite all of these obstacles, the Anishnaabek tried to volunteer for the Union at the onset of the Civil War but were denied. The prejudice against Indians was so strong at that point that many Americans questioned whether they were "civilized." The fear Indians would turn into "bloodthirsty savages" in the heat of battle was a misconception held by the public. Blacks were permitted to join the Union army before Indians. It would not be until 1863, after the war had resulted in tremendous loss of life, that Company K would be permitted into the Union army.

Company K had 139 Anishnaabek. The majority of the Company was comprised of Odawa and Ojibway men, with the Odawa making up 51% of the Company. Two major mustering locations in Michigan were Mackinac and Pentwater. Company K hailed from a number of towns and villages, all of which were traditional Anishnaabek homelands: Harbor Springs, Cross Village, Middle Village, Mackinac City, Petoskey, Charlevoix, Burt Lake, Sault Ste. Marie, Saginaw,



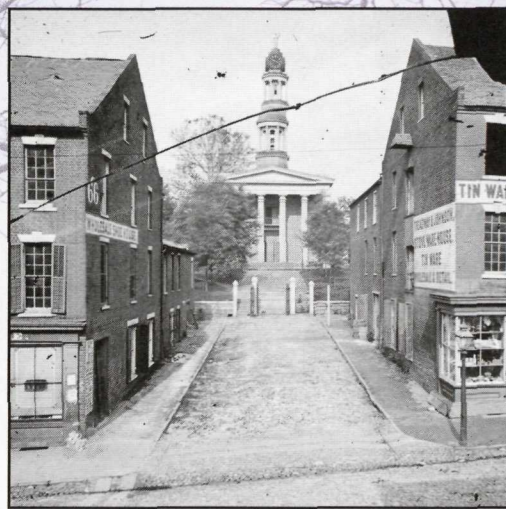
Soldiers of Company K wounded during the Battle of the Wilderness receive treatment at a Union field hospital located on Marye's Heights in Fredericksburg, VA.

Isabella, Northport, Pentwater and St. Ignace. All of these locations, except for Sault Ste. Marie, are in the lower peninsula of Michigan. While it took longer for Indians to be accepted into the army, once they were, they received the same rate of pay as white soldiers. Due to many tribes losing their land, and thus their traditional means of survival, money was a factor for some men enlisting. For centuries, the Anishnaabek had the unrestricted ability to hunt, fish, grow crops and make maple sugar throughout Michigan. By 1860, the Anishnaabek were restricted to small allotments of land on reservations, thus destroying traditional means of families providing for themselves.

Once permitted to fight, Company K fought in some of the most pivotal and brutal conflicts of the war. Company K fought in the Overland Campaign, seeing heavy fighting at the Battle of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania and the siege of Petersburg. Their bravery and fighting ability were noted by many, thus eliminating the stigma of the "uncivilized nature" of Indians in battle. During the Battle of the Wilderness, Odawa Chief Daniel Mwa-kwa-we-naw of Petoskey, Michigan killed 32 Confederates, many of whom were officers. This amazing feat is even more impressive given the fact Daniel was shot three times during the battle. He died from his wounds shortly after.

Daniel was not the only member of Company K to display heroism. Antoine Scott of Pentwater was recommended for the Medal of Honor twice. During

the infamous Battle of the Crater, Antoine provided covering fire for wounded comrades seeking to escape. Antoine would survive the war and return home to Pentwater, where he died in 1878. The brave Odawa warrior never received the Medal of Honor for his services.

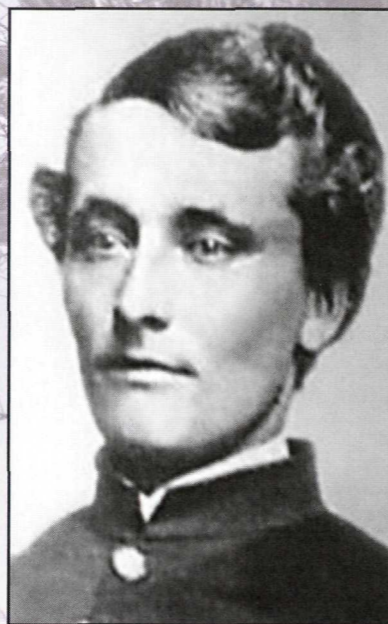


When the City of Petersburg fell on April 3, 1865, members of the 1st Michigan Sharpshooters raised the United States flag over the captured city from the clock tower of the courthouse.

Survival was something at which Company K would excel. A remarkable number of them survived the horrors of Petersburg and the Crater. Fifteen members of Company K were captured and found themselves at the most infamous Confederate prison camp: Andersonville. Eight of the fifteen died in the camp, along with thousands of other Union prisoners. But seven would survive, including Payson Wolfe of Northport, Louis Miskogoun of Charlevoix, and Amos Ashkebugnekay of Elbridge. Louis and Amos, upon their journey home, were tested one last time. The two Anishnaabek were passengers on the *Sultana* on April 27, 1865. The worst maritime disaster in American history ensued when the boat exploded on the Mississippi River. Approximately 1,800 of the *Sultana's* 2,400 passengers died. Louis and Amos managed to escape death once more, and both men returned home to Michigan.

Upon returning home after the war, the men of Company K did not receive a war hero's welcome. Despite their military service, the Anishnaabek of Michigan struggled to keep the lands granted to them under treaties and fought to obtain equal social and political standing. Post-Civil War, the population in Michigan began to drastically rise, as many white veterans were promised land for their service, and resort communities increased in popularity. Indian, or reservation, lands were often illegally selected and allotted to non-Indian families. White settlers would "squat" on Indians' lands, claiming the lands were abandoned. When Indians took their arguments to

court, their pleas for justice fell on deaf ears. In 1901, the Burt Lake Odawa, which had three men in Company K, suffered one of the worst atrocities, as the local sheriff and a group of white settlers burned the Odawa village to the ground, drove out the Indian inhabitants and took their lands. Burt Lake had an Indian correspondent named Gaminoodhich who wrote for the Grand Traverse Herald during the Civil War. In 1862, he penned a lengthy article calling for equality among all men and observed that "to be driven to the man-



The only officer of Indian descent, Lt. Garrett Graveraet was wounded in the opening assaults on Petersburg. He died on July 10, 1864 at the Armory Hospital in Washington, D.C. In a letter to his mother written shortly before his death he stated, "This fighten[sic] for my country is all right."

market for sale is, we think a rank offense before the Great Spirit, and a foul blot on the Grand Republic." His writing offers a glimpse into the political climate for the Anishnaabek, and he reminded readers of assurances "that our great father-the President-shall send us all titles to our lands as soon as he shall have accomplished the disagreeable duty of subduing the trouble created by his rebellious children of the South" (Grand Traverse Herald, 1862). Though the Civil War had irrevocably altered Americans' views on freedom and equality, it would be many years before the Anishnaabek would see the equality for which they had paid so dear a price.

STORIES WRITTEN IN MOUNDS OF EARTH

THE OVERLAND CAMPAIGN TRANSFORMS CIVIL WAR ENGINEERING



By David Lowe, Philip Shiman, Noel Harrison

The long, low mounds that we pass today on the battlefields of Virginia's Overland Campaign strive to share with us their grim and arresting stories. They are 150 years old and eroded by nature into gentle enhancements of the surrounding parkland scenery. Yet as remnants of fortifications, they also record Civil War armies' changing attitudes under long bloodletting. The fortifications of May-June 1864 denote a marked shift in military engineering, which ironically could bring intensified combat along with greater protection.

By the 1860s, professional military men had long agreed on the basic premise of field fortifications: an entrenched defender, standing behind a protective mound of earth, gained a significant advantage over an attacker—said to be three-to-one. Nearly every graduate of the U.S. Military Academy who would fight for North or South was exposed to the teachings of Dennis Hart Mahan. He believed that inexperienced soldiers—the bulk of American forces at the start of any future war—would feel safer behind a defensive parapet; their aim would be steadier; and their officers could more easily exert control. The 1861 edition of Mahan's engineering manual, published as thousands of volunteers flocked to the colors, predicted that the increased range and accuracy of rifled shoulder arms and artillery would change

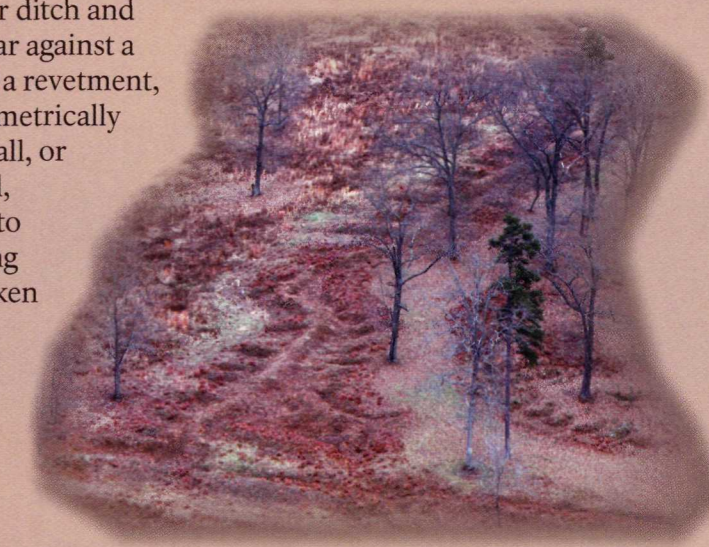
the face of warfare. High casualty rates at unprecedented ranges, he wrote, "must give additional value to entrenched fields of battle." Mahan proved right about the value, even if he could not foresee the modest appearance, and humble architects, of much of the effective military architecture by war's end.

From the beginning of the conflict, field fortifications were used to defend important "fixed" positions such as cities, depots, and river crossings. Designing and supervising the construction of these prepared or semi-permanent earthworks was often considered the province of trained military engineers. The static defenses could be massive, typically constructed by excavating dirt from a deep, exterior ditch and throwing it to the rear against a retaining wall called a revetment, creating a thick, geometrically shaped protective wall, or parapet. This careful, laborious approach to defensive engineering was usually undertaken long before enemy troops were nearby.

Yet in the shadow of these grand, semi-permanent fortifications a humbler-appearing class of earthworks evolved amid a democratization of Mahan's approach—every soldier his own engineer. Virginia's

Overland Campaign would see them building these modest structures even before combat began, and dominating defensive engineering. The extemporaneous earthworks, known as rifle pits, rifle trenches, or breastworks, could be thrown up quickly. These were simple, consisting of a parapet and an interior trench. Common soldiers built them in the absence of or with minimal oversight by trained military engineers. Troops dug and piled earth into a parapet—often reinforced by logs or fence rails—then stood in the trench to fire.

The advantage of this type of construction was speed combined with great strength that was often obscured by simple, crude-looking construction. Each shovelful of



East side of Spotsylvania's "Mule Shoe" fortification-line from the air. Both armies' "wrote" upon the Spotsylvania landscape a new resolve to entrench as soon as possible, as strongly as possible. The berm snaking from top to bottom in this photo began life as the parapet of a line of Confederate breastworks, once occupied by soldiers to the right of the parapet. After the Federals captured this section but were stalemated in the area by counterattacks, they converted the enemy parapet to their own purposes, adding short, perpendicular walls called "traverses" behind it (left in this view) to create protective, three-sided pens.

earth simultaneously lowered the trench and raised the parapet. A parapet five-to-seven feet thick built in the space of a few hours could stop a Minié bullet; widening the parapet to 10-12 feet would stop most field artillery projectiles. Out in front, soldiers cleared away vegetation to enhance visibility, and often created a precursor of barbed wire, called an abatis, from small trees felled toward the enemy with branches sharpened and interlaced.

When we examine the remnants of breastworks on the Overland Campaign's battlefields today, we are looking at the physical record of a change in soldiers' practices and attitudes, a shift that was finalized across just six weeks of fighting, and some 70 miles of central Virginia between the battlefields of the Wilderness and Cold Harbor. At the Wilderness, entrenching was only universal by the end of a day-long lull after the fighting, and then with comparatively weak fortifications. Yet within two days, at the onset of the battle of Spotsylvania Court House, soldiers were building breastworks even before combat began, and in ever increasing structural strength. Both armies continued the Spotsylvania pattern, digging-in as early as possible and in their entirety. The Union Army of the Potomac suffered immense casualties trying

to achieve the permanent rupture of strong Confederate breastworks at Spotsylvania, declined to launch similarly intense attacks in the face of another quickly built but strong enemy fortification-line at North



Based on written accounts and early postwar photos of Overland Campaign fortifications, this breastwork-reconstruction at Spotsylvania is shown from the defender's point of view. The "headlog" at top is elevated by design to offer a rifleman head-protection while standing in the trench and firing through the gap below.

Anna River, then at Cold Harbor suffered more horrendous losses by reverting to major frontal attacks against enemy breastworks.

Such was the bloodletting at Cold Harbor, the last combat of the campaign, that both sides abandoned further assaults and spent the battle's final phase building ultra-protective, elaborate fortifications and employing siege techniques such as preliminary mining and counter-mining. There was general recognition that other methods could not achieve penetration of the opposing lines of fortifications. In design and

construction, those at Cold Harbor grew to a scope that exceeded breastworks built previously, and previewed the return, during many of the ensuing operations around Petersburg, to the semi-permanent works envisioned by Mahan--the second, final transition "told" by the Overland Campaign's history written in mounds of earth.

Why had rapidly built but strong breastworks taken so long to dominate military practice when their benefits were so obvious in hindsight? The advantages of battlefield entrenching had been obscured by early war attitudes. Some military theorists argued that any fixed fortification could be rendered useless by a well-conducted flanking march;

troops placed in fortifications, they said, became timid and useless for offensive operations. Soldiers were heard to say that they had "joined up to fight, not to dig" or that the war ought to be settled by "a fair, standup fight in the open." Entrenching to them seemed unmanly, worthy only of common laborers.

The battles of 1864, with Spotsylvania as a key transition experience, demonstrated the value of well-constructed and rapidly entrenched positions. By digging

in, defenders could attain localized tactical superiority quickly. Early in the war, units had often deployed behind a natural rise of ground that offered cover and concealment but left them blind to what the enemy was doing. By mastering the skills of entrenching and applying those universally during the Overland Campaign, soldiers freed themselves from the accidental advantages of terrain. Pushing forward to entrench on the military crest of that rise (from where they could see the bottom of the slope) helped to minimize dead ground, hidden folds of terrain that could shelter an opponent and allow him to spring forward unseen.

Second, as Mahan had stressed, entrenching enhanced unit cohesion. Fortifications imposed a sense of order upon the combat experience. Each regiment and each soldier staked out territory. The mission was clear: hold the ground and eliminate any enemy venturing into range; each soldier could look left and right and see that his comrades depended upon him. Retreating across open ground to the rear could be more dangerous than staying put. A soldier both benefited from and amplified the psychological power of fighting from behind a breastwork, power that could bring battlefield superiority within a very short time.

Rapid entrenching was also appealing for offering the means to securely broaden a defending army's position. When a force in motion encountered an opponent on the defensive, and was stubbornly resisted, tactics prescribed dispatching units to the left and right of the opponent's main position in hopes of finding an open flank to turn. If those units reached a truly exposed flank, and brought in reinforcements, they could force the opposing troops from their position. Yet rapid construction of breastworks countered this by allowing the defender to hold a longer line with fewer rifles; one rifle could stand in the place of three, thereby freeing up two rifles to extend the front. With motivation and practice, the defenders reached a point where they entrenched and extended to the flanks faster than attackers' reinforcements could march to the front and deploy against them. The diligent but largely fruitless search for a truly vulnerable flank of the Confederate army essentially defined the Federals' Overland Campaign operations.

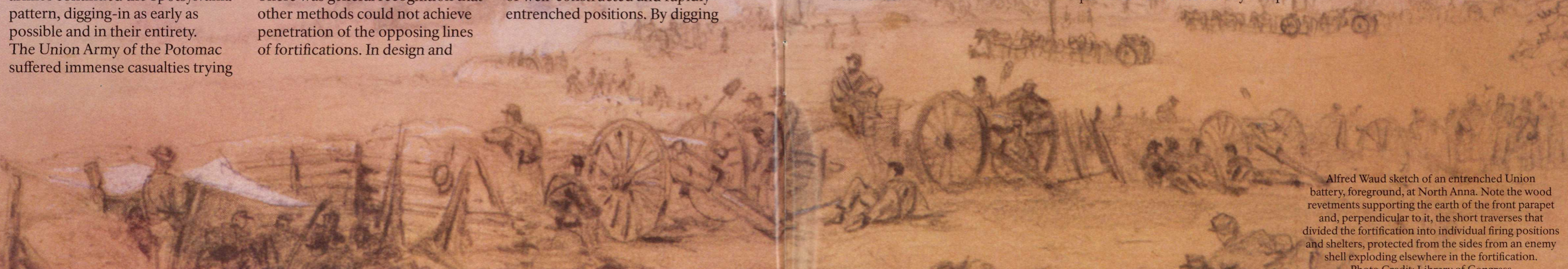
Entrenching led to new styles of fighting. Instead of scurrying to the rear when attacked, even the soldiers deployed furthest to the front--pickets and skirmishers in advance of their army's main position--contested every scrape

in the ground, every rifle trench. In describing Cold Harbor, Union staff officer Theodore Lyman recalled that their comrades to the rear now used the opportunity of "every halt" to "protect their lives by a parapet. . .in the edge of a wood, where it would be hidden and. . .command a wide field of fire. In front were the intrenched pickets. . .with good supports. . . Behind the main line and concealed with equal care were the field batteries."



Union canteen converted to a scoop for building earthworks at Cold Harbor.

In the war's last year, veteran soldiers sometimes refused to attack fortifications. These men had already surveyed the battlefield and calculated their odds of survival. They understood and embraced the evolving military science. Most of those heroes from the early war years who demanded a fair, stand-up fight in the open were by then dead and buried.



Alfred Waud sketch of an entrenched Union battery, foreground, at North Anna. Note the wood revetments supporting the earth of the front parapet and, perpendicular to it, the short traverses that divided the fortification into individual firing positions and shelters, protected from the sides from an enemy shell exploding elsewhere in the fortification. Photo Credit: Library of Congress

Virginia Civil War Trails



The Virginia Civil War Trails program invites you to explore both well-known and less familiar sites associated with the 1864 Overland and Bermuda Hundred Campaigns. Follow the distinctive red, white and blue “bugle” trailblazer signs to more than 60 campaign-related sites between the national battlefields in Fredericksburg, Richmond and Petersburg. Peel back the years and discover American history on its most dramatic stage, now unlocked by easily accessible parking areas with colorful and descriptive Civil War Trails interpretive signs.

Slow down. Entire campaigns and regions can be explored at your own pace, and many sites offer other historical and recreational opportunities. Walk, drive or bike along the dramatic back roads the soldiers used. Stop at the river crossings, churches, railroad yards and taverns they made famous. Visit a small town. Let the stories you’ve discovered ignite your imagination as you envision how Virginia’s now-peaceful landscapes were once the scenes of the deadliest battles known to man.

For more detailed travel information, stop by any Virginia Welcome Center or local/regional visitor center. For additional Civil War Trails information, visit www.CivilWarTrails.org.



Travelers enjoy one of the colorful, interpretive markers along the trail.

A MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, JON JARVIS

“The Civil War’s social, political, and economic effects were profound as the nation divorced itself—with great violence—from an institution that reduced human beings to property. The war transformed our conceptions of race and freedom. It changed ideas about death and religion. It remains to this day our greatest national upheaval.

The places where the war was fought are among our nation’s most sacred sites: Gettysburg, Shiloh, Antietam, and Manassas. The names themselves evoke not only the great struggle, but the personalities and events of that incredible time.

Over 75 of these battlefields and related sites are now national parks. For the National Park Service, serving as the steward of these places which occupy such a defining role in American memory, is not just a great honor, but a solemn responsibility. Helping our visitors understand the triumphs and tragedies of our incredible past is one of the National Park Service’s most important roles as keeper and interpreter of these iconic American places.

The National Park Service is proud to be the steward of that legacy. I can promise you that we will be here every day of every year watching over this place, to keep it and protect it; to pass its story on to future generations of Americans. It is not simply a battlefield that we preserve here. It is our birthright as a nation, purchased at an unimaginable cost, and one that we will care for with all the reverence it demands.”

- Director Jon Jarvis
July 21, 2011



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