

May 1862

The defensive effort on the eastern end of the Virginia Peninsula, first by Maj. Gen. John B. Magruder and then Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, bought precious time the Confederates desperately needed to gather troops and resources against Union Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac. By the beginning of May, that time was running out.

McClellan stopped his advance when he came up against Magruder's entrenchments—even though he enjoyed a heavy advantage in numbers and probably could have broken through before Johnston arrived with reinforcements—and began siege operations to overcome the Confederates deployed across his front. No one, including Robert E. Lee, expected the combined forces of Johnston and Magruder would be able to withstand a siege at Yorktown and along the Warwick River line. Johnston asked Maj. Gen. Daniel H. Hill, who commanded the Yorktown sector, how long Hill expected he could hold his position once McClellan's heavy guns began pounding his front. Hill's answer—"about two days"—prompted Johnston to reply that he "had supposed about two hours."¹

Johnston evacuated the Warwick and Yorktown lines on the night of May 3. Heavy rains impeded his westward march and he was forced to fight a rear guard action at Williamsburg on the 5th. As Johnston retreated, President Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War George Randolph, Secretary of the Navy Stephen Mallory, and Robert E. Lee scrambled to figure out how to save what they could from Norfolk. Johnston's retreat was not unexpected, but it came sooner than Richmond expected—and without much advance notice, either. They worried that not only would they lose the stockpiles of ordnance and other supplies housed at Norfolk and Portsmouth, but that the troops and artillery stationed there under Maj. Gen. Benjamin Huger, would be cut off and captured. Richmond's justified concern for the safety of Huger's troops led to a series of unpleasant exchanges between Lee and Johnston; the former had a much better overall grasp on the situation than did the latter, and issued orders to ensure that Huger's line of retreat remained open—orders that contradicted those issued by Johnston and drove him into a fit of ill-humor directed at Lee and Lee's aide Walter Taylor.

The evacuation of Norfolk and the defenses along the lower James River, coupled with the loss of the CSS *Virginia*, which was too heavy to clear the sand bars and make it up the James to Richmond, opened the river to the Federal Navy almost all the way to the capital. For several days the city was in a near panic, its populace expecting Union gunboats to shell Richmond at any moment. Lee and others hastened to complete obstructions and fortifications at Drewry's Bluff several miles downstream from Richmond. On May 15, the Union flotilla appeared there and was turned back by heavy artillery fire. Lee and the president were on scene as the guns fell silent.

As the Army of the Potomac drew closer to Richmond, first Romancoke and then White House came within the Union lines. Mary Lee and the girls left White House before the Federals arrived, but not without leaving a note on the door for the Yankees. They did not make it far before being discovered by Union patrols and placed under house arrest. At the same time, White House became

1 Stephen Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond: The Peninsula Campaign* (New York, 1992), 59.

the main base of supply for McClellan's army. McClellan personally ordered guards posted to protect the property.²

The victory at Drewry's Bluff saved Richmond in the short term, but McClellan's army to the east posed a serious threat. Johnston showed no signs of offering serious battle short of the shadows of the capital. Worse yet, he had not offered any plans to Davis, Randolph, or Lee. The men working in the Executive Mansion didn't appreciate Johnston's silence, and President Davis relayed his frustration to Lee, who tried to extract from his old friend any sort of plan of action he could then present to Davis on his behalf. Johnston stubbornly kept his own council.

Lee believed an offensive elsewhere in Virginia would draw off McClellan. In order to take advantage of President Lincoln's fears for the safety of his own capital, Lee urged Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson to gather the forces of Maj. Gen. Richard S. Ewell and Brig. Gen. Edward Johnson and strike the enemy in the Shenandoah Valley. And strike Jackson did at McDowell, Front Royal, and Winchester, a sweeping campaign that carried his small army all the way to the Potomac itself. Jackson's campaign convinced Lincoln to call off Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell's column that was moving south from Fredericksburg to link up with McClellan's army outside Richmond. McClellan would later claim that McDowell's recall crippled his own campaign against Richmond.

McClellan made a major error when he straddled his army across the Chickahominy River. Several bridges crossed the swampy watercourse, but heavy rains in late May raised the river above flood stage and threatened to sever the two Federal wings. The weather gave Johnston an opportunity and he finally revealed to Lee that he intended to strike McClellan's right flank near Mechanicsville on May 29. Davis and Lee both ventured into the field to observe the battle, but the advance and attack failed to materialize. Johnston had called off the attack when he learned that McDowell had turned back toward Fredericksburg and no longer threatened his left flank. He failed to inform Davis or Lee, and—if Davis is to be believed—any of the commanders involved.³

On May 31, however, Johnston finally attacked on the other flank and the effort went horribly awry from the start. The offensive was hours behind schedule, a large portion of the attacking column took the wrong road, and other commands never arrived at all. And the fight spun out of control once it finally got underway. Historian Stephen Sears described the Battle of Fair Oaks/Seven Pines as a "comic opera;" Douglas Freeman described it as "a battle of strange errors."⁴

Much to Joe Johnston's chagrin, Lee and Davis were on hand to witness the confused situation. The fighting proved inconclusive, but one aspect of the battle changed the course of the war in Virginia (and arguably the war itself): Johnston was seriously wounded near the end of the first day, leaving the Virginia army without a reliable commander.

* * *

2 OR 11, pt. 3, 202-3. Custis warned his mother in early May: "On any day you may be without our lines and within those of the enemy. What is to become of you and the girls God only knows. . . . How you are to obtain funds when cut off from us, is a question that disturbs me greatly. I would feel much easier if you would all come here [Richmond] and go further south. . . . You had best move at once, and not linger until the last moment when the roads may be blocked with wagons and troops. Whatever you may determine upon do at once." Custis to Mrs. REL, May 2, 1862, REL papers, Duke.

3 Davis, *Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, 100-1.

4 Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 123; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, vol. 1, 225.

May 1, Thursday (Richmond): Lee authorizes Jackson to absorb Edward Johnson's command and attack the Federals in the mountains west of Staunton, and then deal with Nathaniel Banks's force in the Shenandoah itself. Lee advises Ewell that the plan he and Jackson have discussed is approved, and that therefore Ewell is to move to the Valley. Lee notifies Johnston that his proposal to advance to the Potomac has been presented to President Davis, but that having Beauregard invade Ohio is not practicable at this time. Lee informs Johnston that the services of one of his engineers and a portion of his labor force is needed for river defense. He adds that the repair of the Chickahominy bridges is very nearly complete, and that government river boats have been placed at his disposal as requested.⁵

Lee informs Theophilus Holmes that a brigade can be sent him if necessary. Lee requests North Carolina Governor Clark to send all available regiments in Raleigh to Holmes and the best efforts will be made to arm them all. Lee continues his attempts to explain to Humphrey Marshall how to enlist militia, and adds that if Marshall desires that martial law be declared in his region, he needs to specify which counties so that the government can proclaim it.⁶

Lee notifies Alabama Governor Shorter and Brig. Gen. Danville Leadbetter of the transfer of two new Alabama regiments to Chattanooga, where they will be armed and equipped. Lee inquires of Beauregard if he has a brigade to which Henry Wise can be assigned.⁷

May 2, Friday (Richmond): Lee informs Sec. Randolph that Johnston intends to withdraw to Williamsburg tonight and has ordered the evacuation of Norfolk and the forts and garrisons along the lower James, and naval vessels will withdraw to Richmond: "This sudden movement may produce haste and involve the loss of material that cannot be replaced unless you can give directions that will save it. By maintaining positions on the water and . . . sending the CSS *Virginia* to Hampton Roads and gunboats to James River . . . much may be secured. Gen. Johnston will be urged to hold positions to gain time." This message prompts Randolph to go to Norfolk. Lee orders Johnston to hold the Yorktown/Warwick River line a bit longer to buy time to evacuate Norfolk, and advises that Randolph has gone there in person to oversee its evacuation. The unfinished gunboats at the navy yard will be moved upriver to Richmond; Lee presses for the *Virginia* to be dispatched to the York River to destroy Union shipping. He orders a company of sappers/miners to Drewry's Bluff to assist in building its fortifications.⁸

Lee informs Humphrey Marshall that men joining already-existing companies are entitled to an enlistment bounty, and then informs Kirby Smith that what few troops are available in North Carolina and Alabama have been ordered to join him. Taylor notifies John Pemberton that he is entitled to two aides, and that Taylor's brother John is interested in a staff position with Pemberton.⁹

May 3, Saturday (Richmond): Lee explains to Gen. Holmes that the evacuation of Norfolk is under consideration in Richmond, and in light of that he

5 OR 12, pt. 3, 877-8; OR 11, pt. 3, 485-6; REL to J. E. Johnston, May 1, 1862 (2 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS.

6 REL to T. H. Holmes, May 1, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to H. T. Clark, May 1, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 10, pt. 2, 479-80.

7 OR 10, pt. 2, 479; REL to J. G. Shorter, May 1, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Beauregard, May 1, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. Leadbetter was primarily an engineer officer, but exercised short periods of field command in the Western Theater. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 176-7.

8 REL to G. W. Randolph, May 2, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; Dowdey, *Wartime Papers*, 164; OR 11, pt. 3, 488; Newton, *Johnston and the Defense of Richmond*, 158.

9 REL to Humphrey Marshall, May 2, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 10, pt. 2, 483; REL to E. Kirby Smith, May 2, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; WHT to J. C. Pemberton, May 2, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. John C. Taylor was Walter Taylor's younger brother; he served as an aide to Mahone before joining the 5th VA Cavalry, and joined Pemberton's staff May 10, 1862. Krick, *Staff Officers in Gray*, 282.

should not make a movement toward Wilmington at present, but instead be prepared to strike at Ambrose Burnside, who will likely make a move toward Norfolk upon its evacuation. At the same time Lee acknowledges Holmes's complaints against reducing his force any further, but informs the aging general that the situation in Virginia requires it. Lee promises him to write to North Carolina Governor Clark to free up troops from Raleigh for Holmes's use. Lee denies a request from William W. Loring to have troops that were sent to reinforce Huger returned to him by explaining that the situation "renders reinforcements to Gen. Huger necessary."

Lee informs Johnston that reports have reached the War Department that soldiers from Johnston's army going on sick leave, furlough, etc. are not turning in their weapons before departing and are subsequently being lost. Due to the shortage of weapons this is unacceptable, so an ordnance officer is being sent to rectify this; Johnston is also reminded that per regulations he is to have ordnance officers at regiment, brigade, and division level. Lee informs Joseph Anderson that there are no additional troops to be sent to the Fredericksburg front, and that due to the scarcity of Enfield rifles, they are not to be issued to entire regiments but rather only the flank companies. Lee informs Alexander Dudley, president of the Richmond & York River Railroad, that Dudley will have to communicate directly with Johnston regarding obstructions in the York and the removal of rails from his line.¹⁰

Lee informs Gen. Pemberton that he cannot send reinforcements to Charleston at present, and that the quartermaster department requires his surplus wagons in Richmond. Lee informs Florida Governor Milton that several thousand small arms have been ordered to Florida, and notifies Henry Heth that Federals are reported advancing toward him, and under the circumstances he can keep the forces currently under his command to oppose them. Lee writes to John B. Floyd advising that contrary to Floyd's belief, Lee has not censured him for granting furloughs to his men.¹¹

May 4, Sunday (Richmond): Lee learns of Johnston's withdrawal from Yorktown and the Warwick River line. He instructs Holmes to send a brigade of infantry to Richmond immediately, but to make certain provisions and cooking utensils go with all the troops, and he informs Gen. Jackson that the transportation he requested has been sent.¹²

May 5, Monday (Richmond): Lee orders Johnston to send a battery with infantry support to block ascent of the Pamunkey, as Union gunboats are reported to be at West Point. Lee cautions Huger to secure all boats around Norfolk so as to prevent spies and "traitors" from carrying information across Hampton Roads to the enemy. Lee endorses a proposal from Col. Hill Carter to construct a canal across Dutch Gap—Lee thinks Carter can do it but fears that the James would subsequently dam it back up without constant maintenance.¹³

10 OR 9, 469-70; REL to T. H. Holmes, May 3, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 11, pt. 3, 491-3. The Richmond & York River RR was completed only a month before the war and ran from the capital to West Point, where the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers join to form the York. It became McClellan's main supply line during the middle stage of the Peninsula Campaign. Angus J. Johnston, *Virginia Railroads in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1961), 6, 57. After dark Johnston abandoned the Yorktown/Warwick River line and fell back on Williamsburg. Long, *CW Day by Day*, 206.

11 OR 14, 491; OR 53, 242-3; REL to Henry Heth, May 3, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ paper, VHS; REL to J. B. Floyd, May 3, 1862, REL papers, Brock collection.

12 Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 43; REL to T. H. Holmes, May 4, 1862 (2 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Jackson, May 4, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS.

13 OR 5, 1090; REL to Huger, May 5, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to A. L. Rives, May 5, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. The orders to Johnston regarding a battery on the Pamunkey appear in the *ORs* twice with different dates, neither of which seems correct. They are dated March 5 in OR 5, 1090, which is obviously wrong for a multitude of reasons; OR 11, pt. 3, 493, has them dated May 3, which seems too early as Johnston still held the works at Yorktown and Gloucester, which would have prevented any passage to West Point. Lee's "3" closely resembled—and could be mistaken for—a "5", and that is likely what happened here. May 5 is the only possible date that makes sense for this order. See Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 67-8, 85, for details of McClellan's plan to land Franklin's division at West

Lee notifies Ewell that Lawrence Branch's brigade has been ordered to him, but Lee wishes it stationed at Gordonsville rather than going with Ewell to Swift Run Gap, so as to have a presence in central Virginia. Lee informs Alexander Lawton that there is no heavy artillery in Richmond that can be sent south to Savannah at that time, but he requests John Forney at Mobile, Alabama, to send any available Columbiads there for Lawton's use.¹⁴

Lee asks Georgia Governor Brown's approval for the declaration of martial law at Augusta and Savannah. Lee orders Heth to move to Wytheville and take command of all forces there, and orders Col. Gabriel Wharton to take the 50th and 51st Virginia to Wytheville to join Heth. Lee informs Capt. Woodville G. Latham that he cannot transfer Latham's battery to Virginia as Pemberton needs them in South Carolina at present.¹⁵

May 6, Tuesday (Richmond): Lee urges completion of the obstructions in the James and the removal of

the heavy guns from Norfolk to Richmond while using the CSS *Virginia* to guard the mouth of James as long as possible. He advises Jackson that the Federal evacuation of Harrisonburg may indicate a concentration at Fredericksburg. Lee notifies Ewell that if the Yankees withdraw from the upper Valley there is no reason for him to remain at Conrad's Store.¹⁶

Lee orders a company of infantry to the York River Railroad to assist in removing valuable supplies and blocking the river, and instructs Gen. Kirby Smith to ensure that public stores passing through Knoxville, Tennessee, are forwarded to their destination. Lee orders Gen. Pemberton to reunite the various sections of the Staunton Hill Artillery at Goldsboro so that it can hold elections for its officers.¹⁷

Lee orders a court of inquiry to investigate Stonewall Jackson's charges against Brig. Gen. Richard Garnett. Rain in the morning.¹⁸

Point to intercept Johnston's retreat. Lee's advice to Huger was spot on; it was a Northern tug boat captain who on May 8 carried to the Federals at Fort Monroe the details of Norfolk's pending evacuation. *Ibid.*, 90. The idea of a canal at Dutch Gap to cut-off a loop of the James was not new. It was first tried soon after the settlement of the region in 1611. Union forces under Maj. Gen. Benjamin Butler attempted it again in August 1864; it was not completed and made passable until after the war. Louis H. Manarin and Clifford Dowdey, *The History of Henrico County* (Charlottesville, VA, 1984), 298, 309.

14 OR 12, pt. 3, 880-1; REL to A. R. Lawton, May 5, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to J. H. Forney, May 5, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS.

15 REL to Joseph Brown, May 5, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Henry Heth, May 5, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to G. C. Wharton, May 5, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to W. G. Latham, May 5, 1862, REL papers, MOC. The mayor of Augusta requested martial law for his city and Pemberton wanted it declared in Savannah. Wharton was major of the 45th VA briefly before being appointed colonel of the 51st VA; he became brigadier general in July 1863, spending nearly the entire war in western Virginia. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 331. Latham commanded the Nelson Light Artillery. Latham CSR. Lt. Charles S. Venable, serving on the staff of Maj. Gen. Martin L. Smith, learned of his appointment to Lee's staff on this date: "On the day of our arrival at Vicksburg, the 5th of May, I received a letter from General R.E. Lee offering me a position on his staff as one of the four aide-de-camps assigned to him as general in chief of the Confederate armies. Although this was a promotion to the rank of major, General Smith said it would not be etiquette for me to leave the post of Vicksburg where the city was threatened with an attack to accept a position in Richmond so I remained until June 15th." Charles S. Venable, *Personal Reminiscences of the Confederate War*, McDowell-Miller-Warner papers, UVA.

16 Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 44; REL to Jackson, May 6, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 12, pt. 3, 881. Conrad's Store is modern Elkton.

17 REL to Alexander Dudley, May 6, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Capt. J. C. Hawood, May 6, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to E. Kirby Smith, May 6, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to J. C. Pemberton, May 6, 1862, REL papers, MOC.

18 Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, vol. 2, 7-8; *OR Supplement*, part 3, vol. 2, 269-70; REL to Samuel Cooper, May 6, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; Krick, *CW Weather*, 58. Jackson's charges against Garnett stemmed from the Battle of Kernstown, March 23, 1862; Garnett was Jackson's successor in command of the Stonewall Brigade and Garnett ordered the unit to retreat at Kernstown without Jackson's approval. Lee wrote, "It [is] necessary as an act of justice to Gen. Garnett and the service to bring it to trial." REL to Cooper, May 6, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS.

May 7, *Wednesday (Richmond)*: Lee sends evacuation instructions to Huger, including returning a portion of Holmes's force to guard Weldon. Huger is to remove as much of the heavy artillery as possible and then send his troops along the Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad to its western terminus; Huger himself is to report in person at Richmond. Lee notifies Holmes that Huger has been instructed to send a portion of the troops he received from Holmes and that Lee wishes them deployed at Weldon to guard the railroad bridge there. William Loring is instructed to hold Suffolk until all of Huger's force passes through that point.¹⁹

Lee sends instructions to Johnston regarding not just the retreat of his army but also Huger's and Loring's forces; Lee however is called out of the office before signing this order, so it is completed and signed by Maj. Taylor. Lee orders the destruction of all rolling stock and bridges on the York River Railroad below White House. Lee orders Brig. Gen. William Mahone's brigade to Gordonsville to join Ewell, and forwards to Sec. Randolph complaints of insubordination against Col. Turner Ashby's cavalry.²⁰

Lee assigns Henry Wise to command of a Virginia brigade, including part of the Wise Legion, and mentions that Beauregard has a brigade for Wise in Mississippi but Lee would rather keep the former governor in Virginia. Lee informs Mansfield Lovell that there are no weapons in Richmond, thus Lovell

will have to arm the 3rd Mississippi himself. Lee inquires of Pemberton if city officials in Savannah desire martial law.²¹

May 8, *Thursday (Richmond)*: Lee sends more detailed withdrawal instructions to Huger to move his forces to Richmond via the Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad, and that the CSS *Virginia* should be stationed at the mouth of the James rather than in the Elizabeth off Craney Island so as to protect the garrisons farther up the James. Lee later relays to Huger a request from Navy Sec. Mallory that Huger delay his retreat as long as possible to allow for the removal of as much of the Navy's materiel as possible.

Lee sends a long letter to Johnston about why the orders of yesterday regarding the withdrawal were issued and why they were signed by Maj. Taylor. Lee reassures Johnston that Johnston has command on both sides of the James as well as northern Virginia. Lee requests that Johnston send engineer Maj. Walter H. Stevens to Richmond if possible, and sends his congratulations for the victory at Eltham's Landing.²²

Lee orders the quartermaster at White House landing to place obstructions and sink all empty vessels in the Pamunkey to prevent Union vessels from reaching the railroad bridge near White House. Lee writes to Jackson and Ewell that Nathaniel Banks's Federals appear to be withdrawing from the

19 OR 11, pt. 3, 497; REL to Huger, May 7, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 9, 470; REL to W. W. Loring, May 7, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS.

20 Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, vol. 1, 204-5; REL to Capt. R. P. Archer, May 7, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 12, pt. 3, 880, 883. The order to Johnston signed by Taylor had considerable unintended consequences, for Johnston took offense at having his authority questioned and his orders to Loring and Huger overturned by Maj. Walter Taylor. Freeman wrote that receipt of this set of orders bearing Taylor's signature "if it did not enrage General Johnston, ruffled him" and prompted Johnston to fire off a testy letter to Lee that did little to further Johnston's relations with President Davis and caused Lee to waste valuable time in convincing Johnston that no offense was intended and his authority not questioned, that Lee simply wanted to ensure that Huger's force was not cut off by early withdrawal of Loring from Suffolk. See Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, vol. 1, 204-5, for details of this exchange.

21 OR 51, pt. 2, 553; REL to Mansfield Lovell, May 7, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to L. A. Millan, May 7, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to J. C. Pemberton, May 7, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. It is curious that Lee did not avail himself of this opportunity to be rid of Wise.

22 OR 11, pt. 3, 499-501; REL to Huger, May 8, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. John B. Hood's brigade defeated elements of William Franklin's division which landed at Eltham's Landing, opposite West Point, and threatened Johnston's line of retreat on May 7. Long, *CW Day by Day*, 208. Walter Husted Stevens was a very gifted army engineer; he was chief engineer of Johnston's army and Lee later put him in charge of the Richmond defenses. He was promoted to brigadier general in August 1864 and made chief engineer of the ANV. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 292.

Valley and heading to Fredericksburg; Lee would like them, if possible, to strike Banks on the move. He adds that the brigades of William Mahone and Lawrence Branch have been ordered to join Gen. Ewell at Gordonsville. Lee explains to North Carolina adjutant general James Martin that Confederate law prohibits the acceptance of any state units larger than a regiment, and so he cannot accept the offer of a division of North Carolina state troops with Martin in command. In addition, Lee explains that he could not guarantee that the state command would be kept intact, and President Davis did not desire the appointment of any additional major generals at that time.²³

Lee notifies Joseph Anderson that Spanish diplomat Louis de Podestad will be passing through the lines on his way to Washington. Lee acknowledges receipt of Gen. Lovell's preliminary report on the fall of New Orleans, telling him, "The loss of this city is a very severe blow to us, and one that we cannot fail to feel most sensibly, but it is believed that with the means of defense at your disposal you have done all in your power." Lee advises Brig. Gen. Albert Pike that reinforcements are being sent from Louisiana to Little Rock, Arkansas, for his use. Rain in the evening.²⁴

May 9, Friday (Richmond): Lee writes to Johnston advising of Jackson's victory at McDowell yesterday and mentions that Union warships attacked Sewell's Point and attempted to ascend the James but the emergence of the CSS *Virginia* turned them back.

Lee writes to Huger approving of his evacuation plans and suggests Petersburg as a rendezvous point for all of Huger's scattered commands, adding that Huger is to remain in close communication with Holmes regarding the troops in North Carolina.²⁵

Lee directs that if York River Railroad officials will pledge to destroy the Pamunkey bridge themselves then the army will trust them to do so. Lee explains to Loring, who yesterday was appointed to command in southwest Virginia, his role there and not to "interfere" with Humphrey Marshall's plans to invade Kentucky. Lee inquires again of Pemberton if city officials in Savannah request martial law.²⁶

May 10, Saturday (Richmond/Drewry's Bluff): Lee goes to Drewry's Bluff to see the progress on the fortifications and river obstructions there, and writes to Johnston with an update on Drewry's Bluff and advising that a commander is needed for the "Army of the Rappahannock," which is currently under its senior brigadier, Joseph Anderson. President Davis would like either James Longstreet or Gustavus W. Smith from Johnston's army assigned to command on the Rappahannock River so that force may undertake offensive operations. Lee asks Johnston if he would like several field artillery batteries forwarded to him, or if they should be kept back in Richmond. Maj. Taylor sends a letter to Johnston that 14 Union ships had just been sighted on the James River at City Point; Taylor adds, "the General is absent, and I send you the above unofficially,

23 REL to Charles S. Carrington, May 8, 1862 (2 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 12, pt. 3, 883-5; OR 9, 471.

24 REL to J. R. Anderson, May 8, 1862, REL papers, MOC; OR 6, 652; OR 13, 824; Krick, *CW Weather*, 58. Albert Pike was a man of many talents, but his Civil War career was rather dismal and included a poor showing by his command of American Indians at Pea Ridge. Pike was charged by a fellow general with mishandling money and supplies, and, facing arrest, fled into the hills of Arkansas. His resignation was accepted on July 12, 1862, and he played little or no further role in the war. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 240.

25 OR 51, pt. 2, 553-4; OR 11, pt. 3, 502; REL to Huger, May 9, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. Jackson defeated a portion of John Fremont's army at the small Highland County town of McDowell on May 8. Jackson's notification to Richmond read simply, "God blessed our arms with victory at McDowell yesterday." Richard L. Armstrong, *The Battle of McDowell: March 11 – May 18, 1862* (Lynchburg, VA, 1990), 90.

26 REL to C. S. Carrington, May 9, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 10, pt. 2, 508; OR 14, 497. Pemberton apparently did not understand the root of Lee's inquires about martial law—Pemberton evaded the question previously by telling Lee that Gov. Brown assented to it, but he did not address Lee's initial inquiry about whether it was wanted by Savannah officials. Lee had to explain to Pemberton that President Davis did not wish to declare it unless specifically requested by the city government. OR 14, 497.

knowing that you would like to hear all that is going on.”²⁷

Lee orders Richmond provost marshal John H. Winder to round up Johnston’s troops in the city and send them armed via the York River Railroad to Summit Station, near the Chickahominy bridge. Lee informs Joseph Anderson that a portion of Huger’s force will be sent to him, and cautions him to watch out for a Union crossing downstream at Port Royal. Lee inquires of John Forney if any heavy guns can be moved from Pensacola to the Mississippi, and also informs him that the president does not wish to declare martial law unless civil authorities request it.²⁸ In addition two cavalry companies have been ordered to join Forney; he is to notify Florida Governor Milton when they arrive.

Lee informs Lovell that no weapons are available in Richmond so to request them from Beauregard or gather privately owned weapons from the countryside. The adjutant general’s office officially announces Lee’s staff as consisting of Col. Armistead Long, and Majors Walter H. Taylor, T. M. R. Talcott, Charles Venable, and Charles Marshall.²⁹

May 11, Sunday (Richmond): Lee advises Samuel S. Wilson, president of the Seaboard & Roanoke Railroad, that Norfolk and Portsmouth have been evacuated, but connections to the south will be maintained through Weldon, North Carolina; Lee wants locomotives and rolling stock of the S&R removed for use on other lines. Lee orders six heavy artillery companies to Chaffin’s Bluff to erect fortifications there, and informs Joseph Anderson that “a secret agent” has just returned from behind enemy lines at Fredericksburg and reports the force opposing Anderson to be nothing more than a diversion.³⁰

Lee instructs Pemberton to effect a POW exchange, and cautions Jackson not to overextend in his pursuit of Fremont: “Be careful not to be led too far. It has become necessary to concentrate.” Mrs. Lee, Annie, and Mildred leave White House, posting a note on the front door reading: “Northern soldiers who profess to reverence [sic] Washington, forbear to desecrate the home of his first married life, the property of his wife, now owned by her descendants. [signed] A Grand-daughter of Mrs. Washington.”³¹

27 Dowdey, *Warime Papers*, 169-70; Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 47; OR 11, pt. 3, 505-6; REL to J. E. Johnston, May 10, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. Lee did not specifically state that he went to Drewry’s today, but it can be inferred from his report on the works in his letter to Johnston. That, coupled with Taylor’s revelation that Lee was away from HQ at some point during the day, strongly suggests a visit to the works. Freeman concluded that sometime during this period Lee and Davis went to Drewry’s at least twice before the battle on the 15th, but he could not determine the exact dates. Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 47. Judith McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee During the War, by a Lady of Virginia* (New York, 1867), 112-5, wrote on May 14 of Davis mentioning a recent visit to Drewry’s Bluff accompanied by Lee, but did not affix a date to it. From her description it appears to be later than the 10th and closer to the battle on the 15th.

28 OR 11, pt. 3, 505; OR 12, pt. 3, 885-6; REL to J. H. Forney, May 10 (3 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS.

29 REL to John Milton, May 10, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Mansfield Lovell, May 10, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 51, pt. 2, 554. Venable was still in Mississippi at this time.

30 OR 11, pt. 3, 508; Newton, *Johnston and Defense of Richmond*, 158; OR 12, pt. 3, 886-7. Chaffin’s Bluff is located almost directly across the James from Drewry’s Bluff.

31 OR 3, Series 2, 868; REL to Jackson, May 11, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; Coulling, *Lee Girls*, 102; Perry, *Mrs. REL*, 249. Where exactly Mary and the girls went upon leaving White House is something of a mystery. Freeman thought it possible that they went to Mount Prospect, the nearby home of Dr. William H. Macon. Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 252n11. This makes little sense as that estate was adjacent to, and actually once part of, White House. Freeman was actually mistaken regarding Mount Prospect—Dr. Macon and family fled from there about the same time the Lees left White House, and were staying at Ingleside, the home of Macon’s wife’s family. Macon’s daughter later told Freeman that her mother—who was friends with Mrs. Lee—maintained that the Lees went straight from White House to Edmund Ruffin’s estate Marlbourne. J. Ambler Johnston, *Echoes of 1861-1961* (Richmond, VA, 1971), 58-9, 64-5. Johnston includes an interesting anecdote about when and how he learned this from his mother, and their middle of the night trip to inform Freeman of it. *Ibid.*, 64-5. Johnston placed that incident around 1930, so if true, it is odd that Freeman did not include this information in either *Lee* or *Lee’s Lieutenants*, apparently discounting it entirely by placing Mrs. Lee at Mount Prospect. Mary Coulling and John Perry both wrote that the Lees went to another New Kent estate, Criss Cross. Coulling, *Lee Girls*, 102; Perry, *Mrs. REL*, 249. Where they got this information is not specified, as Perry does not cite that reference (although

May 12, Monday (Richmond): President Davis and Lee meet with Johnston at his headquarters in the evening; they arrive while Johnston is out on the lines, so their meeting lasts well into the night. Because of the lateness of the hour, Davis and Lee spend the night at Johnston's headquarters. This trip was preceded by a 4:00 a.m. letter to Johnston explaining the troop dispositions in Virginia and asking him directly how far he plans to retreat and where he plans to concentrate.³²

Lee sends his approval to Ewell of his decision to stay put at Conrad's Store and await Jackson's return from his pursuit of Fremont. Lee advises Pemberton that another brigade may be needed from Charleston, and directs Sam French to inquire if any railroad iron can be obtained from Charleston. Later Lee informs French that Navy Sec. Mallory has authorized transfer of requested iron from the Navy's supplies. Lee instructs Alexander Lawton to send a force from Savannah to Atlanta to guard

government property there, and informs Lovell that the only weapons available anywhere in the Confederacy at present are pikes and knives from the state of Georgia. Elements of the 6th U.S. Cavalry arrive at White House, where they quickly learn from slaves that it is Gen. Lee's property; Gen. McClellan orders a guard posted there and the house protected from looting.³³

May 13, Tuesday (Richmond): Lee and Davis return to Richmond from Johnston's headquarters in the morning. They then meet for several hours with Commissary General Lucius Northrop, and Maj. Archibald Cole regarding provisions for Johnston's army. Lee informs Johnston where other supply depots are located should Richmond fall. Lee acknowledges Holmes's report of Union reinforcements at New Bern and approves of Holmes's decision to retain troops at Murfreesboro rather than Weldon. Lee informs Holmes that

it is likely from Coulling), and the source Coulling cites (George H. Lyman, "Some Aspects of the Medical Service in the Armies of the United States during the War of the Rebellion," in *Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts*, 14 vols. (Boston, 1881-1918), vol. 13, 193-4 [she wrongly places this in vol. 8 rather than vol. 13 in citation]) makes absolutely no mention of Criss Cross at all. Criss Cross is one of the oldest houses in Virginia, the oldest portion dating to approximately 1690; it was owned by the Poindexter family for nearly 150 years before being sold to S. P. Marsters, who owned it during the war. Criss Cross, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, May 11, 1973. Criss Cross still stands near the intersection of VA 155 and Interstate 64. They would have gained little through this relocation, as although they were no longer directly on the Pamunkey River, they were now only about five miles away, located just off the New Kent Road—the main road both armies used on the march to Richmond. There is no known blood connection with the Poindexters or the Marsters, so why they would have gone there is unclear. Lacking definitive evidence that they went to either Mount Prospect or Criss Cross, it seems very likely that they proceeded directly to Marlbourne (see entry for May 23).

32 Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis: A Memoir by his Wife*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1990), 270; Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond*, 89; Newton, *Johnston and Defense of Richmond*, 153; Joseph L. Brent, *Memoirs of the War Between the States* (New Orleans, 1940), 120; OR 11, pt. 3, 510-1. Magruder's aide Joseph Brent gave the location of Johnston's HQ as Baltimore Cross Roads until the 17th, but he was mistaken as to the date that Johnston left as that area was behind Union lines by 17th; it is possible that Brent had the location completely wrong. There is some confusion over the date of Davis and Lee's visit to Johnston's HQ; Sears and Newton (cited above) place the visit on this date, but Joseph Harsh in his chart of every known strategy meeting Lee participated in during 1861-2 puts it on the 13th. *Sounding the Shallows: A Confederate Companion for the Maryland Campaign of 1862* (Kent, OH, 2000), 223. Lee and Davis did indeed meet on the 13th but it was in Richmond to discuss supply efforts (see entry for May 13 for details). Freeman puts it "about" May 14. Lee, vol. 2, 60. Freeman was still unsure of the date years later in *Lee's Lieutenants*, writing "It would seem probable that the conference was on May 14. . . . There is possibility of an error of one or two days." Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, vol. 1, 230. An eyewitness puts Lee and Davis along the Chickahominy on this date. *Charleston Mercury*, May 16, 1862. Davis left a detailed account of the meeting in his memoirs, but did not date it. *Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, 84. Varina Davis quoted a letter from her husband dated the 13th that states the meeting occurred "yesterday." *Jefferson Davis*, vol. 2, 270. Johnston does not mention this meeting at all in his memoirs.

33 OR 11, pt. 3, 511-2; REL to S. G. French, May 12, 1862 (2 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to A. R. Lawton, May 12, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Mansfield Lovell, May 12, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; John J. Fox, III, *Stuart's Finest Hour: The Ride Around McClellan, June 1862* (Winchester, VA, 2014), 13. A response was left to Mary's note on the door of White House: "Lady, a Northern Officer has protected your property in sight of the enemy, and at the request of your overseer." Farrar, *Old Virginia Houses*, 197.

McClellan's approach requires further reduction of his force but that the losses will be offset by new troops in Raleigh taking the field under newly promoted brigadier generals Thomas Clingman and James Martin. Lee advises North Carolina Governor Clark that he has been forced to call away more of Holmes's force so it is imperative to get new regiments into the field as quickly as possible. Lee assures the governor that the best way to defend North Carolina is to drive the Yankees out of Virginia. Lee orders an additional battery sent to Chaffin's Bluff, and sends his approval of Humphrey Marshall's defensive measures.³⁴

Lee instructs Kirby Smith to forward to Georgia a shipment of Enfields that is being sent via Knoxville, and explains to Governor Brown how they are to be distributed. Lee writes to Nathan Evans regarding the election of officers in one of Evans's regiments, and advises Judge A. G. Magrath of Charleston that a supply of ice there should be turned over to the medical department for use in the hospitals.³⁵

Lee inquires of John Forney if there is a better line to defend Mobile than Fort Gaines and Fort

Morgan. He orders Joseph Finegan to send an additional regiment from Florida to Beauregard at Corinth. Lee writes to Mary in the evening, relating the alarm that the loss of the CSS *Virginia* has caused in Richmond; much of the letter deals with money for Mary and the girls, which Lee states he will leave with John Stewart "whose house we occupy."³⁶

May 14, Wednesday (Richmond): Lee joins a cabinet meeting discussing what to do if Richmond falls. Lee informs President Davis and his advisors that the next defensive line is along the Staunton River approximately 100 miles southwest of the capital. Lee emotionally tells those present "Richmond must not be given up; it shall not be given up!" He orders Huger to send Mahone's Brigade to Drewry's Bluff and, as Union vessels are reported to have put ashore landing parties on each side of the James several miles below the Bluff, Huger is to have infantry stationed along both sides of the river. Lee informs Johnston that as requested guards will be posted along the railroad to arrest deserters, and the Washington Artillery is being sent to him.³⁷

34 OR 11, pt. 3, 512-3; OR 9, 471-2; OR 51, pt. 2, 555; OR 10, pt. 2, 521-2. Clingman was a pre-war lawyer and former member of both the Senate and House of Representatives; he was colonel of the 25th NC until his promotion and he served most of the war in the Carolinas. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 54-5. Martin was Adjutant General of North Carolina, with whom Lee corresponded often.

35 REL to E. Kirby Smith, May 13, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 53, 244-5; REL to N. G. Evans, May 13, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to A. G. Magrath, May 13, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS.

36 REL to J. H. Forney, May 13, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to J. E. Finegan, May 13, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; Dowdey, *War-time Papers*, 172. The *Virginia* was scuttled on the 11th, her crew unable to lighten her enough to get her up the James to Richmond. Long, *CW Day by Day*, 210. The Stewart house is at 707 E Franklin St. less than two blocks from the Capitol; John Stewart rented it to Lee and Custis. Once Lee moved into the field, Custis and several other officers lived there, dubbing it the "bachelors mess" until 1864 when his mother and sisters moved in. The Lees resided there for several months after the war, before moving to Derwent in Powhatan Co. The famous image of Lee, Custis, and Walter Taylor was taken on the back porch of the Franklin St. house. For about 60 years the Virginia Historical Society occupied the house, which is currently the offices of the Homebuilders Association of Virginia. It is not known precisely when Lee moved from the Spotswood to the Stewart house but it was apparently soon after his arrival in the capital in 1861. Stewart-Lee House, National Historical Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, May 5, 1972.

37 Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 48; John H. Reagan, *Memoirs with Special Reference to Secession and the Civil War* (New York, 1906), 139; OR 11, pt. 2, 514-6; REL to Huger, May 14, 1862 (3 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. It is possible that Lee went to Drewry's Bluff today with Davis, but that would make for a very busy schedule for both men given the cabinet meeting today. McGuire, *Diary of a Refugee*, 113-5. McGuire recounted a meeting involving Davis, Lee, Navy Sec. Mallory, and others in which Davis mentioned having just visited Drewry's with Lee; no date was provided, but she mentioned that it occurred the same day the *Patrick Henry* was sunk at Drewry's. The *Patrick Henry* was not sunk, but its sister ship, *Jamestown*, was indeed sunk as an obstruction below the Bluff on the 14th. Robert Wright, "Sinking of the *Jamestown*: How it was Done at Drewry's Bluff," *SHSP*, vol. 29, 371-2. It should be noted as well that the date for the cabinet meeting is not certain, but most historians have followed Freeman's lead in placing it today. He noted: "The date

Lee congratulates Jackson on his victory at McDowell and urges a junction with Ewell to move against Banks in the Valley, and instructs Ewell to stay at Conrad's Store until Jackson returns unless Banks leaves the Valley completely. Lee informs Beauregard that the 4th Florida is being sent him, and chides Gen. Finegan for hoarding arms in Florida for future use by Florida troops instructing him to send them to Corinth where Beauregard has thousands of unarmed troops. Lee writes to Annie regarding her financial matters. Rain in the evening.³⁸

May 15, Thursday (Richmond/Drewry's Bluff): Lee embarks on an inspection trip down the James in the morning, which is interrupted by gunfire from the direction of Drewry's Bluff. Lee orders Mahone to take command at Drewry's Bluff. While Lee is out, Walter Taylor sends Johnston the latest information from Drewry's and adds that he meant no breach of etiquette in signing Lee's letters on the 7th, about which Johnston had complained. Lee, and possibly President Davis as well, arrive at Drewry's either just as the engagement ends or shortly after its conclusion. After inspecting the damage to the fort and talking with Mahone and the naval officers there, Lee returns to Richmond.

Lee sends Johnston a brief report on the day's action at the Bluff—the ironclads USS *Monitor* and USS *Galena* and several other wooden ships attacked but were repulsed. He adds that Ewell is moving down the Valley in pursuit of Banks. Lee writes to Ewell advising that Jackson is returning to the Valley and urging upon Ewell the need for him to join with Jackson and drive down the Valley to relieve pressure on Richmond and Johnston.³⁹

Lee instructs Huger at Petersburg to destroy the wharves and warehouses there if the Federals approach the city, and he asks if Mahone can be supplied from Petersburg or whether provisions for his brigade will have to come from Richmond. Lee writes to South Carolina Governor Pickens regarding disputes between department commander Maj. Gen. John Pemberton and Charleston district commander Brig. Gen. Roswell Ripley: "One or the other must be removed," Lee concludes in his message to Pickens; Lee favors relieving Ripley despite his intricate knowledge of the city's defenses. Lee also informs Congressman William P. Miles and several other prominent Charlestonians that Ripley's command cannot be made independent from Pemberton as proposed; because Ripley has requested a transfer, Lee favors taking that route in the handling of the delicate matter, but would like Miles's opinion. Lee instructs Mansfield Lovell to recruit a partisan ranger command in his department. Rain most of the day.⁴⁰

May 16, Friday (Richmond): Lee informs Gen. Jackson that Nathaniel Banks is falling back to the northern reaches of the Valley, and is possibly bound for Fredericksburg or Alexandria, and that an attack on Banks by Jackson and Ewell would do much to alleviate pressure on Richmond, as would a vigorous campaign to the Potomac. Lee also informs Jackson that he has received no application for promotion of Stapleton Crutchfield, nor is Lee familiar with Crutchfield's current command, thus he needs more details before he can act. Lee writes to Huger that Gen. McClellan's intent is not yet clear, so Huger should keep his command "light and movable" so as

of this meeting, as of many incidents during the exciting days of May 1862 cannot be fixed with certainty. Although there is no date into which all the related facts fit so well as approximately May 14, it is possible that the incident came later." Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 48 n45. Postmaster General John Reagan left a detailed but undated account of the meeting. Reagan, *Memoirs*, 139. Only two of Mahone's regiments had left for Gordonsville; the bulk of his brigade remained at Petersburg.

38 OR 12, pt. 3, 889; REL to Beauregard, May 14, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to J. E. Finegan, May 14, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Annie, May 14, 1862, REL papers, LOC; Krick, *CW Weather*, 55.

39 OR 11, pt. 3, 518-9; Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 48-9; Clopton, "New Light on Drewry's Bluff," 95; OR 12, pt. 3, 891. It is unclear exactly when Lee arrived at Drewry's Bluff and if Davis was with him; equally unclear is who was actually in command during the battle, as Mahone's arrival time is not known for certain. Commodore Ebenezer Farrand commanded the post until Mahone's arrival. Freeman addresses Lee's presence at the battle in *Lee*, vol. 2, 49 n46.

40 REL to Huger, May 15, 1862 (2 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 14, 503-4; REL to Mansfield Lovell, May 15, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; Krick, *CW Weather*, 55.

to cover Walthall, City Point, Petersburg, or anywhere else in that vicinity that the enemy may land and use locals for information about the area, and explore locations for placing obstructions in the Appomattox River. Lee gives Johnston the latest information regarding Drewry's Bluff and Huger's troops. Lee orders Mahone to send the eight companies of heavy artillery then stationed at Drewry's to Camp Lee to be organized there into a regiment, for their presence at Drewry's Bluff is no longer required now that Mahone and the CSS *Virginia's* crew are there.⁴¹

Lee informs Beauregard that rifles are being sent him from Florida, and writes to Miss Maria C. Sims thanking her for a pair of socks she sent him recently. Before noon McClellan arrives at White House, and establishes his headquarters there. Rain during the day.⁴²

May 17, Saturday (Richmond): Lee warns Johnston that if given time McClellan will resume siege operations therefore a blow must be struck if he moves from the Pamunkey to the James. He adds that several companies of cavalry are being transferred to him from Huger but they will need to be armed. Lee sends the latest intelligence on Union movements in the Valley to Johnston and Joseph Anderson.⁴³

The general also tells Anderson that there are arms available for his use in Essex County, Anderson just needs to go get them. Lee informs Huger that his new responsibility is the protection of the Petersburg & Weldon Railroad, the specifics of which will be left to his discretion but his fall-back position will be Drewry's Bluff; he is also to proceed with obstructing the Appomattox River. Lee writes to his brother, Capt. Sydney Smith Lee, who is now in command of the naval forces at Drewry's Bluff, and explains that Mahone is in overall command and he hopes for cordial cooperation between the services. Lee notifies Mansfield Lovell that he has received reports that Union Gen. Ben Butler is demanding the return of the coin and specie that was removed from the New Orleans banks; Secretary of the Treasury Christopher G. Memminger wants it all seized by the Confederate government for safe-keeping.⁴⁴

May 18, Sunday (Richmond): Lee instructs Johnston to make sure his troops respect private property since they are now on the outskirts of Richmond and summons Johnston to Richmond to meet with President Davis. Lee instructs Huger to use his own discretion as he knows better than Lee does the situation on the Southside front, and informs North Carolina Governor Clark that the

41 OR 12, pt. 3, 892-3; Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 54; REL to Jackson, May 16, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 11, pt. 3, 519-22. Early Lee biographer Sir Frederick Maurice wrote of the message to Stonewall, "This letter of Lee's of May 16th was, in the circumstances in which it was written, a remarkable document. . . . When McClellan was hammering at the gates of Richmond, Lee saw that the way to save the town was to make [Brig. Gen. Irvin] McDowell defend Washington; Johnston looked only to the prospect of a battle with McClellan. There we have a measure of the intellect of the two men." Maurice, *REL The Soldier*, 103-6. Crutchfield graduated first in the VMI Class of 1855, and was major of the 9th VA and lieutenant colonel of the 58th VA; Jackson subsequently made him his artillery chief. He lost a leg at Chancellorsville and was unable to serve in the field but was recalled in early 1865; he was killed at Sailors Creek April 6, 1865. Krick, *Lee's Colonels*, 105.

42 REL to Beauregard, May 16, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Maria Sims, May 16, 1862, REL papers, UNC; Jonathan Horn, *The Man Who Would Not Be Washington: Robert E. Lee's Civil War and his Decision that Changed American History* (New York, 2015), 152; Krick, *CW Weather*, 55.

43 OR 11, pt. 3, 523; OR 12, pt. 3, 894; REL to J. R. Anderson, May 17, 1862, REL papers, VHS.

44 REL to J. R. Anderson, May 17, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 11, pt. 3, 524-5, 549; REL to Mansfield Lovell, May 17, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. Union Maj. Gen. Samuel Heintzelman, commanding the Union III Corps of McClellan's Army of the Potomac, recorded on this date: "Major Lawrence Williams was sent in arrest (and in irons) to Fort Monroe this morning. An aide of General Robert E. Lee was killed, and on his person letters found from Williams proving correspondence with the enemy. I wonder that a court is not ordered and he is not tried here." Hewitt, ed., *OR Supplement*, vol. 2, 55. Williams was a Lee cousin. None of Lee's aides had been killed except for Col. John A. Washington about eight months earlier, so it is not clear who Heintzelman was referencing.

latest shipment of arms received in Richmond does not include anything for North Carolina.⁴⁵

Lee sends instructions to Edward Johnson and Henry Heth to send a force to intercept a Union raiding party near Jackson's River Depot on the Virginia Central Railroad. A Union patrol discovers Mary and the girls residing within their lines, and Mary tells their commander that she is not pleased with what happened with Arlington and she does not want it repeated at White House.⁴⁶

May 19, Monday (Richmond): Lee notifies Holmes that he is now responsible for the protection of Weldon, as Huger's force is being brought to Richmond including those troops currently at Weldon, and requests of Pemberton that Roswell Ripley be sent to Richmond with a brigade. Lee informs Col. William G. M. Davis of the 1st Florida Cavalry that "horses are individual property and must be provided for by individuals. Volunteers who do not keep themselves provided with serviceable horses must serve on foot."⁴⁷

May 20, Tuesday (Richmond): Jackson notifies Lee that he sees an opportunity to attack Banks, but

Johnston has ordered Ewell away; will Lee override Johnston's orders? Lee informs Johnston that President Davis will not place the Department of Henrico [i.e., Richmond] under Johnston's command as requested, but he is willing to adjust its borders. Lee urges Huger and Mahone to strengthen the river obstructions in the James and Appomattox, and sends to Heth an update on Edward Johnson's movements. Lee tells Navy Sec. Mallory that there are no laborers available to construct fortifications to cover the river obstructions at Warwick Bar so it would be better to place obstructions where they can be covered by land batteries. Lee writes to Charlotte with the latest family news.⁴⁸

May 21, Wednesday (Richmond): Lee informs Johnston that President Davis wants to know his plans, and strongly suggests that Johnston inform Davis in person. The general replies to Gen. Jackson's inquiry of yesterday, that Johnston has authorized Stonewall to link up with Ewell and defeat Banks, but if the opportunity does not present itself then Ewell is to move to Hanover Court House.⁴⁹

45 OR 11, pt. 3, 526; REL to Huger, May 18, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to H. T. Clark, May 18, 1862, REL papers, LVA. Johnston did not reply to this letter or show up in Richmond as requested. Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 60.

46 REL to Edward Johnson, May 18, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Henry Heth, May 18, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; Coulling, *Lee Girls*, 102. Coulling puts this encounter of Mary with the Federals at Criss Cross. Coulling, *Lee Girls*, 102. The Union officer who left the only known account of this meeting did not state where it occurred. Lyman, "Some Aspects of the Medical Service," *MHSM*, 193-4. If it was indeed at Criss Cross, which seems unlikely, the Lee ladies moved very soon afterward to Edmund Ruffin's home, Marlbourne, in Hanover County; the exact date of the move (if it occurred) is not known, but they were there by the 23rd (see entry for that day).

47 OR 9, 472; OR 14, 505-6; REL to W. G. M. Davis, May 19, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. Davis was promoted to brigadier general in November 1862 but resigned in May 1863, spending the balance of the war operating blockade runners to Nassau. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 69. Confederate mounted troops provided their own horses unlike in the Union army where mounts were issued by the government like other equipment.

48 Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 56-7; OR 11, pt. 3, 527-8; REL to Henry Heth, May 20, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to S. R. Mallory, May 20, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Charlotte, May 20, 1862, G. B. Lee papers, VHS. Warwick Bar is just upstream of Drewry's Bluff, several miles below Richmond. Union Gen. Heintzelman recorded more details regarding Lee cousin Lawrence Williams (see footnotes for May 17th entry): "I now hear that the story about Lawrence Williams is only partly true. He was arrested and did write a letter, but it was only about General Lee's, or rather Mrs.' Property and not notable, and General McClellan released him and said he should not have been arrested." *OR Supplement*, vol. 2, 57.

49 OR 11, pt. 3, 530; REL to Jackson, May 21, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. Lee was trying his best to relay to his old friend Johnston the level of Davis's frustration with Johnston's silence. This message to Jackson makes it clear that Lee consulted with Johnston on the situation in the Valley; whether it was in person or in writing is not known. Freeman wrote that Lee's reply to Jackson's inquiry of the 20th was not known, but this message is obviously that reply; see *Lee*, vol. 2, 56-7.

May 22, Thursday (Richmond/Mechanicsville): Lee and President Davis ride to the vicinity of Mechanicsville in the afternoon as artillery duels across the Chickahominy valley; they encounter Jeb Stuart and Brig. Gen. Howell Cobb there, but neither can provide information about what is going on. Davis is not pleased with the situation and tells Lee to meet with Johnston as soon as possible. Before leaving Richmond, Lee informs Johnston that everything is in readiness for the construction of a bridge across the James at Drewry's Bluff. He clarifies for the general that his command includes Mahone at Drewry's, and although the Navy is responsible for work on the fort, it is also under his overall control. Lee informs Gen. Sam French at Wilmington that two heavy guns are being sent to him for Fort Fisher. Lee approves Gen. Finegan's proposed POW exchange in Florida, and instructs Holmes to send Huger's detached units to him.⁵⁰

May 23, Friday (Richmond/New Bridge): Lee and the president watch an artillery duel at New Bridge east of Mechanicsville and come under that in the afternoon. Lee informs Johnston that Governor Clark is sending a brigade of North Carolina troops to Petersburg to relieve Huger's troops; once that happens, the entire line of the Weldon Railroad will become Gen. Holmes's responsibility. Lee instructs Gen. John Winder to convert a heavy artillery

battalion now at Camp Lee into infantry, and informs Col. Thomas Rhett, ordnance inspector in Richmond, that Lee has no control over Navy guns, so Rhett must adhere to Sec. Mallory's wishes for two guns for the James River defenses and two for Wilmington. Lee instructs Pemberton to send to Richmond a brigade composed of troops "that could not stand summer's campaign on coast."⁵¹

Lee requests that Col. Gorgas issue new arms to Mahone's and Branch's brigades, and reminds Gen. Beauregard of the president's policy of brigading troops by state as he organizes the new troops he has received. Lee warns John Stewart of Brook Hill plantation on the northern outskirts of Richmond that McClellan's army now occupies Mechanicsville. A patrol conducted by the 13th New York "discovered that Mrs. General Lee was staying at Mrs. Sayer's house, within our picket lines."⁵²

May 24, Saturday (Richmond): Johnston finally comes to Richmond to meet with President Davis and Lee but does not reveal any sort of plan of operations. Lee reaffirms his approval of Mansfield Lovell's actions in the failed defense of New Orleans, that once the Union fleet passed the forts guarding the river, Lovell had little choice but to evacuate. Lee informs Loring in southwest Virginia that no reinforcements can be sent him, and he needs to fill up his existing regiments before

50 OR 11, pt. 3, 534-6; OR 9, 472; OR 3, Series 2, 876; REL to T. H. Holmes, May 22, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. A newspaper account places Lee and Davis at New Bridge east of Mechanicsville on the 23rd in response to artillery fire heard in the capital and they came under artillery fire upon arriving. Although some sources argue it is highly unlikely they would make two separate trips on consecutive days to this area, it appears the date in the newspaper is correct. *Charleston Mercury*, May 27, 1862.

51 *Charleston Mercury*, May 27, 1862; Cobb, "Extracts from Letters," 292; OR 11, pt. 3, 536-7, 539, 542; OR 14, 518. Thomas Cobb noted somewhat sarcastically "the papers will no doubt make much ado about the President being under fire." Cobb, "Extracts from Letters," 292. The heavy artillery battalion Lee referred to was composed of the companies recently stationed at Drewry's Bluff.

52 REL to Gorgas, May 23, 1862, REL CSR; REL to Beauregard, May 23, 1862, REL CSR; REL to John Stewart, May 23, 1862, Gilder-Lehrman; OR 11, pt. 1, 737-8. Stewart was the owner of the townhouse Lee rented in Richmond. Brook Hill estate today is an island of undeveloped 19th century Richmond amidst suburban sprawl at the intersection of US 1 and interstate 95. "Mrs. Sayer's house" was Edmund Ruffin's estate, Marlbourne, near Old Church; the estate was at that time home of Ruffin's daughter Mildred and her husband William Sayre. Ruffin recorded in his diary: "Gen. Lee's family (ladies & children) had been making a temporary home at Marlbourne some weeks ago. The report at Hanover CH is that ALL on the farm were under guard as prisoner to the enemy. . . . If they are guarded it must be designed for their protection." He noted also that Mary caused a bit of a scandal in the neighborhood when she laundered some of the General's clothing and hung it out a second floor bedroom window to dry where it was visible to all passing by. Scarborough, *Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, vol. 2, 315. Ruffin's words "some weeks ago" suggest that the Lees had been there some time, making it highly probable that they came directly to Marlbourne upon leaving White House, rather than making intermediate stops at Mount Prospect and/or Criss Cross as others have written.

requesting the formation of new ones. Rain throughout the day.⁵³

May 25, Sunday (Richmond): Lee tells Holmes that Ambrose Burnside is probably going to move his force from eastern North Carolina to the James River so Holmes should move the majority of his command to Petersburg and establish his own headquarters there and base his defense of the Weldon Railroad from that city. Lee asks Col. Jeremy Gilmer if he can come to Richmond to take command of the engineer bureau. Lee asks Pemberton if he needs any brigade commanders for Georgia or South Carolina troops.⁵⁴

May 26, Monday (Richmond): Lee goes to Johnston's headquarters at the Harrison house on Williamsburg Road to get Johnston to reveal his plans, which are to attack McClellan north of the Chickahominy on the 29th. Lee learns of Jackson's recent victories at Front Royal and Winchester, and acknowledges Huger's arrival at Drewry's Bluff telling him that Johnston will send him specific instructions but he must be in readiness to cross the James. Lee requests Holmes to send as many wagons as he can to Richmond, and again tells Loring that no

reinforcements are available to send him for southwest Virginia.⁵⁵

Lee tries to prod Beauregard into action in Mississippi, and tells him that Louis Hebert and John C. Moore have been appointed brigadiers for his army. Lee tells Brig. Gen. Paul O. Hebert in Texas that a new department will be created west of the Mississippi and Gen. Magruder will be assigned to command it, but until then Hebert is in command as senior officer present. Col. Ben Rush leads part of the 6th Pennsylvania Cavalry past Marlborough (Edmund Ruffin's estate) and meets William Sayre on his way to deliver a report to Lee on Yankee activities. Sayre rides with the enemy and convinces Rush he was searching for Federals to guard the estate. His written report is not found; worried he is under suspicion, Sayre does not deliver it to Lee. Rain in evening.⁵⁶

May 27, Tuesday (Richmond): Lee informs Johnston that Holmes reports a severe reduction in Union numbers at New Bern, so Lee has reduced Holmes's force and ordered him to follow Burnside's army where ever it goes. Lee informs Johnston and Huger that Holmes has taken over responsibilities for protecting the Weldon Railroad, freeing up Huger's troops for any duties Johnston

53 Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 60; OR 6, 652-3; OR 12, pt. 3, 899; Susan P. Lee, *Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton, DD* (Harrisonburg, VA, 1991), 184.

54 REL to T. H. Holmes, May 25, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to J. F. Gilmer, May 25, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to J. C. Pemberton, May 25, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. Gilmer was one of the antebellum army's most talented engineers and brought those talents to the Confederate army; he was wounded at Shiloh while serving as chief engineer of Gen. A. S. Johnston's army. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 105. Davis recounted a meeting of Lee and Johnston following his and Lee's trip to Mechanicsville on the 22nd, but as with many incidents in his memoirs, there is no date. *Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, 99-100. It is very probable that Lee and Johnston met today to discuss Johnston's plans. The lack of correspondence between the two of them on this date suggests that whatever business they had was conducted face to face. Whenever the meeting occurred, Johnston told Lee of his intent to attack McClellan's right flank north of the Chickahominy on the 29th. *Ibid.* Johnston's memoirs are silent on all meetings with Davis and Lee during this time. Freeman puts it on the 26th, and lacking any better information it is included here on that date, but just as Freeman was, this author is unconvinced of that date. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, vol 1, 213 n56.

55 Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 61-2; OR 11, pt. 3, 547; REL to T. H. Holmes, May 26, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to W. W. Loring, May 26, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. Freeman was unsure of the date of this meeting with Johnston; his best educated guess was that it occurred today. *Lee's Lieutenants*, vol. 1, 213 n56. As has been noted previously, Davis's account did not attach a date to the meeting, and Johnston did not mention it at all.

56 OR 9, 713; OR 10, pt. 2, 546; REL to Beauregard, May 26, 1862 (2 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; Scarborough, *Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, vol. 2, 318-9; Krick, *CW Weather*, 56. Louis Hebert was colonel of the 3rd LA and captured at Pea Ridge, AR; he served in the West until 1863 when he was assigned to North Carolina. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 130-1. Moore was colonel of the 2nd TX and was captured at Vicksburg; after his exchange he served on the Gulf coast. *Ibid.*, 219. Paul O. Hebert was cousin of Louis Hebert and prewar governor of Louisiana; he spent the entire war in Louisiana and Texas. *Ibid.*, 131-2.

wishes. Lee sends two regiments from Richmond to Weldon to assist Holmes, but has to clarify for him that his main focus is to oppose Burnside, but his area of command has been extended to Petersburg. Lee notifies Governor Clark that several thousand small arms will be sent to North Carolina tomorrow.⁵⁷

Lee again informs Loring that nothing can be sent him from Richmond, but there are in his district large numbers of men able and willing to serve so he must bring them into service. Lee asks Kirby Smith if the troops ordered to him from Georgia and Alabama have yet reported, and what is his strength at Chattanooga? Lee informs Lovell that his area of responsibility now includes Jackson and Vicksburg, and reprimands Joseph Finegan for countermanding Lee's orders to send arms from Florida to Beauregard at Corinth. Rain throughout the day.⁵⁸

May 28, Wednesday (Richmond): Lee spends most of the day attempting to sort out confusion over whether Huger or Holmes is responsible for the safety of Petersburg, sending a flurry of messages both by courier and over the telegraph wires to Johnston, Huger, Holmes, James Martin, and several brigade commanders. The end result is that one of Holmes's brigades will be stationed at Petersburg, Huger's command will be reunited, Martin will shift troops from Raleigh to Weldon, and Huger will be responsible for supplying Mahone's Brigade.⁵⁹

Lee informs Gen. Lawton that he cannot arm partisan commands if there are regular troops still without arms, but weapons are being sent as soon as they are received through the blockade. Lee sends his congratulations to Jackson for his recent victories in the lower Valley, adding "We rejoice at your brilliant success. If you can make demonstration on Maryland and Washington it will add to its great results." Rain throughout the day.⁶⁰

May 29, Thursday (Richmond): Expecting Johnston to attack McClellan near Mechanicsville today, Lee goes to Johnston's headquarters; Johnston, however, calls off the attack, preferring instead to attack McClellan's left flank on the Williamsburg Road. Lee denies a request from South Carolina Governor Francis Pickens to have Huger replace Pemberton in command of Lee's former department. Lee writes to Pemberton regarding the state of the Charleston harbor forts and the morale of the troops there: "The importance of defending both Charleston and Savannah to the last extremity, particularly Charleston, is earnestly brought to your attention. . . . Let it be distinctly understood by everybody that Charleston and Savannah are to be defended to the last extremity. If the harbors are taken the cities are to be fought street by street and house by house as long as we have a foot of ground to stand upon."⁶¹

57 OR 11, pt. 3, 552-4; REL to T. H. Holmes, May 27, 1862 (2 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to J. G. Martin, May 28, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS.

58 OR 12, pt. 3, 903; OR 10, pt. 2, 553-4; REL to Mansfield Lovell, May 27, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; OR 53, 245; Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 63. In a letter to Jackson today congratulating him for his recent string of victories, Johnston added a postscript in effect rebuking Jackson for communicating directly with Lee: "Time would be gained and saved by addressing me always—instead of the government." Johnston to Jackson, May 27, 1862, Lee-Jackson Foundation papers, W&L.

59 OR 11, pt. 3, 555-7; REL to T. H. Holmes, May 28, 1862, (2 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to J. J. Walker, May 28, 1862 (2 messages), telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to J. G. Martin (2 messages), May 28, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Huger (2 messages), May 28, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS. The confusion at Lee's headquarters must have been considerable as he and his aides tried to make sense of the messages that poured in from all the various commanders involved in this mess. It is a wonder that Petersburg, Weldon, and the entire railroad from Richmond to Wilmington was not left unguarded as Lee, Johnston, Huger, and Holmes all attempted to shift troops around.

60 REL to A. R. Lawton, May 28, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Jackson, May 28, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 64.

61 Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 65-6; Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations*, 131-2; OR 14, 523-4. Johnston determined not to attack upon learning from Jeb Stuart that Irvin McDowell's force moving south from Fredericksburg turned back and

Lee instructs Holmes to bring all available troops north and to be prepared to defend the Southside front or to join Johnston's army, as circumstances may dictate. Lee informs the Virginia Military Institute's superintendent, Maj. Gen. Francis H. Smith, that John Imboden wishes to borrow the institute's two artillery pieces for the defense of Staunton, Virginia. Lee writes to daughter Agnes expressing concern for her mother and sisters, who are under house arrest behind enemy lines at Marlbourne.⁶²

May 30, Friday (Richmond/Half Sink): Lee rides north on Telegraph Road to its crossing of the Chickahominy River at John Minor Botts's estate Half Sink, scouting for McClellan's right flank. He visits son Rooney's camp on the way. He sends Col. Long to Joe Johnston's headquarters to offer Lee's services for the coming battle. Long tells Johnston that Lee "would be glad to participate in the battle. He had no desire to interfere with [Johnston's] command, but simply wished to aid him on the field to the best of his ability and in any manner which his services would be of most value. General Johnston expressed gratification at this message, and the hope that General Lee would ride out to the field, with the desire that he would send [Johnston] all the reinforcements he could." Lee declines Georgia Governor Joe Brown's offer of pikes or knives to arm troops at Richmond. Periods of rain during the day and very heavy thunderstorms in the afternoon and night.⁶³

May 31, Saturday (Richmond/Seven Pines): In the morning Lee writes several pieces of correspondence: he informs Pemberton that there is no heavy artillery available in Richmond so to ask Gen. Forney in Mobile, and to send two regiments to Virginia; he also tells Paul Hebert to continue to send supplies to the remains of Henry Sibley's New Mexico force.⁶⁴

After completing this around mid-morning, Lee and staff ride to Johnston's headquarters on Williamsburg Road. Finding that Johnston has gone to the front, Lee's party continues on and finds Johnston at Magruder's headquarters on Nine Mile Road. There Lee learns for the first time that an offensive is in the works, but Johnston reveals few details. After spending several hours, perhaps as many as three, with Lee, Johnston rides off in the afternoon toward the sound of firing to the south, which had been faintly audible most of the afternoon.

Just as Johnston departs, President Davis and Postmaster General John Reagan ride up. Davis, Lee, and Magruder all confer while Reagan goes in search of Johnston. Reagan catches up with Johnston but learns little from him, and rides back toward Magruder's headquarters. He finds that President Davis and the two generals have ridden closer to the front at Seven Pines and are under fire in a clearing, and Reagan "protests" about how they are exposing themselves to danger.

Soon after this, about 7:00 p.m., a severely wounded Johnston is carried past the group on a litter. When he learns that Johnston is wounded, Maj. Gen. Gustavus W. Smith arrives and, as the

showed no further signs of linking up with McClellan. Although Lee went to Johnston's HQ, Jefferson Davis chose to avoid Johnston and went instead to a vantage point overlooking the Chickahominy bridges.

62 REL to T. H. Holmes, May 29, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to F. H. Smith, May 29, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; REL to Agnes, May 29, 1862, Lee papers, VHS.

63 OR 11, pt. 3, 560; Jones, *Personal Reminiscences of REL*, 390; Long, *Memoirs of REL*, 158-9; REL to Joseph Brown, May 30, 1862, telegram book, REL HQ papers, VHS; Krick, *CW Weather*, 56-7. One account claims that Lee spent the night of the 30th at 707 Franklin, but does not give a source for this (although it seems logical). Sally N. Robins, "General Robert E. Lee: Mrs. Lee During the War—Something About 'The Mess' and its Occupants," in Robert A. Brock, ed., *General Robert Edward Lee: Soldier, Citizen and Christian Patriot* (Richmond, VA, 1897), 337-8. William Nelson Pendleton wrote of the weather, "An unusually hard rain yesterday afternoon and last night, wetting the earth very deeply, swelling the streams prodigiously and leaving masses of threatening clouds this morning." W. N. Pendleton to wife, May 31, 1862, WNP papers, UNC.

64 OR 14, 528; OR 9, 716.

ranking officer of the Army of Northern Virginia, is queried by President Davis (in Lee's presence) about his plans for the battle. Smith relates what he knows of Johnston's plan but confesses he knows little beyond his own command and cannot formulate a plan until he learns the state of the other wing of the army. Smith later wrote, in something of an understatement, that "Mr. Davis did not seem pleased with what I said." After this discussion with Smith, President Davis and Gen. Lee ride back to the city together along Nine Mile Road. At some point during the historic journey Davis informs Lee that he will be assigned to command the Army of Northern Virginia.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Long, *Memoirs of REL*, 159; Freeman, *Lee*, vol. 2, 68-74; Harsh, *Sounding the Shallows*, 47; Maurice, *Lee's Aide de Camp*, 56-7; Reagan, *Memoirs*, 140-2; Davis, *Rise and Fall*, vol. 2, 100-3; Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations*, 138-9; Gustavus W. Smith, *The Battle of Seven Pines* (New York, 1891), 103-4. Long put the time of Lee's departure from Richmond at 9:00 a.m. *Memoirs of REL*, 159.