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## The Cruel Consequences of War: Life in Fauquier County, Virginia, 1861-1863

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The Cruel Consequences of War:  
Life in Fauquier County, Virginia, 1861-1863

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

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This dissertation is approved for recommendation to the Graduate Council.

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## **Abstract**

“The Cruel Consequences of War” describes how the American Civil War came to Fauquier County, Virginia, a border area in northern Virginia, and examines the effects of the conflict on the county’s black and white residents from 1861 – 1863. Scholars have been writing community studies since the 1960s, but few have examined the region of northern Virginia. While the “traditional” war in Virginia has been studied extensively, the home front has not received as much focus. “The Cruel Consequences of War” helps to fill this void by detailing the wartime experiences of civilians, and the soldiers who occupied the county, in Fauquier. The county was also home to the partisan fighter John Mosby and his Rangers, one of the only meaningfully effective and successful Confederate guerrilla units of the war. The Rangers’ exploits directly affected the daily lives of Fauquier’s inhabitants, to the point that traditional demarcations between home front and battlefield should no longer exist in the historiography since war on the border was not that distinct. Whether struggling to survive under the control of a hostile army or aiding and abetting Mosby’s Rangers, Fauquier residents were actively engaged in acts of warfare instead of passive civilians.

Due to its proximity to both nations’ capitals, and its relative wealth, both the Union and Confederate armies invaded and occupied Fauquier throughout the war. “The Cruel Consequences of War” specifically examines the effects of this near-constant occupation at the grassroots level. This harrowing experience shifted gender roles, as white women were thrust into the public sphere and became actively engaged in wartime exploits while men were miles away or hiding out at home to evade detection (either way unable to protect their families); altered race relations as the enslaved residents of the county learned to

operate in a world where they had more options and agency to achieve freedom than ever before; and challenged the fate of Confederate support in the state as many families struggled to maintain loyalty to a government that could not protect them.

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## Introduction

In July 1861, the pro-secessionist governor of Missouri, Claiborne Jackson, visited Richmond, Virginia, the new capital of the Confederacy. In his speech, Jackson stated, "I sympathize deeply with the people of Virginia, as well as you do with the people of Missouri. As I before remarked, the geographical position of the two States makes them the battle-grounds by necessary consequence. We are placed in the front ranks; we occupy the outposts. If these are taken it cannot be expected the citadel will long hold out."<sup>1</sup> While Jackson was ousted from his position as governor by the unionist legislature in Missouri, assuring that the state remained, precariously, in the Union, his words nonetheless rang true for Virginia. The Union army had entered Virginia the day after the state voted to secede, and armed skirmishes began in June. The state was forced to mobilize for war and fight the enemy at the same time.

One of the largest states in the Union, Virginia stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ohio River Valley. As a result, the state encompassed a varied geography that broke the state into more or less four parts: Tidewater, Piedmont, Valley and Mountains. The Tidewater, in a manner of speaking, was the venerable old statesman that had established Virginia as a leading force in the United States and, indeed, had been a driving force in creating the country. Its success depended on an English-style gentry, the so-called First Families, many of whom were related to landed gentry in Great Britain. It is from these families that many of the men counted among the Founding Fathers sprang. Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph, George Washington, James Madison, James Monroe, and

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<sup>1</sup> "Multiple Classified Advertisements," *Warrenton Flag of '98*, Aug. 1, 1861.

Patrick Henry were all born into privilege, and many of them were related. While most of these men were born in family homes in the Tidewater, where they died tells the story of a changing Virginia. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Henry, and Washington all settled, and subsequently died, in the Piedmont region. By 1860, due mainly to economic forces, the Tidewater was no longer as powerful as it once had been.

When Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860, Virginia was a state caught, more so than any other place south of Mason and Dixon's line, between two economies – industrial and agricultural – and two ways of life – one based on free labor and one on enslaved labor. If the nation was experiencing growing pains on a national scale, it mirrored what was occurring within Virginia, both politically and socially. The state constitution, which heavily favored the interests of the wealthy landowners in the Tidewater, had been revised twice in the first eighty years of Virginia's existence. Both of the constitutional conventions called in that time (1830 and 1851) occurred because western Virginia demanded more access to the government, through universal male suffrage in 1830, through more control in the state legislature in 1851.<sup>2</sup> While neither eastern planters nor western farmers were ever fully satisfied, the new constitutions were ratified and still held an increasingly fractured state together by 1860. The events of the spring of 1861 would highlight those fractures again, but this time, no compromise would be reached. The Old Dominion that entered the war would not be the same when it ended. The conflicting personalities of the state, between planter and slave, farmer and freedman, even planter and farmer, as well as all the political and economic tensions they created,

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<sup>2</sup> See Craig Simpson, "Political Compromise and the Protection of Slavery: Henry A. Wise and the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1850-1851," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 83 (October 1975): 387-405.

would not only split the state in half, but also see the way of life of all its people changed forever.

Virginia is perhaps the state most associated with the Civil War, and with good reason. Because the Confederacy chose to move its capital to Richmond, the state became an inevitable battleground for the two armies. Only one hundred miles separated the capitals of the United States and the Confederate States of America. If capturing Richmond was one goal of Lincoln and the Union army, defeating the leader of the principal Confederate army was another. Virginia's beloved son, Robert E. Lee, came to represent, more than any of his contemporaries, the war, the South and the mythical Cavalier. That he descended from Virginia gentry and was related by marriage to George Washington elevated his status to heroic proportions.

With both the capital and the man who came to symbolize the Confederacy in Virginia, it is understandable that Virginia came to dominate early histories of the war. Add Stonewall Jackson, J.E.B. Stuart, and the presence of Jefferson Davis and the Confederate government, and it is impossible to underestimate the role played by the state during the war. Yet, Virginia is no longer at the forefront of that history, and perhaps for good reason. For far too long, the war in the West and Trans-Mississippi theaters was overlooked. Increasingly, though, the effects of events in those regions on the larger war are being brought to light. Additionally, much focus has been given to the role the guerrilla war played in the larger war as well. As a result, our understanding of the war has expanded to include many more participants than were treated in the great histories written through most of the twentieth century. With all this new knowledge and understanding of the myriad ways southerners experienced the war, and its impact not just on the elite white

men in charge or Johnny Reb serving on the battlefield, but also on women, slaves and freedmen, it is time to reexamine Virginia's experience.

Local histories and community studies offer a way for historians to bridge the gap between social history and well-established military history. "Only by concentrating on a limited geographic area," Daniel Sutherland writes, "can one hope to come to grips with the diversity and reality of the war."<sup>3</sup> By focusing on one county or one region in the South, historians are better able to illustrate the monumental impact of the war and emancipation. Since scholars began writing community studies in the 1960s, a great deal has been learned about various southern towns and regions, especially those that faced Union occupation.<sup>4</sup> Few, however, have investigated communities in northern Virginia. Additionally, there are

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<sup>3</sup> Daniel Sutherland, "Getting the 'Real War' into the Books," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 98 (April 1990): 201.

<sup>4</sup> For a list of the most important Civil War community studies published up to 1990, see Sutherland, "Getting the 'Real War' Into the Books," 203, n.16-17, 206, n. 18. Since 1990, the most important community studies include Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., *Confederate Mobile* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991); Daniel W. Crofts, *Old Southampton: Politics and Society in a Virginia County, 1834-1869* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992); Sutherland, *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861-1865* (New York: Free Press, 1995); Chester G. Hearn, *Six Years of Hell: Harpers Ferry during the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996); William Blair, *Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Thomas Dyer, *Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); William Marvell, *A Place Called Appomattox* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Edward L. Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: The Civil War in the Heart of America, 1859-1863* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003); A. Wilson Greene, *Civil War Petersburg: Confederate City in the Crucible of War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006); Robert Tracy McKenzie, *Lincolnton and Rebels: A Divided Town in the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Richard R. Duncan, *Beleaguered Winchester: A Virginia Community at War, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007); Nicole Etcheson, *A Generation at War: The Civil War Era in a Northern Community* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011); Bradley Clampitt, *Occupied Vicksburg* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016); and Edward L. Ayers, *Thin Light of Freedom: Civil War and Emancipation in the Heart of America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2017).

numerous studies about the impact of guerrilla warfare in the Appalachian and Trans-Mississippi regions, but not much has been written about the consequences of harboring guerrillas for the citizens of Northern Virginia.<sup>5</sup> The escapades of John Singleton Mosby and his men are well known, but how those exploits affected the daily lives of people Northern Virginia is less readily apparent.<sup>6</sup> “The Cruel Consequences of War” attempts to rectify this by exploring the experiences of the people of Fauquier County – black and white, male and female, rich and poor, free and enslaved, soldier and civilian – and illustrating the ways in which war affected a community caught not only between two armies, but also in the midst of a ferocious guerrilla conflict.

Fauquier County, Virginia, ninety miles from Richmond and fifty miles from Washington, D.C., was a land of rolling hills, green pastures, and fertile farmland disturbed only by the occasional comfortable farmhouse. Established in 1759 from lands owned by

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<sup>5</sup> Some of the most important works on guerrilla warfare in Missouri and Appalachia include Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri during the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); John Inscoe and Gordon McKinney, *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia: Western North Carolina in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Kenneth Noe and Shannon Wilson, *The Civil War in Appalachia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004); Brian McKnight, *Contested Borderlands: The Civil War in Appalachian Kentucky and Virginia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006); Clay Mountcastle, *Punitive War: Confederate Guerrillas and Union Reprisals* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009); Brian McKnight, *Confederate Outlaw: Champ Ferguson and the Civil War in Appalachia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011); Joseph M. Beilein, Jr., and Matthew C. Hulbert, eds., *The Civil War Guerrilla: Unfolding the Black Flag in History, Memory, and Myth: New Directions in Southern History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015); Joseph M. Beilein, Jr. *Bushwhackers: Guerrilla Warfare, Manhood, and the Household in Civil War Missouri* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2016); and Brian McKnight and Barton Myers, ed. *The Guerrilla Hunters: Irregular Conflicts during the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017).

<sup>6</sup> For works on Mosby’s Rangers, see Jeffrey D. Wert, *Mosby’s Rangers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990); Paul Ashdown and Edward Caudill, *The Mosby Myth: A Confederate Hero in Life and Legend* (Wilmington, D.E.: Scholarly Resources, 2002); and James Ramage, *Gray Ghost: The Life of Col. John Singleton Mosby* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009).

Lord Thomas Fairfax, it straddled not only a geographical boundary between the Tidewater and Appalachian regions, but also a political one. For by November of 1860, where this story begins, cracks that had been present in Virginia politics for years began to widen and deepen. The citizens of Fauquier were mostly unionists in the tumultuous winter of 1860-1861, but their lives were turned upside down by the events that occurred on April 12, 1861, in Charleston, South Carolina. Secession fervor swept across Virginia, fanned by President Abraham Lincoln's call for troops on April 15 from all states that had not seceded, Virginia included. The state's secession ordinance was passed on April 17 and put up for ratification by popular referendum. An overwhelming majority of the state supported it when it passed on May 23, 1861. In Fauquier County, 1,809 men voted for it, while just four men opposed the ordinance.

The frenzy that ensues in a country after war is declared is universal, but for Virginia, it was heightened even more. Seceding after the actions at Fort Sumter meant the state immediately entered a country already at war. In the early weeks, Virginia was in a precarious position. As North Carolina had not yet seceded, Virginia was essentially alone geographically and surrounded by states that, for the moment, remained loyal to the United States. In those early days, Virginia was a border state in a manner that its northern region, including Fauquier County, would experience for the entirety of the war. As a result of its geographical location and the armies that operated within the region, Fauquier was condemned to a period of unforeseen bloodshed, havoc, and pain. In this war of attrition, location was everything, which did not work in favor of the people of Fauquier.

Virginia's decision to secede propelled Fauquier down a long road filled with hardship. Not only did unionists turn into staunch Confederates overnight, but they were

called upon to support the war effort. And support that war effort they did. With the majority of the fighting between the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia occurring in Virginia, both armies relied on the fertile farms of Virginia for food and supplies. To the armies, Fauquier was the land of milk and honey. From the rich fields filled with both crops and healthy livestock to the well-bred horses many families raised, there was much to be taken. And both armies plundered Fauquier many times as a result.

When war began in 1861, the residents of Fauquier readied their sons and husbands to join newly-formed military units. Men from the county were some of the first to fall. Captains John Q. Marr and Richard Ashby, brother of the famous Turner Ashby, both lost their lives in June. The battle of First Manassas brought scores of wounded men to Warrenton, the county seat, and the soldiers filled churches and homes to the brim. It would only get worse, with the community's greatest fears or, in the case of slaves, greatest hopes, first realized in March 1862, when the Union army marched into the county. For the first time since war began, Fauquier was behind Union lines. The county would be occupied by both armies on and off for the remainder of the war. Feeding and supplying both Union and Confederate soldiers wreaked havoc on the county, decimating the once prosperous community. The war had disastrous consequences for the region's white residents, but their loyalty to the Confederacy remained firm. For the county's slaves, living in constant upheaval along a border shared by the Union army meant freedom for many and the loosening of the bonds of slavery for all.

In 1863, life was altered once more for the people of the county when John Singleton Mosby chose Fauquier as the base for his guerrilla operations. For two years, the people of Fauquier had to feed, board, and conceal one of the most effective partisan outfits of the

war. Unusual amongst guerrilla bands during the war, Mosby and his men enjoyed the support of the Confederate government (and the grudging respect of Mosby's mentor, J.E.B. Stuart, as well as Robert E. Lee) and were sanctioned under the Partisan Ranger Act of 1862. Many of Mosby's Rangers, as they became known, were local boys eager to fight on their own home front, but their actions placed Fauquier in even greater danger. As the county continued to change hands, the Union army relentlessly launched raids throughout the county in attempts to capture the rangers, or at least to hinder their movements. That the rangers not only survived, but also thrived, is a testament to the loyalty of the people of Fauquier, especially of its white women, to the Confederate cause.

Mosby's brand of warfare could not survive without a strong support system, so its proponents had to be completely and totally committed. A guerrilla war makes no distinction between home front and warfront or between civilian and soldier. Supporting a guerrilla war requires vigilance by all involved; one's guard can never be dropped. Rather than just plundering whenever they were in the area, the Union army began to target families and farms in the county as punishment for harboring Mosby and his men. With their own sons, brothers, and husbands involved, the Confederates of Fauquier became even more invested in the war. No longer were the battlefields a day's ride away: Fauquier County became both the battlefield and the home front, a place of safety and a place of fear. Partisans operated out of Fauquier until the end of the war, when Mosby famously eluded the Union army one last time and refused to surrender his men. Their reliance on the people of Fauquier for survival adds an important dimension to the story of the county.

This, then, is a story of survival. As with other locations throughout the Confederacy, northern Virginia was a place where the lines between home front and battlefield blurred.



The famous “hard war” policies were tested in northern Virginia two years before they were put in place by Generals William T. Sherman and Ulysses S. Grant in 1864. The destructive war that has been so well documented in the deep South came to Virginia much earlier. Due to the county’s location, and the avid loyalty of its white residents, Fauquier was one of the first regions in the South to suffer under the Union army’s changing war aims. When unionists did not rush to aid the Union army once it invaded Virginia, President Lincoln was forced to revise his original policy of conciliation toward noncombatants, and the people of Fauquier were some of the first realize the ramifications of the changing Union strategy toward southern civilians.

And if this is a story of survival, it is a story of survival led by women. With so many men joining the Confederate army, those that remained in Fauquier were either very old or very young. Thus, much of the work of everyday life fell to women. The war upended the lives of elite white women in ways they never expected. Many found themselves in charge of large farms and numerous slaves, while also having to protect their property from both armies and do what they could to provide for their families. These women, often feeding Confederates in the morning and arguing with Union soldiers over the requisitioning of their livestock in the evening, experienced war in a way none had anticipated. Living on the border, while aiding and abetting guerrillas and interacting with the Union army, meant these women challenge our ideas of what the “typical” civilian war experience involved, if such a thing existed.

Yet, historians struggle to define this experience. Scholars such as Stephen Ash have tried to develop a framework for understanding the occupied South by dividing it into

various regions to illustrate that the “home front” is an elusive concept.<sup>7</sup> However, within that framework, as community studies have demonstrated, there were still a myriad of ways the war affected southern civilians throughout the South. Additionally, the continued study of guerrilla warfare has shown that irregular warfare “splintered” the Confederacy into “a hundred local wars for survival.”<sup>8</sup> This war was not just fought on traditional battlefields. The ways in which the war affected civilians greatly differed across the Confederacy, illustrating that the duality of a home front/battlefield framework is too simple. The definition of “home front” needs to be reimagined.

Historian Lorien Foote recently confronted this very issue and challenged scholars to discover new ways in which to understand how white southerners, such as the citizens of Fauquier, perceived their role in the conflict.<sup>9</sup> As Foote astutely recognizes, while thinking that historians should no longer continue to see a sharp distinction between the home front and battlefield, they should also avoid thinking that there was no distinction between them at all. Some historians argue that certain civilians, especially those that supplied guerrillas, like the elite women of Fauquier, should be considered combatants, but that is not the way in which those women viewed their wartime experiences.<sup>10</sup> What they encountered was different from what their loved ones experienced on the battlefield, and they recognized the distinction. However, the residents were also not simply “civilians.”

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<sup>7</sup> Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861 - 1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 278.

<sup>9</sup> Lorien Foote, “Rethinking the Confederate Home Front,” *Journal of the Civil War Era*, 7 (September 2017): 446-465.

<sup>10</sup> LeeAnn Whites and Alecia P. Long, eds. *Occupied Women: Gender, Military, Occupation, and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), 7.

The writings many women left behind demonstrate that they saw themselves as active participants in the war. To borrow historian Joseph Beilein's description, which Foote also proposes, perhaps it is best to describe their experiences as part of the "household war."<sup>11</sup>

Ultimately, Foote echoes the argument made by Daniel Sutherland in 1990. The best way to grasp how southerners experienced the Civil War, and thus the best way to reach new definitions of "home front" and "battlefield," is to study it in the same way in which they lived it, on the local level, through community studies. As Sutherland noted, historians may have finally realized "there was no single real war, but rather several, perhaps many, wars, depending on geography."<sup>12</sup> Community studies have shown that southerners did not have a singular war experience, and to better grasp challenges they faced and the ways in which they understood their position within the war and the Confederacy, more work needs to be done. "The Cruel Consequences of War" tells the story of one community and the way in which the Civil War forever altered its people. It is an attempt to heed Sutherland's call, echoing Walt Whitman, to "get the 'real' war into the books," whether that real war is "typical" or not.<sup>13</sup>

### **Chapter 1: Civil War is at the Door, Fall 1860 - Spring 1861**

Fauquier County was a land of rolling hills, green pastures, and fertile farmland, interrupted only by the occasional comfortable white farmhouse. Ninety miles north of Richmond and fifty miles west of Washington, D.C., Fauquier was removed from the hustle

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<sup>11</sup> Beilein, *Bushwhackers*.

<sup>12</sup> Sutherland, "Getting the 'Real War' into the Books," 202.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

and bustle of the cities. Its white citizens found the region idyllic, a tranquil place where men discussed their stables of horses and the women chatted excitedly about upcoming social events. Thomas A. Ashby, a cousin of one of Fauquier's best known citizens, Turner Ashby, described the Fauquier countryside as "one of great natural beauty, of fertility, and healthfulness. The foothills of the Blue Ridge surround Markham [his community] on all sides, dividing the landscape into valleys and elevated plateaus, covered with forests, grazing fields and rich farmlands."<sup>14</sup>

The Manahoac and Iroquois tribes had been present in the area for hundreds of years prior to the arrival of the English, who began arriving soon after the famous landing at Jamestown in 1607. Once survival was no longer as precarious as it had seemed in the "starving time" of 1609-1610, English explorers wasted no time heading inland. While John Smith and Christopher Newport, among others, travelled the numerous waterways connected to the Chesapeake Bay, others went farther, past the falls on the James River to the foothills of what would become known as the Blue Ridge Mountains, part of the mighty Appalachians. Just as the crystal blue waters of the Chesapeake Bay caused many early settlers to write to loved ones in England of the beauty of their new home, so did the rolling hills of the Piedmont capture the hearts of people who set out to make a life there. One such explorer, John Lederer, described the region in 1670: "The first springs of most of these great rivers which run to the Atlantic Ocean, or Chesapeake Bay, do here breakout, and in

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<sup>14</sup> Thomas A. Ashby, *The Valley Campaigns: Being the Reminiscences of a Non-Combatant While Between the Lines in the Shenandoah Valley During the War of the States* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1914), 35.

luxurious branches interlace the flowery meads, whose luxurious herbage invites numerous herds of red deer to feed.”<sup>15</sup>

Part of those “flowery meads” was Fauquier County, officially created in 1759. Named for Francis Fauquier, the lieutenant governor of Virginia from 1759 to 1768, it comprises over six hundred square miles on the Piedmont plateau, some of the oldest and most fertile land in Virginia. The Rappahannock River borders the county on its southeastern side. As Lederer remarked, several major waterways originate within the county; the watersheds of Goose Creek, Broad Run, and Cedar Run are also located within the county. While the county is fairly flat near the Rappahannock, to the west there are rolling hills, and the northwest corner is fairly mountainous. There are four natural mountain gaps in the county, Ashby, Hopewell, Manassas, and Thoroughfare, which has insured that several major roads and trade routes have crisscrossed the region since before the arrival of English settlers. These gaps would become especially important during the Civil War, as both sides sought to control access to the Shenandoah Valley. While some of the Manahoac and the Iroquois tribes were still present at the time English settlers arrived in the early 1700s, most Native Americans had moved on from the region. Consequently, early settlers did not face many of the same conflicts others did as they moved farther west.

With a lack of well-maintained roads within the Virginia colony, it is no surprise that early settlers made their homes close to the banks of the county’s waterways. As the Rappahannock was a main transportation center, many of the first settlements were built in the southern part of the county alongside it. As the county and colony continued to grow, the Virginia General Assembly turned its energies to improving the state roads. With the

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<sup>15</sup> Kimberly Prothro Williams, ed., *A Pride of Place: Rural Residences of Fauquier County, Virginia*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 5.

new focus on updated and better maintained transportation systems, the General Assembly stipulated, as a part of the Highway Act passed in 1748, that planters were responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of roads passing by their property. It also decided that the county seat of Fauquier would be built at the crossroads of the Winchester-Falmouth Road and Charlottesville-Alexandria Post Road. At first called Fauquier Court House, the main town in the county was soon renamed Warrenton, in honor of General Joseph Warren, the Revolutionary War hero. Warrenton became the political center of the county, while other small towns and villages also sprang up at crossroads throughout the region.

In the years following the Revolution, Fauquier steadily grew until the population peaked in the 1830s with 26,086 residents.<sup>16</sup> The Tidewater region had begun to exhaust its soil from years of tobacco growing, and so many of the Virginia gentry set their sights on the fertile land of Fauquier. This influx of families, however, took a toll as younger sons found their futures uncertain when most of the available land was quickly purchased. While intermarrying amongst families was one way to inherit a farm, many young men were forced to move farther west and south, heading to places such as Arkansas, Ohio, and Alabama. As a result, by 1850 the population in the county had fallen to 21,706.<sup>17</sup>

While Fauquier did grow Virginia's cash crop, tobacco was not very popular, especially after global prices fell in the 1820s. Fauquier was in a unique position since it straddled the Piedmont-Tidewater border. Through kinship and friendship ties, it aligned

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<sup>16</sup> 1830 U.S. census, population schedule, Fauquier County, Virginia, Social Explorer, accessed October 14, 2017, <https://www socialexplorer.com/tables/Census1830/R11505025>.

<sup>17</sup> 1860 U.S. census, agriculture schedule, Fauquier County, Virginia, p. 154, 158, United States Census Bureau, accessed July 15, 2015, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/agriculture/1860b-07.pdf>.

closely with the Tidewater region. However, Fauquier's location on the fertile Piedmont plain and its proximity to both the Shenandoah Valley and the nation's capital tied it closely to the mid-Atlantic and Ohio Valley economic systems. The Piedmont was much more suited to grains such as wheat, rye, oats, and corn. Many farmers also practiced crop rotation, which further protected the land from the depletion that had occurred in the eastern part of the state. In 1860, Fauquier's farmers recorded 280,270 bushels of wheat and 717,450 bushels of corn (the fifth largest amount of corn produced in the state).<sup>18</sup> With such large amounts of grain and corn, milling became a very lucrative profession. By 1840, the county had seventy-six gristmills operating, as Fauquier's citizens capitalized on the plentiful waterpower available to them.<sup>19</sup> Farmers built many of the mills to make extra money and have an easier way to transport their crop to market.

Throughout much of the nineteenth century, farming remained the number one profession for Fauquier's men. The census of 1860 reported a farming population of 10,232 white residents and 821 free African Americans (out of a total population of 21,706), as well as 966 farms, up from 889 farms in 1850.<sup>20</sup> The majority of farms were between 100 and 500 acres (about 58 percent) with 33 farms (3.4 percent) comprised of over 1,000 acres.<sup>21</sup> These numbers placed Fauquier above the state average, as only 40 percent of Virginia farms comprised 100-500 acres.<sup>22</sup> Fauquier had been a wealthy county (by state averages) almost since its inception, and its wealth only grew through the mid-nineteenth

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Kathi Ann Brown, Walter Nicklin and John T. Toler, *250 Years in Fauquier County: A Virginia Story* (Fairfax, Va.: GMU Press, 2008), 18.

<sup>20</sup> 1860 U.S. census, population schedule, Fauquier County, Virginia, Social Explorer, accessed October 23, 2017, <https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/Census1860/R11501114>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

century. By 1860, the county's farms were worth \$10,062,472, the third wealthiest in the state, behind only nearby Loudoun County (whose farms were worth \$10,508,211) and Augusta County in the Shenandoah Valley (whose farms were worth \$10,997,286).<sup>23</sup>

While Fauquier's land was quite bountiful, many families used their fields for other, even more lucrative, measures than growing wheat. Livestock, mainly cattle, became one of the primary vehicles for wealth. The county was also one of the state's largest producers of honey, which made Fauquier a literal land of milk and honey.<sup>24</sup> Dairy cows were a necessity for all farms, but the real moneymakers were beef cattle. Drovers brought herds of steers to northern Virginia (usually to Middleburg, in Loudoun County). In the 1850s, Fauquier's farmers purchased 900 pound steers for around \$17 a head, took them home to their verdant pastures, and fattened them up with a diet of pasture grass and corn.<sup>25</sup> After a year, the cattle gained about 200-300 pounds and were sold to butchers for \$24-\$26 a head.<sup>26</sup> With such a lucrative market, cattle became the foundation of the economy, so much so that people preferred to sell rather than eat the beef they raised. Many families subsisted instead on sheep and hogs. In 1860, Fauquier reported a total of 23,197 cattle (not including milk cows), the most in the state, with Loudoun County in second place with only

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<sup>23</sup> 1860 U.S. census, agriculture schedule, Fauquier County, Virginia, p. 154, 158, United States Census Bureau, accessed July 15, 2015, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/agriculture/1860b-07.pdf>.

<sup>24</sup> 1860 U.S. census, agriculture schedule, Fauquier County, Virginia, p. 157, United States Census Bureau, accessed July 15, 2015, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/agriculture/1860b-07.pdf>.

<sup>25</sup> D'Anne Evans and John K. Gott, *Train Whistles and Hunting Horns: The History of The Plains, Virginia* (Warrenton, Va.: Piedmont Press, 1993), 22.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.



14,504.<sup>27</sup> This translated to a value of almost \$1.5 million, quite the sum in 1860. By comparison, the value of farming implements and machinery (the next largest profitable industry due to the presence of a plow manufacturer) was \$241,740; respectable but still far behind the value of livestock and farming.<sup>28</sup>

In Fauquier, where land was king, a large labor force was necessary to maintain pastures and seed the fields. From 1800, at least 40 percent of the county's population was enslaved. By 1860, almost half the population of Fauquier was enslaved (10,455 men, women, and children), "a proportion greater than many slave states in the Deep South – and a majority of slave masters owned more than ten."<sup>29</sup> With 933 slaveholders and 2,111 families reported on the 1860 census, much of the county had ties to slavery, whether or not people personally owned slaves.<sup>30</sup> The "peculiar institution," then, was an integral part of life in Fauquier and the cornerstone on which the economy and social life was built. The well-being of most of Fauquier's white families depended on upholding the practice of slavery.

While the state of Virginia still had the country's largest number of slaveholders in 1860, it had transitioned from being a major importer of slaves to being an exporter, with

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<sup>27</sup> 1860 U.S. census, agriculture schedule, Fauquier County, Virginia, p. 154, 158, United States Census Bureau, accessed July 15, 2015, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/agriculture/1860b-07.pdf>.

<sup>28</sup> 1860 U.S. census, agriculture schedule, Fauquier County, Virginia, p. 154, United States Census Bureau, accessed July 15, 2015, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/agriculture/1860b-07.pdf>.

<sup>29</sup> Paul Christopher Anderson, *Blood Image: Turner Ashby in the Civil War and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 48.

<sup>30</sup> 1860 U.S. census, population schedule, Fauquier County, Virginia, University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, accessed June 20, 2015 <http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/collections>.

many families engaged in the slave trade to the Deep South. The exodus of slaves had begun in the Tidewater region where tobacco had exhausted the soil and forced families to sell slaves to make ends meet. However, this exodus had only fairly recently begun and even with the large numbers leaving the state, Virginia was still firmly a slave society.<sup>31</sup> In Fauquier, families retained their slaves as their more diversified economy kept them more profitable. The total real estate value of the county was worth \$13,308,772 and personal property was valued at \$14,052,831. Therefore, the average free family was fairly wealthy and had assets of land and property worth \$12,960, a sum only surpassed in the state by the residents of nearby Loudoun.<sup>32</sup>

While growing grain and raising livestock was a normal part of life for many Americans in the 1850s and 1860s, Fauquier also had a more unique “crop.” Many families were adept horse breeders, and they quickly established Fauquier’s reputation as one of the best places in the nation to purchase thoroughbreds. They depended on horses generally for farming, with 70 percent of all draft animals in the county in 1860 being horses.<sup>33</sup> The only major area of the South where horses made up a higher percentage of draft animals (80 percent) was over the mountains from Fauquier, in the Shenandoah Valley.<sup>34</sup> This horse culture, as it might be called, set the county apart in a way its wealth

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<sup>31</sup> William A. Link, *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 3.

<sup>32</sup> Eugene Scheel, *The Civil War in Fauquier County, Virginia* (Warrenton, Va.: Fauquier National Bank, 1985), 3.

<sup>33</sup> Anderson, *Blood Image*, 22.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*; Only three counties surpassed Fauquier in the number of horses owned in 1860. Augusta had 8,852 followed by Rockingham with 7,874, Loudoun with 7,503 and Fauquier with 6,721. See 1860 U.S. census, agriculture schedule, Fauquier County, Virginia, United States Census Bureau, accessed July 15, 2015, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/agriculture/1860b-07.pdf>.

and politics did not. Such a large number of horses not only meant that most citizens of the county could ride, but that most white families owned at least one mount. These were people used to moving around quickly when necessary, and breeding horses was a regular part of life. It also meant that when war came, many men from the county joined the cavalry and supplied their own horses.

While horses were the main mode of transportation in the county, they were not the only form. Over one hundred years after the General Assembly tried to improve Virginia's transportation routes via the roads, several wealthy and powerful Fauquier men sought to bring the most modern form of transportation the world had yet seen to their county: the railroad. Travel by rail had been possible in Virginia since the 1830s, but no tracks had been laid in Fauquier. In order to ensure that the county would be part of the new Manassas Gap Railroad at its inception in 1851, local residents had to raise \$80,000, a larger sum than most counties because of the number of mountain crossings within the Fauquier. As testament to how important the businessmen of Fauquier considered the railroad, three fourths of the amount was raised in only three weeks time. The company broke ground in the fall of 1851, and trains were running within the county by May 1852. In November 1853, the line was completed over the Blue Ridge, making the Manassas Gap the first to cross the mountains by rail.<sup>35</sup>

This feat of engineering not only meant that the county was better connected to state and regional markets which altered both its economics and politics, but that tourists could more easily visit the county. Sulphur Springs was built in the 1830s on the banks of the Rappahannock River, and the construction of train tracks in the county made it one of

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<sup>35</sup> Brown, Nicklin and Toler, *250 Years in Fauquier County*, 61; Evans and Gott, *Train Whistles and Hunting Horns*, 25.

the premiere resorts on the East Coast. The General Assembly held its 1849 session on the grounds of the resort when a cholera epidemic broke out in Richmond. Additionally, it was rumored that Chief Justice Roger Taney wrote the Dred Scott decision in 1857 while staying at the Springs. The editor of the *National Intelligencer*, after riding the new railroad in 1852, reported, "The road passes through a fine agricultural country, especially after it enters Fauquier, and its present terminus at The Plains in the midst of a very fertile district affords one of the most lovely and picturesque scenes which nature and rural industry have combine any where to create."<sup>36</sup> This type of advertising, as well as the spreading knowledge of the county's quality horses, further cemented Fauquier's reputation as an idyllic part of Virginia and the South.

However, events in the 1850s disrupted Fauquier's calm. Slave patrols in the county increased, as many white men believed nearby Loudoun County contained stops on the Underground Railroad. With the building of the railroad, the Mountain Rangers, led by Turner Ashby, was created at the request of railroad president Edward C. Marshall to police the Irish railroad workers, who were prone to riots, and to protect the county from the immigrants.<sup>37</sup> Events reached a fever pitch with John Brown's raid, which took place at nearby Harpers Ferry.

The news flashed over the telegraph wire on October 17, 1859, and sent the men racing for their fastest horses. The South's greatest fear, one that had especially petrified Virginia since the horrific events surrounding Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831, had once more come true: a group of men was trying to incite a slave rebellion in Harpers Ferry,

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<sup>36</sup> Brown, Nicklin and Toler, *250 Years in Fauquier County*, 63.

<sup>37</sup> Edward C. Marshall to Governor Joseph Johnson, June 27, 1853, Executive Papers of Governor Joseph Johnson, Library of Virginia, Richmond; Anderson, *Blood Image*, 46-47.

Virginia. Several U.S. Army companies, already in the area because of the location of an armory in the town, had responded, but additional support was needed. Two militia companies from Fauquier County heeded the call and left as soon as possible. It was the moment that men like Turner Ashby, commander of the Mountain Rangers, and John Scott, captain of the Black Horse Troop, had been waiting for.<sup>38</sup>

Ashby's company had been in place in the county since 1852, but Scott's unit was a new development, a sign of the growing uneasiness throughout Virginia.<sup>39</sup> Both companies were comprised of some of the county's strongest horsemen from some of the most affluent families. They were the leaders, men who held positions of power, and whose families had long overseen politics in both the county and the state. And when their governor called for help, for the defense of their state, as Governor Henry Wise did, they did not hesitate, riding as quickly as possible through the foothills of the Appalachians.

By the time they reached Harpers Ferry, most of the excitement was over. Colonel Robert E. Lee, of the U.S. Army, commanding a company of U.S. Marines, was sent by President James Buchanan to end the uprising and was successful. After a brief shoot-out, the Marines stormed the engine house (where Brown and his supporters were holed up), and captured Brown and the rest of his men. For the next three weeks, the Black Horse Troop remained in Harpers Ferry and nearby Charles Town (where Brown faced trial), guarding the abolitionist and escorting him to the gallows to face his execution.<sup>40</sup> When the deed was done, Brown was pronounced dead on December 2 by a Fauquier County

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<sup>38</sup> Emily G. Ramey and John K. Gott, eds., *The Years of Anguish: Fauquier County, Virginia, 1861-1865* (Warrenton, Va.: The Fauquier Democrat, 1965), 161-62.

<sup>39</sup> Alexander Kelly McClure, ed., *The Annals of the Civil War Written by Leading Participants North and South* (Philadelphia: The Times Publishing Company, 1879), 590.

<sup>40</sup> Brown, Nicklin, and Toler, *250 Years in Fauquier County*, 78

physician, Dr. Thomas Lee Settle.<sup>41</sup> Then it really was over. The Mountain Rangers and the Black Horse Troop were put in charge of patrolling the Potomac River. For the moment, at least, peace reigned supreme.

It was not to last. The citizens of Fauquier, like the rest of country, were living on borrowed time. They were appalled by what Brown had attempted to do in Harpers Ferry. Attacking the armory was just the beginning of Brown's plan to incite a massive slave uprising that would spread across the Commonwealth and then across the South. "I do not think my heart would harbor feeling of sympathy for heartless, ungrateful wretches," Fauquier resident Amanda Edmonds confided to her diary after the events, referring to her slaves.<sup>42</sup> Brown's plan fell apart, but it still sent shockwaves across the country and throughout Virginia. Soon after the various militia groups returned home, another company was created. John Q. Marr, a graduate and former professor of the Virginia Military Institute, raised the Warrenton Rifles. The men began to conduct drills regularly throughout the county. Marr even designed a special uniform for them of gray frock coats and trousers with a gray hat with a black band embroidered with the letters "W.R."<sup>43</sup> The county now had three different militia companies, all examples of the uncertainty the residents felt about events in Virginia and around the country. With the election of 1860 looming in the distance, the year following John Brown's raid was the last period of peace the residents of Virginia would experience for several years. The cavaliers of the Mountain Rangers and Black Horse would soon pick up their revolvers again, once more in the belief

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid.; Ramey and Gott, *The Years of Anguish*, 147.

<sup>42</sup> Amanda Virginia Edmonds, *Society of Rebels: Diary of Amanda Edmonds, Northern Virginia 1857-1867*, ed. Lee Lawrence (Warrenton, Va.: Piedmont Press & Graphics, 2017), 37.

<sup>43</sup> Lee A. Wallace, *17th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1990), 15.

that they were defending their state and protecting their families.

It was a tumultuous end to an already tumultuous decade. Event after event had rippled across the country and threatened the ties that bound the United States together. By the end of the 1850s, the citizens of Fauquier understood the challenges they faced. Most people did not give much credence to the fire-eating speeches coming from such states as South Carolina and Georgia. This was *Virginia*; the Mother of all States. The very men who had formed the nation, who had created “a more perfect Union,” called Virginia home. And it was their sons and grandsons who would now decide whether or not that union would remain whole. Many residents of Fauquier were descendants of men who had signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Chief Justice John Marshall spent his childhood and adolescence in Fauquier, and many of his extended family continued to reside there. These were people raised to revere the Revolution and the spirit that had enabled the Founding Fathers to create a nation. With such respect for the government, and a somewhat inflated understanding of their state’s and ancestors’ roles in its creation, it is understandable that most of the citizens of Fauquier were hesitant to tear the country apart.<sup>44</sup>

Election day arrived on November 6, 1860, and brought with it the end to a turbulent political year. Americans, and especially southerners, waited with bated breath to find out the results. “This is the day for the election of electors,” Virginian Edmund Ruffin, a fire-eater who was currently in South Carolina awaiting that state’s decision regarding secession, remarked. “The momentous election which, if showing the subsequent election

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<sup>44</sup> Edward L. Ayers, Gary W. Gallagher, and Andrew J. Torget, eds. *Crucible of the Civil War: Virginia from Secession to Commemoration*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 3; William Blair, *Virginia’s Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 30.

of Lincoln to be certain, will serve to show whether these southern states are to remain free, or to be political enslaved.”<sup>45</sup> While Ruffin wished his home state to consider secession, others were cautiously optimistic that Virginia would be spared such an event. “The Union ticket has the majority in Virginia,” Betty Gray, a resident of Fauquier, enthused. “She will submit to the Lincoln Government (looking to the bright side) for four years, rather than destroy the Union that our forefathers fought to establish. Which in the right cannot be told now. Time and futurity will prove all things.”<sup>46</sup>

Writing from Mill View, her family’s farm in Fauquier County, Betty Gray articulated the thoughts and feelings of many of her fellow Virginians. Gray, like others, chose to be optimistic in the days following Abraham Lincoln’s election. While the election of 1860 was a divisive one throughout the country, tensions were heightened in Virginia. Unlike the other ten states that would ultimately secede and form the Confederacy, Virginia had listed Abraham Lincoln on its ballot. While he did not receive many votes, his party’s presence in the state signaled the struggle Virginia had, and continued to have, over the fate of the state and its place in the Union.

For the United States, and especially the South, the election of 1860 was seen as a political Armageddon. The simple fact that the victorious candidate did not appear on party tickets in many states only magnified the discord between Americans and their political system. The decade immediately preceding the election had been a contentious

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<sup>45</sup> Edmund Ruffin, *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, ed. William Kauffman Scarborough, 3 vols. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), I: 482.

<sup>46</sup> Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary, 1860-1868,” Transcription of manuscript #000297986, James I. Robertson, Jr. Civil War Sesquicentennial Legacy Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond.



one for the American political system. The two-party system that had been in place since the days of President Andrew Jackson was slowly splintering over mainly sectional issues, especially regarding the fate of slavery in the West. Despite numerous attempts at compromise, the issue was never satisfactorily settled.

While the election of Lincoln was not the outcome many states wanted, it did not signal the end of the Union, at least not to all. Virginia was one state unwilling to contemplate such a drastic result. John Bell won Virginia's electoral votes, and while he represented the Constitutional Union party, in Virginia he was supported mostly by former Whigs. However, Bell barely squeaked by John Breckenridge, in what was one of the closest election votes in the state's history.<sup>47</sup> While the Whig party had "died" on a national level, many in Virginia still considered themselves Whigs, and Bell's success illustrated that the party continued to survive in the state. Whigs took advantage of the split Democratic party and were successful. For many, Bell's success was a victory for "Border State Unionism" against the secessionist platform of the southern Democrats.<sup>48</sup> While the unique politics of slavery led to one outcome in the Deep South (secession), the border states still hoped for a peaceful outcome. The continued presence of the former Whig party, as well as Virginia's distinctive economic position, had much to do with that.<sup>49</sup> Virginia was also one of the few states below the Mason-Dixon Line that had an active, albeit small, Republican party. While there was a rumor that many Republicans were in the habit of writing their wills before

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<sup>47</sup> Bell received 74,481 votes (44.6%) to Breckinridge's 74,325 votes (44.5%), an incredibly close election with a difference of just 156 votes. Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln received 16,198 (9.7%) and 1,881 (1.1%) votes respectively. See Link, *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia*, 208-10.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

voting, members of the party were not scared away from voting, and Lincoln received approximately one percent of Virginia's votes.<sup>50</sup>

The two-party system may have failed nationally, but in Virginia it was alive and well, which explains why the state did not secede in the immediate aftermath of the election. Not that there were not provocateurs. Fire-eaters such as Edmund Ruffin were dismayed when Virginia did not immediately begin to discuss secession following the election, as South Carolina had done. Railing against the "infamous, low, vulgar tyranny of Black Republicanism" he was sure would take hold in his home state if it remained in the Union, Ruffin stated he would be forced to leave Virginia if it did not secede, even if it meant becoming "a banished man."<sup>51</sup> While most Virginians were perhaps not quite this histrionic, some of them, especially in the Tidewater region, nonetheless agreed with Ruffin in sentiment. That cooler heads prevailed following John Brown's raid, however, may be seen as a precursor of what was to come. While that event had major repercussions for white slaveholders throughout the state, the fact that rationality triumphed (Brown was given a trial and no larger unrest or slave revolts broke out) hinted that no matter how hard men like former governor Henry A. Wise and Ruffin might try to encourage secession, Virginia would not go easily.<sup>52</sup>

Fauquier was not immune to the turmoil. As in the rest of Virginia, there was still some semblance of the former two-party system in Fauquier, which had consequences in a county with Whiggish tendencies. In the 1850s the county was fairly evenly split between the Democrats and the various parties that former Whigs threw their support behind. In

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 205, 208.

<sup>51</sup> Ruffin, *The Diary of Edmund Ruffin*, I: x.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

the gubernatorial election of 1859, the county went for Democrat John Letcher, who won the election. While former Whigs most often were unionists, they worked with such Democrats as Letcher, who opposed secession, to limit the power of avid secessionists. In the presidential election, Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge won the county, but the margin was extremely close. Breckinridge received 1,027 votes to John Bell's 989 votes, a difference of just 38 votes. Northern Democrat Stephen Douglas received 39 votes, and Republican Abraham Lincoln received one vote.<sup>53</sup> While many considered a vote for Breckinridge the closest one could get to a vote for secession, the fact that there were only 38 votes separating him from John Bell illustrates the inner struggle that many in Fauquier felt regarding the fate of the country.<sup>54</sup>

Tensions were high in the days and weeks following the election, as rumors flew regarding the state of the Union. The county court appointed several militia companies, including the Mountain Rangers, the Black Horse Troop and the Warrenton Riflemen, to patrol Fauquier, a sign of heightened tensions and fear of runaway slaves.<sup>55</sup> A meeting held

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<sup>53</sup> While the official records of the election of 1860 do not report any votes for Lincoln from Fauquier, it is thought that one man did: Henry T. Dixon. Several contemporary sources mention a vote for Lincoln and Annie Dixon, in her Southern Claims Commission application, reports that it was her husband Henry who cast the vote. The voting records from Fauquier for the 1860 election no longer survive. See "Official Vote of the State of Virginia in the Presidential Election on the 6th day of November, 1860," *Richmond Enquirer*, Dec. 25, 1860; Case of Annie E. Dixon (No. 21,238), Ancestry.com, *U.S., Southern Claims Commission Allowed Claims, 1871-1880* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2008; Brown, Nicklin and Toler, *250 Years in Fauquier County*, 78; Ida Powell Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy: The Civil War Journal of Ida Powell Dulany*, eds. Mary L. Mackall, Stevan F. Meserve, and Anne Mackall Sasscer (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2010), 239; Ruffin, *The Diary of Edmond Ruffin*, I: 496.

<sup>54</sup> Ruffin, *The Diary of Edmond Ruffin*, I: 481.

<sup>55</sup> Joan W. Peters, "Military Records, Pension Applications, Heirs, At Law and Civil War Military Records," in *Fauquier County, Virginia Court Minute Books, 1840 - 1904* (Westminster, Md.: Willow Bend Books, 1999), 41.

in northern Fauquier in late November, ostensibly held to hear a speech by Congressman Edward C. Carrington on the present sectional issues, turned into a pro-secessionist rally. The editors of the *Richmond Enquirer* encouraged their readers to heed the event. “The tone and temper of the people of Fauquier,” they said, “should be received as a fair index of the sentiments of the people of Virginia.”<sup>56</sup> The first speaker was Carrington, and while respected, his moderate voice and views were not entirely supported by the crowd. Former governor William “Extra Billy” Smith, as well as several other speakers, fared slightly better by encouraging Virginia to secede if certain circumstances prevailed. For Smith, Virginia should join with the other Border States to broker a peace between the Confederacy and the United States. For John M. Forbes, chairman of the meeting, Virginia should secede, but mainly for economic reasons. As Virginia was fast becoming the manufacturing center of the South, Forbes believed the state would receive a better tariff deal from the Confederacy. All did agree, though, that forcible coercion would not be tolerated and that Virginia should defend itself if necessary.<sup>57</sup>

Only when Captain John Scott, leader of the Black Horse Troop and a well-known secessionist, spoke did the crowd really respond with enthusiasm.<sup>58</sup> Scott had not planned to attend the meeting, because he thought it would be a “Union concern and therefore possessing few charms for him.”<sup>59</sup> However, given an opportunity to address the crowd, Scott, forcefully advocated Virginia’s immediate secession by arguing, “She (Virginia) led in

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<sup>56</sup> “Public Meeting in Fauquier,” *Richmond Enquirer*, Dec. 4, 1860.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> I believe William Link, in *Roots of Secession*, misidentified the Captain Scott mentioned in the *Enquirer* article. Instead of the speaker being Robert Eden Scott, noted attorney and politician in Fauquier, I think it is more likely to be Captain John Scott, first commander of the Black Horse Troop and a well-known secessionist. See Link, *Roots of Secession*, 219.

<sup>59</sup> “Public Meeting in Fauquier,” *Richmond Enquirer*, Dec. 4, 1860.

the Revolution and ought to lead now.”<sup>60</sup> The meeting was considered “a triumphant success to the friends of resistance,” declared one observer. “The blindest could not avoid seeing in it the stern settled purpose of the people to act. It is evident, old opinions are passing away, with the rapidity of a dream and a new era is upon us.”<sup>61</sup> Despite this initial meeting in November, it appeared in the winter of 1861 that secession fever had not yet enveloped Fauquier.

Following the furor of the election and South Carolina’s secession in December, Virginia Governor John Letcher, a Douglas Democrat who did not favor secession, called a special session of the state legislature in January 1861. The special session quickly authorized elections for a state convention to debate secession, which would begin meeting on February 13, 1861, in Richmond. The elections were set for February 4, the same day a national peace conference, also called by Virginia’s General Assembly, was set to begin in Washington, D.C.<sup>62</sup> The men of Fauquier threw their support behind candidates John Q. Marr and Robert Eden Scott, no relation to Captain John Scott. Both conservative men, Scott and Marr still considered themselves Whigs. They were well educated and well respected in the county.

Marr, an 1846 graduate of the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington so impressed his professors (he was second in his class), that they offered him a teaching position in

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Chaired by former president John Tyler, the peace conference was unable to accomplish much. The seceded states (as well as Arkansas) refused to send delegates, and five northern states refused to participate. After deliberation for three weeks, the convention issued a deal that was a modified version of the Crittenden Compromise. This recommendation went before Congress and suffered a major defeat, due mainly to the Republicans members. See James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 256-57.

mathematics. He held the post until his father's death in 1848, when he returned home to take care of his mother and sisters. Upon his return to the county, he became an attorney and filled his father's positions as justice-of-the-peace and presiding justice of the county court. He also served a two-year term as sheriff of Fauquier. Although he lacked the political experience of his fellow candidates for the secession convention, the citizens of Fauquier showed their faith in Marr by giving him more votes than anyone else in the election.<sup>63</sup> It was not a surprise that Marr was chosen. With his past service to the county, he had gained a reputation as a forthright, solemn man who, while not known for his eloquence, had a great deal of common sense. In a speech he gave to the people of Fauquier while running for election to the convention he stated, "The issue has been forced upon us, and we must meet it, with decision, with energy, with firmness, with unanimity, with a united front, and with unfaltering devotion to the honor and safety of the Commonwealth. Let Virginia speak and act, not with 'boisterous bravado,' but with enlightened patriotism, and that calm courage which has ever marked her history in the past."<sup>64</sup> Invoking Virginia's role in the founding of the country, Marr reminded the citizens of Fauquier of their birthright: the promise of a free and independent nation.

Marr's fellow delegate to the convention was much more famous, and older than he by seventeen years. Robert Eden Scott, a member of an illustrious Fauquier family and

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<sup>63</sup> There were four candidates for election to the secession convention: Marr, Scott, William H. Payne, and B. H. Shackelford. Both Payne and Shackelford had more secessionist sentiments than the conditional Unionists Marr and Scott. Marr received 1,453 votes to Scott's 1,318. Payne and Shackelford received 654 and 409 votes respectively. See Election of Delegates, February 4, 1861, Virginia Convention, Box 1, Library of Virginia, Richmond; "We republish the following 'Tribute of Respect' by request," *Warrenton Flag of '98*, June 13, 1861.

<sup>64</sup> Charles D. Walker, *Memorial, Virginia Military Institute: Biographical Sketches of the Graduates and Eleves of the Virginia Military Institute Who Fell in the War Between the States* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Company, 1875), 367-68.

operator of the Oaklands plantation, was very active in Virginia politics. His father, a state senator and judge in Fauquier, had served in Virginia's Second Constitutional Convention with James Madison, John Monroe, and Fauquier's own John Marshall. Scott followed in his father's footsteps and studied law at the University of Virginia before being admitted to the Virginia bar in 1830. He was a member of the House of Delegates from 1835 to 1842 and again from 1845 to 1852. He also served as a delegate to the state's Third Constitutional Convention in 1851. In 1861, Abraham Lincoln offered Scott the position of secretary of the navy, an attempt by the president-elect and his party to mollify the southern states. Considering the gesture as too little too late, Scott declined the position and continued to serve as a delegate to the Secession Convention.<sup>65</sup>

A lifelong Whig, Scott remained loyal to the party's main tenets even as the party itself crumbled. He was noted in Virginia, and throughout the country, for his moderate political views, especially in regards to slavery. An active opponent of Virginia's fire-eaters, Scott stated in an 1849 speech to the Virginia House of Delegates concerning slavery that Virginians must "acknowledge the disadvantages which flow from the institution."<sup>66</sup> He believed there were "few amongst us who would not hail with satisfaction the period that would put an end to it forever, if at the same time we could be relieved from the presence of the unfortunate race."<sup>67</sup> However, he did caution his fellow statesmen that if this occurred, it "must be the work of time, and proceed from the voluntary exercise of our own

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<sup>65</sup> Following Virginia's secession, Scott served as one of the state's representatives to the Provisional Confederate Congress before his untimely death at the hands of Union deserters in 1862.

<sup>66</sup> Brown, Nicklin, and Toler, *250 Years in Fauquier County*, 73.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

free will.”<sup>68</sup> Scott remained loyal to that view throughout the tempestuous 1850s, and when elected to the Secession Convention, his unionist views were well known.

With such a respected reputation, Scott enjoyed a period of popularity following Lincoln’s (and his own) election. Several of his letters were published in newspapers across the country, making him a household name. “For myself, I am unalterably opposed to that secession which would leave a diminished number of the slaveholding States exposed, defenseless, to the federal power,” Scott wrote in December 1860, “and I am equally opposed to any form of secession which would leave the present federal government installed at Washington. Individually, I think the solution can and ought to be found in the Union.”<sup>69</sup> By January, however, Scott realized the futility of such a belief and urged Virginia to either “follow the example of her more Southern sisters and secede at once” or, as was Scott’s personal preference, convene the border states into a convention first and perhaps broker a peace deal between the United States and the Confederacy. However, despite his unionists views, he did warn the following:

The secession of some of the States has impaired the position of the remaining Slaveholding States under the present Government to such an extent in my judgment, as to make it incompatible with their safety to remain permanently subject to its power, and, unless the Union be reconstructed, they, too, must withdraw from it.<sup>70</sup>

Scott’s warning reflected the evolving views of many of Virginia’s elite conservatives previously against any talk of the state’s secession.

During this tumultuous winter of 1860-1861, the people of Fauquier felt the hard Virginia clay slowly begin to shift beneath their feet. When Scott and Marr set off for

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> "A Peaceful Solution," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 7, 1860.

<sup>70</sup> "Political Intelligence," *Daily National Intelligencer* [Washington, D.C.], Jan. 28, 1861.



Richmond in February, they represented the views not only of the people of Fauquier but also of many moderates around the state.<sup>71</sup> Throughout much of the convention, Scott and Marr were in the majority. While there were extremes on both sides, many delegates did not believe secession was immediately necessary.<sup>72</sup> As Virginians expanded west in the nineteenth century, different regions of the state developed their own identities, politically, economically, and socially, similar to the differences between the Low Country and Upstate in South Carolina. The Commonwealth's large size made it inevitable that factions would appear. The oldest region of the state, the Tidewater, was struggling economically by 1860. The great colonial plantations suffered as years of growing tobacco depleted the soil, and while the great families adopted many English practices, they did not engage in primogeniture. Consequently, by the mid-nineteenth century, many families had run out of land to bequeath to their descendants. Those who remained in the Tidewater began to sell slaves south in order to make ends meet. In Richmond in 1861, many people in favor of secession came from this region. Used to getting their own way, these delegates, and this region, had been running state politics for the entirety of the Commonwealth's existence. They did not plan to relinquish control any time soon.<sup>73</sup>

However, cracks in that power had begun to show in the mid-nineteenth century. As the tobacco economy continued to collapse, men in the western regions of the state wrested control from the Tidewater gentlemen. The Piedmont region served as a bridge between the aristocratic plantation-owning east and the world of the small farmer in the Shenandoah Valley and further west. While much of the Piedmont continued to align itself

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<sup>71</sup> William Link writes that "secessionists won majorities only in the Piedmont," although that was not the case in Fauquier. See Link, *Roots of Secession*, 227.

<sup>72</sup> Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, 19-21.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-16, 19-22; Link, *Roots of Secession*, 227.

politically with the east (which made sense, considering many in the Piedmont were related to the great “First Families” in the Tidewater), economic diversification was found in this area. With the arrival of the railroad in Virginia in the 1830s, early forms of manufacturing began to appear, typified by the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond.<sup>74</sup> Farmers in the Piedmont and Shenandoah Valley had learned from the Tidewater’s struggle, and farmers made sure to diversity their crops.<sup>75</sup>

It was the Mountain region that posed the greatest challenge to the elite men of the Tidewater. With a very different landscape than the flatlands and the rolling hills to the east, these western Virginians were small farmers, eeking out a living amongst the majestic Allegheny Mountains, the majority without the assistance of slave labor. Because of both those mountains and the ancient Appalachians (as well as several smaller ranges) the westerners found themselves much more economically, as well as politically and socially, tied to the Ohio River Valley than to the eastern seaboard.<sup>76</sup> This led to a division in state politics several times and while compromises were struck, most notably during the Constitutional Convention of 1850-51 which saw delegates re-write the state constitution for the third time and attempt to address the balance of power in the state that always tilted toward the east, the debate over secession provided a new set of challenges that ultimately the politicians would be unable to overcome.<sup>77</sup> The westernmost counties, many of which had active Republican parties and would vote overwhelmingly against secession, ultimately decided to leave Virginia and form a new state government, that of West Virginia, which was formally admitted into the Union in 1863.

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<sup>74</sup> Blair, *Virginia’s Private War*, 15-18

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 17, 19.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 19

This last event, however, was still to come and in the winter of 1861, secession was the issue at hand, and while most delegates agreed it was not necessary at the moment, they did not agree on why. Some wished to wait and hear Lincoln's Inauguration address in March in the hopes that he would make overt promises to the South regarding protections for the expansion of slavery; others were supportive of the peace conference delegates sent to Washington, D.C., to meet with the president; and still others simply hoped that time would heal the problems – that the longer they waited, the better chance that more peaceful agreements could be reached. Robert Scott hoped for all the above.

The majority of delegates elected to the convention were Douglas Democrats or Bell Whigs, and out of the 152 men elected (two from each county), no more than 50 were diehard secessionists.<sup>78</sup> With so many delegates being either conditional or unconditional unionists, they were able to push the convention towards compromise. They elected a twenty-one-member Committee on Federal Relations, of which Robert Scott was one, to decide Virginia's official response to the current state of affairs and the question of secession. The committee was comprised of men "selected from the different sections of the State" in order to make sure the different geographical regions were equally represented.<sup>79</sup> This agreement to allow the new committee the ability to find a peaceful compromise was a victory for the unionists. They still believed another solution (other than secession) could be found and were determined to maintain their control by doing what Virginia had always done best: set a powerful example for the rest of the country (and

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<sup>78</sup> Link, *Roots of Secession*, 226-227.

<sup>79</sup> Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia, 1861. Feb. 15, 1861, *Secession: Virginia and the Crisis of Union, 1861*. Digital images. University of Richmond, accessed January 25, 2016. <https://secession.richmond.edu>.

the newly-formed Confederacy).<sup>80</sup> John Marr typified this view when he offered a resolution affirming Virginia's loyalty to the Constitution. He argued the state would "use every honorable effort, and make any sacrifice consistent with her honor and interest, to restore and maintain it [the Constitution]."<sup>81</sup> However, he also reaffirmed the state's antipathy towards coercion by asserting that Virginia would not "submit to any Administration of the Government in which her rights are assailed or not fully protected, and that if the Union cannot be restored and preserved upon terms honorable to its component parts, it should be divided."<sup>82</sup>

Unfortunately, Lincoln's inaugural address, which many delegates were hoping would include some sort of promise to protect slavery's existence, did no such thing. Instead Lincoln denied the right of secession and suggested coercion might be necessary. Betty Gray recorded the event in her diary, noting, "The inaugural address has been issued and a more complicated concern was never read. To judge of his true sentiments by this piece of ambiguity might fail to do justice to them. That he is deeply dyed in abolitionism time will prove."<sup>83</sup> While Lincoln's inaugural address weakened their control of the convention, unionists continued to rally supporters throughout March. The first vote on a secession ordinance occurred on April 4 and was defeated by a vote of 90-45, cast mostly along geographical lines.<sup>84</sup> The vote showed that the secessionists had gained some twenty

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<sup>80</sup> According to William Link, the debates from the beginning of the convention through mid-April "exemplified what William Freehling calls a 'search for cultural self-definition, a yearning to find the lost soul of great society.'" See Link, *Roots of Secession*, 228.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.; John Q. Marr, Feb. 16, 1861, Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia, 1861.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Synder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 2.

<sup>84</sup> The majority of those counties that voted for secession were located east of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

converts. However, the unionists claimed victory and moved towards the adoption of the committee's report, which endorsed the Crittenden Compromise and the efforts of the Peace Conference.

In speeches given on the convention floor in the days following the vote, both Scott and Marr reaffirmed their loyalty to the Union as well as their support for the Commonwealth. "I shall desire that our constituents may know, and that the entire country may know," Scott declared, "that notwithstanding all the excitement and all these various causes of heart burning, there yet abides in the bosom of this Convention, there yet abides in the bosom of the people of the State of Virginia, an earnest desire for the restoration of our ancient harmony."<sup>85</sup> Scott pushed for a more concrete resolution to the question of what should be done now that a vote for secession had failed, and he continued to lobby for a convention comprised of border states. Marr, like Scott, expressed frustration with the lack of clarity in the Lincoln administration's position toward the southern states. "She [Virginia] is my mother, and I will stand by her under all circumstances," he declared, as he blamed Lincoln for the current situation and asked him to explain "his course of policy."<sup>86</sup>

While Scott and Marr continued to advocate for a peaceful resolution to the secession question, many residents in Fauquier were beginning to change their opinion. While Scott and Marr received overwhelming support when they were elected to the secession convention in January, by April that support was not nearly as unanimous. According to the *Evening Virginia Sentinel*, an Alexandria newspaper, a meeting held in in the northern part of the county on April 13, offered a different point of view. It was ostensibly called to nominate a candidate for the House of Delegates, but state senator J. K.

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<sup>85</sup> Robert E. Scott, April 5, 1861, Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia, 1861.

<sup>86</sup> John Q. Marr, April 6, 1861, Ibid.

Marshall took the opportunity to insist that the convention was doing well and urged his constituents to “wait” and have faith in it.<sup>87</sup> A journalist reporting on the meeting disagreed and wrote, “Mr. Marshall will find that his tardy policy which looks to final submission meets no response at the hands of the voters of Fauquier.”<sup>88</sup> Unfortunately for Scott and Marr, the tide had turned, at least for the upper part of the county.

A proposal was made at the same meeting to commend Scott and Marr for their work in the convention and to nominate one of them for the open seat in the House of Delegates, but it “met a violent opposition.”<sup>89</sup> Ultimately the nomination went to Turner Ashby, captain of the Mountain Rangers and a local businessman. Additionally when an attempt was made to pass a resolution opposed to secession, it too failed. “Messrs. Scott and Marr may learn a valuable lesson from the action of this meeting,” declared the *Evening Virginia Sentinel*.<sup>90</sup> “The very men who were their most earnest and zealous supporters at the late election, refused to nominate them for the House of Delegates, although it was understood that they would accept if nominated. This is suggestive.”<sup>91</sup> Suggestive, indeed. Two men who still championed unionism and who spoke out against secession had represented the county at the state convention. However, the events of this meeting illustrate the changing tide of opinion in the county, even before Fort Sumter and Lincoln’s call for troops. The county was clearly not as unionist as previously thought. The *Evening Virginia Sentinel* summed up the situation by stating,

A great re-action has taken place in this county since the last election. May of the people are completely disgusted with the dilatoriness of the

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<sup>87</sup> "Fauquier Politics--Meeting in Salem," *Evening Virginia Sentinel*, April 13, 1861.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

Convention; being thoroughly convinced that the true interests of Virginia demand that she should be with the Southern States. The States rights party have only to be vigilant and active, and their exertions will be crowned with the most signal success. This county you may set down as "all right." Submissionism has had its day, and the swelling current of Southern Rights will carry everything before it.<sup>92</sup>

While these statements sound more like those by Edmund Ruffin or Henry Wise, it was clear that in northern Fauquier approval for secession had risen. This illustrates the geographical dilemma Fauquier found itself in and how that influenced politics. Several Virginia counties to Fauquier's north and south (Loudoun, Clarke, and Rappahannock) had also voted against secession on April 4<sup>th</sup>. However, the other three counties that shared a border with Fauquier, Warren, Culpeper, and Prince William, were all pro-secession. Fauquier, like the rest of the Northern Neck, straddled the border between the unionist sections of the Valley and western Virginia and the much more pro-secessionist Tidewater area. It was not unusual, then, that the county would be split or begin to express secessionist viewpoints. No doubt Fauquier's proximity to Washington, D.C., influenced the ways in which the delegates voted on secession, realizing that if a war began, their region would be the first to face it. And while Fauquier's delegates did change their votes on the April 17<sup>th</sup> vote, the counties directly to the north (including Loudoun) did not.

As a result of events like this and others to come, the relief many unionist delegates felt following the April 4<sup>th</sup> vote did not last long. What occurred in Charleston, South Carolina, at Fort Sumter, eight days later changed everything. Naval officer Robert Minor, a Fauquier resident living in Washington, D.C., wrote home, "War has begun! Sumpter is now being attacked by the C.S.A. forces! Washington is to be guarded by troops now being

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

mustered into service at the War Department. The City is in a great state of excitement.”<sup>93</sup> Even Fauquier’s remaining unionists, including both Scott and Marr, were now willing to support Virginia’s secession. President Lincoln’s decision on April 15 to call up militia from each state to serve in the U.S. Army for at least three months forced the state’s last tenuous hold on unionism to break. “By Proclamation he calls out 7,500 troops from Virginia but in this he is sadly mistaken,” Betty Gray fumed in her diary.<sup>94</sup> “The cry of coercion aroused Virginia from her submissive slumber and she secedes from the Tyrannical Government of Yankees without delay.”<sup>95</sup> Overnight, even when Lincoln’s call was only a rumor, conditional unionists, who previously sought peaceful alternatives, like Scott and Marr, changed their minds regarding secession. “Forcible coercion” was the great fear and with those words, Virginia’s fate was sealed. “There has been a complete & wonderful change here since I left,” Edmund Ruffin remarked when he returned to Virginia following the events at Fort Sumter.<sup>96</sup> “Now (apparently) all are earnest for secession, & resistance to northern domination.”<sup>97</sup>

Scott tried one last time to prevent secession by proposing yet another conference with the other border slave states but, like his previous attempts, this one also failed.<sup>98</sup> Despite his best efforts, Scott knew there was nothing more to be done. He gave one more

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<sup>93</sup> Minor wrote this a bit prematurely, as Fort Sumter had not yet been attacked, but his letter shows the uncertain and volatile mood of the country. See Robert Minor to Landonia Randolph Minor, April 10, 1861, Section 11, Minor Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>94</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 2.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ruffin, *The Diary of Edmond Ruffin*, II: 8.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> The last vote for Scott’s border state conference proposal was held on the same day as the secession vote: April 17. The proposal failed 77 to 64. See April 17, 1861, Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia, 1861.



speech affirming his belief in the necessity of a conference with the border states but acknowledged that other delegates did not feel the same. “It seems now,” he remarked, “that an ordinance is to be recommended to the people of this Commonwealth, by which we should immediately sever our connections with the Federal Government.”<sup>99</sup> Despite his previous desire for a peaceful end, Scott was prepared to take his “share of the responsibility of voting for that ordinance.” He added, “[I] now make an appeal to those gentlemen with whom I have been acting, to come up and give to this action all the strength that united counsel can impart to it.”<sup>100</sup>

Ultimately, like Scott, the delegates united behind what they believed they must do (and what their constituents supported). The day before the vote was held on the secession ordinance, Governor Letcher received a notice from Simon Cameron, the secretary of war, for Virginia’s share of the federal government’s call for volunteers. Requested to provide 2,340 men, it was clear the convention needed to act, and soon.<sup>101</sup> The next day, April 17, Virginia’s Ordinance of Secession passed with a vote of 88 in favor and 55 against.<sup>102</sup> Stating that, “the Union between the State of Virginia and the other States under the Constitution aforesaid is hereby dissolved,” the ordinance affirmed that Virginia was “in the full possession and exercise of all the rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State.”<sup>103</sup> When the convention adjourned that evening, Scott wrote a letter to a close friend detailing the monumental events of the day and sharing his own

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<sup>99</sup> Robert E. Scott, April 17, 1861, Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia, 1861.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Marr was not present for the vote having returned home due to an illness in the family. However, he wrote the convention and requested that his vote be recorded as in favor of secession and the convention complied. See April 17 and 26, 1861, Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia, 1861.

<sup>103</sup> April 17, 1861, Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia, 1861.

personal thoughts. He lamented the failure of Virginia to form an alliance with other slave border states and ultimately blamed “the folly and madness of the powers at Washington” for inciting the convention to secede.<sup>104</sup> Scott worried most about Virginia’s lack of readiness for war and ended the letter by saying, “The prospect before us is gloomy indeed and my heart saddens to behold it.”<sup>105</sup>

While Scott privately struggled with the convention’s decision, plans for Virginia’s official secession from the Union continued. News of the convention’s decision travelled quickly along telegraph wires, with Fauquier learning of it that same evening. Amanda Edmonds, known as Tee, a young, wealthy woman living on her family’s Fauquier plantation Belle Grove, responded to the news in her journal: “Virginia today is numbered with her Southern Sister States, and a revolution, the intelligence brings, in political affairs – and excitement to the quiet inmates that long, long rested in peace and happiness on her bosom.”<sup>106</sup> Less effusive and more concerned for the future, Betty Gray lamented, “We are about to receive the greatest scourge that can befall a nation. Civil war is at our doors, bringing with it changes never before imaginable. But this is only the beginning. When will it end and what are its consequences?”<sup>107</sup> In the same February election that chose the delegates to the convention, the state voted to approve the convention’s actions via a statewide referendum. That referendum occurred on May 23, and, mirroring what occurred in the convention, counties around the state that had previously been against

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<sup>104</sup> Robert E. Scott to Robert E. Peyton, April 17, 1861, Peyton Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Amanda Virginia Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds: Lass of the Mosby Confederacy, 1859-1867* ed. Nancy Chappelle Baird (Stephens City, Va.: Commercial Press, 1984), 47.

<sup>107</sup> Synder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 1.

secession fully supported the decision. It was only the western-most counties that continued to hang on to unionism, a precursor to the state schism that was to come.

Fauquier supported Scott and Marr's decision: 1,804 men voted in favor of the ordinance while just four opposed it.<sup>108</sup> While some counties, especially those in the Piedmont and Tidewater regions, voted unanimously for secession, the results are misleading. Most counties experienced some dissension, and the numbers do not tell the whole story. Many unionists changed their vote because of coercion from neighbors or for fear of endangering their families; others simply stayed home and did not participate, perhaps because of fear of reprisal.<sup>109</sup> That four men in Fauquier felt comfortable voting against many of their friends and family shows the strength of their belief in the perpetuity of the Union as well as their faith that they would not be harmed. Their affluence also made a difference. Two out of the four men in particular stand out: Henry Dixon and Edward Carter "Ned" Turner. Both wealthy landowners, they had the social standing in the county to resist some of the displeasure their vote caused.<sup>110</sup> Many other men in Fauquier were not as lucky. After the war, several men noted that they did not believe in secession but chose to stay away from the polls on voting day. Most of these men were illiterate and

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<sup>108</sup> The full voting records from Fauquier have not survived. Only the number count exists, and so it is difficult to pinpoint who, exactly, the four men were that opposed secession. Based on contemporary sources and the Southern Claims Commission applications, one has been identified as Edward Carter Turner. The second and third could possibly be Henry Dixon (who voted for Lincoln in 1860) and James Aldridge. All were known unionists in the county although Turner's sons would fight for the Confederacy, and Turner housed and supported Mosby's Rangers.

<sup>109</sup> See Cases of Thomas A. Brooks (No. 15,285) and Virginia Butler (No. 14,703), Southern Claims Commission.

<sup>110</sup> According to the 1860 census, Dixon had \$48,080 in real estate and a personal estate of \$5,875 and Turner had \$56,800 in real estate and a personal estate of \$51,305. See Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, population schedules, Fauquier County, Virginia, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) (accessed April 25, 2018).

poorer than Dixon and Turner.

While many newspapers did not record it, multiple Fauquier sources, as well as Dixon's wife Annie, confirmed that Henry was Fauquier's lone vote for Abraham Lincoln in November 1860. Continuing his unionist stance, it is most likely Dixon was one of the four men who voted against the secession ordinance. Despite feeling comfortable enough to cast two such contentious votes, no doubt in part because of his affluence, Dixon was not safe from spiteful neighbors. When war began, he enlisted in the Union army as a paymaster. He worried about the fate of his family as a result of his actions and, as President Andrew Johnson wrote after the war, "I was in command in that area. He sought protection from me, against the persecutions of their vindictive neighbors."<sup>111</sup> The Dixons moved to Alexandria to be safe within the Union lines, and this protected the family for much of the war. However, Henry was a marked man, as speaking his mind in the pro-secession areas of northern Virginia and joining the federal army were a dangerous combination. In Annie Dixon's Southern Claims Commission application, filed after the war, the government official investigating her case recorded that in 1865 Dixon "was shot and killed in Alexandria by a Confederate and we have no doubt that political hate was the cause."<sup>112</sup>

Like Dixon, Ned Turner appeared to be a loyal unionist, dedicated to upholding the ideals of the country his ancestors had helped create. A leading citizen of the county, Turner owned Kinloch, the family plantation where Robert E. Lee, Turner's second cousin, lived for some time during his childhood. Like Lee, Turner was related to many of Virginia's great families and enjoyed the status and reputation that privilege brought. Turner voted for Robert Scott in the secession convention election on account of Scott's unionist

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<sup>111</sup> Case of Annie E. Dixon (No. 21,238), Southern Claims Commission.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

views.<sup>113</sup> No doubt his position in the county protected him in his desire, at least in the spring of 1861, to remain firm in his opposition to secession. Echoing other unionists in northern Virginia, Turner believed a war would be ruinous to his homeland. "My border locality would ever deter me from being a secessionist," he wrote, "because I know that ruin to myself, my friends, and my state must be the inevitable consequence of the dissolution of the Union."<sup>114</sup> When he arrived to cast his vote in the village of The Plains, "it was against his principles to vote against the Union," a neighbor recalled, and when Turner left, they "called him a damned radical and a traitor."<sup>115</sup> Turner's fellow citizens also threatened to lynch him. Another neighbor, Robert Glasscock, believed, "If it was not for his position in the Community he would have been carried away from here by the Confederate Army."<sup>116</sup> Even one of Turner's former slaves recalled his loyalty to the United States: "Mr. Turner thought it was right to hold to the State and give the servants up."<sup>117</sup>

However, despite Turner's overwhelming support of unionism in the beginning, he was not as firm in his beliefs throughout the war, in sharp contrast to Henry Dixon. Turner's family struggled with allegiance. One brother, Thomas Turner, served as a rear admiral in the U.S. Navy during the war while two of Turner's sons fought for the Confederacy. Turner's mother saved their house from pillaging and burning several times by telling Union soldiers that her son was in the Union navy, conveniently leaving out her grandsons' roles. The Turners of Kinloch lived every day caught between their loyalties. Ned, because of his age, remained at home, but once his sons enlisted, he aided the

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<sup>113</sup> Case of Edward Carter Turner (No. 5,706), Southern Claims Commission.

<sup>114</sup> Brown, Nicklin and Toler, *250 Years in Fauquier County*, 80.

<sup>115</sup> Case of Edward Carter Turner (No. 5,706), Southern Claims Commission.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

Confederate army, even going so far as to feed, clothe and supply many of Mosby's Rangers, a group that one of his sons joined. After one son, Thomas, died tragically at home after being wounded in a skirmish, Turner remarked that he was glad "the Confederates could get no more of his sons in the service." Turner was one of a few white people in Fauquier who clung to his unionist beliefs, but his actions during the war illustrated a man with conflicting loyalties, who could neither turn his back on his home state nor his family.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> The U.S. government chose to believe in Turner's unionist beliefs and his application (which was 399 pages long) was approved by the Claims Commission. See Case of Edward Carter Turner (No. 5,706), Southern Claims Commission.

## Chapter 2: Destined to be a Battleground, Spring – Fall 1861

While men like Ned Turner and Henry Dixon agonized over their choices and experienced, at least in the case of Dixon, social ostracism, most of Fauquier's white residents suffered no such qualms about wholeheartedly supporting secession and Virginia's role in this new world. The county mobilized quickly for war, and several of the companies that had formed in the years leading up to secession quickly rose to prominence in the county. Ashby's Mountain Rangers, Marr's Warrenton Rifles, and the Black Horse Troop (now under the command of Captain William H. Payne) held exercises around the county while also recruiting new members. Following the events at Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops, former governor Henry A. Wise and other secessionists at the convention in Richmond had ordered the Black Horse and the Mountain Rangers to return to Harpers Ferry in the hopes of protecting the armory and its supplies. This raid was conducted on April 16, the day before the convention voted to secede. In her diary, Tee Edmonds reported that the men "found some of the public buildings in ashes. Some of the Federal vagabonds having fired them and just made their escape when the Virginia troop got to the spot – numbers of arms destroyed."<sup>1</sup> The retreating U.S. Army burned the rifle works, but the men from Fauquier recovered many of the weapons.

Once the ordinance passed the convention, the state of Virginia formally called for troops. On May 3, Governor Letcher issued a proclamation warning that the state was "threatened with invasion by the authorities at Washington." To prepare for "the

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<sup>1</sup> Amanda Virginia Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds: Lass of the Mosby Confederacy, 1859-1867* ed. Nancy Chappelle Baird (Stephens City, Va.: Commercial Press, 1984), 47.

impending conflict,” he authorized “the commanding general of the military forces of this State to call out and cause to be mustered into the service of Virginia, from time to time, as the public exigencies may require, such additional number of volunteers as he may deem necessary.”<sup>2</sup> Recognizing the desire of men to protect their homes and families, newly commissioned Major General Robert E. Lee, commander of the Virginia Forces, directed General Philip St. George Cocke to organize the new companies “into regiments, associating, as far as possible, companies from the same section of the State.”<sup>3</sup> One of the first Fauquier companies to enroll was the Black Horse Troop, which became Company H, Fourth Virginia Cavalry. The company remained in Fauquier until the middle of May, when it was sent to Manassas Junction to join with other local northern Virginia companies, including the Warrenton Rifles, now part of the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry. Manassas was a logical meeting place because of its strategic location. Following the vote for secession in April, federal troops crossed the Potomac River into Alexandria. From there they marched through Fairfax County. Understanding the immense importance of the railroad, General Cocke sent troops to Manassas to protect the railroad junction and stem the Union advance.

The Virginians were not alone in defending the northern part of the state from the Union army. Companies and regiments from across the newly formed Confederacy rushed to send supplies and men. Tee Edmonds was amazed by the response: “Upwards of 15,000 are stationed in and around Harper’s Ferry – have been coming in from the extreme

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<sup>2</sup> A Proclamation by Governor John Letcher, May 3, 1861, in U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. in 128 parts (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. I, vol. 2, p. 797-98 (cited hereafter as *OR* and from the first series unless otherwise indicated).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 798-99.



Southern States by hundreds and thousands. Brave, gallant men, so we hear, anxious to have a fight. Virginia has volunteered eighty thousand. Welcome, most gallant soldiers, to our soil. Our own dear Virginia, destined to be the battleground.”<sup>4</sup> Virginia would indeed become a battleground, and perhaps sooner than Tee realized. For men who had been drilling in the county for years, the pace at which this was all happening was thrilling.

Many of the men who enlisted in the first several months were those with the most freedom and least to lose – young, unmarried men who had not yet set up their own farms or careers. And in wealthy Fauquier, many of these “boys” were even more willing to leave because their families, many of whom were large land and slave owners, could afford to send sons to war. Virginia would become a major battleground in the war, but it was also unique in another way: most Virginians who fought remained within the boundaries of their home state. While other soldiers would come from hundreds of miles away and not return home for months or years to come, Virginia soldiers could more easily visit family. At the very least, they found themselves in familiar landscapes, and thanks to state’s vast kinship networks, even if they were not near their own homes, there was usually a multitude of friends or family nearby from whom they could receive a good meal. This sense of literally defending their homes and family was a powerful reason for Virginia’s loyalty to the Confederacy until the very end.

These young men had a lot to learn, as did many across the South, as their only understanding of war and soldier life came from service in local militias. It would be a tough adjustment for them in the Confederate army, which, unlike the militia, did not allow

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<sup>4</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 49.

a soldier to freely come and go at will.<sup>5</sup> At first, though, the soldiers enjoyed the novelty of camp life. They were taught the military chain of command, the bugle calls and drum beats they were expected to respond to, how to take care of equipment and pitch a tent. Even drilling was enjoyed in these early days.<sup>6</sup> However, that newness soon wore off as soldiers grew accustomed to army life. They quickly realized disease, homesickness, and constant drilling and marching was now part of their every day life.<sup>7</sup> Weather also played a major role. Being a soldier meant being outside in all elements and marches were not suspended if it was raining or muddy. At least for many Confederate soldiers, they were adjusted to the heat and the humidity with which many Union soldiers struggled.<sup>8</sup> Robert Randolph, a lieutenant in the Black Horse, wrote home to his sister, "I am getting quite tired of camp life." Still, Randolph admitted, "I would not for anything be out of the military in these times."<sup>9</sup>

Turner Ashby agreed with Randolph and expressed frustration in a letter to General Joseph E. Johnston, one of the highest ranking commanders in the Confederate forces: "We protest against being captured by military technicalities, and bound in bonds which must cramp, if not crush out the spirit which voluntarily sprang forward to serve our state."<sup>10</sup> Succumbing to army stipulations and rules, learning how to camp and drill, presented

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<sup>5</sup> Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 26-27.

<sup>6</sup> James I. Robertson, Jr., *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 41-42.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-61.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Randolph to Roberta Mortimer Randolph, June 11, 1861, Minor Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Christopher Anderson, *Blood Image: Turner Ashby in the Civil War and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 92.

challenges to men who treasured their independence and freedom above all else.<sup>11</sup> In these early months they were more citizens than soldiers with a very local view of war. It was one reason the constant drilling was so necessary; few recruits had formal military experience and so soldiers had to be created out of farm boys.<sup>12</sup> This frustrated Turner, but as would become apparent in the battles to come, discipline was necessary for an army to be successful.<sup>13</sup>

If not sent to Manassas, many of Fauquier's men were sent to Ashland, Virginia. A small town twenty miles north of the new Confederate capital of Richmond, a camp had been set up on the grounds of what was previously a small resort. The camp was officially used for all purposes but became primarily known as the training ground for Confederate cavalry forces, in no small part because a pre-war racetrack existed in town and would be helpful in training horses. The Dulany Troop, organized in June by wealthy landowner Richard H. Dulany, was one of the companies sent to Ashland. Soon to become Company A, Sixth Virginia Cavalry, the troop was comprised of men from both Loudoun and Fauquier Counties. They included Dulany's brother-in-law Henry "Hal" Dulany, owner of Oakley plantation in northern Fauquier, several of the Edmonds brothers of nearby Belle Grove, and members of the illustrious Marshall family of Oak Hill.<sup>14</sup> They were joined by Company H, the Wise Dragoons, which also included men from Fauquier.<sup>15</sup>

For men not inclined to join the army, General Philip St. George Cocke, commander of the defenses in northern Virginia, had a few words: "I call upon the brave men to

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<sup>11</sup> Stephen W. Berry, II, *All That Makes A Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 176-77.

<sup>12</sup> Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, 47-48.

<sup>13</sup> Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 27.

<sup>14</sup> Michael P. Musick, *6th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1990), 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

respond instantly to this demand upon their patriotism in defense of all that is held sacred and dear to freemen. Men of the Potomac Military Department, to arms!" He continued, arguing, "The sovereign rights of your State, truth, justice, and liberty, are all ignored and outraged."<sup>16</sup> War had yet to begin in Virginia, but Cocke warned that if "Virginia soil or the grave of Washington be polluted by the tread of a single man in arms from north of the Potomac, it will cause open war."<sup>17</sup>

If those words were not enough to inspire a sense of patriotism, Cocke turned to a group of people who might be more convincing: women. He concluded his fervent statements by exhorting, "'Women of Virginia! Cast from your arms all cowards, and breathe the pure and holy, the high and glowing, inspirations of your nature into the hearts and souls of lover, husband, brother, father, friend!"<sup>18</sup> Cocke did not need to worry, at least not for the moment. Hundreds of men rushed to sign up, determined not to miss all the action. And he was right to reach out to women. Not only would they prove to be the strength at home supporting Virginia's armies, but they also performed many perfunctory tasks. The Confederacy was creating an army from scratch, and while many of the new battalions received equipment and arms from the government, family and neighbors provided the rest.<sup>19</sup> This proved to be an important, and necessary, role for women to fill. Making uniforms and rolling bandages was a way for them to show their patriotism. They could not march onto the battlefield, but they were able demonstrate their loyalty to the cause in other ways. And women proved their importance; just as a soldier cannot fight

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<sup>16</sup> *OR*, vol. 2, p. 804-05.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> William Blair, *Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 37.

without a rifle and ammunition, neither can he be very effective without a proper uniform or know where to go without a company flag. It was the women at home that kept many of the cogs of the Confederate war machine moving.<sup>20</sup>

Women worked furiously to sew uniforms, gather supplies, and whatever else was necessary to get their husbands, sons, and brothers ready for war. "Virginians have done much, and still their labors cease not! - nor shall they till she is once more free," a local newspaper noted. "Men have work before them, and women are their assistants. They are ready for any sacrifice, time, talent or substance. Nothing daunted, Virginia daughters press on to aid her sons, and on the altar of their loved land to lay their all."<sup>21</sup> That said, these supplies came at a cost, and some families were compelled to ask their son's officers for reimbursement for preparing them for war or rely on money raised by counties through the selling of war bonds.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to supplying the men, women were also called upon to help stock hospitals and other public buildings. While visiting the camps at Manassas in June, Robert Peyton, a physician from Fauquier, noticed, "the hospital preparations were rather poor," and so asked the women from his neighborhood to send "lint, bandages, splints, shirts, sheets, pillows, beds, torocol, [and] ligatures."<sup>23</sup> Writing to a fellow doctor in Staunton, Fran

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<sup>20</sup> LeeAnn Whites, "The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender," in *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* ed. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 15-16.

<sup>21</sup> "Fauquier County---What the Ladies Are Doing," *Warrenton Flag of '98*, July 11, 1861.

<sup>22</sup> Major James G. Field to Dr. Robert E. Peyton, July 4, 1861, Section 35, Peyton Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; Joan W. Peters, "Military Records, Pension Applications, Heirs, At Law and Civil War Military Records," in *Fauquier County, Virginia Court Minute Books, 1840 - 1904* (Westminster, Md.: Willow Bend Books, 1999), 41.

<sup>23</sup> Dr. Robert E. Peyton to Dr. Fran T. Stribling, June 7, 1861, Section 35, Peyton

Stribling, Peyton asked if the women there could “make a similar contribution for the Junction.”<sup>24</sup> The main Confederate hospital was located at Culpeper Court House, but Peyton believed Manassas was the more important place and cautioned Stribling that it would “probably be the scene of serious conflict.”<sup>25</sup> Stribling and the women of Staunton and Augusta were more than generous, and like the local newspapers, Peyton extolled their virtue: “God bless them all, I say, from the bottom of my heart. God bless the ladies of Virginia! Can the husbands, sons, or brothers of such women consent to be conquered, or degraded by such people as are now our enemies, though they were many times more numerous? God forbid it, if for the sake of the women only!”<sup>26</sup>

Women also took on the task of making flags for local companies. These flags were the clearest form of patriotism women had yet exhibited. Flags were presented to companies before they left home, usually in an elaborate public ritual. As the flags were considered “holy instruments,” these events usually took place in a churchyard with a clergyman to bless the flag.<sup>27</sup> A flag presentation was well publicized both before and after it occurred, with newspapers often publishing the speeches given. Women were integral to these ceremonies, for besides being the creators of the flags, they were also eager to witness and participate in public rituals that so dramatically demonstrated their support for the Confederacy.<sup>28</sup> Since women were believed to be above politics, on account of being

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Family papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Dr. Robert E. Peyton to Dr. Fran T. Stribling, June 29, 1861, Section 35, Peyton Family Papers.

<sup>27</sup> Robert E. Bonner, *Colors and Blood: Flag Passions of the Confederate South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 81.

<sup>28</sup> Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 91-92.

more virtuous and pure than men, their participation further elevated these events. When the Fauquier Guards left in early June, the company received not only a flag, but also copies of the New Testament from local women.<sup>29</sup> The presentations were also intended to encourage the men to do their duty in the defense of loved ones at home.<sup>30</sup> The presence of women affirmed these expectations of male protection.<sup>31</sup> These rituals also assured soldiers that they had the support of the white community. At the presentation of a silk flag to the Fauquier Guards, a soldier thanked the women and urged them to remain steadfast in their loyalty, even amidst death. "Decorate the graves of our slain with the flowers of spring, and their monuments with the mottoes of liberty!"<sup>32</sup> These very solemn events provided a public space in which women could actively participate and show their loyalty to the Confederate cause.<sup>33</sup>

In Fauquier, Tee Edmonds witnessed the presentation of a company flag made by local women to the Piedmont Rifles, now part of the Eighth Virginia Infantry, on May 23, the same day that the men of the county voted in favor of the secession ordinance. Captain Richard Carter thanked "the ladies for their beautiful present and the interest manifest on their behalf."<sup>34</sup> It was a grave occasion, with Tee remarking on its funeral-like feeling. The event, at least for Tee, was one of the first public events that genuinely marked the beginning of war for Fauquier. It caused the usually lively and vivacious girl to contemplate

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<sup>29</sup> "The Fauquier Guards," *Warrenton Flag of '98*, July 11, 1861.

<sup>30</sup> Bonner, *Colors and Blood*, 75, 81.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 77; Berry, *All That Makes A Man*, 191-92.

<sup>32</sup> Scott L. Mingus, Sr., *Confederate General William "Extra Billy" Smith: From Virginia's Statehouse to Gettysburg Scapegoat* (El Dorado Hills, Calif: Savas Beatie, 2013), 153.

<sup>33</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 15.

<sup>34</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 48.

what lay ahead. "Peace will never inhabit our happy land till years and years shall have passed away," she wistfully noted. "O! What a gloomy, shadowy future awaits us. 'Tis but the wickedness of the land that hurls us where we are. I feel as though it were a judgment sent to bring the pride of the American people down."<sup>35</sup> Tee's dramatic statements illustrated her fear of what was to come. As a woman of privilege, unaccustomed to a lengthy list of daily chores and tasks, Tee had no way of knowing just how much this war would alter her world. She was right to be worried and to grieve over the loss of the privileged world she had inhabited. The changes would come slowly at first, but it was prescient of her to acknowledge that her future had indeed been irretrievably altered.<sup>36</sup>

Women were not the only residents of Fauquier asked to contribute to the war effort. Slaves also had to participate. Many young black men traveled to camp as body servants with their masters or their master's sons in order to clean and cook for them. These men were usually between the ages of sixteen and sixty and had typically been with their master since the day he was born.<sup>37</sup> For this reason, they held positions of great trust and assumed their master's rank. The higher the rank of the white officer, the more status the body servant had in relation to other slaves in the camp.<sup>38</sup> Life in camp (and on or near the battlefield) was a not a reprieve from their usual lives. Body servants were up before dawn to cook breakfast, wake their masters, polish swords and boots, forage for food, and do their best to acquire extra supplies.<sup>39</sup> Former slave William I. Johnson, Jr. remembered after the war, "In between battles we had to keep all our masters' boots polished, the

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 5-7.

<sup>37</sup> Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 185-86.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.



horses and harness cleaned and the rifles and swords spic and span. Sometimes, too, we were all put to digging trenches or throwing up breastworks."<sup>40</sup> For those without their own manservant, many Confederate companies rented slaves to cook and do laundry.<sup>41</sup>

Body servants also attended their master if he was wounded and were assigned the arduous task of escorting the body home in the event of death. William Lee recalled accompanying his master's body back to Virginia: "I was sent home wid Marse Jerry's corpse. I rode right in the baggage car with him."<sup>42</sup> The practice of bringing slaves to war was a heightened form of the master-slave relationship that had existed for years. Body servants were involved in what for many Confederate soldiers was the most thrilling and dangerous event of their lives. Not only did many body servants witness their master's wounding or death, but they were themselves in danger. Though trusted enough to serve their masters far from home, it is no surprise that many body servants ran away from the camps, either back to their master's house or, as the war progressed, to the Union lines.

Body servants were not the only slaves present in Confederate camps. Many localities sent able-bodied male slaves for the manual labor necessary to defend the army. "Our neighborhood sent a number of servants yesterday, to Manassas Junction, to throw up fortifications," one Fauquier resident reported to friends.<sup>43</sup> And it was not just slaves who were forced to work. The secession convention, still meeting in Richmond, passed an ordinance on July 1 to draft "all able bodied free negroes between the ages of eighteen and

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<sup>40</sup> Charles L. Perdue, Jr., Thomas E. Barden, and Robert K. Phillips, eds., *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976), 167.

<sup>41</sup> Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 185.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>43</sup> Dr. Robert E. Peyton to Dr. Fran T. Stribling, June 7, 1861, Peyton Family Papers.

fifty” to “be detailed as laborers.”<sup>44</sup> The ordinance also stipulated that free African Americans could be detained for a period of up to sixty days without their consent. If they failed to obey the requisition, they were subject to the same penalties faced by white men who failed to appear for militia service.<sup>45</sup> On July 23, Fauquier’s county court complied with the state’s request and ordered the clerk to enroll “male free Negroes” between “the ages of 18-50.”<sup>46</sup> These men were not passive civilians. Like many of the slaves in camp, freedmen were aware of what was going on; they knew from conversations with whites, church services, and, for the literate, newspapers reports, all about the causes of the war.<sup>47</sup>

War officially arrived for Fauquier on a warm sunny day that hinted at the heat of summer to come. Still in the throes of excitement for whatever the conflict might bring, the people of Fauquier were jolted into reality on Saturday, June 1. News reached the county at midday that the Warrenton Rifles, who, like the Black Horse Cavalry, had been sent to defend the counties closer to Washington, D.C., had been attacked in the early morning hours by Union cavalry at Fairfax Court House. Only one of the company was killed, but as the local newspaper, the *Warrenton Flag of '98*, recorded, “That one was enough - the lives of five hundred of the enemy would not atone for the loss which this community, as well as

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<sup>44</sup> General Assembly of the State of Virginia, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, Passed in 1861 in the Eighty-Fifth Year of the Commonwealth* (Richmond: William F. Ritchie, 1861), 67.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Peters, “Military Records, Pension Applications, Heirs, At Law and Civil War Military Records,” in *Fauquier County, Virginia Court Minute Books*, 43.

<sup>47</sup> Glenn David Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign & the Necessity of Emancipation: African Americans & the Fight for Freedom*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 24-25; Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 226-227, 230-232.

the Confederate Army, have sustained in his death.”<sup>48</sup> Captain John Q. Marr, beloved Fauquier citizen and delegate to the secession convention, became one of the first Confederate officers to die in the war.

Marr’s body arrived on the evening train and, almost immediately, the eulogizing began. The death of such a prominent citizen, and well-trained soldier, brought the enormity of secession and all that it meant to Fauquier in a way newspaper articles and speeches never could do. Tee Edmonds recorded the momentous event in her diary: “O! What a shock, how deeply his death is felt by all who knew him. It has saddened many a heart, while the patriotic of the whole country and state which knew his worth so well, is kindled and blazes with redoubled zeal against the inexorable foe.”<sup>49</sup> Noted Fauquier citizen James V. Brooke stated, “With a sound judgment, a resolute will, a fixedness of purpose which nothing could shake, and habits of industry that asked no relaxation, he combine those gentler qualities of heart that served to soften a temper somewhat impulsive, and a demeanor that might otherwise have savored of austerity or reserve.”<sup>50</sup> A county-wide meeting was held on the night of his death, and a resolution was issued to pay tribute to this first fallen son of Fauquier: “That in the death of Captain Marr the people of the county of Fauquier and State of Virginia have lost one of the noblest ornaments of the military service – a man without fear and without reproach.”<sup>51</sup> Marr’s fellow delegate to the secession convention, Robert Scott, spoke at his funeral on Sunday, June 2.

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<sup>48</sup> "Fight at Fairfax C. H. , between 80 U. S. Dragoons and about 40 of the Warrenton Riflemen—Death of Capt. Marr," *Warrenton Flag of '98*, June 6, 1861.

<sup>49</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 49.

<sup>50</sup> Charles D. Walker, *Memorial, Virginia Military Institute: Biographical Sketches of the Graduates and Eleves of the Virginia Military Institute Who Fell in the War Between the States* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Company, 1875), 366.

<sup>51</sup> We republish the following 'Tribute of Respect' by request," *Warrenton Flag of '98*, June 13, 1861.

In addition to extolling Marr's virtues, the Fauquier men who fought with him received their glorified due. Present with the Riflemen at the time of the attack were the Prince William Cavalry and the Rappahannock Cavalry. News reports, especially those published in local Fauquier papers, smugly to detailed the cowardice of both companies. Some of the men reportedly ran directly for the woods that surrounded the attack, believing there were too many Union soldiers to be successfully defeated.<sup>52</sup> In defense of the cavalry, one newspaper reported that the men were armed only with sabers, so it was doubtful they would have been much help to the Riflemen. However, the Fauquier soldiers stayed and fought, rallied by their fearless leader, Captain Marr.

Years after the war ended, one grizzled old soldier recalled that long-ago night: "The night of May 31st was sultry to oppressiveness. There was no moon, and the clouds obscured every star, making the darkness intense."<sup>53</sup> The Union army surprised the men by attacking at 3:00 a.m., so there was quite a bit of confusion on the part of the Confederates. The Riflemen did not initially realize Marr had been shot, and they were quickly reassembled by William "Extra Billy" Smith, the former governor and a resident of Fauquier. Smith was good friends with Captain Marr, a close political ally, and was in Fairfax visiting the Warrenton Rifles, as he was proud of the number of units from Fauquier and wished to maintain a close connection, especially since he still had political aspirations.<sup>54</sup> When gunfire woke Smith, he rushed to join the Confederates and, when

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<sup>52</sup> "Skirmish at Fairfax C.H., from the Richmond Enquirer," *Warrenton Flag of '98*, June 13, 1861.

<sup>53</sup> Kathi Ann Brown, Walter Nicklin and John T. Toler, *250 Years in Fauquier County: A Virginia Story* (Fairfax, Va.: GMU Press, 2008), 82.

<sup>54</sup> Mingus, Sr., *Confederate General William "Extra Billy" Smith*, 145.

unable to locate Marr, ordered the men to follow him.<sup>55</sup> He marched the men in an orderly fashion to the courthouse where Colonel Richard S. Ewell took command.<sup>56</sup> Marr was later found dead in a nearby clover field where the Confederates had first faced attack.<sup>57</sup> The local Warrenton paper detailed the gallantry of the Fauquier men by boasting, "This was the first fight had with the enemy, and Fauquier's men having had the honor of being the first to meet them, have most nobly borne aloft the flag of their country and come out of the conflict crowned with laurels and victory!"<sup>58</sup> Despite Marr's death, the people of Fauquier were proud that their men had distinguished themselves in such a way.

With the death of John Marr, Fauquier caught a glimpse of what life would be like in the months and years to come. While Marr was immediately honored, his place in the pantheon of Confederate heroes now assured, many turned their thoughts to the future.

Tee Edmonds continued to despair both about Marr's death and her own future:

O! God of Heaven, preserve us in this great day of public calamity, save us from the hand of such unprincipled, unmerciful cut throats, who exceed us in number and arms. O! I can not feel, though their advantages are paramount to ours in every respect, that they will ever be successful in such an unholy thing. I can only think of our dear and most efficient officers, who with the help of God our country may yet be redeemed from the invaders, though rivers of blood may dampen her soil, and homes and hearts made desolate and sad.<sup>59</sup>

The toll war could take was beginning to be understood by the people of Fauquier. While this first battle saw the death of only one man, the residents were starting to learn just how much would be asked of them. However, despite its cost, Fauquier's commitment to the

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.; Lee A. Wallace, *17th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1990), 17.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> "Fight at Fairfax C. H., between 80 U. S. Dragoons and about 40 of the Warrenton Riflemen—Death of Capt. Marr," *Warrenton Flag of '98*, June 6, 1861.

<sup>59</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 50.

Confederacy only strengthened. No matter what it took, the white residents of Fauquier would defend their homes and land from the invaders.

Unfortunately, the month of June saw the death of another Fauquier son. Richard Ashby, beloved brother of Turner, was mortally wounded in a Union ambush near the border of Virginia and Maryland on June 26. Losing a member of another prominent family further illustrated the tragedy of war. The Ashbys were well known residents of the county, and Turner's Mountain Rangers, now officially Company A, Seventh Virginia Cavalry, had protected the citizens for years. His brother's death was a blow from which the elder Ashby would never recover. Ida Dulany, after a visit from the Rangers, observed, "I saw Col. Ashby - and it made my heart ache to see him. Every glance at his sad face brought so vividly before my mind's eye his noble brother our friend Richard Ashby who had lost his life so gallantly only a few weeks before in the skirmish near Romney."<sup>60</sup> Tee Edmonds mourned his loss as well: "O! May his spirit rest in a bright world above -- he died in a glorious cause."<sup>61</sup> During the funeral, she noted there was not "a tearless eye amid the defenders who fought by his side," although his brother, the gallant Ashby, "stood pale, agitated and trembling – poor fellow. May he live to see the right for which his brother died, still and forever possessed by such brave and honourable men."<sup>62</sup> The realization that began with the loss of John Marr was reinforced by Ashby's untimely death: war was here and death had arrived. This was no longer a political fight conducted in Washington. War was on their doorsteps and the people of Fauquier had to adjust.

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<sup>60</sup> Ida Powell Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy: The Civil War Journal of Ida Powell Dulany*, eds. Mary L. Mackall, Stevan F. Meserve, and Anne Mackall Sasscer (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2010), 5.

<sup>61</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 52.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

As June rolled into July and the stickiness of a humid Virginia summer settled over the hills of Fauquier, its citizens were consumed with the continual preparations for war. The women of Fauquier, who had heeded General Cocke's "call to arms," made sure to do their part, and they had plenty to keep them busy. Besides the constant sewing, women also spent their days feeding the local soldiers and any other companies that marched through the county. In addition to the companies already in existence from Fauquier, at least five others were created in June and July alone. Despite the deaths of Marr and Ashby, many soldiers remained in good spirits. When the Fauquier Guards, soon to be Company H, Forty-Ninth Virginia Infantry, marched off to camp in Manassas, the local newspaper noted, "We can truly say that we never saw men start in defense of their country, with their armor on, in more cheerful spirits, or more eager to get within sight of the enemy. And we will venture to say that there is no company in the service made up of larger men or better material."<sup>63</sup> The Forty-Ninth was placed under the command of Colonel "Extra Billy" Smith, who, despite his age of sixty-four, convinced both Governor Letcher and Adjutant General Robert E. Lee of his desire "to set a spirited example" and "contribute all in my power to the success" of the Confederate cause.<sup>64</sup> The women of Fauquier also did the best they could for these new companies, but the need for uniforms meant that despite their best efforts, several companies left for Manassas without the necessary clothing.<sup>65</sup> During this time, Governor Letcher turned his army of Virginia Volunteers over to the Confederacy.

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<sup>63</sup> "The Fauquier Guards," *Warrenton Flag of '98*, July 11, 1861; Richard B. Kleese, *49th Virginia Infantry* (Appomattox, Va.: H. E. Howard, 2002), 11-12; When the Forty-Ninth was reorganized in April 1862, the companies were reassigned and the Fauquier Guards became Company C. See Kleese, *Ibid.*, 3-4.

<sup>64</sup> Mingus, *Confederate General William "Extra Billy" Smith*, 151.

<sup>65</sup> "Fauquier County---What the Ladies Are Doing," *Warrenton Flag of '98*, July 11, 1861.

While the deaths of two of Fauquier's more illustrious men was shocking, they were single, solitary events. In a world accustomed to death, and in one in which war was present, there was an orderliness in how they were handled. Death was something with which nineteenth-century Americans were familiar and knew how to handle. Death on a large scale, such as would be seen in the days and months to come, was something different entirely, although both Americans and Confederates would cling to traditional practices and do what they could to honor each soldier's death.<sup>66</sup> On a blistering hot day in July, the residents of northern Virginia got their first experience with traditional, large-scale war, and the death that accompanies it. The battle of Manassas began on Sunday morning, July 21, near the station of Manassas Junction, fulfilling Dr. Peyton's prophecy. Union General Irvin McDowell, with 35,000 troops, attacked Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard, with 20,000 men, in what both sides expected to be a rout of the enemy.<sup>67</sup> Caught up in the excitement of an expected victory, some residents and government officials drove out from Washington, D.C., with picnic hampers to watch the proceedings. They got more than they bargained for when, after a bloody day of fighting, the Confederates, aided by the arrival by train of Joseph Johnston's troops from the Valley, sent the federal soldiers streaming back to their capital with the picnickers in their wake.<sup>68</sup> While it was a magnificent Confederate victory, Beauregard, hero of Fort Sumter, was unable to capitalize on the Union retreat. His own soldiers were hardly veterans and, despite their success, were almost as disorganized as the Union soldiers. Conflicting orders and rumors caused chaos and made chasing the

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<sup>66</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008), 77-78.

<sup>67</sup> James M. McPherson, *Tried By War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 38-39.

<sup>68</sup> Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command*, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), I: 46, 73-74.



Federals on their retreat was impossible.<sup>69</sup> Rain began to fall in the early morning hours of July 22, which turned roads to mud and caused streams to flood, thus hindering another chance to pursue the Federals.<sup>70</sup>

The men of Fauquier distinguished themselves nicely during the battle and the Black Horse Troop was singled out for praise. In his report on the day's events, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas T. Munford wrote, "It affords me no little pleasure to have an opportunity to recommend to your especial commendation the corps under my command. In the charge they behaved most gallantly."<sup>71</sup> Mentioned by name was Private Taliaferro, whose horse was killed under him and "in falling broke his collarbone."<sup>72</sup> Still, Munford declared, "he sprang to his feet, pursued and killed his man with his pistol, both running at speed."<sup>73</sup>

A lieutenant in the Black Horse, Robert Randolph, sent his account of the battle to his sister Roberta and echoed Munford's praises for his men. However, he also shared the stark nature of battle and the dark side of war. "But ah! Bert the sight of the battlefield now. How horrid!" Randolph lamented. "Mangled bodies lying thick upon the ground and poor wounded men begging for a little water. Sad-sad-indeed!"<sup>74</sup> It was a rude awakening for all involved. "I never can forget that memorable yesterday," Randolph continued. "I can stand the fight while the fighting is going on but the sight afterwards is revolting."<sup>75</sup> Despite the horrors of battle, Randolph was exceedingly proud of the conduct of his men. He ended his letter with these thoughts: "Bert, Old Virginia, God Bless her came out a perfect trump in

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>71</sup> *OR*, vol. 2, p. 534-35.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Robert Randolph to Roberta M. Randolph, July 22, 1861, Minor Family Papers.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

the late fight. Her men all stood at their post until they were shot away but some of the more southern troops S. Carolina particularly backed right smartly. I am almost as proud of this conduct of the Virginians as I am of our winning the battle, for the old lady has been abused.”<sup>76</sup>

After appearing as reluctant secessionists, the soldiers of Virginia believed that they, and their state, were redeemed. The Warrenton Riflemen also distinguished themselves, their few casualties including a young private shot through the leg and Captain Benjamin H. Shackelford shot in the ankle.<sup>77</sup> However, the Forty-Ninth Virginia Infantry, including Company H, the “Fauquier Guards,” was not as lucky. While they also received high praise for their bravery fighting alongside General Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, the regiment suffered ten men killed and thirty wounded out of a force numbering only 210.<sup>78</sup> Captain H. C. Ward died of wounds sustained during the battle at the end of July. In his place, Buckner Randolph of Warrenton was promoted to command company H.<sup>79</sup> Colonel William Smith, commander of the Forty-Ninth, reported that his men “in their first battle, met the crisis in which circumstance placed them with a hardihood and courage which command my admiration.”<sup>80</sup> John Finks, a Warrenton businessman, reported to his brother-in-law in Richmond, “Fauqr. [Fauquier] has suffered severely.”<sup>81</sup>

Despite the casualties, the residents of Fauquier, like the rest of the Confederacy,

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> John William Finks to Lycurgus Washington Caldwell, July 21, 1861, “*My Heart Is So Rebellious*”: *The Caldwell Letters, 1861-1865*, ed. J. Michael Welton (Warrenton, Va.: Fauquier National Bank, 1991), 35.

<sup>78</sup> Kleese, *49th Virginia Infantry*, 8-10.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>81</sup> John William Finks to Lycurgus Washington Caldwell, July 22, 1861, “*My Heart Is So Rebellious*,” 36.

chose to focus on the bravery of their men and the victory of their forces. “There is one thing certain,” a Warrenton resident noted, “the Lincolnites were whipped.”<sup>82</sup> It was quite the auspicious start for these men, and the county was thrilled with the victory. Amidst the celebratory articles, the news was filled with tall tales, such as one Tee Edmonds recorded: “It is said that Abe asked Scott [Winfield Scott], how it happened he didn’t get to the Junction? as he had been successful in Mexico? ‘Ah!,’ he says, ‘I am fighting against the same men I had to fight for me then.’ True enough, Beauregard whipped them back three times on Thursday at Bull Run. Oh! may victory ever perch upon our banners.”<sup>83</sup> The Confederate public predicted a quick victory in the war.

Success also brought a reorganization of several of Fauquier’s companies. With the capture of many Union artillery pieces, several new artillery batteries were created. This included the Markham Guards, who were transferred from the Forty-Ninth Virginia Infantry to General D. R. Jones’ South Carolina Brigade of Longstreet’s Division. They were re-christened the “Fauquier Artillery.”<sup>84</sup>

However, even with success on the battlefield, homes, churches, and schools in Fauquier were soon filled to the brim with wounded men, and each day brought news of sickness and death. Seventy men arrived in one day from the battlefield of Manassas, and residents spent the rest of the summer and most of the fall nursing wounded and ill soldiers, first men from First Manassas and then others who had either been injured or taken sick in nearby skirmishes and camps.<sup>85</sup> In addition to private families taking in

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<sup>82</sup> John William Finks to Lycurgus Washington Caldwell, July 21, 1861, *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>83</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 54-55.

<sup>84</sup> Michael J. Andrus, *The Brooke, Fauquier, Loudoun and Alexandria Artillery* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1990), 61.

<sup>85</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, July 31, 1861, “*My Heart Is So Rebellious*,” 40.

wounded soldiers, many churches in the county were requisitioned as hospitals.<sup>86</sup> Broad Run Baptist Church, which had recently built a new sanctuary, and Warrenton Methodist Church were filled with wounded soldiers.<sup>87</sup> The Methodists saw their house of worship torn apart in order to meet the needs of the wounded men. Windows were broken, blood soaked the floors and walls, and doors were commandeered as operating tables.<sup>88</sup> The Presbyterians in Warrenton experienced similar destruction.<sup>89</sup> Warrenton Baptist Church, whose basement was used as a hospital, entered into a formal contract with the Confederates in December in relinquishing its building as a medical facility.<sup>90</sup>

Death and dying became a consistent presence in the lives of Fauquier's residents after the battle of Manassas as they were forced to become engaged in the "work of death."<sup>91</sup> "Both Cabinet makers are kept engaged at present in making coffins for the poor unfortunate soldiers who die in our midst, and also in fixing up articles for the hospitals," Susan Caldwell informed her husband. Then, weeks later, another report: "Our town is filled with sick soldiers. Some die each day."<sup>92</sup> Caring for the sick and wounded continued throughout the autumn months, as many men, far away from their own homes, remained in Fauquier to convalesce. The residents did their best to nurse them back to health, and when that was not possible, to comfort men dying in an unfamiliar place surrounded by

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<sup>86</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 3.

<sup>87</sup> John S. Moore, *A History of Broad Run Baptist Church: Fauquier County, Virginia, 1762-1987* (New Baltimore, Va.: The Church, 1987), 25.

<sup>88</sup> Jennings H. Flathers, *Methodism in Warrenton: A History of the Warrenton Circuit and the Warrenton United Methodist Church* (Boyce, Va.: Carr Publishing, 1980), 38.

<sup>89</sup> J. Richard Winter, *The Story of a Church: A History of the Warrenton Presbyterian Church, Warrenton, Virginia, 1771-1996* (Np: np, nd), 8.

<sup>90</sup> Edna M. Stephenson, *History of the Warrenton Baptist Church, 1849-1988* (Warrenton, Va.: Piedmont Press, 1988), 19.

<sup>91</sup> Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 85.

<sup>92</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, September 5 and September 27, 1861, "My Heart Is So Rebellious," 51, 58-59.

strangers. Dying away from home violated Victorian norms of a “good death,” and so civilians on both sides did what they could to mitigate the situation.<sup>93</sup> The presence of so many sick men caused many women, such as Ida Dulany, a wealthy young wife, to reflect on the cost of war and the constant presence of death:

Each day some fresh visitor from the battlefield thrills our hearts with horror, by his recount of what he saw, and while our hearts are uplifted in gratitude to God for our deliverance from the hand of our enemy, our eyes drop bitter tears at the thought of the brave young men, dead, dying, wounded, crippled and mangled lying on the bloody field, of the widow and orphan, of the childless, and desolate [. . .] God only knows how miserable and desolate I feel tonight in my lonely chamber, haunted by the dread that ere long the tidings of some great victory may be accompanied by the worse news in the world to me.<sup>94</sup>

That dichotomy, hopeful of victory but fearing it could mean the loss of a loved one, plagued women for the entirety of the war.

The rest of the summer and early fall passed in a blur of rumors: the war will be over soon – Lincoln is about to give up – Britain will soon recognize the Confederacy – or, more sobering, Turner Ashby is dead!<sup>95</sup> With the success of Manassas behind them, the Confederate army continued to organize and focus on drilling. Many of the local men were still stationed in northern Virginia at Camp Pickens, near Manassas Junction, or had been sent south to camps around Richmond. Either option allowed for visits home and so, for the families of Fauquier, it was not unusual to have husbands, brothers, and friends dropping in unexpectedly. Ida was even able to travel to Ashland and Richmond to visit her husband, Lieutenant Hal Dulany, Sixth Virginia Cavalry, at his cavalry camp in Ashland. While this type of mobility would not continue, it was nonetheless much enjoyed by Fauquier families.

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<sup>93</sup> Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 85.

<sup>94</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 6.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

Additionally, as most of the camps fell on or near the railroads, boxes and trunks containing much-needed food, equipage, and clothing could be sent to the soldiers.<sup>96</sup>

As summer turned into fall and those first crisp days of autumn arrived in Fauquier, the county found itself slowly adjusting to its new way of life. While there would be no major battles or skirmishes in the county during this period, there was no respite from the war. Events of the spring and summer in northern Virginia meant Fauquier became a land of refugees for wealthy Virginians in and around Washington, D.C., who could afford to leave their homes. In the rarified world of upper class, well-connected families, they arrived in Fauquier to stay with near or distant relations, including Robert E. Lee's wife Mary Custis Lee.<sup>97</sup> These visits brought a much-needed respite for the locals. Betty Gray was thrilled to have visitors at her grandparents' home, Mt Airy, writing in her diary, "This makes us number nine (doomed to be old maids). We are called Mt. Airy home guards. How many merry laughs and jokes in the course of a day. Why look sad? We are in the midst of our relations."<sup>98</sup> The number of wounded men in the area also meant new friendships, and Gray herself grew attached to "H," a soldier from Mississippi. It was necessary, and important, to find ways to pass the time and some joy in this new life.

While it lent a merry air to an otherwise distressing time, additional houseguests stretched the provisions of many households, and the county continued to adjust to just

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<sup>96</sup> Kleese, *49<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 12.

<sup>97</sup> After leaving Arlington, Mary Custis Lee lived in Fauquier for a few weeks in the summer of 1861. Both she and her husband were related to several families, including the Randolphs of Eastern View and the Turners of Kinloch, with whom she stayed. As a child, after his father died, Robert E. Lee lived for some time with his Turner cousins at Kinloch and attended school nearby. See Mary Custis Lee to Mildred C. Lee, June 11, 1861 and Mary Custis Lee to Annie C. Lee, June 30, 1861, Section 15-16, Lee Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>98</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 1.

what “at war” meant. The Confederate army impressed as many horses and wagons as possible, although families were allowed to retain a few horses to aid in the harvesting of crops. This enabled them to continue to visit their neighbors and kin, which, in turn, ensured that not only were newspapers and letters shared (important as it became harder and harder to obtain accurate information), but also that news of where to find dwindling supplies could be exchanged. Prices on everyday goods rose precipitously that first summer, and many families turned to husbands and sons who worked in Richmond to obtain scarce goods and better prices. In September, coffee sold in Warrenton for 12 cents a pound; by December, the price had risen to 75 cents a pound.<sup>99</sup> Susan Caldwell, who lived in Warrenton, confided to her husband in Richmond, “Every article of goods of all description is scarce here – What is here is sold at enormous prices – We will have to make out as well as we can.”<sup>100</sup> The soldiers camping in and around Warrenton put even more strain on the few stores that remained open, including the drugstore owned by the Caldwell’s brother-in-law, John W. Finks.<sup>101</sup>

The struggle to obtain goods necessary for everyday life was one of many challenges faced by people on the home front. Many women found themselves not only in charge of larger households, but also forced to operate a farm or plantation on their own. Ida Dulany fretted to her diary, “This morning I awaked with a most uncomfortable impression that the farm is not going on as well as it should. The seeding is so very backward, and with all

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<sup>99</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, September 8, 1861, “*My Heart Is So Rebellious*,” 53; “Additional Eastern News,” *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco], Dec. 16, 1861.

<sup>100</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, September 12, 1861, “*My Heart Is So Rebellious*,” 55-56.

<sup>101</sup> See *Ibid.*, 15.

my urging it does not seem to progress as fast as it should.”<sup>102</sup> While the wealthiest people received help from overseers, many more were forced to make decisions on their own about when to plant or harvest crops, how to butcher livestock, or what to do with a sick horse. These decisions were integral to a family’s survival – both for food and income.

Being under such pressure took a toll on many women, including Ida Dulany. Responsible not only for running her large plantation, “Oakley,” while her husband Hal served in the cavalry, Ida also had to care for her three young children, her mother, an elderly grandmother, two sisters, and sixty-nine slaves. Although trained to run a large household, Ida nonetheless found this a daunting task, especially under the wartime pressures. “I have determined this morning to try and be more cheerful,” she wrote in early fall. “It is very hard to laugh and talk cheerfully and keep up the appearance of good spirits when I do not know what dreadful news may come in a few days.”<sup>103</sup> Ida struggled to uphold the expectations placed on upper-class women, which traditionally expected them to suppress feelings while showing a “contentment and ease” to the world.<sup>104</sup> While she vowed to be cheerful in public, she continued to share her fears with her diary. Writing on September 7, she lamented, “It is a sad, sad thing for months and months to have the same great dread hanging over you. Oh it’s a weary, weary time, and we will all bless God when it is over. But who can tell what hearts will be broken, or who will be left to rejoice in the peace when it comes.”<sup>105</sup> Yet, despite her many lamentations, Ida succeeded in her promise to let no one know her true feelings about the toll “this most horrid and unnatural and

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<sup>102</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 32.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>104</sup> Betram Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 86.

<sup>105</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 32.



unnecessary war” was taking on her. Much relieved when a friend told Hal Ida was “looking well and happy,” she decided, “It shows how well I have succeeded in my efforts to appear cheerful especially before any one who is to see Hal.”<sup>106</sup>

Ida’s struggles represent a common contradiction among upper-class white women in the Confederacy. They desperately wished to have their loved ones safely back at home and were furious that a war brought on by politicians (specifically northern ones, according to the women) came with such hardship. Yet they earnestly supported their husbands and brothers fighting for the Confederate cause and railed against perceived Yankee outrages. In response to the burning of Hampton, Virginia, in August, Ida wrote, “This war has fully brought out and developed the peculiar dispositions of both North and South, how poorly does the thieving, burning, murdering Yankee compare with the generous, chivalrous Southerner.”<sup>107</sup> (We do not know if Ida amended her views when or if she discovered that Hampton was set fire by Confederate general John Magruder.) The women of Fauquier were beginning to suspect that, with only young boys, older men, and slaves left in the region, they might have to protect their families as well as operate their farms. These were still the early days of war, though, and with the Confederate army camped around Centreville, and so not far from Fauquier, the residents felt safe for the time being.<sup>108</sup>

For much of the fall and through the winter, life in Fauquier assumed some semblance of normality. Residents fell back into the rhythms of harvesting and selling livestock to butchers.<sup>109</sup> Many of the soldiers wounded during the battle of Manassas had either returned home or returned to camp, but more men had taken their place as diseases

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>108</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, 1861, “*My Heart is So Rebellious*,” 64.

<sup>109</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 30.

such as measles, typhoid, and dysentery swept through the camps.<sup>110</sup> The residents continued to take care of both those they knew and the strangers who arrived on their doorsteps. Visits amongst neighbors continued, and between several Fauquier companies picketing nearby and the sick men already present, there was enough socializing to satisfy the heart of any belle, even Tee Edmonds.<sup>111</sup> The soldiers also looked forward to evenings spent in well-appointed parlors as an escape from the monotony of duty. Men like Tee's brothers and Ida's husband Hal spent their days drilling and picketing throughout northern Virginia.<sup>112</sup>

One way to break up the monotony of camp life for Confederate soldiers was to hunt for deserters. This not only relieved the men from the constant drilling, but also allowed them to wander the countryside. Hal Dulany showed up on the doorstep of his and Ida's home, Oakley, in October to spend a few days at home while looking for deserters.<sup>113</sup> Such occasions allowed both the soldiers and families some respite from the war and reinforced the benefit of fighting so close to home. Ida was thrilled to have her husband home and was even glad men were running away from the army, writing that she was "truly grateful to them for deserting, and hope it will be some time before they can be found."<sup>114</sup> An added benefit of these search patrols in the autumn of 1861 was that they allowed men to assist with the fall harvest. Hal Dulany stayed almost a full week at home and, in addition to visiting with numerous neighbors and friends, helped Ida organize the sale of their

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<sup>110</sup> Kleese, *49<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 12.

<sup>111</sup> Amanda Edmonds, *Society of Rebels: Diary of Amanda Edmonds, Northern Virginia 1857-1867*, ed. Lee Lawrence (Warrenton, Va.: Piedmont Press & Graphics, 2017), 76.

<sup>112</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 36-37.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

cattle.<sup>115</sup>

The most excitement came on October 21, when a small brigade of Union soldiers crossed the Potomac River and headed towards Leesburg, in nearby Loudoun County. Sent to ascertain the location of Confederate forces, the Union brigade stumbled into a Confederate force it engaged in what became known as the battle of Ball's Bluff. A Confederate victory, it was another demoralizing loss for the Union army. Soon after, the Union army in the East experienced some major changes. Though not directly related to the loss at Ball's Bluff, General-in-Chief Winfield Scott, citing poor health, submitted his resignation to President Lincoln. In Scott's place, Lincoln appointed as commander of the newly-formed Army of the Potomac a man dubbed by the press as "the young Napoleon," General George B. McClellan.<sup>116</sup> Showing early signs of his propensity to exaggerate his enemy's strength and the dangers of an offensive attack, McClellan took no major action that winter, despite the unseasonably warm weather in December.<sup>117</sup>

The Confederate army in the East also experienced a change in leadership. After a series of conflicts between Beauregard and President Jefferson Davis, the general was transferred to Kentucky to serve under Albert Sidney Johnston.<sup>118</sup> This left General Joseph Johnston in control of the Confederate armies in Virginia. To break the monotony of camp life, several grand reviews were held in Confederate camps throughout northern Virginia. "The reviews were the most magnificent thing of the kind I ever saw," Ida's husband Hal wrote to her. "Yesterday morning Gov. Letcher reviewed the Cavalry and in the afternoon

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> McPherson, *Tried by War*, 44.

<sup>117</sup> McPherson, *Tried by War*, 52-53; Musick, *6th Virginia Cavalry*, 7.

<sup>118</sup> James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 366-67.

the infantry Regiment.”<sup>119</sup> Many Virginians hoped that additional soldiers would arrive in Virginia that winter. There was an undercurrent that the state had more than redeemed its reputation as a reluctant secessionist. Writing to his brother-in-law Lycurgus Caldwell, John Finks remembered those unionists who had warned before Virginia seceded that the state “would have all the fighting in her border and would have to furnish the men to do it.”<sup>120</sup> Finks fumed, “I am sorry to confess the truth of it – as Rob’t Scott says: We have more men in the field than all the South put together, which is true.”<sup>121</sup>

The year 1861 brought war to Fauquier in ways that none could have anticipated. The decision of Virginia to secede altered the course of their lives, and despite the unionist views of many citizens, most white residents threw their support behind the fledgling Confederacy. With the deaths of such illustrious men as John Marr and Richard Ashby, not to mention the men felled at Manassas and the county’s proximity to the battlefield, the war became real to the people of Fauquier much sooner than most of the Confederacy. As they prepared to welcome in a new year, citizens reflected on the great success of their armies across all fronts and hoped that 1862 would bring a victorious end to the war.

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<sup>119</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 36.

<sup>120</sup> John William Finks to Lycurgus Caldwell, undated, “*My Heart is So Rebellious*,” 31-32.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

### Chapter 3: Subjugation by Yankees, Winter – Spring 1862

When they finally came, it was an unseasonably cold day in March of 1862. At a time when buds should have been forming on Dogwood trees and the air filled with birdsong, the residents of Fauquier County were instead braving cold rains and late winter snowstorms. It seemed the weather, like everything else so far that year, was unpredictable. After weeks filled with nervous preparations and discussions as to whether it was necessary to evacuate, they watched Lincoln's men march in with little fanfare. The people of Fauquier had dreaded this day for months as they watched the Union army's continued advance into Virginia. Soon after taking control of nearby Loudoun County, the Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania Infantry, under the command of Colonel John White Geary, entered Fauquier on March 15. Just as Shakespeare's soothsayer warned Caesar, so did Providence attempt to warn Fauquier's residents, "Beware the Ides of March."

Geary was no stranger to northern Virginia, having been an officer with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad before the war and having lived in Loudoun County while managing Potomac Furnaces.<sup>1</sup> A native Pennsylvanian, Geary lacked a diploma from West Point but had gained military experience in the Mexican War. Also a seasoned politician, he had served as the military governor of Mexico City and as governor of the Kansas Territory during the bloody years of 1856-57. Geary and his men followed the orders of General Nathaniel P. Banks, commander of the Department of the Shenandoah, stationed in Harpers Ferry. They had been sent across the Potomac River to secure Loudoun, a well-known rebel bolt hole. Geary not only made sure the area was devoid of Confederate soldiers, he also

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<sup>1</sup> John W. Geary, *A Politician Goes to War: The Civil War Letters of John White Geary*, ed. William Alan Blair (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 5.

made sure to ferret out loyal secessionists. In his official report to Banks, Geary recorded the actions taken: several prominent residents took the oath of allegiance and “paroles of honor were administered to many rank secessionists. Hon. John Janney, Major Scott, and other distinguished Virginians gave their parole.”<sup>2</sup> With this success behind them, Geary and his soldiers continued their trek south into Fauquier. In addition to establishing control over the county, Geary’s other objective was to rebuild the county’s infrastructure, including the Manassas Gap Railroad, much of which had been destroyed by the retreating Confederates. From this point on, Union soldiers occupied Fauquier until the end of the Second Battle of Manassas, in August. War had officially arrived for Fauquier and would not relent any time soon.

The movements of Geary and his men brought some relief to President Lincoln, who was becoming increasingly frustrated with his new general-in-chief, George McClellan. Things had deteriorated so much over the winter that rumors began to circulate amongst Republicans in Congress that the general, a well-known Democrat, did not even have a desire to defeat the Confederates.<sup>3</sup> While this was simply nasty gossip, McClellan’s inactivity in Virginia did not help to quell it. The president was so discouraged that he considered replacing the general he had appointed with such hopes only a few months before.<sup>4</sup> McClellan had proposed a plan to sail much of his army down the Potomac River

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<sup>2</sup> U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. in 128 parts (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. 1, vol. 5, p. 513 (cited hereafter as *OR* and from the first series unless otherwise indicated).

<sup>3</sup> James M. McPherson, *Tried By War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

and up the Rappahannock to Urbanna but waited months before taking any action.<sup>5</sup> When he was finally goaded into moving, the Confederates also left their winter quarters, which dashed McClellan's long drawn plans.

Joseph Johnston ordered his troops to abandon their camp at Centreville and retreat behind the Rappahannock River into Culpeper County. Johnston believed this move put him in a better position to defend Richmond and protect his army against a federal advance from the north and west, such as Geary had undertaken from Harpers Ferry.<sup>6</sup> This spoiled McClellan's Urbanna campaign and forced him to land his troops farther south, at Fort Monroe.<sup>7</sup>

It was a long march for Johnston's men as a cold rain turned the roads to mud. Not only did this make crossing rural Virginia difficult for all, but the artillery batteries especially struggled to pull their precious guns to safety.<sup>8</sup> Many of the men marching had recently re-enlisted. With the Confederate government fearing it would soon lose many of the veterans who had only signed up for one year of service the previous April or May, Congress offered a \$50 bonus and a furlough of up to sixty days to any man who re-enlisted for the duration of the war.<sup>9</sup> This showed an astute understanding of what the soldiers desired; more money and time at home. The enticement was fairly successful. Hal Dulany remarked to Ida in February that the men were "re-enlisting very fast. I tell you it has

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>6</sup> Richard B. Kleese, *49th Virginia Infantry* (Appomattox, Va.: H. E. Howard, 2002), 13; Geary, *A Politician Goes to War*, 36-37.

<sup>7</sup> McPherson, *Tried By War*, 80.

<sup>8</sup> Kleese, *49th Virginia Infantry*, 14.

<sup>9</sup> Ida Powell Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy: The Civil War Journal of Ida Powell Dulany*, eds. Mary L. Mackall, Stevan F. Meserve, and Anne Mackall Sasscer (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009), 237.

brought a quantity of them in.”<sup>10</sup> However, as a lieutenant, Hal was also quick to point out that most officers were not able to travel home: “The officers fare worst of all, of course, they can’t leave their companies.”<sup>11</sup> This was a hollow complaint as Hal, due in no small part to his rank, had already been home several times in the past year on duty for his company. It is doubtful that the soldiers under his command had been allowed the same amount of freedom. However, despite the success of the government’s plan, it was not enough to maintain the armies, and so in April, the terms of service for all men in the field were extended for three years or the duration of the war.<sup>12</sup> For the time being, the Confederacy had managed to stem the tide of desertions, and from its new vantage point in Culpeper, the army was prepared for the spring campaigns to come.

However, the movement of the army south of the Rappahannock left Fauquier vulnerable for the first time during the war, and so residents scrambled to ready themselves for the Union invasion. Some people continued to be optimistic that the occupation would not last long. On March 9, Betty Gray described her shock at learning that the Confederate army was falling back from its position at Centreville and headed to Culpeper Court House. “We are now turned out on the commons, who have been so securely fenced in for months by our Southern protection,” she explained in her diary. “How we shall stand the reign of the enemy is not pleasant to contemplate. But I have no doubt this move however unpleasant to us, will be our country’s gain and no sacrifice is too great for so glorious a cause.”<sup>13</sup> Many families, deciding not to wait to find out what

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<sup>10</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 63.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 37.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 237.

<sup>13</sup> Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary, 1860-1868,” p.9, James I. Robertson, Jr Civil War Sesquicentennial Legacy Collection, Library of Virginia,



subjugation under Union rule would look like, began to leave the county. On the following day, Gray observed, "Families are daily moving from Warrenton and the vicinity. Going beyond the line of Lincolndom."<sup>14</sup> Gray's father attempted to move his family from their farm to Warrenton, even going as far as to rent a home in town. However, he waited too long, and by the time the family was ready to leave, they were stuck, unable to travel through the Union lines. While Betty was pleased to have friends and family visiting with her, she confessed (in the third person, referring to herself by her middle name "Frances"), "F. feels depressed in spirits but not unusual considering the gloomy circumstances. This is the first time F. ever before looked on home & the vicinity as prison bonds, but this is the sad fact at present."<sup>15</sup>

This disruption of their lives, this "prison sentence" as many would consider it, continued until the end of the war. Warrenton would change hands sixty-seven times by 1865, more than any other city in the South, with the exception of Winchester, Virginia.<sup>16</sup> Even before the county became closely associated with aiding and abetting Mosby's Rangers, its location was seen as integral to the strategies of both armies. With several passes connecting it to the Blue Ridge Mountains in the western part of the county, Fauquier allowed an occupying army access to the ever-important Shenandoah Valley. Edward C. Marshall, son of the venerable chief justice and president of the Manassas Gap Railroad, completed the track that connected the people of Strasburg in the Valley to the

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Richmond.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>16</sup> Kathi Ann Brown, Walter Nicklin and John T. Toler, *250 Years in Fauquier County: A Virginia Story* (Fairfax, Va.: GMU Press, 2008), 79.

city of Alexandria, with the rail line passing through Fauquier.<sup>17</sup> It is for this reason that bridges and railroads were constantly being destroyed and rebuilt by the opposing armies; neither side wanted the other to have the advantage of better access through the mountains. The county's nickname of "the debatable land" was an accurate description.<sup>18</sup> The residents of the county, both black and white, found themselves straddling the boundary between Union and Confederacy, often existing in a no-man's-land where battle lines were blurred. If they wished to survive, the people of Fauquier had to learn the new rules that governed life on the border.

With the coming onslaught of the Union army, it is understandable that some residents packed up their family heirlooms and moved themselves and their slaves farther south. However, the majority of residents believed the best way to ensure protection of their property was to remain behind, despite the unknowns that were to come. Families buried silver and other valuables in back gardens, but furniture, carpets, and portraits, much less the house itself, could not be so easily protected.<sup>19</sup> One of the more famous county tales involved Colonel John A. Washington, great grandnephew of George and last familial owner of Mount Vernon, who moved to Fauquier in the late 1850s. When he enlisted in the Confederate army, Washington sent the family's silver and china to the home of Edward "Ned" Turner, Kinloch, for safekeeping. The Turners put the treasures in a pigeon loft in their garden, where they remained hidden amongst the birds. Despite the

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<sup>17</sup> Paul Christopher Anderson, *Blood Image: Turner Ashby in the Civil War and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 41.

<sup>18</sup> Brown, Nicklin and Toler, *250 Years in Fauquier County*, 79.

<sup>19</sup> George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 157-58.

numerous raids on Kinloch during the war, the items were never discovered and were safely returned to Washington and his family.<sup>20</sup>

Other families were not as lucky. Remaining in the house was the only way people could hope to preserve their personal belongings and property. While it meant putting themselves in greater physical danger, most residents never contemplated leaving, even though the majority of those who remained were women and children.<sup>21</sup> Most white women, who were now de facto heads of households, believed it was necessary to remain on the land. Someone needed to watch over their homes.<sup>22</sup> While the Confederate army was no longer there to defend them, many residents viewed occupation as a necessary sacrifice for the greater good, as they simply assumed they were biding their time until the army returned. In these early days of war optimism and faith still ruled the day and women especially clung to antebellum ideas of gender. Southern women should not have to defend themselves; that was the job of men.<sup>23</sup> Once the army returned, they would be protected. Many white southerners also could not afford the costs of refugee life.<sup>24</sup> However, staying at home brought its own risks, especially as concerned the fate of many a family's most valuable property, its slaves. "Doubtless we shall lose many of our men servants who will be made to go off whether they wish it or no," Ida Dulany mused, "and

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<sup>20</sup> Emily G. Ramey and John K. Gott, eds., *The Years of Anguish: Fauquier County, Virginia, 1861-1865* (Warrenton, Va.: The Fauquier Democrat, 1965), 15.

<sup>21</sup> Rable, *Civil Wars*, 156-57.

<sup>22</sup> Catherine Clinton, *Tara Revisited: Women, War, & the Plantation Legend* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995), 110.

<sup>23</sup> Kimberly Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women: Civil War Diaries and Confederate Persuasion* (Carbondale, I.L.: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013), 25.

<sup>24</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 43.

our crops and stock will be taken off.”<sup>25</sup> Some families sent their slaves south in hopes of putting as much distance as possible between them and the Union army.

Despite living in an area caught between two armies, the residents were relatively well informed, at least until the Confederate army left and burned the railroad bridges, which prevented the delivery of mail. Prior to that, newspapers still passed through the lines, and soldiers writing from the Valley and Richmond consistently updated the county. Still, it was visitors from outside the county who were the most informative. Besides arriving with fresh news, these people knew what it was like to live in an occupied world. Refugees from towns and cities closer to Washington, D.C., had been arriving since the start of the war. As the Union army moved farther into northern Virginia, people who could afford to leave, and had a place to go, did so. “We hear of many large farmers in the upper country who have left their beautiful estates, and, with their negroes, have gone further in the interior,” the *Richmond Whig* reported. “Families from Loudoun, Fauquier, and Culpeper have been impelled to these hasty retreats from hearthstones dear to them and their little ones by the near approach of the invader.”<sup>26</sup>

Fauquier was a logical choice for many to stop running. Not only was it in a good location (out of harm’s way for the moment but, as long as the trains were running, still fairly easy to reach), it also promised some of the luxuries of home. Many of the people attempting to escape the war were members of the wealthiest families in Virginia, with close ties to some of Fauquier’s residents. Families welcoming the refugees could adequately provide for them, and with so many of the men off at war, the large farmhouses

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<sup>25</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 70.

<sup>26</sup> “Southern Intelligence,” *Daily National Intelligencer* [Washington, D.C.], April 9, 1862.

scattered throughout Fauquier could comfortably hold the visitors. The arrival of these evacuees ensured that Fauquier's residents learned firsthand what would soon become their fate.<sup>27</sup> More seasoned than the locals by the realities of war, they detailed stories of houses being searched, livestock taken, and arrests made. Fauquier, for some refugees, was just a first stop on a journey that would take them farther south, but they provided Fauquier's residents with a harrowing picture of an invading army that was moving ever closer.

One refugee family included Margaret and Charles Nourse and their son Charley who lived in Georgetown, but also owned a farm south of Warrenton. Charles Nourse's brother ran the farm, but when war broke out, he joined the Confederate army and was mortally wounded at the first battle of Manassas. The Nourses moved south in order to secure their land, despite their loyalties to the United States.<sup>28</sup> Margaret was born and raised in New York and, she clung tightly to her unionist views. When she first arrived in Fauquier, Margaret confided to her diary that, "These Southern people never understood what this country might have been or they could not have broken it up. How insignificant their position, compared with what it was, as part of the magnificent whole."<sup>29</sup> However, she became close friends with several of her neighbors, which softened her view of the Confederacy, as did the destruction the county faced by both armies throughout her time in Fauquier.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 35.

<sup>28</sup> Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., "Strangers and Pilgrims": The Diary of Margaret Tilloston Kemble Nourse, 4 April – 11 November 1862," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 91 (October 1983): 440.

<sup>29</sup> Margaret Tilloston Kemble Nourse, "Diary, April 4 – November 11, 1862," p. 16, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>30</sup> The Nourses moved back to Washington, D.C. in November 1862 before

And so on that March morning in 1862, as word spread from house to house that the Yankees were entering the neighborhood, Fauquier's Confederate residents did their best to stand ready, and could only hope that they had done what they could to prepare. Despite this, most people were ill equipped for what was to come. Colonel Geary and his troops found a people that continued to cling to a world that was ordered, where everyone had a place and where there were few surprises. War would tear that world to pieces.

When Geary and his men marched into Upperville, they wasted no time establishing control over the town. They had just missed part of the Confederate rear guard, which Geary noted was only four to five miles away, and headed south. During their first afternoon in Fauquier, Geary reported the arrests of an officer and several soldiers from the Sixth Virginia Cavalry and the Mountain Rangers.<sup>31</sup> Following these arrests, he considered the northern part of the county "perfectly safe" and in explaining conditions to his superiors: "It was necessary to keep these mountains clear, as they afforded great natural advantages of defense. We reconnoitered some distance along the railroad and found the country very rugged and mountainous. Three or four bridges had been burned, one of them over Goose Creek at Piedmont."<sup>32</sup> Building bridges and repairing cut telegraph lines became a fact of life for the Union army in Fauquier, since each time the county changed hands, the retreating army would routinely burn and cut them. Given that it was early spring, with numerous rainstorms, bridges were especially necessary to cross streams and rivers.

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continuing onto to Margaret's home state of New York.

<sup>31</sup> Geary, *A Politician Goes to War*, 37.

<sup>32</sup> *OR*, vol. 5, p. 514.

Throughout the rest of March, Geary and his troops explored their new domain. By the end of the month, the Pennsylvanians were within sight of Warrenton. Geary reported to his wife that they were “the first U.S. troops in this important portion of the state of Virginia.” He continued “Some of the people are very saucy in this region, but you know they cannot make much off me.”<sup>33</sup> Geary also received reinforcements from Companies H and I of the First Michigan Cavalry, with more of General Irvin McDowell’s corps to arrive over the next few days.<sup>34</sup> The men faced quite a bit of work, with one newspaper reporting the railroad beyond Warrenton destroyed, its “bridges . . . gone, ties burned and rails bent into every shape.”<sup>35</sup> The weather did not help either, and attempts to rebuild the necessary infrastructure were hampered by several late spring snowstorms and the mud left behind when the snow melted.<sup>36</sup> Once the weather improved, work resumed, and Geary was able to tell his superiors that the telegraph line to Front Royal had finally been repaired on April 14, a relief as he was “heartily tired of building Rail Road & telegraph lines, and guarding the same.”<sup>37</sup> He also reported that a reconnoitering party had skirmished with Confederate cavalry under the command of Colonel James E. B. Stuart near Piedmont. Two Union soldiers were killed in the altercation.<sup>38</sup>

Geary proved to be quite an able commander, no doubt due to his extensive administrative experience before the war. Most importantly, his men repaired railroad tracks so that the county and, through the mountain passes, the Valley, were reunited and the easy movement of troops and supplies ensured. It proved to be an exhausting

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<sup>33</sup> Geary, *A Politician Goes to War*, 37-38.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>35</sup> "By Continental Telegraph," *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco], April 1, 1862.

<sup>36</sup> Geary, *A Politician Goes to War*, 40.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>38</sup> *OR*, vol. 5, p. 515.

assignment. Not only was it backbreaking work, but the soldiers were also forced to complete the line while being hounded by Confederate raiders. "The mountains were infested with forces of cavalry," Geary reported, "in bodies of between 200 and 300, having designs against the bridges already constructed, making it necessary to strictly guard the entire road. The rebels made several unsuccessful attempts to force our pickets to accomplish their designs."<sup>39</sup> By the end of April, Geary was forced to send detachments all over the southern part of the county to protect the roads and railroads from Confederate interference. He also had to send out foraging parties to gather supplies, although he remarked, "Many local places were so impoverished that numerous difficulties were attendant upon getting our necessities."<sup>40</sup>

Geary's soldiers, who were adjusting to being occupiers in what for most of them was a strange land, were surprised hardships already faced by many of the residents. Robert Davis, a member of Company D., Twenty-Eighth Pennsylvania, described Fauquier as a "splendid country" but "very much neglected."<sup>41</sup> "I dont hardly see how the people lives down here," he informed his family, "for coffee is a dollar and quater a pound and salt a dollar a pint and every thing else in proportion and they cant hardly get any at that price coffee and salt can hardly be had at any price. I like to hear the citizans talk about the rebels for there has been rebels here in this town ever since the war commenced more or less."<sup>42</sup> Despite those deprivations, Geary's men continued to confiscate food and livestock with seemingly little sympathy for the Confederate residents of Fauquier. "The country has been

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 516.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Robert Davis to his father, March 31, 1862, Record No. 000146566, Davis Family Papers, 1835-1863, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.



ravaged by the enemy everywhere," a Union newspaper reporter wrote. "In no locality has there been discovered sufficient supplies, either for men or horses, for one day."<sup>43</sup> After a long winter that had only recently shown signs of abating, residents were struggling to feed their families, and had little extra to sell to the Union army. When the Union quartermaster and several soldiers came to requisition food from Morven, the family home of Mary Ambler Stribling, she was appalled at their actions. "Oh, it was sickening to see them taking the hams that poor Mamma had smoked and to know that we were helping to feed those who were invading our beautiful land."<sup>44</sup> Spring planting had only just begun and it would be months before the residents could reap the benefits of the harvest.<sup>45</sup>

The Ambler-Stribling family were not the only ones visited by the quartermaster. Most of the farms in the area surrounding Upperville were targeted by the army, and with many residents too scared to leave their homes even for church, they were on hand to "greet" the invaders. When there was little food to be taken, soldiers requisitioned another valuable resource: horses. Losing horses not only denied families a valuable source of income, but it also prevented them from farming. When the Union army also claimed her wagon, Ida Dulany despaired. She desperately needed the wagon and horses in order to continue with her spring planting. Ida was also not the only one in this predicament and residents were forced to adapt. They soon realized the necessity of spiring animals, especially horses, into the woods when Union patrols approached their homes.

In addition to hiding animals, residents tried other tactics to shield their property. Ida Dulany went so far as to visit Colonel Geary at his headquarters in Upperville. Despite

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<sup>43</sup> "Later!" *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco], April 17, 1862.

<sup>44</sup> Mary Cary Ambler Stribling, "Diary, 1862," p. 16, accession 25390, Stribling Family Papers, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

the restrictions placed on her as an upper-class white woman, Ida was not about to sit back and let her goods be taken. While she did not have a close adult male relative in her house, male neighbors and family members frequently visited her. The older gentlemen in the neighborhood, seeing that she had been left alone with her slaves, offered advice on planting and running her large farm. The men also served as her escorts when necessary, for even though there was a war waging, and she was in charge of both her family and her livelihood, social etiquette dictated that Ida should not travel without a white male escort.<sup>46</sup> That is why Mr. Weidmayer, a neighbor, found himself driving Ida in his buggy to Geary's headquarters. They did not make it far from Oakley, Ida's plantation, before being stopped by a Union picket. While awaiting permission to pass through the lines, the men engaged in small talk. The Union soldiers told the Virginians that the war was the fault of the South and that southerners "were doing more to free the Negroes than the North, and other Yankee sayings."<sup>47</sup> The two rebels soon gained permission to continue on to Upperville to see Geary, although a Union soldier escort them as a guard.

Soldiers on both sides clung to ideals of chivalry and proper conduct around women in the early days of war, as both northerners and southerners wanted to claim they were the civilized people. Confederate soldiers, at least in the beginning, did not worry too much about leaving their families at home since they expected Union soldiers to treat civilians with respect.<sup>48</sup> This combination of the rules of war and social mores also governed interactions between women and soldiers in both armies. In these still early days of war, both southern women and Union soldiers adhered to antebellum customs and established

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<sup>46</sup> Clinton, *Tara Revisited*, 44.

<sup>47</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 73.

<sup>48</sup> Clinton, *Tara Revisited*, 110.

gender roles. While Ida was travelling to complain about her treatment at the hands of Union soldiers, the man instructed to escort her said that “he would shoot a soldier who insulted a lady as soon as he would a dog, for he did not deserve to be called a man.”<sup>49</sup> Union soldiers still viewed women as ladies first and loyal Confederates second.<sup>50</sup> When Ida finally arrived at her friend’s house, which Geary had commandeered as his headquarters, she noted how gentlemanly and polite the adjutant and officer-of-the-day were to her, pleased, no doubt, that there was such a thing as a gracious Yankee. One Union soldier went so far as to assure Major Thomas Ambler, father of Mary Ambler Stribling, that he “was a gentleman born and bred.”<sup>51</sup> This did not impress Mary who scornfully told her diary, “Most gentlemen leave that to be found out of them.”<sup>52</sup>

Geary had been serving in contentious places, such as southern Maryland, since the start of the war, and so was used to being surrounded by loyal secessionists. These experiences had not endeared the loyal Confederates of Fauquier to him. In fact, unlike many of his men, Geary scarcely tolerated them. He was fighting a war, the confiscation of enemy property was a necessary part of cost of making war. The Union commander had little patience with people he considered treasonous and “rotten to the core with secessionism.”<sup>53</sup> While stationed in Point of Rocks, Maryland, in the fall of 1861, Geary informed his wife that were his troops attacked, he would not hesitate to burn the town.<sup>54</sup> These were the experiences he carried with him when his command arrived in Fauquier, where he also disapproved of the local residents. “The people are all secessionists,” the

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<sup>49</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 73.

<sup>50</sup> Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 43-44.

<sup>51</sup> Stribling, “Diary, 1862,” 19.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Geary, *A Politician Goes to War*, 56, 113.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

colonel complained to his wife, “and it affords me no pleasure to state that in addition, they are the meanest and most ignorant people we have yet met.”<sup>55</sup> This was not a man disposed to have much sympathy for the likes of Ida Dulany.

However, Ida did not know about Geary’s past when she relied on his understanding of nineteenth-century social mores to gain for a show of respect. Women like Ida were becoming irate. Their homes had been searched, food and livestock taken, and all without permission. They were usually left with nothing more than a receipt from a Union officer or quartermaster detailing what had been taken, and many people never even received that. The women of Fauquier had never experienced this type of disordered world, and they expected the men in charge to fix it. They were white women of the upper class who operated in a world where their destiny was intimately tied to men.<sup>56</sup> Just as social mores dictated that Ida should be accompanied by a male escort, so also did they require that Geary recognize her position, treat her accordingly, and return her property.<sup>57</sup> In a way that is hard to imagine today, Ida believed that, even with her husband fighting as Geary’s enemy, her race and class imbued her with certain rights that the colonel should recognize.<sup>58</sup> As Geary was an officer, Ida viewed him as her equal in class and status and so expected him to act as a gentleman should.<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately for Ida, Geary was not feeling magnanimous. He did acknowledge he was upset that his men appeared to be roaming

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>56</sup> Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861 - 1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 6-7. See also LeeAnn Whites, “The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender” in Clinton and Silber’s *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

<sup>57</sup> Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 198.

<sup>58</sup> Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South*. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 97-98.

<sup>59</sup> Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 39.

outside the lines without passes, but this was most likely because he detested any kind of disorganization amongst his men, rather than out of concern for the locals. The commander gave Ida no other aid beyond allowing her to ask the quartermaster about her wagon. Showing his frustration over these types of enquiries, Ida heard Geary snap to his adjutant as the office door shut behind her, “Now for Heaven’s sake don’t bother me with any more such business.”<sup>60</sup>

In addition to Ida’s experience, news also travelled fast that Geary had mistreated the Stephenson family, in whose home he stayed. He had reportedly locked Mrs. Stephenson in her own dining room and threatening to arrest her daughters.<sup>61</sup> To further annoy the family, slave women were allowed in the soldiers’ rooms to visit and eat “cake and bonbons” with them.<sup>62</sup> Clearly Geary, an abolitionist and fervent Republican, did not endear himself to Fauquier’s elite as he upended the rigid social customs that dictated life in the county. “Col. Geary is a perfect liar, a ruffian and devoid of all decency,” wrote one woman to her husband in the Confederate army. “I hear horrible accounts of him everywhere and don’t know how he could ever have been mistaken for a gentleman.”<sup>63</sup> Geary and his men were operating outside all bounds of normal propriety in the nineteenth century. Besides refusing to do whatever was necessary to protect white women, they were toppling an established social order that was predicated on racial superiority.

Ida never did recover her wagon. She received a note from the quartermaster several days later to say he “would settle with Mr. Dulany for the corn and cattle and would

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<sup>60</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 74.

<sup>61</sup> Fanny Carter Scott to Captain R. Taylor Scott, April 3, 1862, in *Years of Anguish*, 57.

<sup>62</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 74.

<sup>63</sup> Fanny Carter Scott to Captain R. Taylor Scott, April 7, 1862, in *Years of Anguish*, 58.

keep the wagon and team as a present for Uncle Sam.”<sup>64</sup> She was not alone in receiving that type of response. “They [Union soldiers] steal whatever they can lay their hands upon in the shape of corn, bacon, silver, &c.,” the *Richmond Examiner* reported from Warrenton. “They eat, without invitation, at every house they choose to call in at, and when called on to pay have it charged to ‘Uncle Sam.’”<sup>65</sup> And Uncle Sam was not yet done with Fauquier. Numerous wagons continued to arrive daily at the gates of Oakley and other plantations. Many residents had discussed burning their corn or grain prior to the arrival of the Union soldiers in order to deny the enemy provisions, but they feared they would not have enough for their families and slaves to eat. Some people, like Ida, mourned that decision as wagon after wagon left piled high with food. As Virginia “Tee” Edmonds remarked, “I thought we were pretty well done with the villains and here comes three more wagons for something. How will we live? Ah! This is the way they are going to subdue the South - by starvation.”<sup>66</sup> When Ida asked soldiers to spare her children’s pet steers, they told her, “If I did not want them killed I ought not to have been for secession and drove them off.”<sup>67</sup>

Ten days after Geary arrived, people in the northern section of the county were given a brief respite when the Union soldiers moved south towards Warrenton. A portion of the Confederate army fighting with General Stonewall Jackson in the Valley even patrolled Upperville briefly. The women, who mere hours before complained of impending starvation, gladly opened their storehouses to feed the soldiers. However this period of calm would not last, and Ida’s nemesis Geary would soon be back. Before then, though, Ida tallied her losses from the first days of occupation: “I have lost since they came four grown

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<sup>64</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 75.

<sup>65</sup> “The Enemy at Warrenton,” *Fayetteville Observer* [N.C.], April 17, 1862.

<sup>66</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 80.

<sup>67</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 75.

men servants, 15 cattle, 50 barrels of corn and my wagon and team.”<sup>68</sup> The pharmacy in Warrenton was emptied of its store of drugs, a dangerous situation when there was no promise of receiving new supplies, and prominent citizens reported major monetary losses, mainly as a result of runaway slaves.<sup>69</sup> The Murray family lost “heavily in corn, hay, sheep, oats and furniture, &c. The enemy even broke up the piano” while the Beale family reportedly suffered \$35,000 in damages.<sup>70</sup>

Ida and her neighbors also mourned the state in which they found their church, Trinity Episcopal. “Such desecration as we saw! My barnyard is as clean,” Ida wrote. “The filthy odor in the yard took away our breath and as to the interior! I could scarcely believe my eyes. Mud two inches deep all over the floor.”<sup>71</sup> Other churches throughout the county faced a similar fate. Many had first been transformed into hospitals following the battle of Manassas, and the Yankees were quick to put them to use for their own sick men. However, some churches, like Ida’s, faced more damage as Union soldiers used them as stables. The Federals had a variety of uses for Warrenton Presbyterian Church. The basement was used as a stable, the sanctuary as a hospital, and the steeple as a lookout.<sup>72</sup> Holes were cut in the floor and the pulpit and benches burned.

Having the Union army occupy their towns, villages, and farms completely altered the way Fauquier’s residents viewed the Federals. Entering a home uninvited violated all acts of good taste and hospitality to which Virginians were accustomed. Having one’s home

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>69</sup> “The Enemy’s Depredations in Fauquier,” Fayetteville Observer [N.C.], May 8, 1862.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 77.

<sup>72</sup> J. Richard Winter, *The Story of a Church: A History of the Warrenton Presbyterian Church, Warrenton, Virginia, 1771-1996*, (Np: np, nd), 8.

searched and goods summarily taken was a violation of one's home and personal space, especially for women who were used to a certain level of protection being afforded them in the sanctity of the home.<sup>73</sup> Union soldiers often demanded to search a house and would traipse all over it, top to tail, seeming purposefully to invade women's bedrooms, flinging open wardrobes and rifling through trunks. Not only was enemy occupation degrading for both men and women (as the men left in Fauquier were unable to do anything to protect their wives and daughters), but it made the war personal in a way neither party had quite expected.<sup>74</sup>

While many families, such as Ida's own endured these injustices, others, such as the Shumate family, suffered even worse at the hands of Union soldiers. When the Shumate's house, located near Marshall, was chosen by a Union officer for his residence, he told the family to leave. Dr. Bailey Shumate, the owner of the house, refused. The officer told him he and his family could remain if he took the oath of allegiance. Shumate again refused, and in the midst of this argument, the doctor became aware that another officer, a major was trying to gain entrance to his daughter's room, a young girl known for her beauty. The doctor threatened to shoot the man if he did not cease. When the major ignored the threat, Shumate promptly shot him. The hallway immediately filled with Union soldiers who returned fire, killing the doctor instantly.<sup>75</sup> The episode was recounted in the southern press, which made sure to share all the lurid details. Even their choice of words belied their rebel loyalties. Describing the major's actions, one report said he had attempted to

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<sup>73</sup> Michael Fellman referred to this as "symbolic rape". See Fellman, "Women and Guerrilla Warfare," in Clinton and Silber, *Divided Houses*, 150.

<sup>74</sup> Rable, *Civil Wars*, 158.

<sup>75</sup> "Multiple News Items," *Fayetteville Observer* [N.C.], April 24, 1862. See also: *Petersburg Express*. "Outrages of the Enemy in Fauquier," *Daily Morning News* [Savannah], April 25, 1862.



“penetrate into the chamber of Miss Shumate.”<sup>76</sup> The article concluded with this warning, highlighting the ways in which this type of unfortunate event was viewed in the Confederate states: “Comment is unnecessary. Men of Virginia, you who have wives, children, sisters, or sweethearts, read you fate in the death of this noble man, if you do not at once leave your homes and enlist under the Flag of Southern Liberty.”<sup>77</sup> Once more, the southern press used women to inspire patriotism and support for the army. The report also reminded rebel men across the South why they were fighting: for their liberty and property, but also to protect those nearest and dearest to them from these abominable Yankees.

Living in such an occupied world was one reason the Confederates of Fauquier were fighting this war: to be free and unhindered by a greater power. Fighting for that freedom made sense to them; it is why they were willing to send their men into battle. Existing in an occupied land, however, was the complete opposite of that freedom. They had almost no control over their lives; they could do nothing but stand by and watch as Union soldiers loaded bushels after bushel of corn into a wagon, itself taken from the family. Hearing shots fired in a pasture, families could only barricade themselves in the house as their cattle and hogs were slaughtered. Some people believed they still had agency. They locked their front doors and refused entry to soldiers while others, such as the Dulany and Edmonds families, went so far as to complain to the officers in charge of the degradations they were facing. Yet, this was false agency, a false sense of security. It is human nature to want to protect oneself, to attempt to do something, anything, that might allow one to cling to dignity and self-preservation, to maintain a world where laws and orderliness existed, where a woman

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<sup>76</sup> "Multiple News Items."

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

could expect protection from hordes of men running loose on her property. The residents of Fauquier were beginning to realize, however, that they could no longer count on those expectations. While men who ran roughshod through the county frustrated some Union officers, such as Geary, others were prescient enough to understand this was the cost of war. It was a lesson the residents of Fauquier would be forced to learn over and over. War was messy. With their husbands and brothers not around to protect them, it fell to women to defend their homes and property as they were forced to fill what traditionally had been masculine roles.<sup>78</sup> War did not respect gender barriers, family ties, and certainly not property lines.

Yet, despite the destruction and overwhelming number of complaints, Geary's men were fairly well behaved, and the requisitioning of food and livestock was within the realm of what an army required when farther away from its sources of supply.<sup>79</sup> Despite warnings from newspapers and worried rumors, Union soldiers did not plunder and burn homes or rape white women and their daughters. While the most rabid secessionist would never admit it, the Union soldiers had not been sent by the devil.

This attempt at conciliatory behavior by the Union army was driven by a desire, which originated with President Lincoln, to weaken the secessionists' loyalty to the Confederacy and win the latent unionist support in Fauquier that the U.S. government hoped still existed.<sup>80</sup> The Federals had reason to be confident as Geary reported from Loudoun County, "A general expression of loyalty has transpired in this county, and joyous

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<sup>78</sup> Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 26-27.

<sup>79</sup> Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861 – 1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 57.

<sup>80</sup> This early period of fairly well behaved Union soldiers is detailed in Ash's *When the Yankees Came*, 30-31.

manifestations of fealty to the old Government have greeted us, and hundreds of the residents have come forward and claimed our protection from the dominion and obnoxious restrictions placed upon them by the rebel soldiery.”<sup>81</sup> While some citizens did find themselves imprisoned under charges of protecting and hiding Confederate soldiers, and while those arrests infuriated Fauquier’s loyal Confederates, the Union army, overall, was remarkably well behaved, especially when it came to the treatment of women. There was even some respect shown the men still at home. Robert E. Scott, who was too old to enlist but served as delegate from Virginia to the Provisional Confederate Congress, spoke of the necessity of secession to the Union soldiers staying with him and faced no repercussions. Scott even managed to have released several of the men who were arrested when the army first arrived.<sup>82</sup>

Like Scott, the women of the county made their views on secession and the war known. Women like Ida, Tee, and Betty were forced to learn how to operate in this world that required more of them. Limited supplies, waves of refugees, and constant apprehension about the future introduced a fractured life to Virginia unlike anything anyone had seen. Young single women, such as Tee Edmonds, sometimes reveled in the myriad of new people they met and the excitement around them. However, what was a thrilling whirlwind of events for some belles was a period of struggle and desperation for others, who began to understand the world in which they had been raised to inhabit was no more. Married women found themselves in charge of large farms and households, managing slaves, and raising children on their own. It was a daunting task made even more

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<sup>81</sup> *OR*, vol. 5, p. 733-34.

<sup>82</sup> "The Enemy at Warrenton," *Fayetteville Observer* [N.C.], April 17, 1862.

difficult by the fact that they were also constantly thinking about their husbands, brothers, or sons in harm's way.

While many of these women were well educated for the time, they were still unprepared to be making decisions about when to harvest the crops and for what price to sell their cattle. They were forced to rely on letters from their husbands and male neighbors who remained at home for advice. Becoming the sole parent and head of the household for an indeterminate time was exhausting and demoralizing. Many women suffered from melancholy as a result.<sup>83</sup> "The only feeling I am conscious of today is intense weariness," Ida Dulany confided to her diary. "Weary of it all and yet with only a distant hope of relief, distant it may be years, certainly months, and nothing to look forward to in that time but insult and robbery and anxiety and total ignorance of passing events."<sup>84</sup> Yet, there was nothing to be done but to continue working for the war effort. Women could not withdraw into grief and worry.<sup>85</sup> No one was under the illusion that war would be easy or that life would not change, but people had been disabused of any romantic notions of war and were realizing just how much this would cost their families.

Many women turned to their faith to give them the strength with which to handle the new trials they faced. This was one reason they felt the desecration of their churches so keenly. Since the outbreak of war, they had believed God was on their side. How could they not? The success of 1861 seemed to support that idea but as Union occupation loomed over them in the spring of 1862, doubt began to creep in. "As long as we were always successful we believed God was on our side and feared for nothing," Ida wrote as the Union army

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<sup>83</sup> Clinton, *Tara Revisited*, 112-113.

<sup>84</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 86.

<sup>85</sup> Clinton, *Tara Revisited*, 60.

arrived in Upperville. "Can it be that the kind Providence that blessed so signally our struggle of Independence in its commencement will forsake us now? The bare idea of subjugation by Yankees is enough to freeze the hottest blood that ever bounded through Southern veins."<sup>86</sup>

As these worries intensified, and more and more was asked of Confederate women, they often coped by thinking in religious terms of self-sacrifice. Sending men off to war, adjusting to limited resources, and seeking to help other people escape the two armies, became sacred duties.<sup>87</sup> Neither army could function without women at home providing moral support, to say nothing of the thousands of uniforms sewed or provisions donated. Patriotism for Confederate women became bound up in a responsibility to maintain the home front.<sup>88</sup> While their men attended to the fighting, they would ensure that home life continued to run smoothly.<sup>89</sup> In addition to being asked to sacrifice *for* their husbands and sons, Confederate women were now asked to sacrifice the lives of their loved ones.<sup>90</sup> Because they were seen as leaders of the domestic sphere and guardians of virtue, women were counted on by the Confederate armies to support not only the war effort, but also encourage their men to join and remain in the military.<sup>91</sup> After all, being considered a coward brought dishonor not only on a man, but also on his family.<sup>92</sup> When the Confederate Conscription Act passed in April 1862, forcing all men between the ages of 18 and 35 to

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<sup>86</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 65-66.

<sup>87</sup> Clinton, *Tara Revisited*, 139-140.

<sup>88</sup> LeeAnn Whites, "The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender" in Clinton and Silber, *Divided Houses*, 16.

<sup>89</sup> George Rable refers to this as "active courage for men," while "stoic suffering fell to women." See Rable, *Civil Wars*, 50.

<sup>90</sup> Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 43.

<sup>91</sup> Rable, *Civil Wars*, 50.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 54; Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 35.

register for the draft, women were expected to wave their husbands and sons off to war stoically and proudly. Patriotism, and the sacrifice of those held most dear, had to come before family.<sup>93</sup>

Yet, the continued threat of violence complicated things, and many people across the Confederacy, including Robert E. Lee's family, gradually discovered that it was impossible to build a wall between the home front and the battlefield. Certainly, the people of Fauquier soon realized that the border was a fluid one, and women especially were forced to step out of their prescribed gender roles. Although men wished to believe their women could still be protected and that they still relied on their husbands as the head of the household, in reality, women quickly discovered that those social constructs had failed them.<sup>94</sup> It did not matter if their husband was fighting the Yankees and defending Richmond if his family's home was being ransacked or his children were starving. When Confederate soldiers could no longer protect their families and homes, they felt as if they were no longer men.<sup>95</sup> The ideas of masculinity and honor upon which southern society had been built faltered.<sup>96</sup> After doing their patriotic duty and sending their men to war, the Confederate home front became a world occupied by women and slaves.<sup>97</sup>

Supposedly defenseless women fought back by refusing to let the Union army take advantage of them. They, in their own way, would not allow the Union army to feel or even be victorious. The anger and frustration they felt about the loss of their loved ones, the

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.; Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 16-17.

<sup>94</sup> Rable, *Civil Wars*, 154-55; Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 26-27.

<sup>95</sup> George Rable, "'Missing in Action': Women of the Confederacy" in Clinton and Silber, *Divided Houses*, 137.

<sup>96</sup> Stephen W. Berry, II, *All That Makes A Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 195.

<sup>97</sup> Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 31.

ways in which their world was falling apart and their inability to prevent this, was directed at the Yankees.<sup>98</sup> While they did not become soldiers in the traditional sense, Fauquier's women began fighting their own battles on their front porches, in their parlors, and while riding horseback through their fields. They defended themselves and their family's beliefs and actions and faced little, if any, consequences. Tee Edmonds found herself standing at her backdoor having a heated argument with three Union soldiers over the current state of affairs. When she asked one of them why he was fighting, he replied, "You have broken up one of the finest governments that ever existed and we want to restore it." Tee retorted, "Ha! Ha! the idea!" and challenged him to explain, "where the fuss originated and how we could do otherwise under the circumstances."<sup>99</sup> Although these exchanges sometimes angered the soldiers, both sides appeared to enjoy the sparring matches, with Tee concluding, "My little fellow spoke well though and I admired him for it."<sup>100</sup>

Like Tee, Ida also defended herself vocally. When soldiers returned to her home in search of more corn and foodstuffs, Ida resigned herself to the fact that nothing she did, not even locking cupboards or hiding food throughout the house, could stop them. Yet, that did not mean she gave up and simply sat in the parlor, working on her mending while Union soldiers milled about in her yard. Ida was nothing if not loyal to her new country, and while the men packed up more meat from her smokehouse, she calmly expressed her belief in secession and explained why the Confederacy was necessary. Speaking as a missionary might to a possible convert, Ida declared, "My tongue being my only weapon, I determined when I came in contact with the enemy to use it in the service of my beloved country. I very

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 21-23.

<sup>99</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 76.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

calmly talked treason to them while they stayed.”<sup>101</sup> While it is doubtful that Ida’s words had much of an effect on the Union soldiers, she felt as if she had done her patriotic duty. Confederate women saw this type of talk as a form of fighting. They saw this as a way to uphold their honor and the honor of their family as well as to show their continued support for the Confederacy.<sup>102</sup> They may not have been on a battlefield in the traditional sense, but they were doing the best they could with the weapons they had. Elite women could not prevent the soldiers from taking whatever they wished from their homes, nor could they adequately defend their property, but, by flaunting their secessionist views, they regained a sense of honor that had been lost when Union soldiers trespassed in their homes.<sup>103</sup>

Yet, the soldiers did little, beyond giving the occasional retort or arguing with residents and, for the most part, the Yankees did not arrest them. As these events occurred roughly a month before General Benjamin Butler issued his infamous General Order No. 28 to the women of New Orleans, there was not yet a precedent for how to handle the actions of secessionist women towards Union soldiers. For the time being, white women continued to be afforded the protection their race and gender had always given them.<sup>104</sup> In return, as much as many residents detested the Union soldiers, if the men were polite, and especially if they were officers, many women grudgingly shared their food and even sat with them at the dining table. With the number of complaints to Geary regarding stolen food and livestock, many families, including Tee Edmonds’ own, were even able to procure Union guards for their houses. Whether the men were invited in or forced a meal to be prepared, it was hard for the social norms of hospitality to cease, which is not to say it was always

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<sup>101</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 84.

<sup>102</sup> Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 27.

<sup>103</sup> Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 41.

<sup>104</sup> Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 42.



tranquil. A group of officers eating with Tee and her family could not resist remarking on the beauty of the area. "They are very chatty and extremely inquisitive as to the country and farming," Tee observed. "One remarked, 'Virginia was a garden spot; indeed it was a beautiful and fine country.' Yes, and I hope you may all get a home on her soil not larger than six by three."<sup>105</sup> Social mores were being observed but there were cracks underneath the surface.

When the Union soldiers arrived in the county, they were in for a few surprises of their own. Many had expected to be met with more resistance, and so were surprised to find no militia or home guard resisting them at the county line.<sup>106</sup> However, that resistance was not long in coming. With the arrival of the Union army on the northern border of Fauquier, the county had its first taste of guerrilla warfare. While Fauquier had been raising companies for protection of the residents and their homes since the late 1850s, the vast majority were now subsumed into the Confederate army. Even Turner Ashby's revered Mountain Rangers, who in many ways operated in the vein of a guerrilla band, were officially designated as Company A of the Seventh Virginia Cavalry. Yet for men such as Ashby's Rangers, their purpose was one and the same with the guerrillas: to protect their homes and families at all costs.<sup>107</sup> Ashby's men were almost always within a day's ride of their homes, and for good reason. The men wanted to be able to return at any time if they were needed to protect family and friends. And unlike Confederate soldiers from parts of the South not yet touched by invasion, men with family in Fauquier and throughout

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<sup>105</sup> Edmonds, *Journal of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 78.

<sup>106</sup> However, as Stephen Ash points out, many southerners were still more concerned with slave uprisings than the Union army's arrival and so home guards and local militias were usually busy patrolling the county looking for runaway slaves. See Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 34.

<sup>107</sup> Anderson, *Blood Image*, 92, 103.

northern Virginia learned through the newspapers and letters from home of their threatened communities.

Once the Union army had arrived in March, Fauquier's location on this fluid border made it a prime spot for partisan warfare. On April 5, Ida mentioned that "White's Comanches," a guerrilla troop from nearby Loudoun County commanded by Elijah V. White, had been raised "for service on the border."<sup>108</sup> As with Ashby's rangers, they were not genuine guerrillas. While White's men operated like a traditional partisan group, with the men periodically allowed to return home to forage and gather additional horses, the unit was officially mustered into the Confederate army as the 35<sup>th</sup> Battalion Virginia Cavalry. Still, they skirmished with Colonel Geary's troops in an attempt to protect the Confederate sympathizers and aided the commands of both Generals Daniel H. Hill and Stonewall Jackson, when not launching raids into Fauquier and Loudoun counties.<sup>109</sup>

By the spring of 1862, guerrilla warfare had become a problem for both armies. The first to address the issue was General John C. Frémont when he was placed in command of Union forces in Missouri. A border state, President Lincoln was desperate to keep Missouri in the Union when the war broke out. Although a pro-Union government controlled the state, many Missourians were slave owners who identified more closely with the Confederacy, and so both unionist and secessionist guerrillas very quickly plagued the state. Frémont, who had been sent to restore order, was shocked at what he found.<sup>110</sup> In order to regain control of the region, the general declared martial law and ordered that

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<sup>108</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 238.

<sup>109</sup> John Divine, *35th Battalion Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1985), 3-4.

<sup>110</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 23.

any person taking up arms against the United States would be court-martialed; those found guilty would be shot.<sup>111</sup> Additionally, those rebels guilty of wreaking havoc on transportation and communication lines would be punished and their property, including slaves, would be confiscated.<sup>112</sup> In short, Frémont did what he thought was necessary to regain control of the region, but for President Lincoln he went too far. The federal government had yet to issue any official orders on how to handle guerrilla warfare. Frémont had done what he thought best, as had General John Pope, Union commander in northern Missouri, only a month earlier.<sup>113</sup> However, Missouri, like Kentucky and Maryland, was still teetering on the edge of unionism and Lincoln knew it was not the time to put such harsh measures in place. He told Frémont to modify a few of his orders (including the confiscation of slaves) and made it clear he was not to go around shooting people.<sup>114</sup>

Initially, Lincoln hoped he would not have to take such drastic action against guerrillas. Yet, as guerrilla warfare only intensified and became more widespread through the fall and winter of 1861 and 1862, Lincoln finally allowed another Union commander, Henry W. Halleck, also stationed in Missouri, to tackle the problem. In December 1861, Halleck announced that all rebel guerrillas would be subject to capital punishment. Those “not commissioned or enlisted” in Confederate service would be arrested and tried as criminals.<sup>115</sup> A few weeks later, as guerrillas continued to destroy property, Halleck

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<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

strengthened his policy and ordered all guerrillas caught in the act to be shot.<sup>116</sup> He also ordered the same standard of behavior be applied to his own men, as Union guerrilla forces were also causing problems throughout Kansas and Missouri.<sup>117</sup>

In the East, Confederate politicians were also coming face-to-face with guerrilla warfare. The Confederate government faced two problems; soldiers who did not re-enlist in April and returned home would be more likely to join a guerrilla band, especially if they lived near the border.<sup>118</sup> The second issue was that guerrilla bands throughout the Confederacy had little discipline, with the majority operating independent of the conventional army. The government needed to exert more control. While the national government was grappling with these issues, it was the states that acted first. On March 18, Governor Letcher created the Virginia State Rangers to regulate his state's rebel guerrillas. Most of the ten new companies Letcher recruited came from existing guerrilla bands.<sup>119</sup> In return for legally becoming a part of the Confederate army, and receiving the rights and protections benefiting "civilized" soldiers, the rangers had to follow orders from local Confederate commanders.<sup>120</sup>

This was an important compromise. Letcher, and the Confederate government, realized there were places along the border, such as Loudoun and Fauquier, where the regular army was not present. Secessionist residents in those areas were unprotected, and guerrillas could help with this issue. It enabled the Confederate army and government to keep its presence in these no-man-lands across the South. It also opened up another

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<sup>116</sup> Sutherland, *Savage Conflict*, 60.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-61.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

avenue for Confederate men to serve. Many of those whose enlistments were up or who had not yet joined the army flocked to ranger units in order to fight in their own neighborhoods and defend their families.<sup>121</sup> What Letcher had not expected was the number of men attracted to the alternative. With so many men joining the official guerrilla units, rather than the regular army, government officials and army commanders faced a new crisis. The Confederate Congress took matters into its own hands by passing the Partisan Ranger Act in April. While many viewed this as a larger commitment to guerrilla warfare, essentially establishing Virginia's ranger system nationwide, it was instead an attempt to regulate it.<sup>122</sup> All guerrilla activity would fall under the purview of the army, with district commanders put in charge of controlling partisan units.<sup>123</sup> It was no longer a separate type of warfare but officially a part of the conventional armed forces of the Confederacy.

Just as the rest of the Confederacy and the U.S. government were struggling to define guerrilla warfare, so were the residents of Fauquier. Robert E. Scott, frustrated that several prominent citizens with well-known Confederate ties, such as William H. Gaines, were arrested when Geary and his men arrived, challenged the colonel by asking why private citizens and non-combatants were "interfered with, contrary to the rules of civilized war." Scott pressed further, inquiring why a Confederate soldier had not only been arrested but also placed in handcuffs. He was told the soldier "had been acting as a guerilla, and was to be tried by court martial for his life."<sup>124</sup> The *Richmond Enquirer*, while reporting on this series of events, took it upon itself to discuss the current state of affairs in relation to

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 93.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> "The Enemy in Fauquier," *Richmond Enquirer*, April 18, 1862.

guerrilla warfare. Its perspective allows insight into how southerners viewed guerrilla warfare in those early days of war. Using the soldier Geary had placed in handcuffs as an example, the editor argued that the man, named Oden, was not a partisan fighter, but a member of the conventional Confederate forces. Not that it mattered, the editor said:

What if he was an independent fighter? - a partisan, or guerilla, or whatever term is preferred? He was fighting for his home and at his home, and every man has a right to fight under such circumstances. - And there is one thing which Gary [sic] and those whose hireling cut-throat he is, may as well learn soon as late: *Guerillas - themselves take prisoners*. Oden had taken five the day before he himself was taken. He treated *his* prisoners ought to be treated. Gary handcuffed *him*, and talks about a court martial. Let Oden be harmed; or let even a real guerilla be harmed, and Gary cannot but expect that the barbarous deed will be fearfully avenged in the blood of his own bands. Guerillas will have it in their power to command respect, because they will have it in their power to retaliate. And Gary knows this.<sup>125</sup>

As it happens, Oden was arrested for killing a Union soldier, so he was perhaps not as innocent as portrayed. Still the article's discussion anticipated later deliberations to follow in Virginia regarding the policies and protections surrounding guerrilla warfare. Whether or not they were "real" soldiers, and to be afforded the rights and protections that status guaranteed, would remain a point of contention throughout the war. The *Enquirer* article also highlighted another issue - the right of every man to defend his home. The men participating in guerrilla fighting in Virginia, while being attracted to the daring life, were first and foremost involved to protect their land and their families from the Yankee invaders. The issues arose when guerrillas began to operate outside the bounds of conventional warfare because, of course, they were not conventional. This was the start of a debate that would not soon be settled.

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

Flaunting their secessionist views and using guerrilla warfare to resist occupation were only a few of the ways the residents of northern Virginia showed their displeasure with the new visitors. “White’s Comanches” mostly operated within Loudoun County for the time being, but the citizens of Fauquier followed their actions closely. And they needed them. In late spring Union soldiers became more brazen in their looting, no doubt continuing to be annoyed by the loyal secesh women and tired of being harassed by small Confederate attacks and guerrillas. During one raid, when a beloved horse was taken, Ida became so incensed that she jumped on the nearest horse and chased after the marauding party with her overseer. They eventually caught up to the pillagers, but only to find themselves in the midst of about two hundred Union soldiers. Suddenly aware that she was the only woman present, Ida felt herself “an object of considerable curiosity to the soldiers standing around.”<sup>126</sup> This time she was lucky, as a sympathetic major assisted her, and Ida recovered her colt, but not without being willing to chase after her property and putting herself in danger.

The fact that these known secessionists were comfortable arguing with Union soldiers and did not fear any repercussion strikes at the heart of the debate between the home front and battlefield and the fluidity of that border.<sup>127</sup> Many people expected this war to be a “traditional” one, in which both sides would be aided by loyal supporters when possible, but also one in which civilians themselves enjoyed a certain degree of protection. Yet, as early as the spring of 1862, it was becoming apparent, especially to President Abraham Lincoln and his government, that a change toward Confederate civilians was needed. The unionism Lincoln had believed was simply dormant, and could be revived once

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<sup>126</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 97.

<sup>127</sup> Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 197.

Union troops arrived in the South, had not emerged. Civilians were not uninvolved, and white women were proving to be one of the biggest obstacles to Union success.<sup>128</sup> Ida demanded she be left alone because she was an innocent woman with mouths to feed, but she was not innocent. As one Union soldier told her, they continued to raid her house because her husband “was a rebel and they were suffering for the corn and must have it.”<sup>129</sup>

Ida, and hundreds like her, were the lifeblood of the Confederacy. They kept the farms running to feed the army, kept the looms spinning to make uniforms, bandages and blankets, gave their sons and husbands to the army, and most of all, kept their faith in the Confederate States of America.<sup>130</sup> Without them, the army and morale of the Confederacy would crumble. It was not Hal Dulany, Ida’s husband, who stood up to the Union army time and time again when they came to search the house for rebel soldiers (and food, always food), but Ida. It was the women who made sure their men, when home visiting, were safely hidden in the woods, with horses and supplies, while they faced the onslaught of Union soldiers alone.<sup>131</sup> These sacrifices, couched in terms of patriotism, were expected, and the Confederacy recognized the power of loyal women.<sup>132</sup> The government encouraged them to become more involved in the war effort, in appropriate ways of course, and exalted their status as the heart of the Cause.<sup>133</sup> The U.S. government was slowly realizing just how much

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<sup>128</sup> Rable, *Civil Wars*, 156.

<sup>129</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 100.

<sup>130</sup> Lisa Tendrich Franks, “Bedrooms as Battlefields,” in LeeAnn Whites and Alecia P. Long, eds. *Occupied Women: Gender, Military, Occupation, and the American Civil War*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), 45

<sup>131</sup> Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 28.

<sup>132</sup> Clinton, *Tara Revisited*, 60.

<sup>133</sup> Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 17.



effect the actions of southern women had on the war effort and began to adjust their treatment of these supposed “civilians” accordingly.<sup>134</sup>

It was not only the white inhabitants of Fauquier who had their world turned upside down when Union soldiers first appeared. The war shook society to its moorings, including the relationship between slaves and their masters. Out of a population of 21,706 in 1860, 10,455 were enslaved (about 48 percent), a proportion that made Fauquier one of the largest slave-holding counties in the state.<sup>135</sup> And this half of the county experienced the war in a very different way.

Six months before Abraham Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Fauquier’s slaves, recognizing a chance at freedom, flocked to the Union army. In this way, living on the border between two armies and two countries worked in their favor. While the white citizens worried over how long occupation would last, with some of them even moving farther south to protect their families, the county’s African Americans rejoiced at their good fortune in being so close not only to the Union army, but also Washington, D.C., a gateway to the north and the closest city to have outlawed the slave trade. Location really was everything in this war, and living on the shifting border was either godsend or a terrible situation, depending on the color of your skin.

Slaves began running away almost as soon as the Union army arrived in Virginia. Union General Benjamin F. Butler took control of Fort Monroe on May 22, 1861. The very next evening, the same day Virginia voted in favor of the ordinance of secession, three male

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<sup>134</sup> Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 43-44.

<sup>135</sup> Historical Census Browser, University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, 2004, accessed Nov. 8, 2014. <http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/collections/>

slaves snuck into the fort under the cover of darkness.<sup>136</sup> As Butler needed more manual laborers, he let the men stay. When Confederate major John B. Cary demanded they be returned to their owners, citing the Fugitive Slave Act, Butler refused. The Confederacy's policy of impressing free blacks and hiring slaves as military laborers backfired. Butler refused to return the men, arguing that since the men had been involved in the Confederate war effort, they could be seized as enemy property.<sup>137</sup> In his official report he referred to the men as "contraband of war," and the name stuck, as did the precedent Butler set.<sup>138</sup> As news of Butler's magnanimity spread, slaves flocked to Fort Monroe and, as the Union army moved farther into Virginia during 1861 and 1862, more and more slaves risked their lives to cross to Union lines.

This was still a nerve-racking experience, however, as slaves did not know whether they were truly free and whether or not the U.S. government would respect their status as contrabands.<sup>139</sup> Like those that first arrived at Fort Monroe, slaves were forced to work for the Confederate army, building fortifications and doing other forms of manual labor white soldiers believed was beneath them.<sup>140</sup> Under the First Confiscation Act, Congress declared that all runaway slaves who had worked for the Confederacy should not be returned to their owners.<sup>141</sup> However, Lincoln, still worried about the fate of the border states, believed

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<sup>136</sup> Glenn David Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation: African Americans and the Fight for Freedom*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 33-34.

<sup>137</sup> Chandra Manning, *Troubled Refuge: Struggling for Freedom in the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016), 172; Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 271.

<sup>138</sup> Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 35.

<sup>139</sup> Clinton, *Tara Revisited*, 102-103; Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 47.

<sup>140</sup> Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 39.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

this went too far and convinced Congress to pass an additional resolution that would allow for gradual emancipation with the promise of reimbursement for slave owners by the federal government. Republicans in Congress went still farther in March 1862 by extending the protection under the First Confiscation Act to all runaway slaves, though without compensating their masters.

As the Union army progressed farther into Virginia, more and more slaves began to seek freedom. While Banks and McDowell's men, like Geary's soldiers, advanced into northern Virginia, General George McClellan finally began to move the rest of the Army of the Potomac up the peninsula. These actions, dreaded by Virginia's white citizens, were eagerly welcomed by the state's black population, which flocked to Union lines.<sup>142</sup>

Fauquier's white citizens were among those rebels who saw their slaves running off, some to the Union army, others to the no-man's land between Confederate lines and the fortifications around Washington. Alexandria, firmly within the Union lines, became another popular destination.<sup>143</sup> "Numbers of servants are leaving the neighborhood," Fanny Scott confirmed for her husband. "Night before last Dr. Withers lost every one, men, women and children."<sup>144</sup> Ida Dulany noted on March 13 that her butler, Billy, had left: "It is no great loss but I was surprised at his leaving."<sup>145</sup> Such a concise statement was Dulany's attempt at self-control, as she refused to admit even to her diary her disappointment in losing slaves

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<sup>142</sup> In 1860, Virginia had 490,865 slaves and 117 ran away. By 1863, the state had 346,848 slaves and 37,706 left despite slave patrols, Confederate troops and state militia. See Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 72.

<sup>143</sup> By 1864, there were some 7,000 African American refugees in Alexandria and a freed peoples village was established on the grounds of the Custis-Lee home Arlington. See Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 86-87.

<sup>144</sup> Ramey and Gott, *Years of Anguish*, 58.

<sup>145</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 71.

to the Union.<sup>146</sup> Mary Ambler Stribling was a bit more sympathetic. “I would give anything to know what becomes of them,” she wondered in her diary. “Well, I hope they may meet with some of the happiness they anticipate. I cannot feel angry with them. I felt as if they were so many ignorant children rushing on for the change.”<sup>147</sup>

Not all slaves left, however. Two days after Ida’s butler Billy ran away, she was relieved when two others came to receive orders for planting. Remarking on one of the men in particular, Robert, she confessed, “I already feel the comfort of having about me a willing efficient man.”<sup>148</sup> Other slaves who had an opportunity to leave did not take it. Ida’s husband Hal, like many men of his class and station in life, was routinely accompanied by a male slave to cook and assist him while in the field. It was a harrowing existence, so it is not surprising that the men who shared this assignment often appeared back at Oakley without Hal, claiming they had been separated from him and thought it best to return home. In April, Ida recorded the moment when one of those men, named Dan, returned to Oakley without Hal: “His excuse for leaving is that he was sick, overworked and half starved, had not seen his master for a month.”<sup>149</sup> Despite the fact he left his “posting,” Dan was instructed by other soldiers to return home, where he would likely find his master. Although it appears he had ample opportunity to run away, Dan continued to reside at Oakley. For the time being, he was not taking freedom into his own hands.

Despite the number of slaves leaving Fauquier, several neighboring counties had a different experience. While on a visit to Middleburg, in Loudoun County, Ida noted that the

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<sup>146</sup> Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 110;

<sup>147</sup> Stribling, “Diary, 1862,” 2.

<sup>148</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 75.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-79.

slaves there “behaved admirably, much better than in this neighborhood.”<sup>150</sup> She continued by saying that many slaves in Middleburg resisted bribes offered by Union soldiers to leave their masters, a temptation that does not seem to have occurred in Fauquier. Some of the slaves were paid to cook for the Union soldiers, which gave them a chance to make money.<sup>151</sup>

During her time with friends in Middleburg, Ida detailed a conversation overheard in a friend’s kitchen between several slave women and Union soldiers. The Union soldiers asked the women how they felt about the war. According to Ida, the conversation went as follows: “They asked one what opinion she held. She held - she said secession - and another made the same answer. They then asked old Polly the cook what she was? ‘Nothing ‘t all but Polly Geams’ was the curt reply.”<sup>152</sup> There are several problems with this story, the most glaring one being that several of the slaves may have worried this conversation would make it back to their white mistress, and so were not comfortable speaking the truth.<sup>153</sup> However, it is Polly’s statement that is perhaps the most telling. Rather than pick a side, especially since it is doubtful any enslaved member would openly admit Union sympathy at this point in the war, she spoke the truth. Polly realized that she had to protect herself, and in this no man’s land, the best way to do that was by not pledging allegiance to either side. She was not anything, not a unionist or secessionist, only herself, Polly Geams. She knew she had have to look out for and protect herself. No one else would do it.

That said, as the Union army moved into the county, more slaves were willing to take matters into their own hands. According to Tee Edmonds, the railroad made it too

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Clinton, *Tara Revisited*, 120.

easy for slaves to escape and leave their masters. Edmonds observed in her diary on April 19:

It is thought the remaining ebonys will take to themselves the wings of liberty as some have declared as much. The cars are so convenient to carry them off. Let them go, yes, the last one, provided we never be harassed with the same unfaithful ones again. I hope they may get their freedom, but no nearer than the isle of Cuba, where they carry them by ship loads. The very sight of one provokes me and often I am harsh in commanding them, but who can help it when they all seem to be lifted up at the fair prospect before them. Every child seems to be at liberty now.<sup>154</sup>

Tee took matters farther than many others by embracing an antebellum solution to the slavery issue offered by the American Colonization Society, which would have transported freed slaves to colonies in Africa, more specifically the area known as Liberia. Tee's entry also illustrated what was no doubt a common feeling amongst the slaves of northern Virginia; that of hope and joy in what this war could potentially mean for them. Yet, like Ida, Tee did not stop to contemplate what the loss of her family's slaves would mean for her. She apparently gave no thought to who would do the work done by slaves, perhaps thinking she would be better off without them. Yet, the ample free time she spent visiting friends or riding her horse around the county or writing in her diary would be sharply curtailed if she had to perform the work left to slaves. Tee's age was mostly likely a factor in her reaction. As a twenty-two year old single woman, she did not bear the weight of running a household on her shoulders. By contrast, Mary Ambler Stribling, only four years older, but a mother helping her own mother run their plantation, understood the consequences. When her father-in-law threatened to release his female slaves so that he did not have to worry about feeding them, the family reacted. "We begged him not to do that," Mary fretted in her diary, "for that would be forcing them to go and leave the

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<sup>154</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 82.

washing, milking, cooking, and cleaning the house to us and we're not quite ready to begin."<sup>155</sup>

Tee also acknowledged the effect the presence the Union army had on slaves. Regardless of what the average Union soldier may have thought he was fighting for, southern slaves, and through them their white masters and mistresses, recognized that their arrival potentially meant freedom from bondage. Tee reported that many Union soldiers told slaves that after the war they would be sold south, and so should leave as soon as possible. Other white women ridiculed the freedom their slaves so desperately sought. Betty Gray recorded in her diary after discussing a slave wedding that occurred the previous day:

The Negro race is composed of a curious and treacherous people. Experience since the war has tested the fact. Through their ignorance they are rejoicing at the present state of affairs and firmly believe the Yankee liars who tell them they will be freer than their owners. But this Yankee freedom so sweet to some now will cause them more trouble than they ever could imagine.<sup>156</sup>

Ida also worried about how slaves would handle freedom: "Poor fools! I am afraid that in any event they are destined to suffer severely for their folly."<sup>157</sup> She even compared her own struggles under Union subjugation to slavery by observing, "The stagnation of trade, the cowed look of the men, the arrogant triumphant insolence of the slaves all daily remind us of our bondage."<sup>158</sup>

The slaves of Fauquier paid close attention to military affairs and rejoiced when the Union army was successful, much to the chagrin of their owners. Similarly, when the

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<sup>155</sup> Stribling, "Diary, 1862," 4-5.

<sup>156</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 14.

<sup>157</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 92.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

Confederate army won a battle, many slaves were upset. In May, after a victory by Stonewall Jackson in the Valley, Ida noted, "The colored friends look rather down cast, I think, but excepting them, all nature seems to rejoice."<sup>159</sup> Supporting the Federals came at a cost for some slaves. A friend of Ida's, Mrs. Stephenson, who owned the home in which Colonel Geary lived, mentioned her own experiences. "They were going off to Geary," she said of her slaves, "that he was to send three wagons for them. The wagons did not come, and when the news of our victory arrived the whole party came in crying and sobbing, begging forgiveness and expression ever lasting hate to Yankees; of course the family knew what confidence to place in their professions [of loyalty]."<sup>160</sup>

Slaves who did leave did not always travel far. Ida's neighbor, Mr. Weidmayer, told her that he saw Uncle Billy, Ida's former butler, when he was visiting Alexandria at the end of May.<sup>161</sup> For many, though, it did not matter how far they got as long as they were free. Writing home to his brother in Pennsylvania, Union soldier Robert Davis shared some of his thoughts on the "peculiar institution" as he saw it in Fauquier. "But the slaves are runing away very fast, there is fare swarms of them goes past here every day," he observed. "Just a few minuts ago I counted twenty one most of them about your size no men among them and but four women. The most of the slaves as far as I can see here in Virginia are treated very well but likely it is because we are here and they use them well so that wont run away."<sup>162</sup>

Slaveowners across the South were beginning to realize what this war might mean for their most profitable form of property. A piece in a Maryland newspaper noted that a

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>162</sup> Robert G. Davis to Jim Davis, June 16, 1862, Davis Family Papers.



slave family worth \$2500 recently sold for just \$400. The reporter observed, "We admonished the sympathizers with the rebellion in advance that this would be the consequence of the crime and folly of secession; but they would not heed. We tell them now that their acts have sealed the fate of the institution in Maryland."<sup>163</sup>

While many Fauquier citizens believed runaway slaves were a lost cause, that was not always the case. Fanny Scott, the daughter-in-law of Robert E. Scott, asked her cousin Robert Peyton for advice. Her husband, R. Taylor Scott, was fighting with the Eighth Virginia cavalry, and so Fanny turned to Peyton concerning two runaway slave women from her household who had been caught and put in jail. While Fanny was willing to "fire them up," she did not "desire to do anything that would be injurious to society" or her neighborhood.<sup>164</sup> More than likely, Fanny did not want the women to be without jobs and housing, as that could lead to more unrest. While she was willing to let the women go, she did not want to unsettle her neighbors with this problem, further suggesting a desire to maintain the status quo. And like Ida, she seemed fairly unconcerned with the women themselves, being more upset by the fact they had stolen some of her clothing when they left. She ended the letter by asking Robert to handle the "problem" as he saw fit. Again, dealing with runaway slaves was not typically under the purview of the plantation mistress, and the world inhabited by Fanny still clung to prescribed gender roles.

While the slaves of Fauquier rejoiced at the arrival of the Union army, it was not a one-sided relationship. As Union soldiers began to make themselves comfortable in the outer reaches of northern Virginia, they began to learn a lot more about the area, both

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<sup>163</sup> "Multiple News Items," *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, April 9, 1862.

<sup>164</sup> Fanny Scott to Robert E. Peyton, April 23, 1862, Section 35, Peyton Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

geographically and socially, as well as the location of various brigades and companies of the Confederate army from information provided by local slaves. Reporting on troop numbers, location of Confederate camps, and rebel weapons, runaway slaves were such a font of information that Allan Pinkerton, the Union army's intelligence chief, instructed his operatives to interview contrabands when they arrived in Union camps.<sup>165</sup> White residents were at least a little aware of the subterfuge, but whether it made them alter their conversations around slaves is not clear. Tee Edmonds, on April 28, noted that Union soldiers were receiving information, "through the influence of their darkie friends, in whom they place[d] the utmost confidence." Their "word is law," said the soldiers, and "What the darkies can't tell them is not worth hearing."<sup>166</sup> Union soldier Davis echoed Tee's words when writing home to his father. In describing how some soldiers had taken food from a secessionist family, he explained that the slaves on the plantation often told soldiers what the family was saying about the Union army and divulged what stores of food and other supplies the family had concealed.<sup>167</sup> Union soldiers took advantage of the sympathetic slaves. As Davis recounted, "We have a slave that cooks for us his master had two hundred slaves, he hired at Upperville we got him when we was there."<sup>168</sup>

Life in Fauquier took a more ominous turn in May 1862. While the pillaging of food and personal property continued, one event sent shockwaves through the county that had lasting consequences. Robert Eden Scott, Fauquier's voice of reason in the secession convention and a beloved Virginia statesman, was shot and killed by Union deserters. The circumstances of his death could not have been worse for the Union army, especially at a

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<sup>165</sup> Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 82.

<sup>166</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 83-84.

<sup>167</sup> Robert G. Davis to Father, April 28, 1862, Davis Family Papers.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

time when they were doing their best to pacify the rebels of the county. Scott, hearing stories of two Union deserters who were ransacking and terrorizing his neighborhood, had already decided to act when he heard that they had raped two local women. Gathering together a group of men, he set off to confront the men. Finding the desperadoes, they entered the house with guns drawn. Scott and his overseer were shot dead by two deserters, who, it was discovered, had been part of a Wisconsin regiment. One of the men was wounded, but the other escaped.<sup>169</sup>

Referred to variously as deserters, outlaws, and a marauding party in the press, it seemed the men were wreaking havoc in the area on the way back to their regiment.<sup>170</sup> Worst of all for Fauquier's white residents, some reports said the men had been operating with runaway slaves to plunder the neighborhood.<sup>171</sup> Regardless of the terms used to describe them, the ruffians could not have killed a more symbolic man. Renowned throughout the country for his measure, levelheaded political mind, especially in the frenzied period surrounding the debate about secession, Scott, despite being a loyal unionist, was a model citizen to both sides. Many in the North fondly remembered his cries for unity in the winter of 1860, and even though he never advanced beyond state politics, Scott's very public struggle against secession, as well as his being considered for a post in Lincoln's cabinet, made him well known in political circles across the United States. To the North, he had been a respectable gentleman who had done his best to preserve his state for the Union.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> "Multiple News Items," *Daily National Intelligencer*, May 8, 1862.

<sup>170</sup> "By Telegraph," *Charleston Courier*, May 8, 1862.

<sup>171</sup> "An address of condolence," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 9, 1862.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

To the Confederacy, though, Scott was nothing less than a martyr. Once war broke out, he served as one of Virginia's delegates to the Provisional Confederate Congress, and his son had joined the Eighth Virginia Cavalry. A Virginian first and foremost, when his dreams of a peaceful compromise were dashed, he voted with his state to remove it from the Union. The fact that he died at the hands of Union soldiers of the lowest stripe while rushing to redress the abhorrent treatment of women only added to his martyrdom. Scott was what every southern man aspired to be, loyal, educated, wealthy, and above all, honorable.

Commendations poured in after Scott's death, and for the people of Fauquier, he became a symbol of all the injustices faced under Yankee occupation. Betty Gray recorded in her diary on May 4, "Beautiful morning but sad news. Robert Scott, one of the greatest and best men of our country, is no more. His death and the circumstances are most deplorable and is lamented by all who knew him."<sup>173</sup> Numerous remembrances appeared in both Union and Confederate newspapers. A Boston reporter wrote that Scott's death caused "the deepest pain in Washington to all classes, and particularly to the Administration, as Mr. Scott was one of the noblest of Virginia's sons, and was seeking the return of his State to the Union."<sup>174</sup> While that last statement can be forgiven as journalistic hyperbole, many in Washington did mourn Scott's passing.

The U.S. government and the army quickly realized they had a bit of a public relations fiasco on their hands. William Brown, a unionist serving in the House of Representatives for Virginia, made a motion that the secretary of war open an investigation

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<sup>173</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 14.

<sup>174</sup> "An address of condolence."

into Scott's death.<sup>175</sup> Less than ten days later, the House got the news they were hoping for when Edwin Stanton submitted a report, with contributions from John Geary, promoted to general in late April, that detailed the circumstances surrounding Scott's untimely demise.<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, when General Irvin McDowell convened a court of investigation in November 1862 regarding events in the Department of the Rappahannock when he served as commanding officer, a series of questions revolved around Scott's death and the Union army's response to it. One man called to give testimony, William D. Wallach, a well-known unionist resident of Culpeper County, spoke about the effect of Scott's passing on the morale of the area. "His death," Wallach explained, "caused infinite consternation in the community, as the marauders escaped, and did more to destroy the remaining Union feeling existing in that section of Virginia than any other event of the war that had occurred up to that time."<sup>177</sup> As a result of this damning information, the Union army sought to reclaim some goodwill from Fauquier's citizens, despite the prospect of an uphill battle.

In the days and weeks following Scott's death, General McDowell issued a series of general orders that would be enforced by Geary's men in Fauquier. These orders showed a desire, especially by the Union commanders, to re-establish order and show residents they could be trusted. It was an extension of the conciliatory stance they had tried to take when first entering the region. In total, McDowell issued five orders that directly affected Fauquier, and most of them seemed to be reactions to the activities of the Union soldiers in the county as well as to Robert Scott's death.

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<sup>175</sup> "Thirty-Seventh Congress. Second Session," *Daily National Intelligencer*, May 9, 1862.

<sup>176</sup> "By Telegraph," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 17, 1862.

<sup>177</sup> *OR*, vol. 12, p. 51.

General Orders No. 8 and 18 addressed pillaging, and stated that commanders should do their best to protect growing crops. No. 18 went further, with specific protections for private homes: “No one has a right to enter private houses, and thus disturb non-combatants, women, and children.” This was an order that no doubt pleased the women of Fauquier. Order No. 10 put a system in place to register the number of contrabands running to the army. Referring to them as fugitives, McDowell’s order stated that all would be issued a uniform badge by the quartermaster and be put to work on the railroads and at depots. Order No. 12 addressed a more threatening issue, a rise in the number of rapes by Union soldiers. McDowell argued that he and his men had a duty to protect southern women. “It is due to the good men of the army, to the service, to the country, to the sisters, daughters, mothers, and wives of all that the stain be effaced by the infliction of the only fit punishment due such acts,” he declared forthrightly. He ended the order by stating that the punishment for rape was death. Finally, Order No. 19 concerned the rise of guerrilla actions in the area. While his orders concerning women and children were welcomed, this one was decidedly not. “Any person detected in placing obstructions on the track of any of the railroads used by the United States for military purposes, or of injuring the bridges, or doing anything with the object of interrupting military trains,” McDowell demanded, “will be shot on the spot.” The same order also applied to anyone caught disturbing telegraph wires.<sup>178</sup>

Despite these attempts at mostly conciliatory measures, life did not resume its pre-occupation calm. More importantly for Fauquier’s residents, McDowell’s orders did nothing to address the fact that they lived cheek by jowl with the Union army, and no matter what

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<sup>178</sup> General Orders No. 8, 10, 12, 18, and 19, issued May 7 – June 5, 1862, by Irvin McDowell, *OR*, vol. 12, p. 52-54.

orders were issued by headquarters, it all came down to how those orders were implemented on the ground. Ultimately, news out of Washington overshadowed McDowell's directives, and they would not be in place for long. After his success in the Western Theater of the war, newspapers published reports that Union general John Pope was heading east at the request of President Lincoln. Famous for his retaliatory tactics in Missouri and Mississippi, Virginians had a lot to fear when it was reported Pope would command the new Army of Virginia. Rather than a period of peace, it appeared the summer would bring a renewed period of hostilities. While they had survived their first taste of occupation, the struggle was just beginning for Fauquier.

## Chapter 4: Unnatural and Unnecessary War: Summer 1862

The turning of the calendar to July brought with it the warm days of summer but also a renewed period of mourning for the people of Fauquier.<sup>1</sup> Turner Ashby, the so-called Knight of the Confederacy, had been shot and killed on June 6, mere days after being promoted to general. "I do not believe it," Ida Dulany confided to her diary on June 13, "but still feel uneasy."<sup>2</sup> She was not alone, and many in the county also refused to trust the news for several weeks. Unfortunately, their doubts were confirmed by both local men who served with Ashby and through a statement issued by Stonewall Jackson. "The Confederate cause has sustained a great loss in the fall of the heroic General (late "Colonel") Turner Ashby, whose name has become renowned, as one of the most daring and successful of our leaders," a southern newspaper mourned.<sup>3</sup> "A lady at Winchester said to us," a northern reporter noted, "Ashby is a devoted man; this war has well nigh broken his heart."<sup>4</sup>

Ashby's death was a devastating blow, not just to his men of the Seventh Virginia Cavalry and commander in the Valley, Stonewall Jackson, but also to people across the South. Despite the war's still relative newness, Ashby's exploits had made him famous, with his horsemanship and daring adventures making front-page news across both the United States and the Confederacy. In Fauquier, his loss was magnified. Once more, those left behind were reminded of the cost of war. "Thus dies one of Fauquier's valiant brave sons

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<sup>1</sup> Amanda Virginia Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds: Lass of the Mosby Confederacy, 1859-1867*, ed. Nancy Chappellear Baird (Stephens City, Va.: Commercial Press, 1984), 98.

<sup>2</sup> Ida Powell Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy: The Civil War Journal of Ida Powell Dulany*, eds. Mary L. Mackall, Stevan F. Meserve, and Anne Mackall Sasscer (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009), 107.

<sup>3</sup> "Rich.," *Fayetteville Observer* [N.C.], June 12, 1862.

<sup>4</sup> "The Rebel General Ashby," *Newark Advocate* (Newark, O.H.), July 4, 1862.



and one of Virginia's ablest defenders," Tee Edmonds sadly recorded in her diary.<sup>5</sup> Mourning both the loss of Turner and his brother Richard's death from the year before, Ida Dulany declared, "The lives of those two brothers, if written, would form a brilliant romance." Sure enough, as soon as his death was confirmed, Ashby became the archetype of the martyred, romantic Confederate hero.<sup>6</sup> Before his body arrived in Charlottesville for his funeral, souvenir hunters, who were desperate for a piece of the partisan soldier, had cut off much of his long beard.<sup>7</sup> His death was a sharp reminder to those left at home that even the most talented of fighters were merely human and could be felled by a single bullet to the heart. If Turner Ashby could die, what chance did their loved ones have? It was thoughts such as these that plagued the white women of Fauquier during the early summer months of 1862.

Ashby was killed while fighting in Stonewall Jackson's storied Valley campaign. Worried about General George McClellan's forces on the Peninsula, Generals Joseph Johnston and Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis's military adviser, ordered the former Virginia Military Institute professor to mount a diversion to the west.<sup>8</sup> It worked better than the Confederate leaders could have hoped. Not only did Jackson force the Union army to keep forces in the Valley, but the rebels were so successful, Lincoln had no choice but to divert part of General Irvin McDowell's men from Fredericksburg and rush them west.<sup>9</sup> Jackson never commanded more than 16,000 men against Union forces ranging from between

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<sup>5</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 99.

<sup>6</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 110.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Christopher Anderson, *Blood Image: Turner Ashby in the Civil War and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 11.

<sup>8</sup> James McPherson, *Tried By War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 91.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Cozzens, *Shenandoah 1862: Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 4.

30,000 to 70,000.<sup>10</sup> Successfully defeating the Federals at Front Royal and Winchester at the end of May, the Confederates ended their campaign with additional success at Cross Keys and Point Republic in mid-June. Despite losing such men as Ashby, these small victories were major morale boosters for the Confederacy. The first half of 1862 had been difficult for the rebels as Federal forces under General Ulysses S. Grant captured Forts Henry and Donelson, on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers.<sup>11</sup> The Confederates suffered defeat in northwest Arkansas at the battle of Pea Ridge in March, and much of the rest of that state lay open to Union forces when Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston requested all available troops in that theater of war converge on Corinth, Mississippi. Confederate troops from Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, and Kentucky came to Johnston's aid, effectively abandoning much of the Confederacy's periphery. Unfortunately, the battle of Shiloh in April, near Corinth, was also a defeat for the Confederates, and Johnston was killed. This demoralizing event was followed by the Union occupation of New Orleans in May by General Benjamin F. Butler and Admiral David Farragut.<sup>12</sup> Thus, Jackson's successes, even if not great strategic victories, were seized upon and celebrated across the South. His achievements also raised Jackson to a new level of celebrity.<sup>13</sup>

Fighting with Jackson and Ashby in the Valley was the Sixth Virginia Cavalry, including Company A, the Dulany Troop. Named for Ida Dulany's brother-in-law Richard, who was captain, the company included Ida's husband Hal as a lieutenant and several of Tee Edmonds' brothers. When Richard Dulany was shot through the thigh in the fighting,

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 5.

news traveled home quickly.<sup>14</sup> “It was a great shock to me,” Ida worried, “making their constant danger seem so real, and making me so anxious for him. Poor fellow.”<sup>15</sup> The Sixth Virginia was also present during the fighting that killed Turner Ashby.<sup>16</sup> They had acquitted themselves well throughout the campaign, as they were almost constantly on duty, and received a much-needed break when it was over.<sup>17</sup> Serving alongside the Sixth Virginia was Ashby’s own unit, the Seventh Virginia Cavalry, including Company A, the Mountain Rangers, comprising many local Fauquier men. When their gallant leader fell in battle, it was the Mountain Rangers, some of whom had served with Ashby since 1852, who accompanied his body to its burial in Charlottesville.<sup>18</sup> When the Seventh was reorganized a few weeks after Ashby’s death, the new commander, General Beverly H. Robertson, nominated new officers. Richard Dulany, recovering from his wound, became lieutenant colonel of the Seventh.<sup>19</sup>

While this group of Fauquier men were fighting in the Valley, the Peninsula campaign continued to the east. Joseph Johnston attacked McClellan’s forces on May 31, six miles east of Richmond.<sup>20</sup> The Federals repulsed the Confederates at the two-day battle of Seven Pines and Fair Oaks, but the bloody events shocked McClellan and further reinforced his desire to capture Richmond by siege.<sup>21</sup> The Army of Northern Virginia received a new commander as Johnston was wounded during the fighting. Davis’ military adviser, Robert

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<sup>14</sup> Michael P. Musick, *6th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1990), 15-16.

<sup>15</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 104.

<sup>16</sup> Musick, *6th Virginia Cavalry*, 16.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

<sup>18</sup> Richard L. Armstrong, *7th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1992), 37.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>20</sup> McPherson, *Tried By War*, 96.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

E. Lee, was instructed to enter the field and subsequently spent the month of June consolidating his new command and organizing a counter-offensive.<sup>22</sup> Lincoln was doing much the same. On June 26, the president created the Army of Virginia, and asked General John Pope, currently serving in the West, to lead it, a decision that would have major ramifications for the people of Fauquier.<sup>23</sup>

Before Pope's arrival, however, General Lee faced McClellan for the first time. From June 25 to July 1, the armies fought in seven battles that decided the fate of Richmond (for the time being).<sup>24</sup> While the Confederacy won only one major victory, at Gaines Mill on June 27, the campaign was considered a Confederate success, and McClellan had had enough. He was appalled by the high number of casualties on both sides and continued to believe he faced superior numbers because the federal government had withheld reinforcements.<sup>25</sup> His glorious campaign to capture the enemy's capital had failed. The Union army retreated to Harrison's Landing, on the James River, to rest and recover, and it would be two years before another serious attempt was made to capture Richmond.<sup>26</sup> Not until the middle of August did the Army of the Potomac begin its slow retreat back down the Peninsula.<sup>27</sup>

This period of hard fighting was exhausting for the Confederacy as well. The Army of Northern Virginia lost almost thirty percent of its strength and many of the companies involved had ties to Fauquier.<sup>28</sup> The Fourth Virginia, including the Black Horse Troop, had

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 97; Emory Thomas, *Robert E. Lee* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 225.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 102; Jeffrey D. Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln: The Army of the Potomac* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 124-25.

<sup>26</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 125.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 131, 133.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 122.

screened Johnston's retreat up the Peninsula. At the battle of Williamsburg on May 4, the Fourth lost its commander when Colonel Williams C. Wickham was wounded.<sup>29</sup> Fauquier native Major William H. Payne assumed control. Payne, however, was wounded the very next day before being captured by Union soldiers.<sup>30</sup> As the army continued to retreat towards Richmond, the Fourth was part of the rear guard. It was an exhausting march. One Black Horse member recounted: "For three weeks we were constantly in the presence of [the] enemy with nothing to eat sometimes for two days in succession."<sup>31</sup> However, their spirits improved when they joined Stuart in his ride around the Union army, sent by Lee to discover the location and strength of federal forces.<sup>32</sup> Although the cavalry did not do much damage, "the bold dash of Stuart's Cavalry" was of great embarrassment to McClellan and his army.<sup>33</sup> Following the daring raid, the Black Horse fought in many of the Seven Days' battles before being assigned picket duty along federal lines for much of July.<sup>34</sup>

Other Fauquier companies followed a similar pattern. Many were involved in the battles of Seven Pines and Williamsburg before moving up the Peninsula to fight on the outskirts of Richmond. The Eighth Virginia Infantry, of which the Piedmont Rifles and R. Taylor Scott's company, the Beauregard Rifles, were a part, suffered major losses at Gaines Mill in what would be the regiment's bloodiest day until Gettysburg.<sup>35</sup> Out of a force of only 219, forty-five were wounded and eight killed in action.<sup>36</sup> The Eleventh Virginia, including

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<sup>29</sup> Kenneth L. Stiles, *4th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1985), 10.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>33</sup> "Affairs Before Richmond. Attack of the Rebels Under Jackson Upon Our Right Wing," *New York Times*, June 28, 1862.

<sup>34</sup> Stiles, *4th Virginia Cavalry*, 14-16.

<sup>35</sup> John E. Divine, *8th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1983), 11.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

the Rough and Ready Rifles from Fauquier, also suffered badly, this time at Seven Pines, as they found themselves slowed by mud within Union lines. The men rallied and charged the Federals, but in five minutes, they lost seventy-five men.<sup>37</sup>

The Forty-Ninth Virginia, under the command of former governor Extra Billy Smith, also fought gallantly at Seven Pines. Having arrived at the front directly from the Confederate Congress in Richmond, where he had been representing a district that included Fauquier, Smith stated in his after-action report: “[L]ost half of my regiment killed, wounded and missing over one half of the entire command.”<sup>38</sup> Smith was also wounded in the fighting and received a commendation from his division commander, D. H. Hill.<sup>39</sup> Of the sixty-nine wounded in the battle (with thirty-three killed), over twenty would die in Richmond hospitals as a result of their wounds.<sup>40</sup> As a result of this hard fighting, the Forty-Ninth was not involved in many of the Seven Days’ battles until June 29, when the regiment suffered few losses.<sup>41</sup>

The Seventeenth Virginia, including Marr’s former Warrenton Rifles, and the Fauquier artillery also fought on the Peninsula, but suffered many casualties.<sup>42</sup> While fighting in the battle of Williamsburg, the men from Fauquier saw a familiar face, that of the

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<sup>37</sup> Robert T. Bell, *11th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1985), 24.

<sup>38</sup> U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. in 128 parts (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. 1, vol. 11, pt. 1, 960 (cited hereafter as *OR* and from the first series unless otherwise indicated).

<sup>39</sup> Scott L. Mingus, Sr, *Confederate General William “Extra Billy” Smith: From Virginia’s Statehouse to Gettysburg Scapegoat* (El Dorado Hills, Calif: Savas Beatie, 2013), 194.

<sup>40</sup> Richard B. Kleese, *49th Virginia Infantry* (Appomattox, Va.: H. E. Howard, 2002), 20.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>42</sup> Lee A. Wallace, Jr., *17th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1990), 32-35; Michael J. Andrus, *The Brooke, Fauquier, Loudoun and Alexandria Artillery* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1990), 64.

wounded William H. Payne. Captain of the Fauquier Artillery, Robert Stribling, remembered the major of the Black Horse urging the artillery “to hasten to the front that we might be participants in the glory of victory.”<sup>43</sup> With so many of Fauquier’s soldiers fighting on the Peninsula, their families were desperate for news. What they heard was not good. Ida Dulany managed to get a newspaper and despaired over what she read: “The whole of the front sheet of the paper was taken up with the ‘Great Battle of Richmond,’ and what does it tell? Heart chilling tales of streams of blood and heaps of dead, of shrieks and groans, of mowing men down like heads of wheat, of onslaught and repulse.”<sup>44</sup> News of the dead slowly trickled back to the county. The Dulanys were lucky; Hal survived the actions in the Valley, and none of Ida’s other extended family was injured.<sup>45</sup> However, several other Fauquier men were killed, and many of the deaths were reported in newspapers.<sup>46</sup> Despite this, the people of Fauquier celebrated what they viewed as a Confederate victory. McClellan had been stopped, and Richmond had not fallen.

Unlike years past, this summer was not filled with lengthy visits to friends and family and languid days spent in the shade of the porch. It also lacked the celebrations that always marked the middle of summer across the United States – those surrounding the Fourth of July. It was a day that even the smallest towns and villages traditionally honored, and yet, for the second year in a row, Fauquier County did not formally acknowledge it. “How different this from the Independence Day formerly,” Betty Gray reminisced. “Once

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<sup>43</sup> Andrus, *The Brooke, Fauquier, Loudoun and Alexandria Artillery*, 64.

<sup>44</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 119.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>46</sup> Amanda Virginia Edmonds, *Society of Rebels: Diary of Amanda Edmonds, Northern Virginia 1857-1867*, ed. Lee Lawrence. 2nd ed. (Warrenton: Piedmont Press & Graphics, 2017), 122.

more we are fighting for our liberty.”<sup>47</sup> Although not honoring the day in usual fashion, Betty nonetheless echoed many of her fellow Confederates who saw their cause as directly linked to the Revolution of 1776. White southerners believed that they were the real heirs of the Revolution and claimed that they followed in the footsteps of George Washington, a slaveholder who, as they saw it, had fought for the freedom of whites.<sup>48</sup> Politically, Confederates were reclaiming the mantle of the American Patriots who had seceded from Great Britain.<sup>49</sup> As the letter writer “Virginius” declared in the *Richmond Enquirer* in July of 1861, the South stood alone “in asserting the great principle of the Declaration of Independence, that ‘Governments derive their legitimate force only from the consent of the governed.’ This great principle their ‘brethren’ of the North have abandoned.”<sup>50</sup> The Confederacy affirmed these ties by placing Washington’s likeness on Confederate currency, stamps, and the national seal. Additionally, Jefferson Davis’ inauguration as president of the Confederate States of America was held on Washington’s 130<sup>th</sup> birthday. By the second year of the war, the Fourth had become a day of private reflection for some, as it was for Betty, while other rebels barely acknowledged it at all.<sup>51</sup>

Despite the lack of excitement on the part of Fauquier’s citizens, their northern “visitors” more than made up for it. Just as Confederates drew parallels between their cause and that of the patriots who fought British tyranny, northerners clung tightly to their

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<sup>47</sup> Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary, 1860-1868,” p. 17, James I. Robertson, Jr. Civil War Sesquicentennial Legacy Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

<sup>48</sup> Paul Quigley, *Shifting Grounds: Nationalism & the American South 1848-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 148; George C. Rable, *The Confederate Republic: A Revolution Against Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 123.

<sup>49</sup> Rable, *The Confederate Republic*, 122-23.

<sup>50</sup> Quigley, *Shifting Grounds*, 148.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.



own revolutionary tradition. The celebrations surrounding this most holy of days (what in the 1850s had become known as “the National Sabbath”) took on even more meaning during the war.<sup>52</sup> In early July, Union troops were again on the move, with additional units being massed in and around Warrenton by General Irvin McDowell. Unfortunately for some of the men, marching orders were received on the morning of the 4<sup>th</sup>, although that did not deter the soldiers from their celebration. The members of the Ninety-Sixth Pennsylvania Infantry stayed up the night of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to prepare their camp in Manassas, even going so far as to plant trees and arbors amongst their tents. They erected poles covered in evergreens and fashioned stars out of flowers. “It was the prettiest sight I think I ever seen,” William Mayberry enthused to his wife, and included a drawing of the decorations in his letter.<sup>53</sup>

While Mayberry and the other members of his company were on the move at daybreak, and did not get to enjoy the fruits of their labors, others had better luck. Alonzo Briggs, part of the First Maine Cavalry Regiment camped in Fauquier, detailed the events to his sister: “We were called together again at two o’clock to listen to the reading of the ‘Declaration of Independence,’ and some rather poor speeches from our officers; after this there was a foot race, then a bag race, then last and not least there was a race for a greased pig; at eight o’clock there was a grand bonfire, thus ended our celebration in camp.”<sup>54</sup> Thus also ended a brief period of relative peace and quiet in Fauquier. The myriad of Union troops on the move converged around Warrenton in the days following the holiday, and once more its residents were under siege.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>53</sup> William W. Mayberry to Mary Mayberry, July 8, 1862, RN: 000030811, Robertson Collection.

<sup>54</sup> Alonzo Briggs to Martha Bisbee, July 8, 1862, RN: 000030812, Robertson Collection.

The arrival of the Union troops brought about some much-needed repairs to Fauquier's infrastructure. Under the organization of General McDowell, certain services that had been lacking were re-established. For the first time since the aftermath of the battle of Manassas, the railroad reached Warrenton from Alexandria, and the telegraph lines extending from the nation's capital were repaired.<sup>55</sup> The lack of trains had hindered the arrival of the mail, and so the residents of Fauquier, as well as the Confederate troops that operated in and around the county, had been forced to rely on other means of communication to transmit news across occupied northern Virginia. Union soldiers learned of this in early July when they captured a man in Fauquier headed to Richmond, ostensibly to visit his wounded sons. He was carrying so many letters that newspapers first reported him as a Confederate postmaster, but it seems more likely he was a private citizen, taking letters to the capital on behalf of his neighbors and friends. Thanks to the work of such citizens, it was clear to the Union army that "daily communication was had with Richmond from nearly all the towns in the Shenandoah Valley" via these private postmasters.<sup>56</sup> The return of reliable railroad service increased the number of newspapers and letters coming from the North, but with the county still firmly in Union hands, most families continued to rely on travelling friends and acquaintances as a way to send letters and obtain newspapers from behind Confederate lines.

The massing of troops and increased focus on repairs in the county and surrounding area signaled a shift in Union war aims. While McDowell was putting his preparations in place, General John Pope was on his way east from Tennessee, bringing with him ideas for

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<sup>55</sup> "By Telegraph," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 11, 1862; "A letter from Warrenton, Va." *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco], Aug. 14, 1862.

<sup>56</sup> "Later and Additional," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, July 11, 1862.

changes in Union policy for the region, changes that would have lasting consequences.<sup>57</sup>

Pope's presence was personally requested by a longtime family friend, President Abraham Lincoln. (Pope was related by marriage to First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln.) He arrived in his nation's capital during a bleak time in the war for the United States. While Lincoln was pleased with the success of the Union army in the West, the Army of the Potomac was struggling in the East, and, unfortunately for Lincoln, it was the East that counted more in the public's mind. Following the disastrous Seven Days' battles in June and July 1862, Lincoln was desperate. Facing both political and popular pressure to strike a blow against the Confederates, Lincoln turned to the man who he believed could achieve what had eluded Union generals in the East: a decisive victory. Pope's reputation as an aggressive fighter preceded him to Washington, and he was well respected by his superior, General Henry W. Halleck, who would soon follow him to be installed as general-in-chief. Pope preferred to remain in the West, but he bowed to the pressure from Lincoln and took command on June 27.<sup>58</sup>

The army Pope took command of was brand new. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton offered him an army comprising troops stationed in the Valley who were veterans of the past spring's Shenandoah campaign that had failed to thwart Jackson's forces. The newly-christened Army of Virginia had several goals: defend Washington, D.C., disrupt the rail link between the Valley and Richmond, and "assure the safety of the Valley."<sup>59</sup> Stanton and Lincoln hoped this offensive would compel Lee to send troops to the Valley, thus making it

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<sup>57</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *The Emergence of Total War* (Fort Worth: Ryan Place Publishers, 1996), 19.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Cozzens, *General John Pope: A Life for the Nation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 74-77.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 75; *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 20.

easier for General McClellan to invade Richmond. Additionally, Confederate guerrillas continued to wreak havoc on Union supply and communication lines throughout northern Virginia, so Pope was expected to rout them as well.<sup>60</sup> He settled into his new post by applying all he had learned in the Trans-Mississippi and Western theaters to the job. That knowledge would have far-reaching consequences for the Confederate sympathizers throughout northern Virginia.

Whether or not the Civil War constitutes a total war is quite a contested topic. However, most historians can at least agree that, as Daniel Sutherland writes, “the modern concept of ‘total war’ had its dress rehearsal” in this war. Using Sutherland’s definition that its major characteristics are “the disruption of the enemy’s logistical base and the destruction of civilian morale,” this is a strategy most closely associated with men such as Ulysses S. Grant, William Tecumseh Sherman, and Philip Sheridan.<sup>61</sup> However, what occurred in northern Virginia in the summer of 1862 represented a clear change in Union policy.

Since the war began, Lincoln had clung tight to the belief that a latent spirit of unionism existed in the South. This conviction drove him to pursue a conciliatory policy toward civilians and their property, as he believed many were eager to rejoin the Union and would do so if given a chance.<sup>62</sup> Lincoln was not alone in this thinking. While Union soldiers were not quite as optimistic as Lincoln (after all, they came into closer contact with southern civilians on a regular basis), many hoped he was right. When the Union army began to reoccupy Fauquier in July of 1862, soldiers wrote home of their first impressions.

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<sup>60</sup> "Boston," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 9, 1862.

<sup>61</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, “Abraham Lincoln, John Pope, and the Origins of Total War,” *The Journal of Military History*, 56 (October 1992): 567.

<sup>62</sup> McPherson, *Tried By War*, 103.

An officer with the Twelfth Massachusetts gave a scathing review of the world in which he found himself. "They know of no comforts; such a thing as a nice vegetable garden, good cellar, ice house, and 'fixings' general they do 'not look to have,'" he reported. "Their houses look fine at a distance and are usually in sightly places, but on a near approach dirt and neglect appear; the negro slovenliness crops out, and all idea of good New England comfort is dissipated."<sup>63</sup> For the northern public, this merely confirmed what they had believed all along: that southerners had a backward culture and were an oppressed people.<sup>64</sup> Reports such as these supported Lincoln's policy of conciliation. As long as white southerners were not armed, many in the Union army were willing to tolerate a certain amount of disgust and displeasure from the locals, especially women. Southerners could be taught how to live "proper" lives; it was simply a matter of re-educating them.<sup>65</sup> However, like Lincoln, soldiers grew tired of the constant vitriol and hatred spewed by residents.

Although bands of Confederates were still in Fauquier, much of the county was occupied by McDowell's Union troops in mid-July. In Warrenton, people once more felt the inconvenience of an army on their doorstep. Ida Dulany's nemesis, General John Geary, had also returned to the neighborhood to guard the Manassas Gap Railroad, much to her chagrin.<sup>66</sup> And his men wasted no time bothering the Dulanys once more. This time, Ida's overseer, who had accompanied her on many trips to recover stolen goods, was arrested by

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<sup>63</sup> "Letter from Virginin," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1862.

<sup>64</sup> Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 35.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> John W. Geary, *A Politician Goes to War: The Civil War Letters of John White Geary*, ed. William Alan Blair (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 46 – 49.

Union soldiers.<sup>67</sup> Ida believed he was detained while following Union soldiers who hoped to recapture several of the Dulany's horses.<sup>68</sup> She discovered from a neighbor, who had also been arrested, that when Geary interrogated Kidwell, the overseer told the general that he was needed at home to help with the planting. "If that was so," Geary reportedly responded, he would take "him on and the others were all released and he [Kidwell] detained."<sup>69</sup> Ida was irate. "It is a petty meanness," she fumed, "so low that I can hardly credit it of any one."<sup>70</sup> She had been told by neighbors that "there was no doubt of the fact" that Geary "had an especial dislike of me."<sup>71</sup> Yet, as Ida noted, "If he knew the opinion I have of him, it is probably his dislike would be anything but softened."<sup>72</sup> Thankfully for Kidwell, he was released and reported to Ida he had been detained under suspicion that she "had sent him to gain information to send to the Southern Army."<sup>73</sup>

The Dulanys were not the only ones bothered by the return of the Union army. "Yes, we have seen the Yankees to perfection in all varieties from horse stealer to hen roost robber and penitentiary men," Betty Gray fumed in her diary. "Just caught two in the hen house."<sup>74</sup> The Federals were equally infuriated, but for a different reason. They were upset by the special treatment many Confederate families received. The intense secessionist devotion of many of Fauquier's residents did not mean they were above taking advantage

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<sup>67</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 116.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 122; Geary was perhaps right to be suspicious of Ida. There were several well-known southern women operating as spies, especially in Virginia. One of the most notorious, Belle Boyd, was arrested in July. However, there is no reason to suspect that Ida was ever a spy. See Catherine Clinton, *Tara Revisited: Women, War, & the Plantation Legend*. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995), 89 -97.

<sup>74</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 17.

of the Union army's policy of conciliation, but the irony of this was not lost on soldiers and reporters. "Parties are continually applying for protection," one newspaperman complained, "while acknowledging sympathy with Jeff. Davis and having relatives in the rebel army."<sup>75</sup> Soldiers were further angered when it became clear that it was only the wealthy who received such protection. Robert G. Davis, a soldier in the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, bemoaned to his father:

[F]or the men down here that is worth from five hundred thousand to a million Dollars, will get a safeguard on their place so that no man can touch his property. And a poor man that has nothing but what he works for gets no guard and therefore his property gets destroyed and he gets striped of every thing. I say let the rich man fair the same as the poor for they are all alike only one had more money than another; they are nearly all secesh not more than one union man out of a hundred down this way.<sup>76</sup>

The wealthy citizens of Fauquier, not surprisingly, had a quite a different view. "They come buying, begging or stealing; the latter being too often the case," Betty Gray reported of the Union soldiers. "Pa obtained a guard. This is all the relief imaginable."<sup>77</sup> To the residents of Fauquier, the trespassing done by the Federals was the worst thing possible.<sup>78</sup> They were outsiders and intruders who had no right to search storehouses, barns, and homes while taking whatever food or livestock they deemed necessary. The Union army may have thought its policy was one of conciliation, but to Virginia families being raided, it was simple theft. This was further proof to Lincoln that conciliation was not working. Providing guards did not entice southerners back into the Union. It was

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<sup>75</sup> "By Telegraph," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 12, 1862.

<sup>76</sup> Robert Davis to father, July 28, 1862, Davis Family Papers, 1835-1863, Record No. 000146566, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

<sup>77</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 17.

<sup>78</sup> Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 40.

simply providing protection (and manpower that could be better used elsewhere) to the enemy.

By the summer of 1862, Lincoln and Stanton had come to terms with the fact that the unionists they hoped would rise up in support of the U.S. government were not going to materialize.<sup>79</sup> As white southerners, especially women, were found to be even more loyal to the Confederate cause with each passing month, changes had to be made, and the Union army needed to switch tactics.<sup>80</sup> Events on the battlefield also encouraged Lincoln to make a change. Following the Seven Days' battles and successful Confederate guerrilla attacks and cavalry raids under Generals John Hunt Morgan and Nathan Bedford Forrest in Tennessee and Kentucky, Lincoln was forced to reconsider his position. "This government cannot much longer play a game in which it stakes all," Lincoln declared in July, "and its enemies take nothing."<sup>81</sup> Lincoln hoped his new general could make a difference.

Pope had introduced his brand of warfare while fighting guerrillas as a district commander in Missouri. However, Lincoln recognized that Virginia presented a new set of challenges. Missouri and Virginia were both on the border between North and South, and so experienced the war in a very different manner than the majority of the other states. Lincoln believed the Confederate sympathizers in Missouri had to be treated with a certain level of respect, as the Union could not afford to lose the state to the Confederacy.<sup>82</sup> Virginia, on the other hand, had already seceded. This meant to Lincoln, and many in his government, that Virginia was the enemy, and a harder stance must be taken against the

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<sup>79</sup> McPherson, *Tried By War*, 103.

<sup>80</sup> Sutherland, *Emergence of Total War*, 15.

<sup>81</sup> McPherson, *Tried By War*, 106.

<sup>82</sup> Sutherland, "Abraham Lincoln, John Pope, and the Origins of Total War," 579.



civilians than had been done in Missouri. These beliefs, combined with a desperate need for a major victory greatly influenced Lincoln's decisions during the summer of 1862.

Pope's arrival in Washington coincided with Lincoln's change of heart. As Lincoln hoped he would do, Pope moved quickly to organize the troops scattered throughout northern Virginia and bring order to the region.<sup>83</sup> He was quite successful, as shown by reports that the Union army had cleared out "rebel partisans, who previously were continually annoying our outposts and trains."<sup>84</sup> Pope ordered most of the companies in Fauquier to head west and south towards the Valley and Culpeper, and he made his war aims clear in a proclamation on July 14 intended to rally his troops. "Let us understand each other," he declared. "I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies; from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary and to beat him when he was found."<sup>85</sup> Pope's words did not quite have the uniting effect he intended, as many Union officers (including McClellan) took great offense at what they believed was an attack on their leadership.<sup>86</sup> However, he was not deterred, and on July 29, he arrived in Union-occupied northern Virginia determined to secure a victory.

With the majority of the Army of Virginia out of the county, many in Fauquier expected a reprieve, or at the very least, an opportunity to harvest a few fields before either army returned. Pope had other plans. Between July 18 and 23, he issued four orders that had immediate consequences for his army, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, and the

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<sup>83</sup> *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 20.

<sup>84</sup> "From Gen. Pope's Command," *Daily National Intelligencer* [Washington, D.C.], July 14, 1862

<sup>85</sup> *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 3, p. 473-474.

<sup>86</sup> McPherson, *Tried By War*, 113; Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861 - 1865*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 86.

civilians living in the area currently occupied by both armies. General Orders Nos. 5, 7, 11 and 13 illustrated Pope's plan to instigate a new type of war in the East, with each order addressing a problem that plagued the Union army. While the orders were issued by Pope, he had the full support of Lincoln and Stanton, with some of the orders echoing the newly passed Confiscation Act.<sup>87</sup>

The first one, Order No. 5, was issued on July 18 and encouraged the Union army to "subsist upon the country" in which operations were being carried on. Vouchers would be given to citizens whenever possible, to be redeemed for their losses at the end of the war.<sup>88</sup> However, owners would only be reimbursed if they were "loyal citizens since the date of the vouchers," an issue that would cause problems when said owners filed claims with the Southern Claims Commission at the war's end.<sup>89</sup>

Order No. 7 took direct aim at guerrilla forces in the area. "No privileges and immunities of warfare apply to lawless bands of individuals not forming part of the organized forces of the enemy nor wearing the garb of soldiers," Pope declared, one of the first times in the Eastern theater that guerrilla bands were officially classified as operating outside the rules of traditional warfare.<sup>90</sup> More dramatically, this same order, in an attempt to end guerrilla actions in northern Virginia, held all local citizens financially responsible for any damage committed by guerrillas to Union supply or communication lines. Pope had pursued a similar policy in Missouri.

Order No. 7 also included a "scorched earth" provision that allowed Union soldiers who had been fired upon from any house to destroy the building. If such attacks occurred

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<sup>87</sup> Sutherland, "Abraham Lincoln, John Pope, and the Origins of Total War," 580.

<sup>88</sup> *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 50.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

in an open area, “the people within 5 miles around” would be “made to pay an indemnity sufficient for the case.”<sup>91</sup> Any person caught in such an act would be immediately shot, without receiving a trial. These orders recognized the threatening role that civilians had come to play in the war, either as guerrillas or protectors of guerrillas. Pope believed that civilians were capable of committing acts of war, and the penalties he set in place illustrated just how far he (and Lincoln) were willing to go at this point in the war to quash rebellion. The policy of conciliation had ended, although Pope did attempt to temper his words, by assuring non-combatants that all who remained peaceably at home would “be subjected to no improper burden of war.”<sup>92</sup>

Order No. 13 put a stop to the practice of supplying guards that had so disgusted Union soldiers and the northern public. Citizens could no longer request or receive protection from the Union army for their homes, as Pope refused to use his troops to protect “private property of those most hostile to the Government.”<sup>93</sup> Order No. 11, though, announced the harshest penalties for civilian opposition, and simultaneously infuriated and struck fear in the hearts of the people of Fauquier. Under the terms listed, Union commanders were ordered to arrest “all disloyal male citizens within their lines or within their reach.”<sup>94</sup> The only way for a man to escape arrest was to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. Those who refused would be sent further south. Anyone caught returning to their home or communicating across rebel lines would be considered a spy, an

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Sutherland, “Abraham Lincoln, John Pope, and the Origins of Total War,” 578; *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 2, 50-52.

<sup>94</sup> *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 52.

accusation that meant certain death. Finally, any man caught violating the oath, once taken, would be shot and his property seized.

As much of Pope's army was stationed in the Valley when the orders were released, Fauquier did not immediately face the looting and pillaging that occurred when the orders were issued.<sup>95</sup> However, the presence of small detachments of Union soldiers meant that Fauquier fell well within the Union lines and that its citizens could be held accountable. "He [Pope] has commenced his course by giving his men permission to plunder the inhabitants at pleasure, and his orders are that horses and men shall subsist upon the people," Ida Dulany seethed to her diary. "A sweet time we shall have if he succeeds in bringing his men this far."<sup>96</sup> Betty Gray was irate at the treatment she and her family faced: "Suffice it to say the amount stolen from us though not small was nothing to compare to the trials of insolence while shooting the poultry before our very eyes."<sup>97</sup> While the northern part of Fauquier was spared the worst of the foraging, other areas of the county were not as lucky. "Large numbers of our soldiers have an idea that Gen. Pope's orders give them permission to help themselves to any thing they want, and they have been roaming through the country killing chickens, sheep, etc. extensively," a Washington, D.C., newspaper reported.<sup>98</sup>

In addition to his draconian orders, Pope made sure all available resources were used to aid his army.<sup>99</sup> Churches, as well as the hotel at Sulphur Springs and its surrounding outbuildings, were turned into hospitals for the Union sick and wounded.

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<sup>95</sup> "Latest from the Advance," *New York Times*, July 28, 1862.

<sup>96</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 125.

<sup>97</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 19.

<sup>98</sup> "Hatch has crossed Swift Run Gap to McGaughey's town," *Daily National Intelligencer* [Washington, D.C.], July 28, 1862.

<sup>99</sup> Sutherland, *Emergence of Total War*, 23-26.

Various school buildings were also requisitioned, and Pope did not forget to utilize the residents themselves:

In obedience to the spirit, as well as the temper of Gen. Pope's instructions, the rich and aristocratic rebels of Warrenton have already been placed under contribution for the support of the National army. The leading families have received notice that all their spare mattresses and bed clothing will be required for our sick and wounded soldiers, and that all the unoccupied rooms in their mansions, and, if necessary, the entire building, will be used as hospitals.<sup>100</sup>

In specifically addressing affluent citizens, Pope was also targeting the elite white women who had caused so many problems for the Union army. His new policies not only changed the ways in which the Union army interacted with the citizens on the home front, but also the ways in which it dealt with women. They were no longer seen as wives and mothers first and rebels second. Rather, their identities as Confederates were prioritized over that of elite ladies, and so any gendered assumptions that remained from the antebellum period disappeared with Lincoln's change in his conciliation policy and Pope's subsequent orders.<sup>101</sup>

Pope also ensured that it was more difficult to move about the county, and he prohibited visits to Warrenton, Fredericksburg, and other towns within his lines "without authority direct from headquarters." Passes would be granted only "to persons of undoubted loyalty."<sup>102</sup> Not only were the residents of Fauquier now required to share what little supplies they had left with the Union army, but they were also no longer able to cross the Confederate lines. This was no doubt an attempt to end the spread of private

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<sup>100</sup> "Latest News," *Milwaukee Morning Sentinel*, July 22, 1862.

<sup>101</sup> Kimberly Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women: Civil War Diaries and Confederate Persuasion* (Carbondale, I.L.: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013), 43-46.

<sup>102</sup> "The Eastern News," *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco], July 23, 1862.

communication between the people of northern Virginia and rest of the Confederacy. Slowly but surely the rights and independence that Virginians held so dear were being stripped away.

Reaction from other parts of Virginia to Pope's orders was swift and harsh. Robert E. Lee was outraged and ordered Stonewall Jackson to move against Pope and "destroy" the "miscreant," quite strong language for the usually reserved Lee.<sup>103</sup> Lee was not alone. "These passions have changed the character of the hostilities waged by our enemies," Jefferson Davis declared, "who are becoming daily less regardful of the usages of civilized war and the dictates of humanity."<sup>104</sup> In Fauquier, loyal unionists also objected. Margaret Nourse, who just a few weeks earlier had hung an American flag on her house celebrating July 4, was shocked at what her army had done. "They would war now against women and children for it will personally affect them most," she reasoned to her diary, "while it will infuriate their husbands and Fathers." Margaret was so upset she contemplated turning her back on her country: "Alas, I must hope for the success of the Southern Confederacy, for our government has become so ruthless that it would crush all these poor people without a thought of regret."<sup>105</sup> Even many of Pope's fellow officers were appalled. McClellan opposed the orders, and while McDowell abided by them, he commanded his subordinates to keep a close eye on their men so as not to let things get out of hand.<sup>106</sup>

Actions such as those taken by McDowell helped to limit some of the worst of the plundering, although the requisitioning of supplies continued, further draining parts of

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<sup>103</sup> *OR*, vol. 11, pt. 2, p. 936.

<sup>104</sup> "The Rebel Congress: A Message from Jefferson Davis," *New York Times*, Aug. 24, 1862.

<sup>105</sup> Margaret Tilloston Kemble Nourse, "Diary, April 4 – November 11, 1862," p. 22, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>106</sup> Sutherland, "Abraham Lincoln, John Pope, and the Origins of Total War," 584.

northern Virginia of crops and livestock. As a result, it proved to be Order No. 11, requiring an oath of allegiance, that caused the most concern amongst the people of Fauquier. "This Order has caused more distress and excitement than any before issued," Betty Gray confided to her diary.<sup>107</sup> While the residents railed against the subsistence orders, the oath-taking command petrified them. Taking an oath was entirely predicated on one's word and sense of honor, and most southern whites balked at the idea of taking an oath simply to disregard it. And that was not to mention the potential shame taking the Union oath would bring upon their family. It was not just one's personal honor being challenged by this order. Southerners were always hyper-aware of what their neighbors thought, and community respect was extremely important.<sup>108</sup> Honor was not exclusive to southern culture, but its role in everyday life was magnified and the federal government showed an astute understanding of the situation by exploiting it.

Instead of taking the oath, it became common practice for the men of Fauquier to retreat into the hills in and around the county when Union patrols were in the area and to remain there until safety was assured. "All the men are in great trouble," Ida wrote on July 31. "All resolved not to take the oath, yet all naturally anxious and troubled at the prospect of having to start off at a moment's warning, leaving families to fare as best they can, many with no earthly provision to take with them, not knowing where they are to go."<sup>109</sup> Federal authorities were aware of this practice, and it was precisely for these reasons the order was given. The goal was for southerners to reaffirm "their allegiance to the Union," and the

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<sup>107</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 19.

<sup>108</sup> Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 45; Harrison, *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women*, 27.

<sup>109</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 127.

oath was seen as an “emblem” of that allegiance.<sup>110</sup> Despite its perception as a harsh order, it continued the Union army’s former policy of conciliation by echoing the desire of the government to return wayward Confederates to the fold.

However, as had occurred with other attempts at conciliation, this order backfired. “Numbers of harmless citizens are now hiding in the mountains to escape the grasp of the celebrated ole Scamp [Pope],” Betty Gray detailed in early August. “No one in this neighborhood will take that oath at the point of life.”<sup>111</sup> Ida Dulany was especially worried about her husband. Hal, serving with the Sixth Virginia Cavalry, was forced to resign in July on account of his eyesight. Having lost an eye in a childhood accident, an injury sustained while serving in the cavalry greatly weakened the other.<sup>112</sup> The regimental surgeon told Hal a few more months of service “would have him totally blind.”<sup>113</sup> The Dulany’s local physician confirmed the diagnosis, and so Hal turned down the captaincy offered to him by the men of Company A.<sup>114</sup> He attempted to remain in the army by applying to serve on the staff of his brother-in-law, newly appointed as lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Virginia, but, not surprisingly, considering his eyesight, he was refused.<sup>115</sup> As a result, Hal was forced to resign from the Confederate army and return home. He would spend the rest of the war doing what he could to aid the Confederates and dodging Union soldiers whenever they entered the county. Having a man of enlistment age who had served in the rebel army living in the house brought even more scrutiny of the Dulanys.

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<sup>110</sup> Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 45.

<sup>111</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 19.

<sup>112</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, xxi, xxvii.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvii.

<sup>114</sup> Marietta Fauntleroy Turner Powell to Mary Custis Lee, January 16, 1863, Section 24, Lee Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*



In contrast to the Confederates, many soldiers in the Union army were thrilled with Pope's orders. As a result of supply lines being cut by the Confederates, Union soldiers were desperate for fresh food. "Our troops rejoice in the great improvement in their culinary arrangement consequent upon the new order to forage on the enemy," came one report. "They now enjoy the delicacies of the season."<sup>116</sup> In addition to more food and supplies, the orders also increased the amount of respect for Pope within his army. "These bold movements and the recent warlike orders of Gen. Pope, begin to inspire something like admiration for him among the soldiers," wrote one reporter.<sup>117</sup> After a tough year filled with several failures, at least one Eastern army was beginning to find its footing.

However, due to the backlash he faced from his fellow officers, Pope issued another order on August 14 – General Orders No. 19. In it, he cautioned that his previous orders had "either been entirely misinterpreted or grossly abused by many of the officers and soldiers of this command," and that no soldier had the right "to enter the house, molest the persons, or disturb the property of any citizen whatsoever."<sup>118</sup> This softening of the orders ended the worst of the pillaging. However, throughout the rest of 1862, Pope continued to defend his actions. He contended that Order No. 5 had been construed as "authorizing indiscriminate robbery and plunder." Yet, he argued, "the order is so common in the history of warfare that I have been amazed that it could have been so misinterpreted and misunderstood."<sup>119</sup> He believed his policies were "wise and just" and necessary in order to "to leave the enemy without the means of subsisting in the country over which our army

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<sup>116</sup> "Later by Telegraph," *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier*, July 25, 1862.

<sup>117</sup> "From General Pope's Army," *Wisconsin State Register*, July 26, 1862.

<sup>118</sup> *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 3, p. 573.

<sup>119</sup> *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 23.

had passed.”<sup>120</sup> Ultimately, Pope’s actions in 1862 helped drive the U.S. government to clarify the rules of warfare, which led to the publication of General Orders No. 100 in 1863, drafted by attorney Francis Lieber, at the request of Henry Halleck.

With the failure of the Army of the Potomac to defeat Lee’s army during the Peninsula campaign, Lincoln and his government had been forced to rethink their strategy.<sup>121</sup> In addition to abandoning his conciliatory policy, Lincoln also decided to change the way he viewed the fate of slavery. Throughout the summer, he had been drafting an emancipation proclamation to free slaves in the states in rebellion. He decided to present his ideas to his cabinet in July, shortly after Congress had passed the Second Confiscation Act. Building on the first act from the year prior, the second act was influenced by the article of war prohibiting the return of runaway slaves and Lincoln’s attempts at gradual emancipation.<sup>122</sup> The new confiscation act punished “traitors” by confiscating their property, including slaves, who should “be deemed captives of war and. . . forever free.”<sup>123</sup> Many radical politicians also believed the act gave Lincoln the right to enlist African Americans as soldiers, as it allowed the president to “enroll as many persons of African decent” as he thought necessary to end the rebellion, and they encouraged him to do so.<sup>124</sup>

However, the president did not believe the time was right, and so he continued to arm African American laborers with only picks and shovels. At the same time as the passage of the Second Confiscation Act, Congress also approved the Militia Act. This

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 128.

<sup>122</sup> James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 498.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 500.

<sup>124</sup> John David Smith, “Let Us All Be Grateful That We Have Colored Troops That Will Fight,” in *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era*, ed. John David Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 14.

emancipated all African Americans who “performed military service” for the Union army, as well as their wives, mothers, and children.<sup>125</sup> Lincoln ordered his commanders in the field to implement the acts, and these decisions slowly pushed him to take a more dramatic executive action concerning the millions of enslaved men and women across the South. These acts, combined with Lincoln’s rough draft of his emancipation proclamation, signaled another shift in Union war aims. However, Lincoln moved with care, and after discussing with his cabinet members, the president decided to postpone the announcement of emancipation until after a major victory.<sup>126</sup>

In the meantime, both armies were on the move. With Pope’s Army of Virginia stationed in northern and central Virginia, and recently reinforced by the newly created Ninth Corps under General Ambrose Burnside, McClellan’s army finally left the Peninsula for Aquia Creek and Alexandria.<sup>127</sup> One corps, the Fourth, remained behind at Fort Monroe.<sup>128</sup> Lee was busy trying to halt the southern movements of Pope’s army before McClellan could reinforce it. On August 9, Pope and Stonewall Jackson had clashed at Cedar Mountain in Culpeper, a Confederate victory.<sup>129</sup> Following the battle, Lee continued to consolidate his forces in the Piedmont, still hoping to throw the strength of his forces at Pope before McClellan arrived in northern Virginia.<sup>130</sup>

These movements greatly affected the residents of Fauquier, as both armies burned, rebuilt, and burned again the numerous bridges across the Rappahannock River. Pope

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> McPherson, *Tried by War*, 109; Smith, “Let Us All Be Grateful,” in *Soldiers*, 15-16; Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 129.

<sup>127</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 130.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 134.

faced embarrassment when, at a skirmish at Catlett's Station (not far from Warrenton Junction) on the rainy night of August 22, General J.E.B. Stuart and his cavalry raided a federal supply depot. "Our town was thrown in the greatest state of excitement yesterday afternoon by the presence of Genl. Stuarts' Cavalry," Susan Caldwell enthusiastically wrote to her husband. "About 5000 rode rapidly in town."<sup>131</sup> Unbeknownst to Stuart prior to the raid, Pope's personal belongings were a part of a supply train at the depot. Amongst the spoils of war, Stuart's men reported "the capture of all Pope's papers, plans and a portion of his baggage, including his overcoat."<sup>132</sup> The most notable part of their haul was a mailbag that contained "official letters from Gen. Pope of the utmost importance."<sup>133</sup> These letters, written to officials in Washington, proved to be invaluable to both Lee and Jackson in the days to come.

Although a relatively minor skirmish, its success was hailed throughout the Confederacy for the humiliation it caused the Union, akin to the joy felt when Stuart conducted his famous ride around the Union army earlier in the summer. The people of Warrenton rejoiced to once more see how a band of cavalry managed to surprise and subdue the enemy and so easily capture supplies, horses, and soldiers. The Union's shift towards more coercive policies served to harden Confederates' views of the federal army. The northern soldiers who had been terrorizing them for weeks were not worthy foes, an idea reinforced when Stuart illustrated just how easily they could be caught off guard. This success also brought hope not only to Fauquier's Confederates but also to their fellow

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<sup>131</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, August 23, 1862, *"My Heart Is So Rebellious": The Caldwell Letters, 1861-1865* ed. J. Michael Welton (Warrenton, Va.: Fauquier National Bank, 1991), 147.

<sup>132</sup> "War News," *Fayetteville Observer* [N.C.], Sept. 1, 1862.

<sup>133</sup> "Gen. Stuart's Last Dash," *Fayetteville Observer*, Sept. 1, 1862.

rebels throughout the South. Confederate loyalty was partly predicated on the belief that the next great victory was not far off. These southerners clung tight to the idea that the Confederate army would rescue them if need be.<sup>134</sup> For the people of Fauquier, that had happened on a rainy August night when a band of cavalry gave them renewed hope and a cause for celebration.

And celebrate they did. "You can better imagine than I describe the joy that soon pervaded the hearts of man, woman & child," Susan Caldwell noted excitedly. "The streets were thronged with all who could walk."<sup>135</sup> "The population of the village turned out en masse," a northern newspaper reported. "Ladies ran up to the soldiers and embraced them, although many of them were entire strangers. The only bell left in the village rang out loud and clear, and blended its music with the cheers of the thronging villages."<sup>136</sup> The euphoric Confederates made sure to humiliate the Union army as they had been under Pope's orders. With this sense of liberation, the mob took over as Stuart and his cavalry paraded through the streets. They dressed an African American man in Pope's uniform, put him on the general's best horse, and placed him at the head of the parade. "The negro seemed embarrassed," reported a northern journalist, "and hardly knew what to make of it; but the multitude enjoyed that part of the spectacle hugely."<sup>137</sup>

However, their joy was short-lived. When Stuart left town after the celebrations, several Union companies returned. The following evening brought even more bad news and destruction to the county with the burning of the Sulphur Springs hotel. Jubal Early's

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<sup>134</sup> Ash, *When the Yankees Came*, 39.

<sup>135</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, August 23, 1862, "My Heart Is So *Rebellious*," 147.

<sup>136</sup> "From the Army of Virginia—Interesting Details," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, Sept. 1, 1862.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

brigade had managed to ford the Rappahannock, cross into Fauquier on August 22, and take possession of the Springs, which had been serving as a Union hospital; but, the same rainstorm that had masked Stuart's movements proved disastrous for Early and his men. On the morning of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, they found themselves stuck on the northern bank of the river, unable to cross back to rejoin Jackson's corps, as the river had risen overnight and the Union army had destroyed the bridge days earlier. With support only from a regiment of the Thirteenth Georgia, the Confederates prepared for an attack. It began on the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, although surprisingly (and thankfully for the Confederates), it did not last long. There was brief rifle fire from the forest surrounding the hotel and a few artillery rounds added for good measure, but the fight was over almost as soon as it began. This quick skirmish enabled Early's men to build a new bridge across the Rappahannock, and Stonewall Jackson commended Early for his quick thinking:

In this critical situation the skill and presence of mind of General Early was favorably displayed. [. . .] By dawn on the morning of the 24th General Early, by means of a temporary bridge which had been constructed for his relief, had his troops and artillery safely on the southern side.<sup>138</sup>

While neither army suffered major losses, the hotel itself was not as lucky. Both sides blamed the other for its destruction. The buildings "have been laid in ashes," Susan Caldwell reported to her husband. "Some of the soldiers say it was [an] accident, a bomb bursting - (the pickets were shelling each other) others report they were burned by order

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<sup>138</sup> *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 642.

of Genl. Seigel.”<sup>139</sup> One of Fauquier’s most famous landmarks became another casualty of war.

While these minor raids were taking place within the county, Robert E. Lee was planning an attack on Pope’s forces, currently located in and around Fauquier and Culpeper.<sup>140</sup> Lee travelled to Gordonsville on August 15 to meet with generals Longstreet and Jackson.<sup>141</sup> Jackson reported that most of Pope’s army was congregated in Culpeper and had yet to receive any reinforcements from McClellan’s army. Intending to strike Pope’s left, Lee’s initial plans failed when J.E.B. Stuart and his staff were surprised by two Union regiments and Stuart’s adjutant general, along with two satchels carrying Lee’s detailed plan, were captured.<sup>142</sup> After reviewing the Confederates’ plan, Pope decided to retreat across the Rappahannock into Fauquier, as he believed that was a more easily defensible position. The majority of the Army of Virginia had crossed the river by midnight on August 19.<sup>143</sup> Lee also learned that McClellan’s troops were headed north to reinforce Pope.<sup>144</sup>

Despite these setbacks, however, Lee was determined not to give up and knew he needed to attack before Pope and McClellan joined forces. His army followed Pope across the river on August 21 and Lee sent Stonewall Jackson’s men on a fifty-four mile march around Pope’s right flank to destroy storehouses at Manassas Junction that were keeping

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<sup>139</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, August 28, 1862, “*My Heart Is So Rebellious*,” 150. See also: “Multiple News Items,” *Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register*, Sept. 6, 1862.

<sup>140</sup> John J. Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run: The Campaign and Battle of Second Manassas* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 31.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 45-46.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>144</sup> Thomas, *Robert E. Lee*, 251.

the Union army alive.<sup>145</sup> While Pope had finally received a few reinforcements from McClellan's army, he was not at full strength. He also had the added difficulty of commanding various forces that had never fought together before.<sup>146</sup> Fighting finally began on August 29 when Pope attacked parts of Jackson's corps, who had camped near the old Bull Run battlefield. Lee and Longstreet, in the meantime, marched through Fauquier, crossing Thoroughfare Gap, before reuniting with Jackson.<sup>147</sup> The fighting raged over two days as Pope struggled against Jackson and Longstreet, who outmaneuvered him, and the Union army never received the reinforcements that were sorely needed.<sup>148</sup> The Union army, demoralized, withdrew towards Washington, D.C.<sup>149</sup> Once more Lincoln's hopes had been dashed as Pope had failed to defeat the Army of Northern Virginia.

Fauquier's citizens were overjoyed when they heard their boys were triumphant. Not only was it a significant victory for the Army of Northern Virginia, but it also meant that Pope (and his orders) had been dealt a devastating blow. Once more, the residents of Fauquier were independent and safely behind Confederate lines. However, as usual, there was apprehension about who among their own men may have fallen in the battle.

The Sixth Virginia had served under the command of Stuart, doing what it could to harass the enemy and keep the army informed of the Federals' movements.<sup>150</sup> The Seventh Virginia Cavalry and Forty-Ninth Virginia Infantry assisted Jackson's corps, but they suffered few casualties. The Forty-Ninth was present in Manassas before the battle and

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<sup>145</sup> Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run*, 62, 117; Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography*, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), II: 309.

<sup>146</sup> Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run*, 119-120.

<sup>147</sup> Thomas, *Robert E. Lee*, 352-53.

<sup>148</sup> Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run*, 128-129, 445.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 439.

<sup>150</sup> Musick, *6th Virginia Cavalry*, 20.



able to participate in the pillaging of the Union storehouses, of great relief to men who could finally replace their boots.<sup>151</sup> The majority of other Fauquier men who fought were a part of Longstreet's corps, used by Lee to cross the Bull Run Mountains through Thoroughfare Gap and surprise Pope. The Fauquier Artillery used their guns along the Rappahannock to distract the Union army when Jackson's corps began its march north.<sup>152</sup> Following this, the men joined the Eighth, Eleventh, and Seventeenth Infantry regiments marching through Fauquier. For many men, this was the first time they had been in their home county since March.<sup>153</sup> There were a few tense moments as they waited to cross Thoroughfare Gap, but Lee, it was said, did not seem concerned as he enjoyed dinner at Avenel, the home owned by Robert Beverley.<sup>154</sup> When finally engaged in the fighting, the Eleventh lost nine men killed and forty-two wounded.<sup>155</sup> The Seventeenth took part in fighting on the second day of the battle with a loss of eight killed and thirty-seven wounded.<sup>156</sup>

Following the battle, many of Fauquier's soldiers joined the pursuit of Pope's fleeing army through Loudoun County, while other Confederate troops continued north into Maryland, many of them fording the Potomac while hanging all their packs on the end of their bayonets.<sup>157</sup> This great success at Manassas had encouraged Lee to invade the North and wrest a victory from the Union army on Union soil. Such a movement would also

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<sup>151</sup> Armstrong, *7th Virginia Cavalry*, 41-42; Kleese, *49th Virginia Infantry*, 22-25; Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III: 320.

<sup>152</sup> Andrus, *The Brooke, Fauquier, Loudoun and Alexandria Artillery*, 71.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Divine, *8th Virginia Infantry*, 13; Thomas, *Robert E. Lee*, 252.

<sup>155</sup> Bell, *11th Virginia Infantry*, 31.

<sup>156</sup> Wallace, *17th Virginia Infantry*, 38.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 39; Bell, *11th Virginia Infantry*, 31.

provide some much-needed relief to the people of northern Virginia who, Lee hoped, would be able to harvest their crops in peace.<sup>158</sup>

Meantime, the results of Second Manassas had further ramifications for the residents of Fauquier, especially when it came to caring for the wounded and sick that poured in once the guns fell silent. "There are 1500 to 2,000 sick and wounded at Warrenton in forty hospitals," the *Richmond Enquirer* reported. "All our churches and spare dwellings, store houses, etc. are occupied."<sup>159</sup> Caring for so many men took a toll on the county, already bereft of supplies as a result of a summer filled with near constant occupation by both armies. "There are 2 or 3 camps now near here of straggling soldiers, so we have about 25 or 30 every day," Betty Gray reported to her diary. "Honey is in great demand. Can't supply all their wants."<sup>160</sup> Writing to her husband, Susan Caldwell detailed the situation: "We have about 1500 soldiers sick and wounded in our town . . . Provision is scarce with us - and so many soldiers in town unprovided for are a task on the people."<sup>161</sup> Churches were again commandeered as hospitals, with the red benches at Warrenton Baptist chopped up to be used as splints for broken bones and to make coffins.<sup>162</sup>

Nursing the sick and wounded again fell to the women of the county, who struggled to provide the necessary care needed.<sup>163</sup> Petitions published in newspapers illustrated just how desperate things had become: "Why is not a commissary sent here with medicines and

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<sup>158</sup> Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III: 351.

<sup>159</sup> "From Warrenton," *Daily Richmond Enquirer*, Sep. 12, 1862.

<sup>160</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 21.

<sup>161</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, Sept. 3, 1862, "*My Heart Is So Rebellious*," 152.

<sup>162</sup> Edna M. Stephenson, *History of the Warrenton Baptist Church, 1849-1988* (Warrenton, VA: Piedmont Press, 1988), 20.

<sup>163</sup> Lee Moffett, *The Diary of Court House Square: Warrenton, Virginia, USA, From Early Times through 1986, with 1987-1995 Reflections* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1996), 32.

supplies? We must all starve together. You can form no idea of the state of things but from actual observation. Immediate relief is needed. Pray help us if you can.”<sup>164</sup> Thankfully some aid arrived from a somewhat unlikely source, the battlefield at Manassas. Discarded blankets, medicine, sugar, and coffee were all delivered after being collected from the battlefield.<sup>165</sup> While it was not enough to replenish all the hospitals and homes in the area, it greatly reduced the burden on residents.

Some people had also begun to count their own losses. For example, Isham Keith’s farm had been devastated by that summer’s constant occupation. In September he tallied his losses, including some ninety-nine hogs, twenty-seven head of cattle, fifty barrels of corn and 1500 pounds of hay. They totaled \$12,115.<sup>166</sup> Additionally, two grist and saw mills had been damaged, and he had sixty tons of hay, “a large portion of which,” he claimed, “was gathered by the yankees,” who had compelled his “negroes to aid in the labour.”<sup>167</sup> Keith had already lost a woolen mill, which produced Confederate uniforms, when Union soldiers burned it earlier in the year.<sup>168</sup> And it was not only white people who suffered damages on account of the Union army. Cain Smith, a slave who lived near the Sulphur Springs Hotel, owned a wagon and horses which he used to travel to the markets in Fredericksburg and bring back goods to sell in Fauquier.<sup>169</sup> Smith was referred to as a “white slave,” and he described himself as “white as anyone else,” which likely allowed him

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<sup>164</sup> "From Warrenton," *Daily Richmond Enquirer*, Sep. 12, 1862.

<sup>165</sup> "Late Nothern News," *Weekly Raleigh Register*, Sept. 17, 1862.

<sup>166</sup> Isham Keith, 1862, Keith Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> Eugene Scheel, *The Civil War in Fauquier County, Virginia* (Warrenton, Va.: Fauquier National Bank, 1985), 2.

<sup>169</sup> Claim of Cain Smith (No. 14,948), Ancestry.com, *U.S., Southern Claims Commission Allowed Claims, 1871-1880* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2008.

more freedom with which to move around Virginia.<sup>170</sup> When Pope's army retreated through the county following the battle of Cedar Mountain, Smith lost not only his wagon and horses, but also much of his livestock and crops.<sup>171</sup>

Although both armies moved out of the county following the battle of Second Manassas, sporadic skirmishing, and raids, continued, with the sounds of gunfire providing a backdrop to autumn in the county. Oftentimes, people in the northern part of Fauquier would find themselves under Union control, while those in Warrenton were safely behind Confederate lines. One northern reporter attempted to illustrate just how chaotic the situation had become:

An illustration of the uncertainties of war can be found in the fact that our forces occupied at Warrenton on a certain morning; at noon the rebel General and staff dined at the hotel, and at night Gen. Banks and staff supped there, the names of rebels and Unionists appearing together on the register. Close work that. I can't say who the beds were made for.<sup>172</sup>

Despite the unrest, residents were relieved to no longer be under the occupation of Pope's army. Bowing to political forces, Lincoln relieved Pope of his command on September 7, and granted Pope's request to return west when he was placed in command of the Department of the Northwest.<sup>173</sup> In his place, Lincoln once more placed the army's command in the hands of George McClellan, and integrated the Army of Virginia into the Army of the Potomac, believing that, despite all of the general's shortcomings, he was the best choice and he had "the confidence of the army."<sup>174</sup> Even though Pope was gone, the

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> "Things in General," *New Hampshire Statesman*, Sept. 6, 1862.

<sup>173</sup> Cozzens, *General John Pope*, 198-201; *OR*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 26.

<sup>174</sup> Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run*, 452.

events over the previous months continued to be debated. While his orders in Virginia were no longer in effect, many people in the North continued to defend his actions. As residents of northern Virginia complained about the destruction brought upon their land (and overwhelmingly blamed the Union army), northern newspapers struck back. "The damage done in Virginia resulted in part from the necessary operations of war . . . , but more especially from the ruthlessness of the Confederates themselves, who scourged the guilty commonwealth which had so fatuously yielded to their embraces, and inflicted on her an awful retribution."<sup>175</sup> Others argued that Union soldiers had been unfairly criticized for the atrocities they had supposedly committed. "All men know that the Union commanders endeavored to lessen as much as possible the evils of war therein," one editor remarked. "Not only did we spare their towns and villages, but we sedulously guarded their plantations and farms, even when such protection was difficult and onerous."<sup>176</sup> Many northerners went so far as to praise the actions of Union soldiers, arguing that they protected and aided rebel families in an example of "clemency and generosity almost unparalleled in the history of rebellion."<sup>177</sup> It is not surprising that loyal Confederates in Fauquier were not as magnanimous. Residents like Isham Keith and Ida Dulany looked around and saw their land destroyed, their houses ransacked, and their livestock and horses confiscated. Happy enough to do their part to aid their own army, there were only the Federals to blame for this destruction.

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<sup>175</sup> "The Savageness of Slavery," *Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1862.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

## Chapter 5: “We are Again as Driftwood Upon the Swelling Waters,” Fall 1862

General Lee’s gamble to go north was not the military success he had hoped to achieve. His men were exhausted from the battle of Second Manassas, but Lee needed to act quickly.<sup>1</sup> The rebels crossed into Maryland in the beginning of September and for a few weeks, enjoyed the bounty the livestock and crops in Maryland provided, although eating corn not yet ripe for the picking caused many problems for the rebels. While Lee was successful in drawing both armies away from northern Virginia, it was at the cost of many lives. Lee once more split his army, sending Jackson west to capture Harpers Ferry, while other forces, under the command of Lafayette McLaws, John G. Walker, and Longstreet continued north through Maryland.<sup>2</sup> Once more, as luck would have it for the Union army, Lee’s battle plans had been discovered. However, even once he knew Lee’s plans, George McClellan moved slowly, believing he was outnumbered.<sup>3</sup> After a number of skirmishes, the battle of Sharpsburg (known as Antietam in the North) began on the morning of September 17. It would be the bloodiest day of the war and, despite McClellan’s good fortune of obtaining Lee’s plans, an inconclusive fight. Both sides claimed it a victory. The Black Horse Troop, who served as Jackson’s couriers and aides, so impressed the general that he asked for the men to remain as part of his staff following the battle.<sup>4</sup> (This request would be refused, as Stuart needed the Black Horse to help shield Lee’s retreat from Maryland.<sup>5</sup>) Once more, George McClellan failed to follow up on a success and let Lee’s

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<sup>1</sup> James M. McPherson, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam, the Battle that Changed the Course of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 106-07.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 107-09.

<sup>4</sup> Kenneth L. Stiles, *4th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1985), 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

army escape, but the battle would prove to have major ramifications on the outcome of the war.

Other cavalry units, including the Sixth Virginia, also helped to cover the army's retreat. The Eighth, Eleventh, and Seventeenth Infantry regiments fought gallantly during the battle, with many men involved in fighting at locations that would become celebrated in years to come, including the cornfield and Burnside's bridge.<sup>6</sup> The Eighth and the Seventeenth suffered almost fifty percent casualties.<sup>7</sup> The battered army limped its way back south, with most units re-crossing the Potomac by the end of September. The Confederate line stretched from Winchester to Culpeper, and the soldiers used the month of October to rest and recover.<sup>8</sup>

As a result, a new influx of Confederate soldiers flooded into Fauquier, though they did not remain long. The soldiers set about repairing the bridges and railroad tracks destroyed in the summer's campaign, all the while skirmishing with Union patrols. Then, in early October, Union generals Franz Sigel and Julius Stahel invaded the county.<sup>9</sup> Union cavalry, under the command of Sigel, were hoping to halt Lee's retreat south.<sup>10</sup> While they were unsuccessful in stopping the Confederates, Sigel was able to regain control of Warrenton, where he took several hundred wounded Confederate soldiers prisoner.<sup>11</sup> Virginians were incensed that not more had been done to protect the men, rumored to

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<sup>6</sup> John E. Divine, *8th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1983), 16; Robert T. Bell, *11th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1985), 33; Lee A. Wallace, Jr., *17th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1990), 40.

<sup>7</sup> Divine, *8th Virginia Infantry*, 16; Wallace, *17th Virginia Infantry*, 41.

<sup>8</sup> Divine, *8th Virginia Infantry*, 16; Bell, *11th Virginia Infantry*, 34; Wallace, *17th Virginia Infantry*, 41; Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography*, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), II: 415.

<sup>9</sup> "Multiple News Items," *Daily National Intelligencer* [Washington, D.C.], Oct. 1, 1862.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

number upwards of 1,200. The Federals, too, were surprised that no Confederate force had been left to protect the wounded soldiers, who were paroled.<sup>12</sup> The Union army remained a constant presence in the county for the rest of the fall and into the winter. While Sigel and Stahel set up headquarters at Fairfax Court House and Centreville, respectively, they ran frequent patrols into Fauquier, which enabled the Union army to keep a close watch on residents.<sup>13</sup>

However, the Confederates had not completely abandoned Fauquier. Stuart's cavalry remained in the area, scouting for Lee and informing him of the whereabouts of the enemy.<sup>14</sup> As a result of their presence, there were numerous skirmishes between rival cavalry units. Railroad trains began to run again within the county, providing new opportunities for the Confederates to wreak havoc on Union supply lines and rob them of supplies.

As for the people of Fauquier, the rest of the Confederacy was becoming more aware of the destitution brought upon northern Virginia since the Union army had first arrived. Southern newspapers referred to the women of Fauquier as "heroic," and illustrating their loyalty by tearing "up their calico dresses to make bandages for the sufferers."<sup>15</sup> However, even with "every disposition to assist the wounded, they found it impossible, from a lack of means, to relieve their destitute conditions."<sup>16</sup> Other papers warned, "The general feeling of

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<sup>12</sup> "The Occupation of Warrenton," *Daily Richmond Enquirer*, Oct. 2, 1862; "From Fortress Monroe," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 1, 1862; "A letter from Warrenton, Va," *Daily Richmond Enquirer*, Oct. 6, 1862.

<sup>13</sup> "Fauquier [sic] County, Va." *Daily Morning News* [Savannah], Oct. 21, 1862.

<sup>14</sup> Stiles, *4<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry*, 21.

<sup>15</sup> "Condition of the Army," *Fayetteville Observer* [N.C.], Oct. 23, 1862.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*



the people is one of great horror at being again in the lines of the enemy.”<sup>17</sup> Reporters noted further, “Even those who have suffered least say that the constant apprehension of a visit from marauders who come at all hours by night and by days, and generally by stealth and by the rear of their dwellings, was such as to press terribly upon their nerves.”<sup>18</sup>

After remaining near Winchester in the weeks following the army’s return from Maryland, the Army of Northern Virginia, including Longstreet’s corps and the army’s artillery, slowly moved back to Culpeper, leaving Jackson’s corps in the Valley.<sup>19</sup> With the absence of the Confederates and the irregular presence of the Federals, Fauquier found itself in a no-man’s-land between two armies. The county was nominally under the control of the Union, but that claim was tenuous at best. The Federals had enough of a presence in the area to keep the main body of Lee’s army away, but not enough to exert complete control over the whole area. Residents struggled to keep track of which army was present and where. Soldiers from both sides came to doorsteps asking to be fed, and families never knew which soldiers they might find in their fields the next day. Any sighting of a Confederate soldier, however, encouraged the citizenry and reminded them of why they were facing such hardship. “Oh what a pleasure it affords the poor overrun citizens in this region of desolation and trouble to behold a Southern soldier,” Betty Gray mused. “It awakens our hopes, arouses our energies and gives us strength to stand double as many trials from our enemy to see that although left in their midst, we are still remembered by our beloved and absent ones.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "Fauquier County, Va." *Daily Morning News*, Oct. 21, 1862.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861-1865* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 192.

<sup>20</sup> Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary, 1860-1868," p.

This feeling of not being neglected cannot be overstated. The destruction and deprivation the county had already faced would have led many people to lose faith in the Confederacy. But the citizens of Fauquier remained steadfastly loyal, due in no small part to the regular visits by Stuart's cavalry, typically comprising local boys. Stuart routinely sent the Black Horse Troop on missions into the county. Not only did the men know the area, but they were able to visit family as well.<sup>21</sup> This type of reprieve was indispensable to both the soldiers and their families. It served to give both a deeper connection to the other's experiences. Soldiers saw firsthand the suffering brought about by the Union occupiers, and families were reassured by seeing their loved ones and hearing details about military engagements and plans. With unreliable mail and a lack of newspapers, news was a valuable commodity, especially accurate news about the Confederate army. This exchange, taking place in a no-man's-land that its residents considered under Union occupation encouraged loyalty to the Confederate cause and helped to cement the ties of the majority of citizens of Fauquier to the Confederacy.<sup>22</sup>

White Virginians and their slaves were not the only ones adjusting to living in a new world. For the occupiers, it was the first time that Union soldiers had come face-to-face with slavery, perhaps even to encounter black Americans. In 1860, the non-slave states and territories contained 19,048,849 people, of which 98.8 percent (18,822,654 people) were white.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, most African Americans lived in cities, making rural areas even more

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27, transcript of manuscript #000297986, James I. Robertson Jr. Civil War Sesquicentennial Legacy Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

<sup>21</sup> Stiles, *4th Virginia Cavalry*, 21-22.

<sup>22</sup> Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 99-100.

<sup>23</sup> Gary W. Gallagher, *The Union War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 42.

lily white.<sup>24</sup> The continued existence of slavery affected all men differently. As one newspaper editor remarked in mid-September 1862, "We so clearly see the terrible spirit engendered by slavery - its savage wrath and wanton destructiveness - should we not carefully heed the manifest necessity of so settling this contest as to remove or gradually modify the foul institution which underlies all our national calamities?"<sup>25</sup> As the Federals interacted more with both southern whites and slaves, many echoed the newsman's opinion.

The question posed by the newspaper editor was answered in a matter of days. President Lincoln decided to take advantage of the perceived Union victory at Antietam by issuing his preliminary emancipation proclamation on September 22. It stated that unless the Confederate states returned to the Union by January 1, 1863, their slaves, on that date, would be freed.<sup>26</sup> Expanding on the argument he made over the summer, Lincoln contended that freeing the slaves was a military necessity, as it would deplete the primary labor force of the Confederacy.<sup>27</sup> This was yet another example of Lincoln's shift away from a conciliatory policy toward white southerners. As his armies had discovered in the West and Trans-Mississippi, defeating the Confederacy involved more than simply occupying territory. It also required the destruction of the Confederate army and the targeting of property held by secessionists, including their slaves.<sup>28</sup> Emancipating the slaves

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>25</sup> "The Savageness of Slavery," *North American and United States Gazette* [Philadelphia], Sept. 19, 1862.

<sup>26</sup> McPherson, *Tried by War*, 131.

<sup>27</sup> Glenn David Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign & the Necessity of Emancipation: African Americans & the Fight for Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 5; Gallagher, *The Union War*, 51.

<sup>28</sup> James M. McPherson, "From Limited to Total War, 1861 - 1865," in *Drawn with the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press,

responsible for so much of the rebel workforce, as well as the lynchpin of southern society, was, as Lincoln came to realize in the summer of 1862, a necessary war measure, and one which he had the power to enact.<sup>29</sup> Lincoln's decision also had international ramifications. While Southerners routinely assumed Great Britain and France were on the brink of recognizing the Confederacy, in reality the closest Britain came was in the summer of 1862.<sup>30</sup> While some politicians were considering a process of mediation, news of the battle of Antietam and Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation crossed the Atlantic. The promise of ending slavery dramatically reduced any discussion of European involvement. With one stroke of his pen, Lincoln changed the whole tenor of the war.

This proclamation sent shockwaves through both armies and their governments. Many of Lincoln's soldiers had mixed feelings about this change in direction. After spending two months stationed between Centreville and Fluvanna, Virginia, members of the Sixteenth Vermont Volunteers had had plenty of time to witness slavery up close. One soldier's letter home was printed in the local newspaper, and while he perhaps embraced a more extreme view than most of his comrades, it was one that other Union soldiers were beginning to share:

The reality of the connection between slavery and the rebellion as cause and effect, is not more perfectly apparent to any one than to the soldier. He has opportunities to observe the effect of systematic human bondage directly upon the subjects of it, and indirectly upon those by whom it is enforced. He has means of learning the inherent iniquity of the system, its violation of inalienable human rights, its debasement of beings made like ourselves, but little lower than the angels, and its brutalizing influences upon the governing class. He finds that it alone

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1996), 76.

<sup>29</sup> Gallagher, *The Union War*, 51; "The President's Proclamation," *New York Times*, Jan. 3, 1863.

<sup>30</sup> Howard Jones, *Union in Peril: The Crisis over British Intervention in the Civil War* (Lincoln, N.E.: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 162-63.

explains that unnatural state of society which rendered the rebellion possible, not to say necessary.<sup>31</sup>

However, not all soldiers were fighting for the same reason as the Vermonter. For the majority of soldiers, the impetus to fight was still the “maintenance of the Union.”<sup>32</sup> Some men even rebelled against the changing objective of the war. One of the most extreme examples was James “Big Yankee” Ames, who, having enlisted in the Fifth New York Cavalry, deserted to join John Mosby’s command because he did not believe in fighting for emancipation.<sup>33</sup> Most dissenters, including George McClellan, believed it was still their duty to support the government and the president. McClellan even issued an order to his troops endorsing Lincoln’s proclamation. “Armed forces are raised and supported simply to sustain the civil authorities,” McClellan reasoned. “This fundamental rule of our political system is essential to the security of our republican institutions, and should be thoroughly understood and observed by every soldier.”<sup>34</sup> As they had for the past year, most soldiers followed their leader’s example.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> "Army Correspondence," *Vermont Chronicle*, June 2, 1863.

<sup>32</sup> Gallagher, *The Union War*, 34.

<sup>33</sup> James A. Ramage, *Gray Ghost: The Life of Col. John Singleton Mosby* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 65.

<sup>34</sup> U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. in 128 parts (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. 1, vol. 19, pt. 2, p. 395 (cited hereafter as *OR* and from the first series unless otherwise indicated).

<sup>35</sup> The historiographical debates over the reactions of Union soldiers to emancipation and the question of who freed American slaves are contentious. For succinct summaries of the debates, see Gallagher, *The Union War*, 2-3, 78-82, and 147-150. Some historians argue that enslaved people self-emancipated. See, for example, Barbara J. Fields, “Who Freed the Slaves?” in Geoffrey C. Ward, *The Civil War: An Illustrated History* (New York: Knopf, 1990). Others credit Abraham Lincoln and Union policymakers for ending slavery. See, for example, James McPherson, “Who Freed the Slaves?” in McPherson, *Drawn with the Sword*, 192-207. Still others point to the Union army. See Gallagher, *The Union War*, 108, 147-150; and Berlin et al., “The Black Military Experience, 1861-1867,” in *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University

News of Lincoln's announcement slowly trickled into Fauquier. "I feel much troubled in regard to Lincoln's proclamation in regard to the servants," Susan Caldwell confided to her husband. "I don't expect we will have one left any where in VA."<sup>36</sup> This was already proving to be the case. The presence of the Union army, either in or near Fauquier since March, had taken a toll on Fauquier's labor force. Many people in the county were struggling to find help with their farms and household tasks and white residents feared the number would rise as a result of the proclamation. Tee Edmonds reported the loss of two slaves on October 18, including the family's cook.<sup>37</sup> It was only going to get worse when the Union army re-entered Virginia.

In the days and weeks following Lincoln's proclamation and the Confederate's return to Virginia, the bulk of George McClellan's army remained in Maryland. Citing poor roads, tired men, and a lack of supplies, McClellan did not take any action against Lee's retreating army.<sup>38</sup> J.E.B. Stuart managed to embarrass the Army of the Potomac again when he launched a raid into southern Pennsylvania that captured hundreds of horses and

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Press, 1992), 189. Most historians now agree that emancipation was a complex process that hinged on the actions of numerous individuals, including U.S. officials, abolitionists, the Union army, and enslaved people. See, for example, Berlin et al., "The Destruction of Slavery, 1861-1865," in *Slaves No More*, 5-6; and Glenn David Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 6-7. Brasher also argues that "the issue of slaves fleeing to Union lines was less important in the debate over emancipation than was the military contribution of African Americans to both the North and the South," an argument Lincoln would seize upon in 1862. Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 7.

<sup>36</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, October 6, 1862, "*My Heart Is So Rebellious*": *The Caldwell Letters, 1861-1865*, ed. J. Michael Welton (Warrenton, Va.: Fauquier National Bank, 1991), 157.

<sup>37</sup> Amanda Virginia Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds: Lass of the Mosby Confederacy, 1859-1867*, ed. Nancy Chappelle Baird (Stephens City, Va.: Commercial Press, 1984), 121.

<sup>38</sup> McPherson, *Tried by War*, 135.

dozens of prisoners.<sup>39</sup> Lee sent the cavalry on this mission to ascertain what the Union army was doing and where it was headed, fearing that it might march east and south to mount another attack on Richmond.<sup>40</sup> In twenty-seven hours, Stuart's cavalry, including members of the Black Horse, covered eighty miles and captured 1,200 horses, along with the prisoners.<sup>41</sup> The Confederates suffered only one casualty and two men lost.<sup>42</sup> It was an incredible feat, and the Federal cavalry, seeking to track down the rebels, lost half of their men from straggling.<sup>43</sup> As General George G. Meade remarked, "Our cavalry was scattered, and could not be collected in time to oppose him [Stuart] and cut him off. This will be a mortifying affair to McClellan, and will do him, I fear, serious injury."<sup>44</sup> McClellan, for his part, blamed the cavalry's "deficiency" for its failure to intercept the rebels.<sup>45</sup> Once more, the Confederate cavalry proved their superiority.

Soon after this event, on October 26, the Army of the Potomac finally marched south and back across the Potomac, in part because Meade had been correct. Stuart's ride had embarrassed McClellan, no matter who he blamed, but he had also been pressured by Lincoln, who had been urging him for weeks to take action. The Union army soon stretched across northern Virginia, and unfortunately for the people of Fauquier, most of the army took up residence within the county, with McClellan's headquarters established in

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<sup>39</sup> Jeffrey D. Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln: The Army of the Potomac* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 178.

<sup>40</sup> Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, II: 422.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 423; Stiles, *4<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry*, 20-21.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 423.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> George Gordon Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade*, ed. George Gordon Meade, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), I: 320.

<sup>45</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 178.

Rectortown.<sup>46</sup> Despite being issued ten days of rations for their march south, many soldiers took advantage of the surrounding countryside by stripping locals of crops so recently harvested.<sup>47</sup> Many officers claimed the men did so because they felt the Emancipation Proclamation and the Confiscation Acts gave them the right.<sup>48</sup> Southerners, one soldier contended, “Deserved to have their property taken, we all felt.”<sup>49</sup>

By early November, Fauquier was longer in a no-man’s-land and again faced full-time enemy occupation. Skirmishing with Stuart’s rear guard continued as the Confederates settled across the Rappahannock in Culpeper County.<sup>50</sup> During this period, Ida Dulany cared for sick and wounded Confederates who were slowly replaced by hungry Yankees as the armies moved south.<sup>51</sup> Hal Dulany attempted to travel with the retreating Confederates in order to protect himself from the oncoming Union army but was caught and arrested. When he informed the Federals he was no longer in the Confederate army, he was paroled and allowed to return home.<sup>52</sup> This lenient treatment of a former Confederate lieutenant was most likely due to the fact that one of the Union officers stationed in the northern part of Fauquier was Major Chapman, a man Ida had befriended earlier in the year.<sup>53</sup>

With the influx of Union soldiers, the Dulanys lost all their turkeys, most of their chickens, and several horse bridles.<sup>54</sup> Ida served breakfast to many soldiers, but Hal made

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 178-79.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, II: 426.

<sup>51</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 141-43.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 143.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.



them pay, a move about which Ida had mixed feelings. "I hated to touch their money," she noted, "but knew it was best to do so, as we should have been annoyed to death if we gave to all that asked, and to refuse them entirely would prevent our obtaining the protection we needed from them."<sup>55</sup> For the Dulanys, it had become a matter of survival to at least tolerate the Federals. They briefly managed to obtain a guard, but he left when his regiment moved out of the area.<sup>56</sup> With plundering beginning again in earnest, each member of the family was given a job. When Union soldiers were sighted, Hal watched the hog pen, Ida and her sister Kate guarded the sheep, and the overseer, Mr. Kidwell, secured the horses.<sup>57</sup>

With the Union army's return, residents noted not only the losses of crops and livestock, but also of slaves. Unwilling to believe that her family's slaves would leave willingly, Betty Gray lamented to her diary, "The servants are bribed away by them and are leaving us to go to them accordingly. How long will this state of things last? How long?"<sup>58</sup> While families went to great lengths to retrieve livestock and horses taken or stolen by the Union army, the same effort was not made for runaway slaves, especially as it became clear that the Union army would not return them. Many times, if slaves stole away in a wagon, the owners attempted to recover the wagon, but not the slaves themselves.<sup>59</sup> Residents were content to wait and see if their slaves returned, as some did. However, this attitude was beginning to change as, Betty Gray noted in her diary:

Although our servants are a great loss, if turned into money. But this we had not the heart to do & heart they have been ever since the first yankee Army came to Warrenton, perfectly free, to eat, sleep, visit or work just as they felt in the humour. To give them their work

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 143.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>58</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 27.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 40.

or speak positively to them, off they would go to Brother Yankee & return in a week or so. This conduct was not easily born with but had to be taken quietly. Now the whole tribe have taken themselves off & we are much relieved. The Nuisances have left. 80 left Warrenton.<sup>60</sup>

The Grays were not the only ones relieved when slaves left. For many families, already struggling to get by, it meant one less mouth to feed. For slaves that remained, owners did what they could to find work for them. In late December 1862, Ida Dulany was pleased to realize that she had managed to hire out most of her slaves for the coming year. She did not want them to remain at Oakley “to consume the scanty supplies laid in for the family.”<sup>61</sup> In fact, so many slaves had left the county that Susan Caldwell wondered if the traditional “hiring day” that typically took place on New Year’s Day would be possible. “There are but few servants in town, and even now they are talking about this new law after 1st of Jan meaning Emancipation bill - The darkies know every thing,” she observed.<sup>62</sup> Other residents were more magnanimous. Minutes from a meeting at Warrenton Baptist Church in February 1863 noted, “We are again as driftwood upon the swelling waters, and know not where we shall fall . . . During this brief period of twelve months, several of our members have died, and many of the colored brothers and sisters have gone to unite with their Yankee friends.”<sup>63</sup>

When slaves left Fauquier, many travelled to Washington, D.C. or farther north, but most remained in northern Virginia. As a result, the Union army had little choice but to

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 149.

<sup>62</sup> Lee Moffett, *The Diary of Court House Square: Warrenton, Virginia, USA, From Early Times through 1986, with 1987-1995 Reflections* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1996), 32; Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, December 28, 1862, “*My Heart Is So Rebellious*,” 167.

<sup>63</sup> Edna M. Stephenson, *History of the Warrenton Baptist Church, 1849-1988* (Warrenton, VA: Piedmont Press, 1988), 19-20.

build quarters for them.<sup>64</sup> Alexandria, firmly under Union control by January 1863, was an especially popular location.<sup>65</sup> Other former slaves went to work in Union camps, where they became useful sources of knowledge of both the countryside and the people who resided there. As Union army officials had discovered on the Peninsula and at Fort Monroe, contraband could also provide important information about the strength and location of the Confederate armies.<sup>66</sup> When Irvin McDowell's and John Geary's forces had been stationed in Fauquier in the spring, numerous former slaves came to them with information. "A contraband came in who belonged to a man named Combs," one of McDowell's staff noted, "who reported that Combs went to Fredericksburg on Wednesday and reported that our troops were coming and to tell them to burn the bridges."<sup>67</sup> General Alfred Pleasonton learned in November 1862 from a slave "just from Strasburg" that "D. H. Hill's corps was 2 miles beyond that place."<sup>68</sup> Union officers also understood the danger to former slaves who collaborated with them. "As a general rule, [contraband] come voluntarily forward and disclose such facts as they deem to our advantage to be apprised of," one soldier noted, "oftentimes at much personal risk to themselves. For their masters threaten them with summary vengeance for all such acts."<sup>69</sup>

To protect their valuable property, and also to stem the tide of knowledge flowing from slaves to the Union army, some people in Fauquier sent their slaves to safety behind the Confederate lines. However, this threat often gave slaves the impetus they needed to

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<sup>64</sup> Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1995), 85.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>66</sup> "The Rebel Invasion," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 18, 1863.

<sup>67</sup> *OR*, vol. 51, pt. 1, p. 69.

<sup>68</sup> *OR*, vol. 19, p. 127.

<sup>69</sup> "Cavalry Operations," *New York Herald*, May 4, 1863.

run away.<sup>70</sup> Ned Turner attempted to send slaves and valuable livestock farther south but was thwarted the night before when “a squad of Yankees appeared with a wagon and team and carried off the family of Negroes, thereby rendering abortive the whole scheme.”<sup>71</sup> While it is unclear if the slaves themselves or other contraband familiar with the situation tipped off the Union raiders, it seems likely that the arrival of the soldiers was not a coincidence. Northern newspapers reported on the exodus south, and many of them noted that, in addition to being threatened with removal, slaves were also told that if they fell into the hands of the Union army, they would be sold to Cuba or Haiti.<sup>72</sup> One soldier wrote home of what a fugitive slave, a former cook, had told him: “She was informed by her master’s family that the Federal authorities would sell her to Cuba, upon falling into their hands. Similar ridiculous stories were told of fugitive slaves who were daily slaughtered in the city of Washington, and put to cruel tortures.”<sup>73</sup> This was another attempt to scare slaves into maintaining some sort of loyalty to the family, and by extension, to the Confederacy.<sup>74</sup>

The exodus of slaves from Fauquier, whether or not by choice, had an immediate effect on the people left behind. For Betty Gray and her family, it was quite an adjustment having to maintain a household without servants. Describing one of the first days in her life without slave assistance, Betty (again referring to herself by her middle name “Frances”) reported: “[A]rose early & went about her new & laborious exercises, but not with a heavy heart. F. is resigned to her task & will cheerfully do all she can until help can be obtained.”<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Chandra Manning, *Troubled Refuge: Struggling for Freedom in the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016), 3.

<sup>71</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 162.

<sup>72</sup> Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 21

<sup>73</sup> “Army Correspondence,” *Vermont Chronicle*, June 2, 1863.

<sup>74</sup> Jordan, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 21.

<sup>75</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 40.

In the coming days, Betty was proud when the family survived its first round of visitors without the assistance of slaves, writing, "We get along better than I expected but the novelty has not yet worn off. It will be very hard to have to work in earnest knowing there is no help for us."<sup>76</sup> Her father, meanwhile, was doing what he could to find workers to help the family. He had some success, hiring a "Jewish boy" who was a "great help . . . in churning & milks."<sup>77</sup> Mr. Gray had less luck hiring a woman, no doubt because other families were also looking for help. In Warrenton, there had been a labor shortage for a few months. Susan Caldwell remarked to her husband in November 1862, "There is scarcely a servant in town. We cannot get any one to help us in the house or even get washing done is a task - we have to work hard ourselves, that is one reason we have not time during the day to *sew*."<sup>78</sup>

Not all families found themselves in such dire straits. The Dulanys had slaves living on their property that continued to work for the family.<sup>79</sup> And while the Caldwell women had to take charge of most of the household chores, they still had a few loyal slaves who helped with the outside work. "Uncle John is very faithful and as soon as any Yankees are about, he runs for the black colt and will hide him as he says so no *ankees* [sic] can get him, reported Susan."<sup>80</sup> That some slaves took advantage of the presence of the Union army and seized their freedom while others chose to stay is yet another example of the fluidity of life on the border. Living in an area constantly occupied by both armies was a precarious place for slaves. They were much closer to powerful allies and access to the federal army, and the

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, November 29, 1862, "*My Heart is so Rebellious*," 160.

<sup>79</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 167.

<sup>80</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, February 5, 1863, "*My Heart is so Rebellious*," 175.

protection it provided, was easier to gain than for slaves in the interior of the Confederacy. Yet, the proximity of the Confederate army posed an ever-present danger as the rebels could return at any point to reinforce the status quo.<sup>81</sup>

Some slaves, like those belonging to the Grays, took advantage of Union occupation and left to see if they could create a better life for themselves.<sup>82</sup> Others, like those owned by the Dulanys and the Caldwells, waited, perhaps wanting to see if Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation would be put into effect and, more importantly, if the Union army would be victorious. There were stories of slaves who had run away to join the British when they had promised freedom during the American Revolution and the subsequent re-enslavement of many when the Americans triumphed.<sup>83</sup> Many slaves in Virginia did not wish to make the same mistake. And while those in Fauquier were well-informed, due to the numerous federal occupations, other slaves in the state were not. "I wuz free a long time fo' I knew it," Fannie Berry recalled. "My mistess still hired me out 'till one day, in talk' to de woman she hired me to, she - God bless her soul - she told me, 'Fannie, yo' ar' free an' I don't have to pay your master for you now. You stay with me.'"<sup>84</sup> Another former slave had a similar experience: "Dat ol wench! A ole heifer! Oh chile! It makes my blood bile when I think 'bout it," Minnie Folkes remembered. "She kept mother ig'unt. Didn't tell her nothin' 'bout bein'

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<sup>81</sup> Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 247-48, 251.

<sup>82</sup> By 1863, 37,706 Virginia slaves, out of a population of 346,848, successfully ran away, despite slave patrols, Confederate troops, and local militia. See Jordan, Jr., *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, 72.

<sup>83</sup> Brasher, *The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation*, 12-13.

<sup>84</sup> Charles L. Perdue, Jr., Thomas E. Barden, and Robert K. Phillips, eds. *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976), 36-37.

free 'til way in May.”<sup>85</sup> Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation changed the course of the war, and the ripples felt by it also affected life in Fauquier, especially amongst those held in bondage.

As can be expected, the Confederate government and its armies did not respond well to Lincoln’s proclamation. Jefferson Davis issued General Orders No. 111 on Christmas Eve 1862. Addressing both the proclamation and the Union army’s enlistment of African Americans, permitted under the Militia Act, the president of the Confederacy had harsh words for the Federals.<sup>86</sup> “The president of the United States has by public and official declaration signified not only his approval of the effort to excite servile war within the Confederacy,” Davis declared, “but his intention to give aid and encouragement thereto if these independent States shall continue to refuse submission to a foreign power after the 1st day of January next.”<sup>87</sup> As a result of Lincoln’s actions, Davis continued, “all negro slaves captured in arms be at once delivered over to the executive authorities of the respective States to which they belong to be dealt with according to the laws of said States.” By letting the states handle African American prisoners of war, Davis was consigning captured black soldiers to execution or a life of enslavement once more. Robert E. Lee also had harsh words for the U.S. government. Writing to Confederate Secretary of War James Seddon, Lee called Lincoln’s proclamation “a savage and brutal policy” that left “no alternative but success or degradation worse than death.” It was the only way, he continued, “to save the honor of our families from pollution, our social system from destruction.”<sup>88</sup> Lee’s tough

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>86</sup> “Emancipation. President Lincoln’s Proclamation,” *New York Times*, Jan. 3, 1863.

<sup>87</sup> *OR*, series 2, vol. 5, p. 795–97.

<sup>88</sup> Gary W. Gallagher, *Becoming Confederates: Paths to a New National Loyalty* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 19.

words echoed what many across Virginia were feeling. While women like Betty Gray and Ida Dulany may have thought losing their slaves was just another trial of wartime, they were beginning to realize how much harder life was without that labor and how it would alter the world in which they lived.

Life under Union occupation was marked by uncertainty. Were those soldiers riding by the house Union or Confederate? Would they stop? Did the horses need to be carried off to the woods? Would the soldiers expect to be fed? These were just a few of the questions that ran through residents' minds. It was impossible to plan and impossible to feel safe. People attempted to carry on with their daily lives, but plans routinely had to be changed. Supplies were increasingly hard to find, with families taking trips into nearby Loudoun County to buy groceries.<sup>89</sup> Others attempted to go as far as Alexandria, but did not fare much better.<sup>90</sup> The devastation in the county extended to its mills, which had been burned by Union soldiers, and made flour both scarce and expensive.<sup>91</sup> Like the soldiers who showed up on their front porches, the residents themselves had turned into foragers, searching for whatever food and supplies they could find.

The constant presence of both armies magnified the losses. It fell to the women, especially, to push on even as the shortage of food and supplies took its toll. With daily visits from the armies, women found themselves having to scrounge for food, not only for their own family and friends, but also for any soldiers who showed up on their doorsteps. The constant stress of living in this occupied region distinguished its people from the rest of the state and much of the rest of the Confederacy. Very few noncombatants at this time

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<sup>89</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 147.

<sup>90</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, December 14, 1862, "*My Heart is So Rebellious*," 162.

<sup>91</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, November 29, 1862, *Ibid.*, 159.



in the war experienced occupation by not one, but two armies. Even though rebel occupation brought hope to the white residents, it was still a strain on resources. As many observers had predicted when the Confederacy moved its capital to Richmond, northern Virginia would be where the war was won or lost.

As colder weather arrived with the region's first snowstorm, residents reflected on the tribulations the year had brought them.<sup>92</sup> "All the summer we were surrounded by the Federal army during their onward to Richmond," Betty Gray noted. "When quite unexpectedly Jackson got in their rear and drove them from our sight double quick. They made them skedaddle from these regions, some never to return again. Then after enjoying the sight of our brave and gallant army once more and having the pleasure of meeting with friends near and dear to us for 3 months, how awfully distressing to be again separated with the detestable barrier of the Yankee Army between."<sup>93</sup> Betty also ruminated on the ways in which this war had upended not only her world, but also the lives of those around her. With the arrival of the Union army, her grandparents' home of Mt. Airy faced even more destruction. "The suffering that the privations of the citizens around here even never dreamed of before," she recorded. "From a rich woman Grandma is left nearly in poverty. An old lady over 80 who had lived in affluence to be robbed of all she had is too sad to think of."<sup>94</sup> Ida Dulany also reported that Kinloch, the family home of Ida's mother and her uncle Ned Turner, was ransacked by Union soldiers and Turner arrested, although quickly released.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 25.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 147.

This was the embodiment of war on the local level. While most citizens were more than willing to share their meager supplies with the Confederates, it nonetheless meant a struggle to feed the family. It was then doubly worse when the Federals came through, since what little remained was being taken by a detested enemy. Regardless of one's loyalty, having two armies on one's doorstep was a costly business, as the surviving family of Robert E. Scott learned more severely than many others. As Ida Dulany reported, "Last summer some of Geary's men brutally murdered Mr. R.E. Scott. This fall the soldiers went to his place and literally left his family without one mouthful to eat." Ida continued by noting that the soldiers took everything they could, including all of the Scotts' corn, wheat, and meat.<sup>96</sup> When Mrs. Scott appealed to Union commander Ambrose Burnside, he replied that "he could not help her, that if she suffered she must remember the South brought it on her."<sup>97</sup>

Most citizens of Fauquier rejoiced when most of the Federals marched out of the county in late November, headed towards Fredericksburg. "Joyful news," Betty Gray reported. "The Federal Army have all skedaddled again. They went off in great haste. Burnt wagons & stores of various kinds. Now we can breathe free once more."<sup>98</sup> Not only was the federal army on the move, but it also had a new commander. Following the midterm elections, Lincoln finally did what he had been thinking of doing for a while; he fired McClellan.<sup>99</sup> As his subordinate, General George Meade thought he understood the reason. Remarking to his wife, he surmised, "[McClellan] errs on the side of prudence and caution,

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 27.

<sup>99</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 183; McPherson, *Tried by War*, 141-42; "Important Army News," *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* [Mass.], Nov. 10, 1862.

and that a little more rashness on his part would improve his generalship.”<sup>100</sup> In his place, Lincoln asked General Ambrose Burnside, one of McClellan’s corps commanders, to take control of the army. McClellan accepted his fate and gave a farewell speech on the porch of the Warren Green Hotel in Warrenton.<sup>101</sup> Although Lincoln and many in his government were fed up with McClellan, his army was loyal to the end, with George Meade noting, “[The] army is filled with gloom and greatly depressed.”<sup>102</sup> When his generals went to pay their respects, McClellan, according to Meade, told them “that separation from this army was the severest blow that could be inflicted upon him.”<sup>103</sup>

Although at first hesitant to take over out of loyalty to his former commander, Burnside did his best to make Lincoln happy.<sup>104</sup> And taking action against Lee’s army was what Lincoln wanted. Burnside proposed to shift operations towards Fredericksburg and away from reliance on the rickety Orange and Alexandria Railroad that ran through Fauquier. This would allow him to open more secure supply lines along the lower Potomac and make use of the railroad from northern Virginia to Richmond.<sup>105</sup> Lincoln was skeptical of the plan, as once more it seemed the commander was more intent on capturing the Confederate capital than destroying the Confederate army.<sup>106</sup> Longstreet’s corps moved quickly from Culpeper to counter Burnside’s actions by occupying the heights above Fredericksburg.<sup>107</sup> While Burnside waited for the pontoons he needed to build a bridge

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<sup>100</sup> Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade*, I: :319.

<sup>101</sup> “The Army of the Potomac,” *Harper’s Weekly*, Nov. 29, 1862.

<sup>102</sup> Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade*, I: 325.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 326.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 319.

<sup>105</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *Fredericksburg & Chancellorsville: The Dare Mark Campaign* (Lincoln, N.E.: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 12-13.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

across the Rappahannock, the rest of Lee's army had plenty of time to expand and strengthen their position.<sup>108</sup> Fighting began on the morning of December 11, with the real federal assault coming on December 13. Fighting was fierce, as Burnside's men faced heavy firing from the Confederate's well-fortified positions.<sup>109</sup> Finally, on the evening of December 14, Burnside gave up and retreated back across the Rappahannock.<sup>110</sup> Yet another Union commander had been unsuccessful in his first fight against the Army of Northern Virginia.

The battle had disastrous consequences for some families in Fauquier. While most local men were part of reserve forces during the battle, the Forty-Ninth Virginia Infantry fought bravely and lost six soldiers killed in action and forty-six wounded.<sup>111</sup> One of the casualties was James French Gray, one of Betty's beloved brothers. He was wounded in the fighting and taken to a hospital in Richmond. Nathaniel Gray, Betty's father, travelled south in hopes of bringing his wounded son home. Unfortunately, while Gray found him in the hospital, James died on Christmas day, Nathaniel's birthday. "This is truly once more a house of mourning without hope of a mistake in the sad, the saddest of tidings that [have] been brought since this unjust war commenced," Betty lamented. "For 17 months has he led the hard soldier's life without a murmur. True to his country's cause, he obeyed the first call."<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Emory Thomas, *Robert E. Lee* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 268-69.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 272.

<sup>111</sup> Kleese, *49th Virginia Infantry*, 32; Wallace, *17th Virginia Infantry*, 42; Bell, *11th Virginia Infantry*, 35.

<sup>112</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 30.

The Christmas season was a hard one for all involved, even for people who had not suffered as great a loss as the Grays. Susan Caldwell's little children were disappointed by the lack of presents, though they cheered up when Susan told them, "'Old Chris' was a Yankee and our pickets would not permit him to pass through our lines. They were satisfied and were happy all day."<sup>113</sup> But most people did the best they could, and while presents were hard to come by, they managed to gather enough food for a hearty feast. Soldiers in Warrenton who had been too badly wounded at Fredericksburg to be sent to Richmond were treated to a Christmas dinner at the Baptist church.<sup>114</sup> Despite loss and hardship, the Confederate triumph at Fredericksburg meant that most of the citizens of Fauquier ended the year on a high note. The victory, "combined with our own relief from the presence of our barbarous foe," Ida Dulany observed in her diary, "all combine to excite our hopes and cheer our spirits."<sup>115</sup>

Unfortunately, those cheered spirits did not last. The turn of the calendar to a new year did not bring peace to Fauquier. Although women like Susan Caldwell had hoped a Confederate victory would rid their region of Union soldiers, not even the success at Fredericksburg would achieve that dream. "Spring will find us where we are now," Susan worried to her husband, "and the suffering of families this winter is heart rending."<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, December 28, 1862, *"My Heart is So Rebellious,"* 166.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 166-67.

<sup>115</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 149.

<sup>116</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, November 29, 1862, *"My Heart is So Rebellious,"* 159.

## Chapter 6: Obey Orders and Fight, Winter - Spring 1863

The Confederate success at Fredericksburg gave the South something to celebrate throughout the holiday season, but it did not bring tidings of peace and goodwill. Despite Lee's victory, the two armies remained facing each other across the Rappahannock River. And while the fighting did not take place in Fauquier, the main bodies of both armies settled in nearby for winter. Once more, thanks to the misfortunes of geography, Fauquier was a no man's land, caught between the two armies. Almost a year of incursions had taken its toll. "We could not believe that the struggle was to be such as it is," Ida Dulany's mother remarked to her cousin, Mary Custis Lee, "and yet I can with truth say that that even when things looked darkest when we have had most to endure, I have never been otherwise than perfectly hopeful as to the end."<sup>1</sup> Others were not as optimistic. "Never was a country more changed," Betty Gray mourned. "Not a fence or anything familiar between this & town."<sup>2</sup> And the incursions would not stop any time soon.

The geography of Fauquier had often worked in its residents' favor. The many hills and hollows protected homes and served as vantage points from which to see an advancing army. The many forests shielded Confederate cavalry, civilian men escaping both the Union army and Confederate conscription officers, runaway slaves and livestock when the armies passed through. Yet, Fauquier's location invited trouble. With mountain passes leading to both the Shenandoah Valley and Washington, D.C., the area was ripe for control by both armies, and in the winter of 1863, geography would betray the loyal Confederates. The

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<sup>1</sup> Marietta Turner Powell to Mary Custis Lee, January 16, 1863, Section 24, Lee Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary, 1860-1868," p. 32, Transcript of manuscript #000297986, James I. Robertson, Jr. Civil War Sesquicentennial Legacy Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

Rappahannock River formed the southern boundary of the county, separating it from Rappahannock and Culpeper counties, before it flowed into Stafford and down through Fredericksburg. The river was an important part of life for the county, as numerous mills were constructed along its banks, and it tied the county to the economies of its neighbors. Yet, by 1863 it was no longer a connector to the rest of the Confederacy, but a dividing line.<sup>3</sup> Even though the Union army did not send in a force to occupy Warrenton, or even the northern sections of the county, neither did the Confederates take control.

However, because of its location and its geographical features, the county was not abandoned. Skirmishes in the mountain passes, in the hills outside Warrenton and other villages, and especially battles and raids along the river plagued the county throughout the cold, snowy winter. Neither army could spare the troops to occupy the county but neither could they leave it alone, with disastrous consequences for the residents. "Virginia has suffered terribly[,] particularly in the counties of Fauquier, Prince William, Fairfax and others," Susan Caldwell moaned to her husband. "I oftentimes wish we could have a force here sufficient to keep the yankees at their distance if not that, that no confederate soldier be in the town for any time, so the yankees could have no excuse to come on any expedition."<sup>4</sup> Susan Caldwell did not get her wish. With part of J.E.B. Stuart's cavalry stationed in Culpeper, and the rest of the Confederate army strung along its banks farther south, the Rappahannock was destined to become a new battleground.

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<sup>3</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *Fredericksburg & Chancellorsville: The Dare Mark Campaign* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, February 5, 1863, "*My Heart Is So Rebellious*": *The Caldwell Letters, 1861-1865*, ed. J. Michael Welton (Warrenton, Va.: Fauquier National Bank, 1991), 176.

Raids by both armies continued as cavalry regiments crossed and re-crossed the Rappahannock to scout enemy position, capture men and supplies, and wreak havoc on transportation and communication lines. These raids created chaos in the region as residents were inundated by soldiers from both armies seeking food and supplies. "They did more damage and destroyed more in one night among the citizens in town than any *army* had ever done," Susan Caldwell remarked to her husband regarding the latest Union invasion.<sup>5</sup> General Stuart ended his year with one more final, successful raid into Fairfax on December 28 and 29, aided by Fitz Lee's brigade, which included the Fourth Virginia Cavalry and the Black Horse Troop. The Confederates captured much needed clothing and arms.<sup>6</sup> After taking heavy fire at Fairfax Court House, the cavalry retreated to Middleburg before heading to Culpeper Court House. The Fourth spent most of the winter picketing the Rappahannock. The Black Horse, stationed in Fauquier to report on federal movements in Fauquier, Stafford, and Prince William counties, continued to recruit men and requisition horses.<sup>7</sup>

In the first weeks of the new year, Confederates scouted throughout the county, but paid particular attention to its southern region. "The Black Horse is still doing duty around us," Betty noted on January 5. "They often capture some of the Yanks. F. hopes they may continue sending scouts in this vicinity. While they remain the Feds won't have to come."<sup>8</sup> The presence of the Black Horse aided in the delivery of supplies as they protected the railroad between Rappahannock Station and Warrenton. The weather presented occasional difficulties. Throughout January and February, numerous heavy snows fell, hindering

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<sup>5</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, January 5, 1863, *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>6</sup> "By Telegraph," *Daily Southern Crisis* [Jackson, Miss.], Jan. 5, 1863.

<sup>7</sup> Kenneth L. Stiles, *4th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1985), 22.

<sup>8</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 31.



movement and limiting the amount of reconnaissance possible by the Black Horse.<sup>9</sup> Still, interspersed with the bad storms were warmer days, during which time companies would rush to conduct patrols before the next storm hit.

Union cavalry, under the command of Colonel Percy Wyndham, conducted their own reconnaissance during this time as they attempted to rid Fauquier of all Confederate forces. Union patrols searched the southern part of the county several times in February but never managed to capture many rebels. During one mission in early February, soldiers of the Fifth New York Cavalry were sent to rout any Confederates present in Warrenton. They searched the Warren Green Hotel but found it deserted, which was typical of their efforts. It seemed the Confederates were always one step ahead. As one reporter noted, "In some of the houses examined the beds were still warm, but rebel officers who had previously occupied them having left in hot haste. In some cases watches and overcoats were left behind."<sup>10</sup>

This did not prevent Wyndham from trying to exert some control over the region. Despite not capturing any Confederates, Wyndham's men wreaked havoc on Warrenton. Susan Caldwell reported to her husband that not only did the Federals proceed to get drunk, but they also smashed store windows and stole whatever they wished from a variety of Warrenton shops. Before riding away, they stole fourteen horses from the stables of the hotel, some of which belonged to men of the Black Horse.<sup>11</sup> Soon after the men returned behind their lines in Fairfax County, Wyndham again dispatched the Fifth New

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<sup>9</sup> Amanda Virginia Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds: Lass of the Mosby Confederacy, 1859-1867*, ed. Nancy Chappellear Baird (Stephens City, Va.: Commercial Press, 1984), 130; Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 31, 33.

<sup>10</sup> "Expedition under Col. Wyndham to Warrenton. Sulphur Springs and Waterloo—No Rebels to Be Found, &c," *New York Herald*, Feb. 4, 1863.

<sup>11</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, February 5, 1863, "My Heart Is So Rebellious," 176.

York and rode with them as they left Centreville on February 9 to track down Confederate scouting parties in the area. A squadron was sent once more to Warrenton “to clean out the place of rebels,” but once more they came up empty handed. Rather than having made the mission in vain, “the next morning they seized the telegraph station at Warrenton Junction, cutting the wire thence to the Rappahannock river,” before also managing to capture two rebel pickets at Elk Run.<sup>12</sup> Renewed snowstorms at the end of February limited the number of Union scouts sent to the county, and, with Fitz Lee’s brigade still in Culpeper and pickets stretched along the Rappahannock, the Union cavalry would soon make their way back into Fauquier. Soon, though, another distraction claimed their attention, one that was causing many more headaches than any previous Confederate raids.

The turn of the calendar not only ushered in a new year, it also introduced a new style of fighting to the region. This was a turning point for the war in northern Virginia. General John Pope’s actions in the summer had signaled a shift in Union policy as Lincoln realized that, despite success in the west and Trans-Mississippi, the Union army was losing in the east. This war would not end as quickly as he had hoped, and he had an additional enemy on his hands: southern civilians. Lincoln’s turn toward Pope’s uncompromising style of fighting ended his policy of conciliation.

However, Lincoln and his War Department were not the only ones making adjustments to strategy. As guerrilla fighting spread from Missouri and Arkansas north into Iowa and east across the Mississippi to Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, Jefferson Davis and the Confederate Congress decided changes were necessary.<sup>13</sup> Despite the apparent

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<sup>12</sup> "Important Cavalry Reconnoissances," *New York Herald*, Feb. 12, 1863.

<sup>13</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *American Civil War Guerrillas: Changing the Rules of Warfare* (Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger, 2013), 17.

success of Confederate guerrilla bands, especially against the Union army in Arkansas and Kentucky, not all rebel guerrillas were benefitting the Confederate cause. With reports of looting and the killing of civilians by its irregulars reaching Richmond at an alarming rate, the Confederate government decided the time had come to limit the actions and number of guerrillas across the South.<sup>14</sup> That decision had major ramifications for the people of northern Virginia.

In April of 1862, the Confederate Congress passed two bills that Davis and his government hoped would address the declining enlistment numbers and the growing issue of the Confederate army's inability to defend remote regions of the Confederacy. The Confederate Conscription Act made all white males between the ages of 18 and 35 eligible to be drafted into service, the first legislation of its kind in American history. Five days later, on April 19, the Partisan Ranger Act also passed the Congress.<sup>15</sup> In addition to regulating the guerrilla war, the act allowed President Davis and commanding officers to raise partisan units. The units could serve in any of the three branches of service (artillery, infantry or cavalry), and soldiers who enlisted were entitled to "the same pay, rations and quarters during their term of service," and were "subject to the same regulations as other soldiers."<sup>16</sup> However, that is where the similarities with the army ended. The act also stated that if a partisan delivered any captured military equipment to the quartermaster, he would be paid for it. Furthermore, and this was the piece that caused the most consternation amongst all involved, the soldiers enlisted in these partisan units could keep

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 16-17.

<sup>15</sup> *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-05), V: 269.

<sup>16</sup> James M. Matthews, ed., "An Act to Organize Bands of Partisan Rangers," April 21, 1862, *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Passed at the First Session of the First Congress, 1862* (Richmond: R. M. Smith, 1862), 48.

any non-military equipment they confiscated. The act was meant to help regulate the existing guerrillas by giving the president and secretary of war the ability to control the number of units and the number of officers in those units.<sup>17</sup> It also placed partisans under the same regulations as regular soldiers, as outlined in the Confederate Articles of War.<sup>18</sup>

The act also presented a solution to a problem. Limiting and regulating the use of guerrilla warfare enabled the Confederate Congress to aid more effectively loyal communities already within Union lines. Many of the guerrilla bands that had operated in the Trans-Mississippi, and such border states as Kentucky, existed because the Confederate army was not present to defend pro-secessionist civilians.<sup>19</sup> The act also called on existing independent bands to join the new partisan units as a way to regulate them. Many in the field, and in the government, had come to regret the guerrilla war and sought to contain its greatest excesses. The act made officially sanctioned partisan ranger units both legal and legitimate in the eyes of the Confederate Congress and War Department. Many Union soldiers, and even other Confederate officers, would not agree.

The act itself was written by Captain John Scott, the firebrand from Fauquier who had been the first commander of the Black Horse Troop, and it had the support of President Davis, who realized it was time to regulate the various partisan bands that had sprung up across the Confederacy.<sup>20</sup> However, Secretary of War George W. Randolph, who helped to draft the Confederate Conscription Act, worried it would be overshadowed by the Ranger

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<sup>17</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 93.

<sup>18</sup> Barton Myers, "Partisan Ranger Petitions and the Confederacy's Authorized *Petite Guerre Service*" in *The Guerrilla Hunters: Irregular Conflicts during the Civil War*, eds. Brian D. McKnight and Barton Myers (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017), 26.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>20</sup> John Scott, *Partisan Life with Col. John S. Mosby* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867), xv.

act. He insisted, "The Partizan service is considered as subordinate to the general service."<sup>21</sup> He was correct. Men rushed to join partisan units in the belief, if they were subject to the draft, they had the choice to either join the army or a partisan band and many chose the latter. The Confederate government was unprepared for the popularity of the act. Throughout the spring and summer, hundreds of men volunteered to join partisan units, many resigning from other army regiments in order to do so. Men were attracted by the ability to fight at home but also to keep any spoils they recovered.<sup>22</sup> Randolph was forced to act, and on July 31, he issued General Orders No. 53, which prohibited future enrollment of conscripts in Ranger service, a belated attempt to safeguard the Conscription Act.<sup>23</sup> In reality, men simply ignored this order, and partisan units continued to form. When Randolph resigned in November due to illness, James Seddon was appointed in his place. The change would have lasting consequences for the future of partisan bands because, unlike Randolph, Seddon supported the Ranger Act, at least to a certain degree.

The act did not affect the people of Fauquier until late December 1862.

Unbeknownst to them, one of J.E.B. Stuart's scouts, Private John S. Mosby, had been angling for several months to lead a band of men on scouting missions throughout northern Virginia. Mosby had seen the success of such missions in Stuart's own daredevil rides around the Union army (in which Mosby had participated) as well as in raids he had led on the rear of Pope's Army of Virginia in the summer of 1862. Mosby finally got his wish when, on December 30, Stuart agreed to leave a few men from his command in Loudoun County

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<sup>21</sup> Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 93-94.

<sup>22</sup> James A. Ramage, *Gray Ghost: The Life of Col. John Singleton Mosby* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 133.

<sup>23</sup> Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 101.

while he returned to camp on the southern banks of the Rappahannock River. Mosby's career as an irregular had begun.

Plagued by ill health for much of his life, Mosby attended the University of Virginia before being expelled for shooting a classmate who had impugned his honor.<sup>24</sup> While in jail, a commonwealth's attorney for Charlottesville, William J. Robertson (ironically the prosecutor in Mosby's case) became his mentor, loaned him law books, and prepared him for the bar.<sup>25</sup> Mosby first opened a law practice in Howardsville, in Albemarle County, where he met Mariah L. Pauline Clarke, a nineteen-year old from Kentucky who was visiting relatives. They married six months after meeting on December 30, 1856, and settled in Howardsville before moving to Bristol, on the Virginia-Tennessee border. At the start of the war, they had two children. Unusually for a man of his social standing and class, Mosby cast the only vote for Stephen Douglas in Washington County in the 1860 presidential election.<sup>26</sup> A former Whig and a unionist opposed to secession, Mosby stuck by his beliefs despite their unpopularity. However, like many Virginians, turning his back on his state was unfathomable and so, following Lincoln's call for volunteers, Mosby enlisted. He joined the Washington Mountain Rifles, which soon became part of the First Virginia Cavalry regiment, without high expectations of himself.

Private Mosby kept to himself and did not fraternize much, with two exceptions: his best friend (and future ranger) Fountain "Fount" Beattie and his commanding officer, Captain William E. Jones. Despite the health problems that had plagued him for years, Mosby found that army life agreed with him. "My health is better than it ever was in my

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<sup>24</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 21.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

life," he wrote Pauline.<sup>27</sup> And it was not just his health that improved, Mosby found he also had a talent for soldiering. He went to Jones' tent almost every night, when he received an education in the art of war that would have lasting consequences. By 1862, Mosby was a lieutenant, and Jones had appointed him as adjutant of the First Virginia Cavalry.

Additionally, he also served as a scout for J.E.B. Stuart who had quickly recognized the soldier's talent. Stuart became Mosby's next mentor, and the two men had immense respect for each other. Both eschewed camp life and reveled in daring scouting raids that were less typical of regular warfare.

However, Mosby's promotion did not last long. As the passage of the Confederate Conscription Act allowed soldiers to elect their own officers, the First Virginia voted out Jones and elected Lieutenant Colonel Fitzhugh Lee, Stuart's second in command, in his place. Lee, a nephew of Robert E. Lee, was a talented cavalry officer and West Point graduate. Unlike Stuart, Fitz Lee was a consummate rule follower who disapproved of the type of irregular tactics Mosby and Stuart's employed and at which Mosby excelled.<sup>28</sup> While Stuart and Lee respected each other and worked well together, the same could not be said for Mosby and Lee. Lee disapproved not only of Mosby's affinity for irregular war but also believed he lacked the requisite discipline necessary to be a proper army officer.<sup>29</sup> Thus, with Lee's promotion, Mosby knew remaining on his staff was improbable. He submitted his resignation and it was immediately accepted; after an illustrious beginning, Mosby once more found himself a private, a demotion that hurt him deeply.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 40-41.

<sup>29</sup> John S. Mosby, *Mosby's Memoirs* (Nashville: J.S. Sanders & Company, 1995), 182-83.

<sup>30</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 41; Mosby, *Mosby's Memoirs*, 109.

However, Stuart did not forget about his protégé, and Mosby was with him on his famous ride around McClellan's army in June of 1862. When they returned, Stuart's report recommended him for a commission, and General Lee's congratulatory order mentioned Mosby as one of seven privates who had earned "special commendation."<sup>31</sup> This raid fueled Mosby's desire to have his own small band of men that could regularly make reconnaissance missions into Union territory. When Mosby persisted in requesting such a role, Stuart told him he could not spare the men but recommended his services to General Jackson in the Valley. While on his way to Jackson, Mosby was captured and sent to Old Capitol Prison in Washington before being exchanged and sent to Hampton Roads. Once there, Mosby saw ships filled with Union soldiers docked at Newport News. He discovered it was General Ambrose Burnside's army, and that it was headed up the Chesapeake Bay to the Potomac, which confirmed for Mosby that McClellan's push up the Peninsula was over and John Pope would be in charge of the next attack.<sup>32</sup> On his way back to Stuart, Mosby shared this information with General Lee, and so proved to Lee what Stuart had been telling him: Mosby was a valuable asset to the Confederacy. Mosby continued to ride with Stuart on his return, serving with him during the Second Battle of Manassas and as a courier during Antietam, but he always pushed for more. Stuart allowed small scouting raids where Mosby continued to prove his effectiveness. He confirmed that Union general Ambrose Burnside was moving toward Fredericksburg and that General Franz Sigel was protecting Washington, D.C., not moving towards the Peninsula as Lee had feared.<sup>33</sup> These

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<sup>31</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 49.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.



actions finally convinced Stuart in December 1862 to leave a few men with Mosby in northern Virginia while he returned to the main Confederate line across the Rappahannock.

Once Mosby's request to remain behind in Loudoun was granted, the new partisan wasted no time. His targets were the same Union cavalry brigades that the Black Horse had been evading. With the Confederacy army tucked south of the Rappahannock, the area between Fairfax County in the east and Winchester in the northwest was technically in Union hands. However, the Union picket lines did not extend past Fairfax and the main bodies of the two armies faced each other across the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, even after the battle in mid-December. Beginning in January, Mosby and his men, in addition to the ever-present Black Horse Troop, spent the first short, cold winter days harassing Union pickets, mostly those under the control of Colonel Percy Wyndham, the Union officer who had so annoyed the residents of Warrenton. Wyndham had been knighted in Italy for distinguished service under famed general Giuseppe Garibaldi and was an able commander of the First New Jersey Cavalry.<sup>34</sup> However, resentful of being put on guard duty in Fairfax, he spent much of his time in Washington, D.C. Mosby's actions interrupted his hijinks in the city.

Pickets were an easy target for Mosby. Lincoln and his War Department constantly worried about the defense of Washington, and so enclosed the city in thirty-seven miles of forts manned by 25,000 infantry. The picket lines spanned Fairfax County, twenty miles from the capital, with about 3,000 cavalry.<sup>35</sup> Looking at these defenses, Mosby realized that "a small force moving with celerity and threatening many points on a line" could

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<sup>34</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 60.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

“neutralize a hundred times its own number.”<sup>36</sup> And that is exactly what he did. Mosby was aided by a local man, John Underwood, who knew every road and trail in Fairfax and adeptly led the men behind the picket lines. During two nights in mid-January, Mosby and his men surprised three Union outposts to capture twenty cavalymen and their horses. Once back in Middleburg, a small town in Loudoun County and Mosby’s preferred rendezvous point, the men divided the spoils before returning to Stuart to report their accomplishments. Stuart was thrilled, and so assigned to Mosby an additional fifteen men from his old cavalry unit, the First Virginia, for the duration of the winter. Mosby had no lack of volunteers, and looking forward to the glory he hoped would soon come, he travelled to Richmond and had his picture taken in a captain’s uniform, despite not yet holding that commission.<sup>37</sup>

Returning to Middleburg, Mosby conducted another successful raid that began on January 26. His men once more surprised Union pickets to capture eleven soldiers and their horses. On returning to Middleburg, Mosby once more divided the spoils and paroled the Federals. Issuing the kind of statement for which he became famous, Mosby mockingly asked the paroled soldiers to tell Colonel Wyndham to arm them with Colt revolvers in the future, as their carbines were not worth capturing.<sup>38</sup> This time, though, Wyndham had had enough. Roused from Washington, he ordered his brigade to Middleburg to capture the rebels. His men surrounded the town and rounded up twenty-one men, none of whom served with Mosby. Mosby’s men escaped because they had stayed outside of town. However, they were not unaware of what was occurring. A male slave woke Mosby in the

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 59; While Mosby was technically a private, his men, as well as Stuart and R.E. Lee, continued to refer to him as “captain.”

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

house where he was staying to warn him of the Yankee visitors. Mosby rallied his men and attacked Wyndham's rear guard as the Union brigade was leaving town. They captured one man and three horses, but Wyndham counterattacked, and when the dust cleared, the Yankees had taken prisoner Mosby's best friend, Fount Beattie, and two others. Mosby managed to evade capture thanks to the speed of his horse, which carried him to the outskirts of town. There he sat, very visible, on horseback, watching the Federals leave.<sup>39</sup>

Even though he had managed a counterattack, a frustrated Wyndham decided to end the guerrilla fighting once and for all. He warned the townspeople of Middleburg that if the rebel raids continued, he would burn the town and send the community leaders to the Old Capitol Prison in Washington.<sup>40</sup> Wyndham targeted the town because he assumed it was where Mosby's men received most of their support, since it was the location they typically returned to after each raid and where Mosby paroled the captured soldiers. In response to these threats, Mosby received his first criticisms from Confederate civilians, which was not surprising. Residents in this part of Virginia were accustomed to visits from both armies but very rarely, if ever, had such harsh threats been made against them and their town. Writing to Mosby, several of the town leaders requested that he leave the area. Despite the threats, and the entreaties from the people of Middleburg, Mosby refused to back down. He responded to the townspeople's request by writing, "My attacks on scouts, patrols and pickets - which have provoked this threat, are sanctioned both by the custom of war and the practice of the enemy; and you are at liberty to inform them that no such clamor shall deter me from employing whatever legitimate weapons I can most efficiently

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 60; Hugh C. Keen and Horace Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry, Mosby's Command* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1993), 24

<sup>40</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 24.

use for their annoyance.”<sup>41</sup> However, Mosby did acknowledge that he did not mean to have Union soldiers paroled in Middleburg. While he did not stop his brand of warfare, he did move his rendezvous point four miles to the west, to Rector’s Cross Roads, a small village in Fauquier, and he no longer paroled men in Middleburg.

These actions pacified the citizens of Middleburg, but even more importantly, Wyndham never followed through on his threat. As a result, after an initial flurry of letters to the Confederate government to express worries about their property and possible Union retaliation, the complaints slowed to a stop.<sup>42</sup> While Mosby changed his meeting place, he continued to operate in and around Middleburg. Had he wanted to, Wyndham could have found the grounds to justify the burning of the town. Yet he did not, and this signaled to loyal Confederates that, while subject to numerous searches and seizures by the Union army, they were not in any real danger. Supporting Mosby did not appear to bring much retaliation beyond what they had experienced prior to his arrival. Not only did white residents realize that Union policy was not one of scorched earth, but they also realized that Mosby’s presence in the area protected them from deserters and Union raids. These realizations, combined with the knowledge that so many of the men who served with Mosby were local citizens, were integral to continued support of his men. Not all people came around to this type of thinking, however. Some of them still worried that Mosby’s presence increased the number of Union raids in the area and were frustrated with having to board strangers in their homes. “The men live upon the citizens, consequently there is scarcely a house where they are not quartered,” Ida Dulany noted. “The impression in the army seems to be that we are protected from Yankees by them, but I fear it is just the

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 100.

reverse, as every raid Mosby has made had produced a retaliatory raid from the Yankees in which the citizens suffer most severely.”<sup>43</sup> Despite these misgivings, Ida did not cease supporting Mosby and his men, and she continued to feed and hide all Confederate soldiers that crossed her threshold.

That a part of northern Virginia became known as Mosby’s Confederacy was not by accident, just as Mosby did not become a partisan fighter by chance. He was uniquely suited to the position and had learned quite a bit as a scout. He left nothing to chance, including the area in which he would operate. Thanks to the Confederate army’s actions throughout 1862, Mosby had become quite familiar with the outlying counties surrounding Washington, D.C. Its strategic importance was clear, but there were additional factors that were helpful to hide and feed a cavalry band. The area was renowned in the state for its quality horseflesh, another important detail to a man whose operation and success depended upon his men’s ability to move quickly. The most important factor, however, was the people. Mosby did not intend to camp; his men would spend their nights in the homes of loyal friends and family. They were, as Mosby referred to them, a “feather-bed” cavalry, but he believed that as long as they were successful, it did not matter if they failed to sleep outside in the elements like “real” soldiers.<sup>44</sup> Later, Mosby credited this decision not to have an official camp as reason for his success and survival. “My men had no camps,” he wrote in a post-war article. “If they had gone into camp they would soon have all been captured.”<sup>45</sup> While that may have been the case, staying in homes provided its own set of

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<sup>43</sup> Ida Powell Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy: The Civil War Journal of Ida Powell Dulany*, eds. Mary L. Mackall, Stevan F. Meserve, and Anne Mackall Sasscer (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009), 157.

<sup>44</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 98.

<sup>45</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 19.

dangers, as Union soldiers routinely conducted raids throughout the area and captured many of the men while searching local homes. As a result, many of the command began to forgo the comfort of these homes and stayed in outbuildings.

The importance of local civilians to Mosby's success and survival cannot be overstated. Unlike traditional warfare, when a battle is won or lost on the field with typically little direct involvement on the part of the local citizenry, guerrilla warfare would be impossible without civilian support. Mosby and his men fought in farmhouses, barns, front yards, and on main roads.<sup>46</sup> And if it appeared a raid might not be successful, Mosby employed a "skedaddle" routine that became famous. After receiving the order, his men rode off in all directions and, to the Union soldiers, seemingly disappeared, almost impossible to capture. As the people of Fauquier knew, though, Mosby and his men did not randomly disappear. Each man returned to the home in which he was boarding, to the home that was protecting him and keeping him safe. With such a large presence of slaveholding families, Mosby knew this was an area that would not turn its back on the Confederacy.<sup>47</sup> If he was going to ask the citizens of Fauquier to protect his men, he needed to be able to count on their loyalty.

While the raids were the most important aspect of the guerrillas' lives, they were not the only part. The raids were their military duty, but this was not a self-sustaining operation. Traditional armies travelled from the camp to the battlefield. When possible,

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<sup>46</sup> They did not, however, attack local civilians. While the men paid additional visits to unionists in Loudoun, they mostly did so to pillage and scrounge for food as the farms in upper Loudoun were especially bountiful. This partisan fighting, unlike in places such as Missouri, still had a traditional quality to it as Mosby's command only targeted Union soldiers and camps. See Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 12.

<sup>47</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 101; 1860 U.S. census, Fauquier County, Virginia, population schedule, digital images, *SocialExplorer.com*, accessed October 23, 2017. <https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/Census1860/R11501114>.

they provided their own shelter, their own food, and their own transportation. Mosby's men, and partisan outfits in general, were different, as they inserted themselves into the fabric of life in war-torn northern Virginia. In a way, they operated in a manner that was familiar to all southerners: they used kinship networks.<sup>48</sup> Just as white southerners used these networks to stay in touch, share news, and gain introductions to others, so did Mosby's men use them to gain protection. Many of them were directly related to families in the area, and almost all of them had some sort of tie. Twenty-eight percent of the men were from Loudoun and Fauquier Counties and over eighty percent were from Virginia.<sup>49</sup> This was a local fight for these men, and they were comfortable operating in an area where friends and acquaintances were present to ease the burdens of war. This was an "irregular" way to fight a war and the men knew it. They were in an enviable position. Men joined the Confederate army with the vague purpose of defending their homes and families, but Mosby's command was able to do that more directly and quite literally. There were other motives for joining as well. According to Mosby, men became partisans because they were "attracted by the chance of booty and desire for adventure, without the irksome duties of camp life."<sup>50</sup> As one of them, John Williamson, remarked after the war, "There was a fascination in the life of a Ranger; the changing scenes, the wild adventure, and even the dangers themselves, exerted a seductive influence which attracted many."<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> See Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>49</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 96.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>51</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 17.

Like the men he recruited, Mosby quickly tired of regimented army life and craved action.<sup>52</sup> He did not have much patience with the constant drilling that was so much a part of the conventional army, and he communicated that informality to his command. Officers, for instance, apart from Mosby, were not addressed by their ranks. However, two things were impressed upon the men repeatedly: “to obey orders and to fight.”<sup>53</sup> This they did, and did well, as Mosby was determined to prove to Stuart, Lee, and Davis that having a partisan band in northern Virginia was an asset to the Confederacy. The men also enjoyed a reputation and fame that was unmatched by most other Confederate units. This type of existence was a testament to their leader, but it also relied upon the loyalty and support of the citizenry.

When Mosby chose to operate in this part of northern Virginia, he was assured of support, as he picked a region that was filled with wealth and privilege. While not all citizens enjoyed the same advantages as, for example, the family of former Chief Justice John Marshall, even many lower-class families had ties, either economic or familial, to the wealthiest families, and so were invested in supporting the Confederate cause.<sup>54</sup> If Virginia as a whole was well connected in the 1850s and 1860s, its most affluent families, many of whom had sons who rode with Mosby, were even closer. The “First Families of Virginia,” as they became known, had intermarried for generations, thus insuring that the majority of wealthy families in the Piedmont and Tidewater areas not only had close relationships with one another, but also were most likely related.<sup>55</sup> Several members of these elite families

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<sup>52</sup> Scott, *Partisan Life with Mosby*, 20.

<sup>53</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 21.

<sup>54</sup> Joseph T. Glatthaar, “Everyman’s War: A Rich and Poor Man’s Fight in Lee’s Army,” *Civil War History* 54 (September 2008): 236-37.

<sup>55</sup> For more information on these first families, see Marshall Fishwick, “F. F. V.’s,”



rode with Mosby, including the grandsons of James Monroe and George Mason.<sup>56</sup> Other men, such as ranger Thomas Turner of Kinloch, were a part of influential families in Fauquier and were related to many other people across the region, including R. E. Lee and his family. The majority of the homes in which the men boarded were owned by these families. Further cementing ties and tightening kinship bonds between the people of Fauquier and Mosby's men was their practice of carrying family news between the houses.

While Mosby relied on all residents for assistance, there was one group without whose support he would not have been able to survive. It was the white women of Fauquier who mended uniforms, cared for horses, and, as more and more slaves left the county for Union lines, cooked food and washed clothes for the soldiers. It was the women who met Union patrols at the door when they came to search for Mosby's men, and women who moments before had spirited the men away to attics, under porches, and into water tanks. Oftentimes they were hiding not only the rebels, but also their own husbands and brothers. The unwavering loyalty of these women was integral to Mosby's success. Well-to-do young women travelled within their neighborhoods to visit aunts and cousins and, as a result, became well acquainted with many of Mosby's men. Tee Edmonds and her mother Elizabeth became especially close to the men who stayed with them and built relationships that would endure after the war. Ida Dulany and Betty Gray did the same. Thus Mosby relied not only on the hyper-Confederates of Fauquier to protect his men, but most especially on affluent white women, many of whom had close kinship ties to their protectors. The women also applied social pressure by encouraging men to join or aid

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*American Quarterly* 11 (Summer 1959): 147-156 and "The F. F. V.'s of Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 23 (April 1915): 277.

<sup>56</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 96.

Mosby, and they welcomed the raiders back with open arms, eager to hear about their successes. Many of the younger women also enjoyed the liveliness the soldiers brought to the county. "Oh! We had such a treat yesterday," Tee Edmonds record. "Seven or eight Rebels in a squad."<sup>57</sup> Just as his men could not survive and thrive without fast horses, without support and protection at home provided by the women of Fauquier, Mosby's command could not have existed.

Mosby's command was not the only Confederate troop in the region. Fitz Lee's scouts continued to irk the Union army, and various detachments were sent to rout them. Tee Edmonds was visiting her sister in Paris in February when "the slumbering peace of Paris was suddenly aroused to a perfect volcano."<sup>58</sup> A Union patrol descended upon the house, searching it and the stables, and demanded arms and powder. The patrol was most likely under the command of Colonel R. B. Price of the Second Pennsylvania Cavalry, who was leading his men, including members from the Fifth Michigan Cavalry, "on an expedition to thoroughly scour the country. . . as far as the Blue Ridge, and take a look across into the valley of the Shenandoah."<sup>59</sup> As a result of their actions in Paris, Tee believed they were in search of rebel soldiers. Finding none, they turned instead to the horses. When they took Tee's own horse, she accused them of not being gentlemen. Two soldiers, who perhaps felt a bit sorry for the belle, replied that they were "obliged to obey orders."<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 135.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>59</sup> U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. in 128 parts (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), vol. 25, pt. 2, 60. (Cited hereafter as *OR* and from the first series unless otherwise indicated.)

<sup>60</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 133.

When they finally left, Tee was incensed. She believed that the Federals had “never made such a raid, so advantageous to them. The finest horses in the neighborhood seem to fall into their clutches.”<sup>61</sup> One of the horses taken was Tee’s brother’s Bud’s horse, and the soldiers had bragged that they had taken several horses from men who belonged to Company A.<sup>62</sup> In all, “the property taken from Paris is estimated at \$7,000,” Tee angrily recorded.<sup>63</sup> Raids such as this were conducted across the county as part of the Union cavalry’s campaign to rid the area of Confederates. At the same time, Tee faced the Federals in Paris, Betty Gray was informed by a few Black Horse cavalrymen that the Union army was also in Warrenton.<sup>64</sup> While few rebel soldiers were captured during these raids, the Union army did interrupt communication by seizing the telegraph station at Warrenton Junction and cutting the telegraph wire to the Rappahannock River.<sup>65</sup>

Throughout February, Mosby and Wyndham continued to skirmish, with Mosby doing everything he could to annoy Wyndham and the proud Union colonel doing what he could to capture Mosby. The partisans consistently got the best of the Union soldiers simply by employing unconventional tactics. By always attacking at night, and often taking advantage of bad weather, the men routinely caught pickets off guard. Surprising almost fifty soldiers of the Eighteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry, Mosby and his men were successful because they chose to attack on a cold and rainy February night, the type of night when it might be assumed no one would want to be outside, much less fighting. Mosby gained forty

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Benjamin Sydnor “Bud” Edmonds rode with the Loudoun Rangers, Company A, 6<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry. The Union soldiers could also have been referring to Turner Ashby’s Mountain Rangers, also Company A, of the 7<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry.

<sup>63</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 133.

<sup>64</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 33; “Important Cavalry Reconnoissances.”

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

horses as a result and the Union army learned a lesson. If fifty men were not safe against Mosby, then the Federals needed to withdraw their pickets every night. Wyndham did not retaliate this time, as he had received orders to scout along the Rappahannock. He was replaced by Major Joseph Gilmer of the Eighteenth Pennsylvania, but he proved quite incapable of threatening the partisans. During an attempt to capture Mosby in Middleburg, he panicked and ordered his men in full retreat at the sight of what he thought were the rangers. The enemy turned out to be a detachment of the First Vermont Cavalry. Gilmer was subsequently court-martialed and while found not guilty of cowardice, he was guilty of drunkenness on duty.<sup>66</sup>

While Gilmer perhaps suffered from his own demons, his reaction to what he supposed was Mosby's band was testament to the fear the partisans' few raids had inspired. In just a little over a month, Mosby and his men had gained a fearsome reputation amongst Union soldiers in northern Virginia. Even though he rarely operated with more than twenty or thirty soldiers (especially in this early period), rumors that spread throughout the Army of the Potomac inflated that number quite a bit. Despite not capturing huge amounts of supplies or winning major battles, Mosby's success in psychological warfare was clear. Union soldiers defending the fringes of the Union territory in northern Virginia were terrified and Mosby knew it. One New Yorker called the command "a sort of terror," while another Union soldier described the men as "our eternal torment."<sup>67</sup> The partisans had taught the Federals to expect an enemy to fire at them "from every bush or

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<sup>66</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 62.

<sup>67</sup> Jeffrey Wert, *Mosby's Rangers: The True Adventures of the Most Famous Command of the Civil War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 60.

fence corner on the road.”<sup>68</sup> That terror would become yet another weapon in Mosby’s arsenal, and his success in employing it when necessary was never clearer than in the raid that made him famous across the United States and a household name in the Confederacy. It was an event that proved Mosby’s bravery (or his recklessness, depending on one’s point of view) and the success that could be gained by waging guerrilla warfare. It also brought to the surface issues had bothered some Confederate leaders about the partisan war.

Throughout January and February of 1863, Mosby slowly attracted additional men to his command. Most were local boys who had previously enlisted in the Confederate army.<sup>69</sup> However, on February 11, Mosby was in for a surprise when a Union soldier approached him on the Little River Turnpike.<sup>70</sup> When James F. Ames revealed that he had deserted from the Union army the previous day, many of Mosby’s men feared a trap. While Mosby was also skeptical, he accepted the Yankee on probation. “Ames stood all the tests,” Mosby recalled, “and until he was killed I never had a more faithful follower.”<sup>71</sup> Ames quickly became known as “Big Yankee” among his new comrades. New recruits did not typically participate immediately in raids, so Ames persuaded another partisan, Walter Frankland, to head with him to Fairfax County to steal Union horses, as neither man had a mount. On the journey, Ames confided to Frankland that he had deserted the Union army because of the Emancipation Proclamation, which had shifted the purpose of the war from preserving the Union to abolishing slavery. Ames refused to fight for that new cause.<sup>72</sup> Once

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 60-60.

<sup>69</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 25.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Wert, *Mosby’s Rangers*, 43.

<sup>72</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 26.

in Fairfax, the two men went to the camp of Ames' old regiment, the Fifth New York Cavalry, and rode away on stolen horses.

The addition of a former Union soldier to Mosby's ranks had countless benefits, especially since Ames knew the location of every Union outpost and guard position. Mosby had for some time wished to conduct a raid into the heart of the Union encampments in Fairfax. Armed with Ames' extensive knowledge, such a plan was now feasible. Even though Fairfax was firmly within occupied Union territory, Mosby believed in "the safety of the enterprise."<sup>73</sup> Ames was aware of gaps in the federal lines through which the raiders could enter and exit safely. These gaps were not unknown to the Union commanders such as General Edwin H. Stoughton, who sent telegrams to the commander of the Washington defenses, General Samuel P. Heintzelman, to warn of the problem, but it was not corrected fast enough to stop Mosby.

The daring raid began on March 7 with the men meeting at their usual location of Rector's Cross Roads. Twenty-nine men and Mosby rode east, through Middleburg, before stopping at sunset. Mosby disbanded them to find lodging for the night with orders to meet in the village of Dover the next day. On the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup>, they continued their ride toward Fairfax Court House. By dusk, a cold rain had begun to fall. The men continued on, stopping only to cut the telegraph wires along the Warrenton turnpike and so preventing the Union infantry protecting nearby Centreville of being alerted to their presence and perhaps cutting their line of retreat.<sup>74</sup> After getting lost in the woods for a time, the rangers finally reached Fairfax Court House at 2:00 a.m. on March 9, two hours later than Mosby had anticipated. The plan called for the raiders to leave no later than 3:30 a.m. in order to

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 33.

slip past Union pickets under the cover of darkness. That left them with just over an hour to accomplish their goals.

Mosby divided the men into three groups. The first one, under the command of Ames, was sent to the headquarters of Mosby's adversary Wyndham to capture the colonel. The second group was instructed to steal as many horses as possible from the stables.<sup>75</sup> The rest of the raiders, under Mosby, went to apprehend General Stoughton. Ames and his men did not have much luck. Wyndham, true to form, had left the day before for Washington. Rather than return empty-handed, they captured Captain Augustus Barker, former commander of the Fifth New York Cavalry who was now serving as Wyndham's adjutant general. They also took Wyndham's uniforms.<sup>76</sup> The second group, detailed to capture horses, took as many mounts as they could manage.<sup>77</sup>

Mosby had better luck. Arriving at the house where Stoughton was staying, the men thumped on the front door shouting that they had a dispatch for the general. When the front door opened, a member of Stoughton's staff was met by a Colt revolver in his face. The aide had no choice but to lead the men upstairs to Stoughton's room. Stoughton had hosted a party that night in honor of his mother and sister, who were visiting from Vermont, and had enjoyed himself quite a bit.<sup>78</sup> As a result, he was sound asleep and did not wake up even when Mosby pulled off the quilts. Mosby shook him awake, at which point, to demoralize Stoughton completely, Mosby lied and told him that Jackson was in Centreville

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>76</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 68; *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 44.

<sup>77</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 43.

<sup>78</sup> James J. Williamson, *Mosby's Rangers: A Record of the Operations of the Forty-Third Battalion of Virginia Cavalry from its Organization to the Surrender* (New York: Sturgis & Walton Company, 1909), 40.

and Stuart was in control of his camps. Stoughton did not believe him but did ask to be taken to Fitz Lee, a former West Point classmate. Mosby acquiesced.<sup>79</sup>

Showing again his uncanny ability to terrorize his opponents, Mosby, while waiting for the “fop” Stoughton to dress (he was described by the *Richmond Dispatch* as “an aristocratic specimen of Yankee manhood, with a profusion of gold lace on his coat”), took a piece of coal from the fireplace and scrawled “Mosby” on the bedroom wall.<sup>80</sup> This ensured that his name would be on the lips of every Union soldier in Virginia, all whom feared being made his prisoner. Oddly enough, and despite Mosby having left his “calling card,” the first wave of northern newspapers to report the episode said that “Mosley” had led the raid. In a letter to a friend that was published in the newspapers the following week, Mosby pointed out the mistake to make sure that he received credit for his daring actions.<sup>81</sup>

The raiders departed Fairfax in columns of four to impersonate federal cavalry. Stoughton was shocked at how few men Mosby had and threatened that Union cavalry would soon be after them. Mosby’s men had their hands full with prisoners and captured horses, and a few did manage to escape. Yet, facing almost no challenges along the way, the men returned safely to Fauquier. They had captured a brigadier general, a captain, a telegraph operator, and 30 soldiers and 58 horses without losing a man. It was a remarkable feat.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 69.

<sup>80</sup> "Arrival of Prisoners in Richmond," *Richmond Dispatch*, March 13, 1863; Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 35; Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 69; John S. Mosby, *Mosby's Memoirs* (Nashville: J.S. Sanders & Company, 1995), 176.

<sup>81</sup> "News from Late Southern Papers," *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 24, 1863.

<sup>82</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 70.



When the men rode into Warrenton, Mosby recalled after the war, they were greeted with cheers.<sup>83</sup> He took Stoughton to visit the Beckham family, as Major Robert F. Beckham, a member of General Gustavus Smith's staff, had also been a West Point classmate of Stoughton's. Stoughton had previously visited the Beckhams in Warrenton and appreciated the chance to see familiar faces.<sup>84</sup> After this brief respite, the prisoners were taken to the Confederate cavalry camp at Culpeper Court House, where Mosby turned Stoughton over to Fitz Lee. Lee was appalled by what Mosby had done, and he immediately invited Stoughton to sit by a fire and dry off from the rain that had plagued the men during the ride from Fairfax.<sup>85</sup> Writing after the war, Mosby remarked on Lee's treatment saying, "It was plain that he was sorry for what I had done" and the cavalry commander sent only the most perfunctory report of the raid to Stuart.<sup>86</sup> Lee's superiors, however, did not agree.

J.E.B. Stuart was elated. He was thrilled with Mosby's actions, which, for the partisan, more than made up for the lackluster reception from Fitz Lee. Stuart issued General Orders No. 7 on March 12 to praise the partisan: "Capt. John S. Mosby has for a long time attracted the attention of his generals by his boldness, skill, and success, so signally displayed in his numerous forays upon the invaders of his native State. None know his daring enterprise and dashing heroism better than those foul invaders, though strangers themselves to such a noble trait."<sup>87</sup> Calling his the feat "unparalleled in the war," Stuart also praised Mosby's men before ending with the acknowledgment that they were "worthy

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<sup>83</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 37.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 37.; *Richmond Sentinel*, March 17, 1863 in "My Heart Is So Rebellious," 182.

<sup>85</sup> Mosby, *Mosby's Memoirs*, 182.

<sup>86</sup> Wert, *Mosby's Rangers*, 46; *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 44.

<sup>87</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 2, p. 856.

of such a leader.”<sup>88</sup> Even for the effusive Stuart, this was high praise. Robert E. Lee, Fitzhugh’s uncle, was also pleased but his praise was a bit more perfunctory. Writing in a letter to Stuart, Lee stated, “Mosby has covered himself with honors.”<sup>89</sup> Mosby’s escapade even caught the eye of President Davis, who officially appointed him a captain of partisan rangers, a decision supported by Lee.<sup>90</sup> Mosby was finally entitled to the rank he had been using for months.

The fame this event brought to Mosby also cemented his position as one of the war’s most famous Confederate officers. Newspapers in both the North and South detailed the raid. Northern newspapers poked fun at Stoughton for being captured in such an undignified manner while also questioning his decision to place his headquarters so far from the rest of his brigade.<sup>91</sup> The *New York Herald* described the episode as “deeply mortifying and disgraceful.”<sup>92</sup> Stoughton was ultimately taken to Libby Prison in Richmond, where he remained until exchanged in May. He returned to New York City to practice law, as his stay in Richmond had ruined his health and his run-in with Mosby had ruined his reputation. In the Confederacy, the reaction could not have been more different. The raid was hailed as a great success, and Mosby became a household name. After the frosty reaction of Fitz Lee, this was a welcome end to his most eventful raid. The *Richmond Dispatch* said his actions “deserved the highest praise,” and while Mosby appreciated the praise from Stuart and Lee, he did not agree with all they had to say.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 664.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 679, 857.

<sup>91</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 71; “The capture of Brigadier General Stoughton,” *New York Herald*, March 10, 1863; “Gen. Stoughton's Capture,” *Vermont Chronicle*, March 17, 1863.

<sup>92</sup> The capture of Brigadier General Stoughton,” *New York Herald*, March 10, 1863.

<sup>93</sup> “Arrival of Prisoners in Richmond,” *Richmond Dispatch*, March 13, 1863.

Mosby was thrilled to be appointed captain, and only a week later, he was promoted to major of partisan rangers. However, Lee expected the rank to be temporary. It would last only until Mosby could formally recruit a company, which would then be mustered into the conventional Confederate cavalry.<sup>94</sup> Lee believed he was doing what was best not only for his army but also for Mosby. Guerrillas had gained such a bad reputation that Lee thought he was protecting Mosby and his men. Henry Halleck, general-in-chief of Union forces, declared that rebel guerrillas were “guilty of the highest crime known to the code of war . . . . Any one caught in the act will be immediately shot.”<sup>95</sup> Thus, encouraging Mosby to join the conventional army was Lee’s way of protecting the valuable scout and talented commander. Even Stuart agreed. In a letter to Mosby on March 25 discussing his promotion, the general urged him to “ignore the term ‘Partisan Ranger.’ It is in bad repute.” He advised Mosby to refer to his command, instead, as “Mosby’s Regulars.”<sup>96</sup> He softened the blow, however, by again complimenting the partisan on his capture of Stoughton: “Your praise is on every lip, and the compliment the President has paid you is as marked as it is deserved.”<sup>97</sup>

Mosby refused to heed the suggestion. He had fought for command of a partisan troop and was not going to settle for anything less.<sup>98</sup> He argued that his men had joined him because they wanted to be partisan rangers and entitled to the requisite spoils. In a shocking move, but not out of character, Mosby refused the appointment on Lee’s terms and again demanded the ability to enroll his men as partisans. No doubt his newfound fame

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<sup>94</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 2, p. 857-58; Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 73; Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 42.

<sup>95</sup> Sutherland, *Savage Conflict*, 59-60.

<sup>96</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 2, p. 857.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 858.

<sup>98</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 73.

emboldened him, and indeed he did have an ally in the War Department who was watching his actions closely. For the time being, though, Major Mosby operated without a formal command.<sup>99</sup>

Whatever Mosby's success, the winter of 1862-63 was a long and exhausting one for the residents of Fauquier. The weather and the presence of both armies conspired to keep citizens homebound. Spring seemed far away, and with snowstorms still occurring in late March and early April, it made one wonder if warmer weather would ever arrive.<sup>100</sup> The weather mirrored the experiences of Fauquier's loyal Confederates. Interspersed with period of unrest and raids by the Union army were moments of calm, sometimes brought about by simply seeing a Confederate soldier ride by the house.<sup>101</sup> Throughout February, the armies traded scouts and raids into Fauquier to gain the all-important knowledge as to what the enemy was up to. With the main bodies of the armies still along the Rappahannock River near Fredericksburg, commanders on both sides used their cavalry as their "eyes," to discover the other side's plan.

Following the devastating Union defeat at Fredericksburg, it became apparent to Lincoln that Ambrose Burnside had lost the support of several of his subordinate generals.<sup>102</sup> Still smarting from the removal of McClellan, Generals William B. Franklin and William F. Smith wrote Lincoln a letter to denounce Burnside and urge the president to move the army once again to the Peninsula. Believing the plan an attempt to restore McClellan to power, Lincoln rejected the idea. However, it was clear to the president that

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<sup>99</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43<sup>rd</sup> Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 64.

<sup>100</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 34.

<sup>101</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 137.

<sup>102</sup> James M. McPherson, *Tried By War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 147; Sutherland, *Fredericksburg & Chancellorsville*, 89.

Burnside could no longer command the army. Following the fiasco at Fredericksburg, he had attempted a second action against the Confederates in January by moving his army north along the Rappahannock. Bad weather struck, with a rainstorm turning the whole area to mud and miring the army to such an extent that he was forced into an embarrassing retreat.<sup>103</sup> This “mud march” was the breaking point for both the general and his commander-in-chief. Burnside went to the White House with an ultimatum: either Lincoln transferred Franklin and Smith out of the Army of the Potomac, or he would resign.<sup>104</sup> Unfortunately for Burnside, Lincoln liked both ideas. In Burnside’s place, he appointed General Joseph “Fighting Joe” Hooker, a surprising choice to many people, who had thought George Gordon Meade a better pick.<sup>105</sup> However, Hooker had a good record and, more importantly, had the support of the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, who very quickly saw an improvement in their daily lives as Hooker set about cleaning up unhealthy camps, updating hospitals, and improving their food.<sup>106</sup> As General Meade noted, Hooker was “a good soldier.”<sup>107</sup>

Hooker presented a new challenge to R. E. Lee, who did not know the general well.<sup>108</sup> Having eyes and ears on him became even more important. Lee was always obsessed with learning as much as he could about his opponent. It was part of the reason he had such a close relationship with Stuart, who seldom failed to provide the information

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<sup>103</sup> Sutherland, *Fredericksburg & Chancellorsville*, 90-91.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 93; *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 2, p. 3

<sup>106</sup> McPherson, *Tried by War*, 164; John J. Hennessy, “We Shall Make Richmond Howl,” in *Chancellorsville: The Battle and Its Aftermath*, ed. Gary Gallagher (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 9-10.

<sup>107</sup> George Gordon Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade* ed. George Gordon Meade, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913), I: 351.

<sup>108</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861-1865* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 225.

that Lee craved. Both commanders, Lee and Hooker, then, continued to send patrols along the Rappahannock into Fauquier to gauge the enemy's strength.

By the middle of March, Hooker was ready to act. Scouting parties had informed him that Fitz Lee was camped at Culpeper Court House, just across the Rappahannock from Fauquier.<sup>109</sup> General William W. Averell, commander of the Second Division, Cavalry Corps, was instructed to cross the river and attack the Confederates. He had 3,000 soldiers and six pieces of artillery.<sup>110</sup> Seeking the benefit of surprise, Averell sent out cavalry scouts on both flanks to shield the main force from detection. He chose the most obvious crossing on the river, at Kelly's Ford, but it allowed the most direct route to Culpeper, and he still managed to catch Fitz Lee off guard.<sup>111</sup> In his otherwise glowing report of Lee's actions in what would become known as the battle of Kelly's Ford, on March 17, J.E.B. Stuart did acknowledge "picket failure in the outset."<sup>112</sup>

Averell first encountered Confederate sharpshooters along the riverbank but managed to overwhelm and capture many of them (including Captain James Breckinridge, cousin of John C. Breckinridge) before launching an attack once on solid ground.<sup>113</sup> The battle lasted most of the day, with several successful Union advances, but Lee and his men (including Stuart, who was present and involved in the fight) managed to repel them. Finally, around 5:30 p.m., Averell decided he had two options, either to "make a direct and desperate attack, or to withdraw across the river."<sup>114</sup> He chose the latter, as his horses were exhausted, thus handing a victory to the Confederates. While Fitz Lee was pleased, he

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<sup>109</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 47.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>113</sup> "From the Rappahannock," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, March 25, 1863.

<sup>114</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 50.

blamed the fact that he was missing four squadrons (who were on picket duty farther along the river) and a lack of decent, healthy horses for his inability to rout the Federals completely.<sup>115</sup>

Although this was a Confederate victory, it nonetheless increased morale within the Union cavalry.<sup>116</sup> The Union army had not utilized its cavalry effectively since the start of the war, while it had been one of the Confederacy's most illustrious branches. It was not surprising that some of the Confederacy's most famous soldiers were cavalymen. Dashing around on horseback to attack and capture Yankees was the epitome of the antebellum southern cavalier. Such men as John Hunt Morgan, Turner Ashby, J.E.B. Stuart and now Mosby embodied the beau ideal for Confederates. The fact the Union cavalry had so far been unable to best this pantheon of southern heroes only fed the myths surrounding them. However, the battle at Kelly's Ford showed the Army of the Potomac that there was hope for its cavalry. "The principle result achieved by this expedition has been that our cavalry has been brought to feel their superiority in battle," Averell stated in his report. "They have learned the value of discipline and the use of their arms."<sup>117</sup> One of Averell's officers echoed the sentiment: "As to the effect of this affair upon the morale of our cavalry, it only strengthens my belief in their superiority and efficiency over that of the enemy, as was clearly demonstrated in each encounter."<sup>118</sup> Calling it "the first real cavalry battle of the war," northern newspapers were equally impressed with the cavalry's exploits at Kelly's Ford.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>116</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 217-220.

<sup>117</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, part 1, p. 50.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>119</sup> "From the Rappahannock."

Nonetheless, Confederates were pleased with their own actions. Issuing General Orders No. 10, Fitz Lee praised his men: "Rebel cavalry have been taught that Yankee (would-be) horsemen, notwithstanding their numbers, can be confronted and hurled back." That said, a pall settled across the Confederate nation when it was discovered that Major John Pelham, commander of the Horse Artillery, was killed during the battle.<sup>120</sup> A West Point graduate and gifted artilleryman, his death was a major loss for the Confederacy. "The gallant Pelham – so noble, so true – will be mourned by the nation," Stuart lamented when announcing his death.<sup>121</sup>

Following the battle, rumors abounded in Fauquier that the Confederate cavalry was now leaving. "It is very, very scarce in our army, truly a sad state of things," Tee noted in her diary. "We are afraid all our Cavalry are going to fall back. What then? We will be in just the same fix, we were last summer, cut off from all communication. Oh, I do wish the war would end."<sup>122</sup> Betty Gray also worried, "There is some talk of our Army's falling back. How much we will miss the visits from the Black Horse & more than that, how can we stand the Yankees again."<sup>123</sup> A world without any Confederate presence was terrifying to contemplate. While residents were forced to travel in search of food, more and more people remained in the safety of their homes. Once an extremely mobile society, residents now did not dare venture far. "I am riding all day & scarcely meet a single individual on the road. The country is almost deserted," Ned Turner recorded. "At present there is scarcely to be seen a sign of human life, much less of human enjoyment . . . A solemn silence reigns on all

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<sup>120</sup> A. Wilson Green, "Stoneman's Raid," in *Chancellorsville*, 66.

<sup>121</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 59.

<sup>122</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 136.

<sup>123</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 36.



the surrounding ruin.”<sup>124</sup> Betty Gray spent most of the month of March reading to entertain herself and pass the time.<sup>125</sup>

Thankfully for the loyal Confederates of Fauquier, their fears were unfounded. Members of the Sixth and Seventh regiments of Virginia cavalry remained in the area as did Mosby. “Oh, it makes a body feel different when our soldiers are about,” Tee Edmonds enthused to her diary. “I fear our happiness will be short lived for we know or fear they will not tarry with us long.”<sup>126</sup> Unfortunately, that also meant Union raids continued. Following the battle at Kelly’s Ford, Confederates learned that the Union army was reinforcing its side of the river with artillery.<sup>127</sup> The Union cavalry, recently consolidated into one corps by General Hooker and placed under the control of General George Stoneman, a West Point graduate and former roommate of Stonewall Jackson, moved into the county.<sup>128</sup> This was the beginning of Hooker’s plan to force Lee out of Fredericksburg, a campaign that would culminate in the battle of Chancellorsville. To deprive Lee of supplies and reinforcements, Stoneman was instructed to cross the Rappahannock and move south to destroy the Orange and Alexandria railroad at Gordonsville.

The weather, however, was not on the general’s side. Leaving Falmouth on April 13, Stoneman sent his artillery ahead, to be positioned along the river and against the Confederates in Culpeper County. A brief artillery fight occurred on April 14.<sup>129</sup> Some of Stoneman’s cavalry managed to cross the river, but Confederates under the command of

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<sup>124</sup> Stephen V. Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861 - 1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 106.

<sup>125</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 35.

<sup>126</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 137.

<sup>127</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 85.

<sup>128</sup> Green, “Stoneman’s Raid,” 66.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

General W. H. F. Lee drove them back, with many Federals drowning in the process.<sup>130</sup> Additional skirmishing occurred in the days and weeks to come, but Stoneman remained stuck on the banks of the Rappahannock. Spring rains raised the river level too high to cross safely, and so that all the men could do was wait while their commander worried people at home would blame him for inaction.<sup>131</sup> In reality, the northern public was thrilled that any action was being taken.<sup>132</sup> Stoneman did try to make good use of his time by ridding the area around Warrenton of Confederate soldiers, although both the Black Horse and Mosby's men continued to prowl in the region.<sup>133</sup>

One of Stoneman's patrols by the Eighth Illinois, under Captain Elon Farnworth, succeeded in tracking several of Mosby's partisans. Stopping to search the home of Charles Utterback, four miles from Warrenton, on April 25, the Federals surprised five of Mosby's men who were resting there. The two sides exchanged gunfire, and while two of the rangers managed to escape, two more were captured and one was mortally wounded.<sup>134</sup> Once more, death reminded the residents of the high cost of their allegiance to the Confederacy. Tom Turner, one of Mosby's more talented soldiers, lay dying, shot through the lungs.<sup>135</sup> He was the son of Edward Carter "Ned" Turner, Fauquier's most famous unionist, who had not approved of his son's decision to join Mosby.

The younger Turner had been encouraged to become a partisan by a member of Stuart's staff, who had written to Mosby, "I can cheerfully recommend Turner as of the

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<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>131</sup> "From the Army of the Potomac," *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 14, 1863; Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, April 17, 1863, "My Heart is So Rebellious," 184.

<sup>132</sup> "The Army of General Hooker in Motion—His Great Responsibility," *New York Herald*, April 30, 1863.

<sup>133</sup> "From the Army of the Potomac," *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 24, 1863.

<sup>134</sup> Keen and Mewborn. *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 50.

<sup>135</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 158.

right sort of stuff for such daring enterprises . . . and has on several occasions shown great courage, coolness, and gallantry. Give him a chance.”<sup>136</sup> As a member of one of Fauquier’s best-connected families, Turner’s subsequent death was heartbreaking local news. Ned went to the Utterback home and took his son back to the family’s plantation, Kinloch, in hopes that he would recover. However, two days after the raid, the Union army returned to plunder the neighborhood. One detachment rode to Kinloch and asked if any soldiers were in the house. When they heard there was a wounded man, they demanded entry and forced their way into Tom’s room (while Ned hid himself so as not to be arrested). The Union captain believed Tom looked healthy and would not leave without inspecting his wound.<sup>137</sup> A surgeon was brought in, but who made the same pronouncement as the Confederate doctor who had examined Turner: the wound was mortal.<sup>138</sup>

Tom died the next morning, nine days shy of his twentieth birthday.<sup>139</sup> “Thus had fallen another victim to this most unholy, unnecessary war,” Ned wailed in his diary. “Oh! Unhappy, victimized, ruined Virginia, how hast thou suffered in the loss of the flower of thy youth.”<sup>140</sup> The county mourned with Tom’s father, reminded once more of the great sacrifices they had been asked to make. As Ned Turner told one of his neighbors, “I am glad the Confederates could get no more” of his sons in their service.<sup>141</sup> “We hope and pray for

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<sup>136</sup> Keen and Mewborn. *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 50.

<sup>137</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 213.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 214.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> Case of Edward Carter Turner (No. 5706), Ancestry.com, *U.S., Southern Claims Commission Allowed Claims, 1871-1880* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2008.

peace,” Ida Dulany mused, “but see no signs of [it] and the horrors of this evil war increase upon us every day.”<sup>142</sup>

Following Tom Turner’s death, and with the rains finally ceasing, some of the Union cavalry under General Stoneman was finally able to cross the Rappahannock at Kelly’s Ford.<sup>143</sup> With the rise in temperatures came an increased urgency in both armies to claim a victory. Mosby was instructed by Stuart to disrupt operations on the Orange and Alexandria railroad at Warrenton Junction, which was supplying Union troops along the banks of the Rappahannock.<sup>144</sup> Both armies were ready to do more than skirmish across a river. The spring campaigns had begun.

Spring weather had yet to arrive, however. Even by May 1, Ida Dulany noted that there was little blooming around her house, and she still had her winter carpets down on the hardwood floors.<sup>145</sup> Not only did she wish for warmer weather, but the cooler temperatures also pushed back the start of planting. For people for whom food had become scarce, this was a problem. Even Union soldiers noted the lack of supplies in Fauquier, writing that while bacon and flour were plentiful in Loudoun, Fauquier County was “completely stripped of all eatables.”<sup>146</sup> Federal soldiers were encouraged to remain in Loudoun to forage because of the amount of food and cattle available.<sup>147</sup>

Fauquier’s farmers needed a good crop, not only to feed and provide for their families, but also to fulfill their patriotic duty. Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation in April that addressed the need for more food to be grown across the South. He acknowledged the

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<sup>142</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 158.

<sup>143</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 227; Greene, *Chancellorsville*, 70.

<sup>144</sup> Keen and Mewborn. *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 51.

<sup>145</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 157.

<sup>146</sup> "Cavalry Operations," *New York Herald*, May 4, 1863.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

poor harvests from the year before and understood how much the people of northern Virginia had sacrificed. "The deficiency," Davis said, "was, unfortunately, still more marked in the northern part of our confederacy, where supplies were specially needed for the army."<sup>148</sup> Reacting to the bread riots occurring within his own city, Davis urged farmers across the Confederacy to reduce the amount of cotton and tobacco they planted in lieu of more foodstuffs. "It is for the large amount of corn and forage required in the raising of livestock, and the supplies of the animals used in military operations, too bulky for distant transportation and in them," Davis implored, "the deficiency of the last harvest was mostly felt."<sup>149</sup> Northern newspapers reporting on Davis' proclamation blamed wealthy planters for focusing more on profit than taking care of their own army. However, this was not the case in Fauquier, especially as most farmers typically grew mostly corn and wheat and not cash crops. Ida and Hal Dulany took their president's words to heart and were eager for the weather to turn so that they could begin plowing. They were as desperate for supplies as the army.

In addition to the weather, other issues hindered planting, including the loss of slaves to work in the fields. With small bands from both armies in Fauquier, many farmers struggled to get a crop in the ground as they were constantly sending their horses and mules into the woods to protect them from marauding bands. Betty Gray remarked in June that the Union army must have orders "not to leave anything in shape of a horse or cow

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<sup>148</sup> "Exhaustion of the South," *North American and United States Gazette* [Philadelphia], April 28, 1863.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

through the county which they may pass.”<sup>150</sup> It was so disruptive that the Dulanys decided to take a risk and keep their horses at home in order to finish planting their corn.<sup>151</sup>

Livestock was not the only things residents were forced to protect. With both Mosby’s men and the Black Horse Troop still in the area, many homes were filled with Confederate soldiers to feed, shelter, and care for. A few of the men staying with the Edmonds were sent on a scouting trip to Prince William County, and while Tee mourned their absence, she had plenty to do. “We would indeed feel lonely to see them depart,” she noted in her diary, “but for the sewing they leave with us to employ ourselves during their absence - four suits of cloth. We go immediately to work and have no time to stay lonesome.”<sup>152</sup> Leaving clothes behind posed yet another risk to the women. When Union patrols came in search of the men, in addition to hiding the usual items (jewelry, silver, meat, livestock) the women had to make sure all articles of clothing were hidden.<sup>153</sup> “We have a great time hiding the soldiers’ baggage,” Tee remarked, “as they leave all their clothes in our care.”<sup>154</sup> It was yet another example of how “provoking” it was to have “the Yankee wretches bothering” her.<sup>155</sup>

There were many close calls. Typically, people had enough warning to spirit away horses and hide soldiers. One day, though, Ida and her family were caught by surprise. Not aware of the Union soldiers until they rode through the front gate at Oakley, the two Confederates staying with the Dulanys ran for their lives out the back door as the soldiers came to the front. Hal did not have time to hide all the horses but managed to convince the

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<sup>150</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 44.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 145.

<sup>153</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 159.

<sup>154</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 145.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

Federals that three of the animals were not worth taking. Surprise visits like this one forced Ida to hide her meat in three separate places to keep it safe from prying Union hands.<sup>156</sup>

Throughout the spring and into the summer, citizens were also forced to confront a new enemy: Union soldiers dressed in Confederate uniforms. Known as “Jessie Scouts,” they were named after the headstrong wife of Union general John Frémont, and operated as Frémont’s personal counter-guerrilla company. First formed in Missouri, they were transported to Virginia when Frémont was appointed commander of the Mountain Department, located in Wheeling.<sup>157</sup> Used as a means of collecting intelligence, the scouts sometimes found themselves in precarious positions, since any soldier caught in the enemy’s uniform was considered a spy, a status punishable by death. They could also suffer at the hands of their own army. Several of these soldiers visited the Edmonds when Union cavalry appeared in the area and fired on the men. “This created a panic, wounded two and they were severely reproached by the Major of the larger force for being dressed in grey,” Tee recounted.<sup>158</sup>

The scouts travelled around Fauquier asking if the Union army was in the area and begging to be hidden. Citizens that acquiesced revealed their loyalties, and perhaps a whole lot more, to the Federals.<sup>159</sup> However, this plan did have its flaws. For one, it was hard for many Union soldiers to pass as southerners. A soldier dressed in gray arrived at Oakley, and when Ida asked him for news of the army, his reply came with “a very yankee twang,” Ida’s sister Kate Powell noted. The soldier also misidentified which General Lee was in the area. Recording the soldier’s poor performance, Kate concluded, “I think he was quite

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<sup>156</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 161.

<sup>157</sup> Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 96.

<sup>158</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 147.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

disappointed he had not been able to palm himself off on us as a southern soldier, but the moment he spoke I knew his race.”<sup>160</sup>

Despite these risks, loyalty to the Confederate cause remained strong in Fauquier County. White residents recognized the risks they were taking, as the Union army threatened “to burn the first house & take the last cow” at any place harboring rebels.<sup>161</sup> However, Betty Gray admitted, “In spite of all these threats it is too hard to send our poor fellows away hungry. We can’t do it & if the Yankees find out we must stand the consequences like true Southerners.”<sup>162</sup>

With the weather slowly improving, soldiers from both armies were ready for action. The northern public was relieved to hear this as they hoped it would be the year the Army of the Potomac, so long haunted by defeat, would be successful against the seemingly invincible Lee. Hooker’s movements were the ones that “profoundly excite the interest and stir the heart of the nation, for they are more important than any other.”<sup>163</sup> The hope was that Hooker’s army would “strike the fatal blow at the rebellion’s head.”<sup>164</sup> Skirmishing continued to increase, and both the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia were on the move. Fauquier would find itself in the midst of war once more.

President Lincoln, on a visit to Hooker, had reminded his general, “Our prime object is the enemies’ army in front of us, and is not with, or about Richmond.”<sup>165</sup> Hooker understood, and took action. General Stoneman’s cavalry corps had crossed the

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<sup>160</sup> Kate Powell, *Kate W. Powell Diary, 1862-63*, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.

<sup>161</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 44.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> “Military Movements – The Activity of Our Armies,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1862.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> McPherson, *Tried By War*, 175.



Rappahannock and headed east toward the Rapidan River with orders to destroy the Army of Northern Virginia's communications between Fredericksburg and Richmond.<sup>166</sup>

Hooker's infantry soon followed across the Rappahannock to attack Lee directly, but was forced to take up a defensive position near Chancellorsville.<sup>167</sup> With information provided by his cavalry officers, Lee discovered a weakness in Hooker's alignment and prepared to attack.<sup>168</sup> During this time, Lieutenant A.D. Payne of the Black Horse Troop had been captured while scouting the location of the Union army along the Rappahannock. Taken to the Old Capitol Prison in Washington, he recorded news about the impending battle he received as additional Confederate prisoners joined him. "Thank God our people who are so unfortunately as to come in as prisoners give a favorable account of the fighting up to the time they left," he noted in his small datebook. "I have faith in the providence of God and the pluck of the Confederates."<sup>169</sup>

With the main bodies of both armies southeast of Fauquier, the residents were still visited almost daily by Union cavalry patrols, who were captivated by Virginia in the springtime. Even in the midst of war, and despite the cold reception of its inhabitants, northern Virginia charmed its invaders. "I was not prepared, by the character of the scenery along the route or the appearance of the towns," a federal soldier remarked, "to find Warrenton, as it is, one of the most charming, neat, chaste and picturesquely situated little towns I have ever seen or expect to see. In the hollow and center can be seen the town

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<sup>166</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 226; Greene, *Chancellorsville*, 70.

<sup>167</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 56; McPherson, *Tried By War*, 175.

<sup>168</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 796.

<sup>169</sup> A.D. Payne, Memorandum book, 1863-1865, Payne Family Papers, Section 3, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

of Warrenton, producing a *coup d'oeil* like a magical enchantment."<sup>170</sup> That beauty was all the citizens had left. It masked the struggles and pain they faced as the war staggered into its third year. The county was at its most stunning when nature was in bloom, but it feigned a peacefulness that did not exist.

During Lee's campaign at Chancellorsville, Mosby continued to conduct raids while Union patrols did what they could to capture the partisans by searching homes throughout the area. Determined to catch the men, or at least limit their mobility, Union patrols seized as many horses as they could find and routinely arrested male citizens who had not fled.<sup>171</sup> In one search, a patrol of the Fifth New York found Pauline Mosby visiting friends (her husband had left a few hours before to once more evade capture). The soldiers were surprised by her demeanor: "[She betrayed] no bitterness of feeling in this instance - a rare exception to Southern ladies generally. At the same time she did not attempt to conceal her heartfelt sympathy for the cause of the rebel South."<sup>172</sup>

However, these raids did not have much effect on the partisans. In late April, Mosby received orders from Stuart to focus on attacking the Union's rear and attempt to interrupt the operation of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad that ran through Fauquier.<sup>173</sup> Eager to follow through, Mosby decided to strike on the morning of May 3. He gathered almost one hundred men, his largest command to date, and rode towards Warrenton Junction to attack the federal rear guard.<sup>174</sup> The partisans struck part of the First Virginia (Union) Cavalry, who were resting and feeding their horses. The operation appeared to be a huge success.

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<sup>170</sup> "Hooker's Army," *New York Herald*, June 27, 1863.

<sup>171</sup> Wert, *Mosby's Rangers*, 56.

<sup>172</sup> "Cavalry Operations."

<sup>173</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 2, p. 860.

<sup>174</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 54.

However, as the rangers were rounding up prisoners, the Fifth New York, under the command of Colonel Othniel De Forest, who had heard shots fired, rode in. Their arrival resulted “in the complete annihilation of Mosby’s command,” De Forest reported, and the recovery of Union soldiers.<sup>175</sup> While far from being annihilated, this was Mosby’s worst defeat yet, and it led to the loss of 30 men and 40 horses.<sup>176</sup> One of the men killed was most likely Madison Monroe Templeton, one of Stonewall Jackson’s scouts. He had been boarding at the Edmonds’ house, and Tee was greatly saddened to hear of the death of such “a brave and useful man.”<sup>177</sup> Included among the captured was Dick Moran, one of Mosby’s most effective partisans.<sup>178</sup> This was a costly skirmish, and a huge success for the Third Brigade, of which the Fifth New York was a part, as the men had been assigned to track the guerrillas. It emboldened the Yankees, who were more than ever determined to rout Mosby.<sup>179</sup>

In another cavalry raid against Mosby, on May 6, the Federals rode towards Upperville, in hopes of luring the partisans into an ambush. This time the Union army was bested by the partisans. While waiting for the rebels, the Union soldiers got overly excited and fired prematurely on their own men. Two of Mosby’s men were wounded but none was captured.<sup>180</sup> One of the wounded men, John Charles Buchanan of West Virginia, had been staying at Oakley and was brought there to be nursed by Ida and her family. As she prepared her house for a possible raid from Upperville, Ida could only think of Buchanan: “All the time my mind’s eye never for a moment lost sight of the poor fellow bleeding and

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<sup>175</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 1104.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 1105.

<sup>177</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 143.

<sup>178</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 1105.

<sup>179</sup> Wert, *Mosby’s Rangers*, 60.

<sup>180</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 57.

suffering, who had left us a few hours before as well as any of the others.”<sup>181</sup> The remaining partisans boarding with the Dulanys did not return immediately, which caused more worry. Following these skirmishes, Mosby’s men continued to do what they could to interrupt Union communication and supplies by destroying and burning railroad bridges whenever possible.<sup>182</sup>

During this period, the news of the battle of Chancellorsville reached the county. While there was great rejoicing at Lee’s decisive victory, news of Stonewall Jackson’s death, who had been wounded by friendly fire before he died of pneumonia eight days later, dampened the celebrations.<sup>183</sup> “Brave Jackson, our Stone Wall, the Yankees’ terror, our country’s hero gone, thrown down, no longer a terror,” Betty sadly recorded in her diary.<sup>184</sup> Tee wailed, “We will no more hear the name of Stonewall Jackson resound as of old for his brilliant moves and heroic deeds, which have turned out so destructive to the enemy, whom he strove so assiduously to baffle and demolish.”<sup>185</sup> In addition to Jackson, such hometown boys as Captain Buck Randolph of the Forty-Ninth Regiment had also fallen.<sup>186</sup> “Death after death,” Ida mourned, “friend after friend, till soon none will be left.”<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 159.

<sup>182</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 57.

<sup>183</sup> Ernest B. Furgurson, *Chancellorsville 1863: The Souls of the Brave* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 202; Robert K. Krick, “The Smoothbore Volley that Doomed the Confederacy,” in *Chancellorsville*, 122-23.

<sup>184</sup> Gray, Betty Gray Fitzhugh Diary, 41.

<sup>185</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 146.

<sup>186</sup> Gray, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 42.

<sup>187</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 162.

## Chapter 7: This Debatable Land, Summer 1863

When the fighting ended at Chancellorsville, the Union army retreated back into Fauquier to camp once more at Warrenton Junction.<sup>1</sup> This news, combined with the results of the battle, subdued the northern public, many of whom were frustrated by their army's inability to defeat Lee.<sup>2</sup> Confederate pickets resumed their position along the south side of the Rappahannock, and the cavalry skirmishes continued. One neighbor of Betty Gray, Osie Marsteller (or Marstella), was shot by Union soldiers during a skirmish at his house, five miles from Warrenton Junction.<sup>3</sup> It happened when a small Union scouting party came across a group of Confederates resting at Marsteller's house. He was killed instantly while several of the Confederates were wounded.<sup>4</sup> Deaths like this one, of men whom Betty Gray described as having "never left home to fight" for their country, reminded residents of the cost of harboring and protecting Confederate soldiers.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, Mosby had not forgotten Stuart's orders to attack the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, but he needed assistance. Sending a report via his trusted friend Fount Beattie, Mosby asked for a mountain howitzer, not only to capture a train, but also to

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<sup>1</sup> "Rebel Accounts of the Operations of Fitzhugh Lee's Cavalry during Stoneman's Late Raid," *New York Herald*, May 18, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> "The Discomfiture of Gen. Hooker," *New York Times*, May 8, 1863.

<sup>3</sup> Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary, 1860-1868," p. 42, Transcript of manuscript #000297986, James I. Robertson, Jr. Civil War Sesquicentennial Legacy Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

<sup>4</sup> U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. in 128 parts (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. 1, vol. 25, pt. 1, 1109 (cited hereafter as *OR* and from the first series unless otherwise indicated).

<sup>5</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 42.

provide his men with the spoils they wanted.<sup>6</sup> Mosby had several trained artillerists among his men, including Lieutenant Sam Chapman, who had previously served in the Dixie Artillery. Standing five feet eleven inches tall, with dark hair and hazel eyes, Chapman was one of Mosby's most loyal and talented soldiers. Mosby's target was the train that left each morning from Alexandria with supplies for Union cavalry on the banks of the Rappahannock. There was only one train a day, so Mosby had time to scout out the perfect position for his new gun. It arrived on May 27, and he moved quickly to exploit his advantage.<sup>7</sup> It was a good decision, considering that General Julius Stahel, commander of cavalry charged with catching the partisans, knew about Mosby's gun.

On a bright sunny morning, May 30, Mosby and forty-eight men moved into position.<sup>8</sup> The previous day, the men had cut the telegraph line, loosened a rail, and attached the cut wire to it. When the train approached, one of the soldiers would pull the wire, thus removing the rail and causing the train to derail. The howitzer would then be fired at that point (aimed at the boiler). At the beginning, everything seemed to be going to plan, and Mosby, once again, seemed to have thought of everything. A ten-car train left Alexandria and was running downhill a mile outside Catlett's Station, where the rangers lay in wait.<sup>9</sup> They pulled on the wire, and while the fireman on the train noticed the rail move, there was nothing to be done. The engineer tried to brake, but the locomotive ran off the tracks and landed on its side.<sup>10</sup> At that moment, Sam Chapman fired the gun, hitting first a

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<sup>6</sup> James A. Ramage, *Gray Ghost: The Life of Col. John Singleton Mosby* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 84; *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 2, p. 862.

<sup>7</sup> Hugh C. Keen and Horace Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry, Mosby's Command* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1993), 59.

<sup>8</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 85.

<sup>9</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 59-60.

<sup>10</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 86.

car and then the boiler. The guards on the train bolted into the woods on either side of the tracks while the rangers ran for the cars and seized whatever goods they could find. There were boxes of fruit, leather for boots, and a rare delicacy for the blockaded Confederates – fresh shad. The men grabbed their prizes, set fire to the cars, and scrambled back into the woods.<sup>11</sup>

Mosby, however, had forgotten two very important things. First, the boom of a cannon carries much farther than gunfire. Also, for a man who ran his command contingent upon the ability to “skedaddle” whenever necessary, he now had a heavy gun to contend with. Running away would mean sacrificing it. Once more, the Fifth New York, under the indefatigable Colonel De Forest, jumped into action after hearing the cannon fire. They tracked the Confederates until they found them, Chapman, and the gun. The rangers put up a fight. Chapman waited until the Union cavalry got close, fired the gun, then retreated before repeating the actions once the cavalry was again within firing distance. This sequence continued until Chapman ran out of ammunition and Mosby began to lose control of his men, who seemed to be unwilling to stay and fight for the gun, something else Mosby had not counted on.<sup>12</sup> It was at this moment that his soldiers’ lack of discipline became apparent. Mosby could not convince many of the partisans to stay in fight. They were more interested in escaping to safety with their bounty intact. Mosby and Chapman fired the gun one last time before Mosby and the few men remaining with him charged. While he managed to escape, Mosby was struck on the shoulder by a Union saber, and Chapman was severely wounded and captured. When the dust cleared, the rangers had derailed a train, captured mail, and stopped traffic on the railroad for twenty-four hours, but they had lost

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<sup>11</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 86.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 87-88.

their cannon in its first fight. One ranger was mortally wounded and twenty men were captured.<sup>13</sup> This was not one of Mosby's typical successes. The Confederate press praised his actions, but Mosby had learned the importance of having a disciplined command. General Stahel, on the other hand, was thrilled with his men. Writing to General Heintzelman, he declared, "We whipped him like the devil, and took his artillery."<sup>14</sup>

Despite the capture of Mosby's howitzer, the Union army was still frustrated by its inability to capture Mosby himself. Raids continued as the Union cavalry attempted to do what it could to chase the partisans and other Confederate cavalry units out of the county. While the residents were delighted with Mosby's actions (and benefited from some of the captured supplies), they were not as happy with the Union army's response. In Warrenton, Susan Caldwell reported to her husband that the Federals "arrested every citizen on the street, took them out of town and questioned them to know if they had ever been in the rebel army."<sup>15</sup> Union patrols, riding continuously through town, kept the residents on edge. Betty Gray described the Yankees as "so many wolves" and "cowardly scamps" who, after they had been "shamefully whipped by a handful of bravaders" took revenge on "peaceable citizens."<sup>16</sup> She wished Mosby and his men "all the success imaginable" but hoped that fate would not "bring him in contact with the cowards nearer . . . than formerly."<sup>17</sup>

Betty did not get her wish, as Mosby and his men continued to conduct raids throughout the county. The rangers attacked a wagon train on June 8 before disbanding for

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>15</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, May 31, 1863, "*My Heart Is So Rebellious*": *The Caldwell Letters, 1861-1865* ed. J. Michael Welton (Warrenton, Va.: Fauquier National Bank, 1991), 189.

<sup>16</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 43.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.



two days. Mosby returned to one of his favorite safe houses, Western View, where he had also secured room and board for his family. James and Elizabeth Hathaway, close friends of Mosby, owned the home. Western View would not be safe for anyone that night. The First New York Cavalry, which had arrived in the county on June 7, had been informed that Mosby was visiting the Hathaways. Just as Mosby had his close circle of protectors, such as the Hathaways, the Union army was doing its best to collect its own group of informants and relied on the few unionists still present in the county. One of them was Nathaniel Carter, a local farmer who encouraged both his son and son-in-law, also residents of Fauquier, to join the federal army. One of his son-in-law's brothers joined the cavalry, and while in the area chasing Mosby, he visited Carter's house "at mid-night to get information."<sup>18</sup> Carter told the Federals about a scouting party of Mosby's partisans, including the number of men and their location. "We took advantage of the information," the Union soldier reported, "and attacked them successfully the next day."<sup>19</sup>

Aid such as the kind provided by Carter enabled Union soldiers to track the rangers, including Mosby himself. When the cavalry arrived at the Hathaways, they encircled the house before knocking on the door and demanding to search the home. What happened next would spark debate as the story evolved over time. Some accounts say that Mosby climbed out his bedroom window and hid in a large walnut tree while the Yankees searched the house.<sup>20</sup> Other reports insist that Mosby was alerted to the Union army's

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<sup>18</sup> Case of Nathaniel Carter (No. 17,487), Ancestry.com, *U.S., Southern Claims Commission Allowed Claims, 1871-1880* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2008.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 63.

imminent arrival and managed to escape.<sup>21</sup> Regardless, the Federals found a startled Pauline Mosby but no guerrilla leader. Instead, they arrested James Hathaway and seized many of his numerous horses.<sup>22</sup> Mosby had once more evaded capture.

After his narrow escape, Mosby reconvened his men on June 10, which proved to be a momentous day for the rangers. Lee had previously denied Mosby the right to form a partisan command, telling him he was commissioned as a partisan only “until he could organize companies that could be mustered regularly into the service.” Furthermore, Lee stated, Mosby’s commission was limited to himself, and did not extend to his troops.<sup>23</sup> In response, the ranger apparently went above Lee and petitioned the secretary of war, James Seddon, who, while no fan of partisan fighting, did have great respect for Mosby and his actions throughout northern Virginia. Seddon approved of Mosby’s habit of boarding his men in private homes, disbanding, and “reassembling in the manner of a classic people’s war.”<sup>24</sup> When he went against his own rules and gave Mosby the authority to muster his men in partisan service, Lee and Stuart acquiesced.<sup>25</sup> Mosby mustered sixty men into Company A of the Forty-Third Battalion, Virginia Partisan Rangers. One of Stuart’s best known scouts, Frank Stringfellow, and members of the Prince William Rangers witnessed the act.<sup>26</sup> Mosby then had the men elect their officers, as Confederate law commanded, but in typical Mosby fashion, he controlled the outcome. Presenting the men with a list he had already drawn up, he nominated his choices and then called for a vote. While some of the

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<sup>21</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 89-90.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 89; Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 65-66.

<sup>23</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 64.

<sup>24</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 90.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*; John Scott, *Partisan Life with Col. John S. Mosby* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867), 76-77.

<sup>26</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 64.

rangers quietly complained about these “elections,” no one ever challenged Mosby, who continued the practice for the duration of the war.<sup>27</sup>

As a result of these events, the formal “partisan” war in northern Virginia was different from much of the guerrilla fighting that had been taking place in the West. Under the Ranger Act, Mosby’s band was sanctioned by the Confederate government and Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia. The men believed they were not operating outside the bounds of law and traditional warfare, but inside it. It was guerrilla fighting but with a patina of legitimacy not found in other independent bands, which seemed to be more numerous in the West and Trans-Mississippi. That legitimacy, that stamp of approval from Richmond and some of the army’s most esteemed officers, made a difference in the ways in which the partisans conducted themselves and the ways in which they were viewed by others, southerners and northerners alike.

The soldiers who would ultimately constitute the Forty-Third Battalion were mostly young men. In 1864, the average age of a ranger was 23 years old, compared to an average of 26 years in the regular army.<sup>28</sup> The men ranged in age from teenagers to men in their late forties, the latter being ineligible for the conventional army but wishing to participate nonetheless. They were also a well-educated and affluent group. John Munson, a former ranger, wrote that many “were well-bred, refined gentleman” who “had travelled widely.”<sup>29</sup> At least thirty-nine of them were former cadets from the Virginia Military Institute, and many others had college degrees or had been working towards them when war began.<sup>30</sup> According to a partial survey of the parole documents for the company, only about ten

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<sup>27</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 90.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>29</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 18.

<sup>30</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 96.

percent of the rangers were unable to sign their names (and had to use an “X” instead), thus suggesting that roughly ninety percent of men were literate.<sup>31</sup> These findings fit the overall patterns discovered by historian Joseph Glatthaar in his statistical analysis of Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia. According to Glatthaar, only two percent of Lee’s army was illiterate, and it was usually the older men.<sup>32</sup> Glatthaar also noted that forty-three percent of Lee’s army came from affluent households (those whose personal, family, and non-family total property equaled \$4,000 or more in 1860), and 9.4 percent of the soldiers came from the planter class, much higher than the 3.2 percent for the South as a whole.<sup>33</sup>

Even more telling are the statistics for the various branches of service. For the artillery and infantry, 33.8 percent and 33.2 percent, respectively, were from affluent households, compared to 45 percent of cavalymen. This number was surpassed only by 52 percent of officers.<sup>34</sup> While these statistics are not surprising, as the cavalry typically attracted the advantaged (the need to provide one’s own horse played a factor in this), and officers were usually some of the better educated and well-off men from a community, they do support the fact that Mosby’s men, on average, if not wealthy in their own right, had grown up surrounded by comfortable circumstances.

Despite being in action for five months, Union commanders still struggled to understand the legal status of Mosby’s command. Henry Halleck, as commanding general, had attempted to clarify this issue, as regarded all rebel irregulars, in the fall of 1862, when he turned to Dr. Francis Lieber, a professor of history and political philosophy, for

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<sup>31</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 18.

<sup>32</sup> Joseph T. Glatthaar, “Everyman’s War: A Rich and Poor Man’s Fight in Lee’s Army,” *Civil War History* 54 (September 2008): 244.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 236.

assistance. Lieber's three sons had all enlisted, two in the Union army, while the third was killed while serving in Wade Hampton's elite cavalry.<sup>35</sup> As Lieber somberly wrote to a friend, "Behold in me, a symbol of civil war."<sup>36</sup> In response to Halleck's questions as to how rebel guerrillas should be classified, Lieber produced an essay entitled "Guerrilla Parties Considered with Reference to the Laws and Usages of War." He detailed nearly a dozen different types of irregular warfare and defined the differences between a partisan and a guerrilla. As long as guerrillas "conducted themselves as partisans and were captured 'in fair fight and open warfare,' they should be treated as soldiers."<sup>37</sup> However, Lieber also argued that bushwhackers were not entitled to protection simply because a government "issued a proclamation" authorizing such violence, a direct attack on the Confederate Partisan Ranger Act.<sup>38</sup> Halleck distributed Lieber's essay to the army as a guide, but, despite this effort to clarify irregular warfare, it still left wide discretion to the commanders in the field. Treatment of guerrillas still varied region by region.<sup>39</sup> Throughout 1862 and into 1863, Lieber continued to theorize and write. His larger work was ultimately published as General Orders No. 100 in April 1863 and is considered the "first ethical guidelines for the conduct of war issued by a democratic state."<sup>40</sup> Not surprisingly, the Confederates denounced these new Yankee "laws" and guidelines.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> John Fabian Witt, *Lincoln's Code: The Laws of War in American History* (New York: Free Press, 2012), 180.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 127.

<sup>38</sup> Witt, *Lincoln's Code*, 194.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>40</sup> Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 128.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-28; Witt, *Lincoln's Code*, 245-46.

Notwithstanding Lieber's writings, the Army of the Potomac still did not grasp how Mosby operated or know precisely how many men he commanded. Numbers were consistently overstated. For example, in his report regarding Mosby's attack on the train with the howitzer, Colonel William Mann believed that Mosby had 200 men with him, whereas one northern newspaper reported: "From a band of 60 desperadoes his force has grown to 800 able-bodied guerrillas who prey upon everything which passes between Fairfax and Warrenton."<sup>42</sup> Runaway slaves told Union officers that Mosby's force consisted of "a battalion of 300 men."<sup>43</sup> These numbers were all gross overstatements, as Mosby typically operated with only about thirty men.<sup>44</sup> Northern newspapers also struggled to understand Mosby's command. One reported that Mosby's secret to maintaining and recruiting men was his ability to pick "men from different regiments."<sup>45</sup> While some Confederate commanders, most notably J.E.B. Stuart, did recommend men to ride with Mosby, his entire force was not comprised in this manner.

While they remained uncertain about the status of Mosby's command, most Federals considered them guerrillas, and this distinction colored their view of the men and their commander. Following one raid in early May, Union commanders were loath to exchange Mosby's men who had been captured because they did not regard them as "typical" soldiers. The Confederate exchange commissioner was compelled to address his Yankee counterpart on the issue: "They are retained under the allegation that they are

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<sup>42</sup> "To-Day's Despatches," *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco], Aug. 24, 1863.

<sup>43</sup> *OR*, vol. 29, pt. 1, p. 145.

<sup>44</sup> *OR*, vol. 25, pt. 1, p. 1119; Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 112.

<sup>45</sup> "The Fight near Greenwich, Va," *New York Herald*, June 3, 1863.

bushwhackers and guerrillas. Mosby's command is in the Confederate service in every sense of the term."<sup>46</sup>

A lack of understanding of partisan service was even more apparent when several Union generals thought they could bribe Mosby to gain valuable information about the whereabouts location of the Confederate army. The head of the Army of the Potomac's cavalry corps, General Alfred Pleasonton, exchanged several notes with General Rufus Ingalls, chief quartermaster for the Army of the Potomac, about this possibility. Asking how much money he was allowed to offer the partisan commander, Pleasonton pointed out, "Just now he could do valuable service in the way of information as well as humbugging the enemy."<sup>47</sup> Ingalls quickly responded by approving the action: "If you think your scheme can succeed in regard to Mosby, do not hesitate as to the matter of money. Use your own judgement, and do precisely what you think best for the public interest."<sup>48</sup> Most likely thinking that guerrillas were driven only by the money and spoils they gained, Pleasonton misjudged the loyalty Mosby and his men had to their cause.<sup>49</sup> Nothing ever came of this discussion, most likely because both men soon had bigger problems with which to contend. The Confederate army was on the move.

Word had reached General Hooker via General John Buford, who was stationed with part of the cavalry corps at Warrenton Junction, that the Confederate cavalry, including the brigades of Fitz Lee, W.H.F. Lee, Beverly Robertson, and William E. Jones, was amassed in Culpeper. Stuart was also present. Hooker told General Halleck that he planned to break up the Confederates by sending in all of his available cavalry plus 3,000 infantry. "It will

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<sup>46</sup> *OR*, series II, vol. 5, p. 632.

<sup>47</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 3, p. 72.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 220.

require until the morning of the 9th for my forces to gain their positions,” Hooker explained, “and at daylight on that day it is my intention to attack them in their camps.”<sup>50</sup> The size of the cavalry corps of the Army of Northern Virginia in Culpeper had steadily grown in recent weeks. In addition to fulfilling the request to picket the southern banks of the Rappahannock, more soldiers arrived because Stuart wanted to hold a spectacular cavalry review. This would prove to be a controversial decision.

Following his success at Chancellorsville in the beginning of May, Lee had decided once more to try his luck at invading the North. He slowly began to send his army, recently reorganized after the death of Jackson, towards Culpeper. He was unsure about federal plans but was informed by his scouts that the Union cavalry had reinforced its positions along the northern banks of the Rappahannock in Fauquier. Lee was concerned about the comparative size of his force and especially about their horses, a fear compounded by the actions of J.E.B. Stuart. Stuart realized his passion for pomp and drama by holding three grand reviews of his cavalry force in as many weeks, each with corresponding balls and parties. One review even involved a mock battle, with active participation from his artillery. Many of Stuart’s officers were infuriated by what they saw as a waste of time and energy, especially for the horses. Despite these feelings, and as Lee had not been present for the first two events, Stuart held a third review for the general on June 8. (He did forgo the mock battle this time, though.)<sup>51</sup> At the end of this final review, the men were exhausted. They were sound asleep when the Union cavalry sprang into action in the early morning hours of June 9.

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<sup>50</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 1, p. 32-33.

<sup>51</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861-1865* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 235-239.



Crossing at Beverly's Ford, the Federals encountered sharpshooters from Company A, Sixth Virginia Cavalry. Doing the best they could in the dark, the Confederates emptied their revolvers into the Union cavalry. However, it was not enough to stop them, and the soldiers soon found themselves scrambling up the bank and back towards their camp at Brandy Station, desperate to out-run the oncoming cavalry. A courier had reached Major C. E. Flournoy, commanding the Sixth Virginia, who gathered what men and horses he could find to stave off the Union advance. He was successful for the moment, but a desperate battle had begun, interrupting Lee's plans for his cavalry to begin the march northward.<sup>52</sup>

Stuart and his division were ultimately successful at what became known as the battle of Brandy Station in the North and the battle of Fleetwood in the Confederacy. By whatever name, it was the largest cavalry battle of the war. However, in the days and weeks that followed, Stuart faced criticism. One Union general gleefully informed Halleck, "The Richmond papers of the 13th blame Stuart much for allowing himself to be surprised in his camp by Pleasonton, and call upon him to do something to retrieve his reputation."<sup>53</sup> Even in nearby Fauquier, the first reports were disastrous for the rebels. Tee Edmonds believed that the Sixth Virginia "had been badly slaughtered," and Susan Caldwell, echoing many of general's officers, blamed Stuart for his distracting grand parades. "Tis true his loss was small compared to the yankees," she acknowledged, "but then he would not have suffered so heavily had his men been ready for action."<sup>54</sup> Tee's information proved to be correct (if somewhat exaggerated) as her brothers' company, Company A, Sixth Virginia,

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 243-45.

<sup>53</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 1, p. 41.

<sup>54</sup> Amanda Virginia Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds: Lass of the Mosby Confederacy, 1859-1867*, ed. Nancy Chappelle Baird (Stephens City, Va.: Commercial Press, 1984), 152; Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, June 12, 1863, "My Heart is so Rebellious," 190.

those sharpshooters who first encountered the Yankees, did suffer the loss of five men. However, they at least stood and fought to the best of their ability. Another regiment comprising Fauquier men could not say the same.

The Fourth Virginia, which included the Black Horse Troop, was sent during the battle to support Wade Hampton's South Carolina cavalry at Stevensburg. In what can only be called an unmitigated disaster, the Fourth "broke in utter confusion without firing a gun, in spite of every effort of the colonel to rally the men to the charge."<sup>55</sup> This was surprising, as the regiment had a reputation for being dogged fighters. Colonel Wickham managed to rally some of his men to counterattack twice, and they pushed the Federals back to Kelly's Ford, but the colonel was ashamed of his regiment's actions. "I regard the conduct of my regiment, in which I have heretofore had perfect confidence," Wickham wrote in his report, "as so disgraceful."<sup>56</sup> Lieutenant A.D. Payne of the Black Horse, recently returned after being captured and imprisoned in the Old Capitol Prison, was also embarrassed: "Oh memorable day . . . [A] disgraceful [route] of the Regiment."<sup>57</sup> Stuart was shocked at the actions of the Fourth, writing in his report, "This regiment usually fights well, and its stampede on this occasion is unaccountable."<sup>58</sup> As for the men themselves, they blamed general confusion and conflicting orders as the reasons they were unprepared to fight.<sup>59</sup> Needless to say, these were not the reports soldiers wished their loved ones to read, and lucky for them, the victorious outcome of the battle overshadowed their timidity and cowardice.

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<sup>55</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 2, p. 683.

<sup>56</sup> Kenneth L. Stiles, *4th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1985), 28.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 29; A.D. Payne, Memorandum book, 1863-1865, Payne Family Papers, Section 3, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

<sup>58</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 2, p. 683.

<sup>59</sup> Stiles, *4th Virginia Cavalry*, 29.

The Union cavalry retreated back across the Rappahannock into Fauquier at the end of the day, but this battle proved to be yet another example of the growing strength of the federal cavalry. As Hooker reported to Halleck, the cavalry was successful “in the face of vastly superior numbers” and the men “deserve[d] much credit.”<sup>60</sup> Going still farther, he declared, “Their *morale* is splendid.”<sup>61</sup> Despite Hooker’s first statement, his cavalry actually had 11,000 men and slightly outnumbered the Confederates.<sup>62</sup> General Pleasonton told Hooker that he had “crippled the enemy by desperate fighting,” and while Stuart was expected to begin a raid into Maryland the day after the events at Brandy Station, Pleasonton was satisfied that he would now “not attempt it.”<sup>63</sup> Pleasonton’s opinion was echoed in the northern press, which reported that the Union cavalry had done enough damage to cause Lee to postpone “‘grand raids’ into the North for some time, if not indefinitely.” Declared Washington’s *National Intelligence*, “Besides chastising them, we have gained full information of their strength, character, and designs.”<sup>64</sup> Pleasonton believed he had not only halted Stuart’s advance, but also located the bulk of Lee’s army at Culpeper. In the days following the battle, Pleasonton continued to advise Hooker that Lee’s infantry remained at Culpeper and was not on the move.<sup>65</sup> However, as much of Pleasonton’s information was obtained via contrabands and deserters, other politicians

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<sup>60</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 1, p. 35.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 243.

<sup>63</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 1, p. 903.

<sup>64</sup> "The Battle at Beverly's Ford, (Va.)," *Daily National Intelligencer*, June 12, 1863.

<sup>65</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 3, p. 60-61.

questioned the general's assertions that Lee was remaining in place for the time being, and Pleasonton was challenged to verify the information.<sup>66</sup>

There was good reason for doubt. The attack at Brandy Station came as a surprise to Lee, and he suffered personal loss when his son Rooney was wounded, but that did not stop the Confederate commander.<sup>67</sup> Well aware of the North's superior numbers and resources, he saw this as even more reason for action. He declared to Jefferson Davis, "We should not, therefore, conceal from ourselves that our resources in men are constantly diminishing, and that the disproportion in this respect between us and our enemies . . . is steadily augmenting."<sup>68</sup> Lee needed to attack soon, and on northern soil, to weaken northern public support. Thus, he continued with his plan to move north, by sending General Ewell towards Winchester. Hooker received contradictory reports of the Confederates' movements, and it was only after two contrabands were interviewed and found to have detailed knowledge of Lee's army and the whereabouts of Ewell, that Hooker decided to move.<sup>69</sup> Originally hoping to take advantage of Lee's move and attack Richmond, Hooker received a telegram from President Lincoln reminding him in no uncertain terms, "Lee's Army, and not Richmond, is your true objective point."<sup>70</sup> Following the president's orders, Hooker sent part of his infantry north on a hot, fast march with "the roads, fields, the very air filled with interminable clouds of dust."<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 62, 70; Robert F. O'Neill, "Aldie, Middleburg, and Upperville." *Gettysburg: Historical Articles of Lasting Interest* 43 (July 2010): 10.

<sup>67</sup> Emory Thomas, *Robert E. Lee* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 291.

<sup>68</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 256.

<sup>69</sup> OR, vol. 27, pt. 3, p. 86-87; "The Rebel Invasion," *New York Times*, June 16, 1863.

<sup>70</sup> James M. McPherson, *Tried By War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 180.

<sup>71</sup> "The Army of the Potomac, The Whole Army Pushing Forward with Great Rapidity," *New York Times*, June 20, 1863.

When news reached Hooker that the Confederates under Ewell had successfully captured Winchester on June 14, he pulled his cavalry back from the Rappahannock. As a result of this action, Confederate soldiers still in Culpeper crossed once more into Fauquier.<sup>72</sup> This abrupt change in occupiers was welcomed by the residents, who were nonetheless surprised by the sudden Union withdrawal since the soldiers in their midst had been recently resupplied and seemed ready to spend “some days” in Warrenton.<sup>73</sup> In addition to the usual sight of Stuart’s cavalry, the residents were treated to a vision they had yet to see in the war: the spectacle of much of the Army of Northern Virginia moving through the county. The sight of friendly uniforms thrilled Tee Edmonds. On June 18, she noted that as Longstreet’s corps passed through, she had “the gratification of seeing . . . Lee, Longstreet, Hood, Pickett and numbers of other brigadier generals - too numerous to mention.”<sup>74</sup> For her part, Ida Dulany was pleased when old friend Fitzhugh Lee managed to stop at Oakley for a quick visit, as she had not seen him for many years.<sup>75</sup>

The Confederates were not there to pay social calls, though, as Stuart’s cavalry had an important job to do. Throughout June, the men had screened the movements of Lee’s infantry over the Blue Ridge Mountains and towards Winchester. It was a tough time for the men of both armies. It was extremely hot, and in the Union army’s Third Corps, twenty men were reported dead as a result of sunstroke.<sup>76</sup> However, Hooker pushed on. Desperate

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<sup>72</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 258.

<sup>73</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, June 16, 1863, “*My Heart Is So Rebellious*,” 191.

<sup>74</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 154.

<sup>75</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 164.

<sup>76</sup> “The Eastern News,” *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco], June 18, 1863; Jeffrey D. Wert, *Mosby’s Rangers: The True Adventures of the Most Famous Command of the Civil War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 263.

to discover Lee's plans, he instructed his cavalry to probe the Confederates whenever possible.

Unlike Hooker, Stuart did not face the same problems regarding knowledge of the enemy. Following the creation of his formal command, Mosby and Stuart met on June 17 for the first time since the capture of General Stoughton in March. Stuart asked the rangers to scout into Loudoun County and locate Union troops.<sup>77</sup> Mosby once more proved to be invaluable to Stuart. He and his men crossed beyond Union picket lines on the night of the 17<sup>th</sup> and captured two officers carrying dispatches from Hooker to Pleasonton.<sup>78</sup> The dispatches made clear that Hooker still did not know Lee's position or his intentions.<sup>79</sup> This reinforced for Stuart that he need not win any great victories in northern Fauquier as long as he prevented the Federals from crossing the Blue Ridge Mountains and locating the Army of Virginia. Stuart commended Mosby's "usual daring."<sup>80</sup>

The following days were filled with skirmish after skirmish, especially in northern Fauquier. The battle of Aldie occurred on June 17, and "while it lasted, was one of the sharpest that has occurred during the war."<sup>81</sup> Captain Charles Francis Adams, Jr. of the First Massachusetts wrote home that his "poor men were just slaughtered," as all they could do was "stand still and be shot down."<sup>82</sup> Fighting also occurred at Middleburg, as the Union cavalry desperately tried to break through one of the mountain passes into the Valley in search of Lee.

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<sup>77</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 68, 72.

<sup>78</sup> O'Neill, "Aldie, Middleburg, and Upperville," 24.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 31; Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 92; *OR*, vol 27, pt. 2, p. 689.

<sup>80</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, part 2, p. 689.

<sup>81</sup> "The Cavalry Fight at Aldie: Full Particulars by Our Special Correspondent," *New York Times*, June 20, 1863

<sup>82</sup> O'Neill, "Aldie, Middleburg, and Upperville," 20.

Both sides earned a brief day of respite on June 20 as rain fell, a welcome relief from the heat of the previous days.<sup>83</sup> While the soldiers were able to rest, the civilians did not enjoy the same luxury. Amidst the fighting, Hooker did not forget his secondary goal of obliterating the rangers. He ordered the officers in the area to arrest all the men in Middleburg, as he believed they all “belong[ed] to or [were] implicated with Mosby.”<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, Hooker demanded, “The women be not allowed to leave their premises during our occupation” and “all houses along the line of march in the future be searched by the proper authority for concealed soldiers.”<sup>85</sup> It was yet another attempt to limit Mosby’s movements, but while it was an added inconvenience for the civilians, it had little effect on the rangers.

The soldiers were soon back in action in the early morning hours of June 21, as the battle of Upperville began. As Stuart continued to fall back towards the Blue Ridge, some of the fighting moved into the fields surrounding Oakley. Ida Dulany watched the battle from her balcony, observing the “motions of the armies” as they came “in sight on a distant hill.”<sup>86</sup> Her husband Hal, eager to assist in any way possible, received hourly updates from Fitz Lee and travelled to see Stuart, who requested a local guide for Loudoun County.<sup>87</sup> It soon became clear on the afternoon of the 21<sup>st</sup> that the Confederates were going to fall back towards Ashby’s Gap, and so Hal moved quickly to send the cattle, sheep, and other livestock to the woods.<sup>88</sup> A band of Confederates arrived at Oakley at 3:00 p.m. Ida fed them, but her mother worried that a Union shell would fall on the house, and so asked the

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 24, 32.

<sup>84</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 3, p. 299.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 164.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

soldiers to leave as quickly as possible, a request that greatly offended the Confederates, as Ida heard later.<sup>89</sup> Confederates were replaced an hour later by Union soldiers, which caused Ida's mother and children to run for the cellar. Ida, however, could not tear her eyes away from the battle. She remained on the balcony and later recorded that "the shouts of the men, the cries of the wounded, and the flash of the firing, made a scene terrible to me."<sup>90</sup> Witnessing the battle from nearby Paris also had a profound effect on Tee Edmonds. "I do not feel the pleasure and ecstasy in beholding regiment after regiment arrayed for battle that I did at the beginning of the war," she mused days after the fight ended. "No! No, the glory and circumstances of war have lost all fictitious glitter - too much stern reality clothed in suffering, sorrow and grief usurps the glory in which it was first arrayed."<sup>91</sup>

The Union soldiers asked for food, which Ida refused. Her slaves, however, cooked for the Yankees, and many soldiers simply stole meat from the smokehouse. That caused Ida to move what remained to the cellar in a bid to protect it. The men also taunted her by saying that Fitz Lee had been killed in the fighting. "[I was so] shocked and grieved that I had to grind my teeth to keep the sorrow I did not wish them to see," she confessed.<sup>92</sup> However, Ida also believed they had described the wrong man, which proved to be correct. The Union soldiers stayed until the next morning, but by noon, Confederates were back on the grounds of the plantation. It had been a stressful forty-eight hours for all involved.<sup>93</sup> Despite pushing Stuart back against the Blue Ridge, Pleasonton still had not found the Army of Northern Virginia, and on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, he retreated towards Aldie.

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 156.

<sup>92</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 167.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 165-67.



The Confederate press was divided on Stuart's actions. Some harped on him for continuously falling back, as the Confederacy was used to hearing reports of Stuart and his cavalry thrashing the Union army. "[Upperville] is considered quite discreditable to the Confederate cavalry, or rather to General Stuart," the *Savannah Republican* fumed, while the *Fayetteville Observer* argued that Stuart had done exactly what was necessary to protect Lee's army.<sup>94</sup> The Union cavalry would continue to probe Fauquier in the coming days, but no other skirmishes were reported.

The end of June saw most of the armies leave Fauquier but not before the Union cavalry conducted a several more raids. Riding into Warrenton, the Federals captured Colonel Scruggs, commander of the Eighty-Fifth Virginia State troops and the former editor of the Warrenton *Whig*.<sup>95</sup> When he was apprehended, Scruggs "was preparing to muster the troops in the county and lead them into active service" to protect the county once the Confederates left.<sup>96</sup> While in the county seat, the Union soldiers could see for themselves the deprivations suffered by the residents. They stopped at the Warren Green Hotel, once one of Fauquier's finest establishments, but did not stay and eat, as the hotel had no food for guests.<sup>97</sup>

Mosby's reconnaissance into Loudoun initially led Stuart to believe he could ride north through the county and safely cross the Potomac before rejoining Lee. However, Hooker switched position, a move that led Mosby to change his own plans to cross into

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<sup>94</sup> O'Neill, "Aldie, Middleburg, and Upperville," 47; "The War in Virginia," *Fayetteville Observer* [N.C.], June 29, 1863.

<sup>95</sup> "Cavalry Reconnoissance across the Rappahannock," *New York Herald*, June 25, 1863.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> "Hooker's Army," *New York Herald*, June 27, 1863.

Maryland but which did not affect Stuart, who continued on the route he had intended.<sup>98</sup> Mosby crossed into Pennsylvania briefly on July 1 but quickly realized he did not have enough men to mount much of a fight and soon returned to Fauquier. To continue to shield the movements of the Army of Northern Virginia, Stuart left two brigades behind, to confuse the Union army about the Confederate advance into Maryland and Pennsylvania. Generals Beverly Robertson and William “Grumble” Jones, Mosby’s old commander, were instructed to guard the mountain passes until Lee’s army was safely across the Potomac before following the army north.<sup>99</sup> Until then, while they followed their orders, the officers also enjoyed the hospitality of the people of Fauquier and enjoyed a brief reprieve.

For their part, the residents appreciated the news and details about the war the military men provided. After all the deprivations experienced by the families in Fauquier, many women rejoiced to hear that Lee had issued General Orders No. 72, which forbade the destruction of private property. “Yet our Generals know that our men are in Pennsylvania, but will not allow private property to be touched,” Ida noted. “It is right for our own sakes, but certainly not from any protection we owe to the families of the wretches who have so long devastated our beautiful country.”<sup>100</sup> Betty Gray, after visiting a friend who had seen recent newspaper reports, recorded “[The Confederate army] is behaving as only

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<sup>98</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 95; This decision by Stuart would have major ramifications in the days and weeks to come. Stuart wished to once more “ride around” the Union army, but in so doing, he was late to meet the army in Pennsylvania and thus Lee was not as well informed on the movements of the Union army as he typically liked to be. Stuart’s movement during this week continued to be debated long after the war, as he bore some of the blame of the Confederate’s failure at Gettysburg. Mosby, seeking to protect his late commander’s reputation, defended Stuart’s actions after the war. However, it does not change the fact that Mosby and Stuart received the same information about the location of Hooker’s troops and Mosby decided to alter his course while Stuart did not. See Thomas, *R. E. Lee*, 293 and Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 94-95.

<sup>99</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 2, p. 692.

<sup>100</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 169.

gentlemen would under the strictest orders not to molest anything where the ladies are concerned but to appropriate all cattle & horses, etc.”<sup>101</sup> She concluded, “Our whole army seems to be aroused now & active service is going on. Something is up.”<sup>102</sup> Something indeed was “up,” but while news would slowly trickle south, the residents of Fauquier could only wait and worry.

When the rangers returned from their brief foray north, they did not return to Fauquier empty handed. Mosby may not have had enough men to skirmish with Union cavalry or aid the Confederate army by fighting, but he had plenty of willing hands to capture livestock and other supplies. When the men returned home with their spoils from Pennsylvania and Maryland, they were met with a mixed reaction from the residents. While many residents wished for some sort of retaliation against northern civilians “be carried to a certain extent as far as civil warfare goes,” they did not expect them to bear the same struggles as they had at the hands of Union soldiers.<sup>103</sup> “Women & children & non-combatants will remain safe,” Betty Gray argued, and “no starvation or houses burned” would occur at the hands of the Confederate army.<sup>104</sup> Ida Dulany agreed. When a neighbor gave her news of Hal, who had also followed the army into Maryland to get supplies, she was appalled by what she heard. Nick Carter, a man well known in the county with a less than favorable reputation, and who Mosby claimed after the war had never been a formal member of his battalion, told Ida that the Pennsylvania women had followed after the rangers, begging them not to take their livestock.<sup>105</sup> “I wonder what they think [of] the

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<sup>101</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 46.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 169, 255.

‘fortunes of war’ now the boot is on the other foot,” Ida mused. However, like Betty, she did not approve of “making war on women,” and “severely as we have suffered from Yankee outrages, would rather go unavenged than have our men playing Yankee in Yankeeland.”<sup>106</sup> Despite the deprivations they had suffered, and would continue to suffer, the Confederate women of Fauquier had not lost their humanity. They understood the cost of their loyalty, especially now that Mosby was in their lives. While these upper-class women sometimes wished the rangers would leave, and occasionally questioned their effectiveness, they never questioned whether or not they would support them. Despite the loss of much of their trappings of wealth, most clearly seen in the downfall of slavery, the affluent women of Fauquier revealed a continued investment in a way of life they wished to maintain.<sup>107</sup>

These women did not have much choice during this war as to where battles were fought, what supplies the armies needed, or really whether or not the men in their lives joined the army. But they could determine their loyalties. They chose to hide rangers in their attics, feed soldiers from provisions hidden in cellars, spirit away horses to the woods, and lie to Union soldiers and officers alike to protect those they loved best. And the fact that after all they had been through, after all the invasions of privacy, the late night searches, the innumerable requests for food, the constant worry, and the death that surrounded them, most of the white women of Fauquier continued to choose the Confederacy speaks to the depth and breadth of their loyalty and faith in the cause. “The female portion of the community practised no dissimulation to conceal their political sentiments,” a northern newspaperman noticed, “but, on the contrary, vauntingly displayed

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>107</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 246-47.

their secession procivilities, forcibly reminding me of Alexander the Great's visit to the Amazons."<sup>108</sup>

Whatever the Confederacy asked of them, they were willing to give, but that did not mean they wanted others to experience the war in the same manner. They detested the Union soldiers, whom they viewed as invaders of their homeland, but they did not blame northern civilians for their deprivations. If Nick Carter delighted in recounting to Ida the stories of northern women wailing to the rangers, a no doubt exaggerated tale, thinking it would bring some sense of vindication to her, he was wrong. Ida accepted her own suffering, and that of her family, but she did not wish what had befallen her on a Pennsylvania farmwife also struggling to survive.

The Confederate government depended on this loyalty of its women. As both armies trickled back south, desertion became a real problem for Lee's army when soldiers returned home to check on their families after the arduous trip north. Jefferson Davis and other politicians urged Lee to punish them lightly because the fate of the army rested on their return. Lower ranking officers also understood the importance of allowing the men to see for themselves how their families were doing.<sup>109</sup> Instead of severe punishment, the Confederate government turned to a reliable source to encourage men to return to the army: women. An article in the *Richmond Whig* implored women to inspire their men to once more take up their rifle and rejoin the army. "A class who has done so much to sustain the war - whose willing fingers have clothed their brave defenders in the field," the author wrote encouragingly, "whose courage and constancy and self-denial have inspired every

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<sup>108</sup> "Hooker's Army," *New York Herald*, June 27, 1863.

<sup>109</sup> William Blair, *Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 88-90.

heart and nerved every arm - a class which has already accomplished so much, and accomplished it so well, cannot fail of success in the present instance if they but go promptly to work."<sup>110</sup> Women were the backbone of the cause, and the Confederate government needed their continued support. However, many people across the South were losing hope, and so newspaper articles such as these were needed to encourage women, as well as their men. Many women believed that they had given enough to the Confederate cause and wished to have their loved ones return home.<sup>111</sup> The elite women in Fauquier, however, remained steadfastly loyal. "[T]his Rebel holds out in spite of them. An Army such as this must have some reverses," Betty Gray reflected. "But in the end our independence. Fight to the end & don't yield to the negro law of the north."<sup>112</sup>

Hal Dulany returned late on the night of July 6, and Ida was distraught to see he had no supplies with him. He managed to buy enough food to fill a wagon, but his party was forced to abandon everything before crossing back in Virginia when a Union patrol in Hagerstown, Maryland, compelled the men to run for their lives.<sup>113</sup> Hal did report good news about a battle in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and more good news followed. Ida heard on July 8<sup>th</sup> that the Yankees were "beaten after the most terrible fighting ever known."<sup>114</sup> She also sadly noted the death of General Lewis Armistead, a distant cousin. While the Dulanys believed the battle to be a Confederate success, Tee Edmonds, just a few miles away, received very different news. She found out that her brothers were safe but also that

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<sup>110</sup> "The Army of Northern Virginia," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 10, 1863.

<sup>111</sup> Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 238-242.

<sup>112</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 50.

<sup>113</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 170.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

the Confederate loss was “very heavy,” with the army in retreat.<sup>115</sup> Unfortunately for Ida and the rest of Fauquier, Tee’s report was accurate, and in the days to come, conflicting news came thick and fast. Ida struggled to determine the truth. As she confided to her journal, “One day reports Lee victorious and another tells of him defeated and retreating.”<sup>116</sup>

Prior to the beginning of the Gettysburg campaign, the Army of the Potomac had received yet another new commander. Rumors had been circulating after Chancellorsville that many of his subordinates had lost faith in Hooker. Following another disagreement with Halleck at the end of June, Hooker submitted his resignation to the president, which was accepted. Lincoln noted that Hooker suffered from the same failings as George McClellan: “A want of alacrity to obey, and a greedy call for more troops.”<sup>117</sup> In his place, the president appointed General George Gordon Meade, one of Hooker’s corps commanders.<sup>118</sup> It came as a complete surprise to the general, who nonetheless assumed his duty.<sup>119</sup> For Meade, it would be a baptism by fire, as he assumed control of the army in the midst of a chase to catch Lee, entreating his wife to “Pray earnestly, pray for the success of my country.”<sup>120</sup> Meade performed admirably in his first battle on the fields of Pennsylvania.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 158.

<sup>116</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 170.

<sup>117</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 266.

<sup>118</sup> McPherson, *Tried by War*, 181.

<sup>119</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 267.

<sup>120</sup> George Gordon Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade*, ed. George Gordon Meade, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913), II: 12.

<sup>121</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 304-05.

After several days of rain, which caused rivers to swell and impeded the progress of both armies, the Union cavalry rode again into Fauquier.<sup>122</sup> Following the same route they had taken after the battle of Antietam the previous year, the Federals attempted to control the mountain gaps and halt Lee's retreat from Pennsylvania. With soldiers back in the county, Ida was distraught. "Our hearts are very heavy today," she recorded as she received confirmation of both the defeat at Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg.<sup>123</sup> She continued to believe "in the justice" of the Confederate cause, yet despaired that she and her family would "ever be happy again as . . . in the blessed days of peace."<sup>124</sup>

Fauquier families with loved ones in the cavalry were relieved to hear that they had avoided most of the heavy fighting during the battle. Members of the Black Horse and Dulany Troops had either ridden with Stuart around the Union army or remained in northern Virginia with Robertson and Jones. Either way, neither group of cavalry fought at Gettysburg, instead engaging in skirmishes with Union cavalry in southern Pennsylvania. Fighting at Fairfield, Pennsylvania, the Black Horse managed to capture 150 prisoners.<sup>125</sup> Following the end of the battle, both the Fourth Virginia and the Sixth Virginia, of which the two troops were a part, screened Lee's retreat south.<sup>126</sup>

Men from Fauquier in the infantry were not as lucky. Many of the units served under Generals Lewis A. Armistead, Richard B. Garnett, and James L. Kemper, and so were in a division commanded by General George Pickett. As a result, numerous Fauquier natives

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<sup>122</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 46; Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, July 13, 1863, *My Heart is So Rebellious*, 194.

<sup>123</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 171.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> Michael P. Musick, *6th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1990), 45.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-45.



participated in one of the most famous battles in history.<sup>127</sup> The afternoon of July 3<sup>rd</sup> left the Eleventh Virginia, under Kemper, with 18 killed in action and 99 wounded.<sup>128</sup> The Eighth Virginia, serving under Garnett, had even heavier losses, with 39 killed and 79 wounded.<sup>129</sup> In total, Pickett's division would suffer 1,366 losses on July 3.<sup>130</sup> As Ida Dulany sadly remarked to her diary, the people of Fauquier had faced "very dark days before, "but she believed this was "the darkest" they had known.<sup>131</sup>

The Union army continued to flow through the county, following Lee, who was headed back to Culpeper. Once more, Lincoln was infuriated at the inaction of his commander, as Meade did not vigorously pursue the Confederates and let them escape back through northern Virginia.<sup>132</sup> This influx of soldiers placed additional burdens on loyal Confederates. Families in and around Warrenton had no meat, as soldiers took what they could find.<sup>133</sup> Union soldiers marching through Paris searched the Edmonds' home Belle Grove several times and took turkeys and two old horses. Tee believed they were targeted because the Federals discovered her brother Bud, a member of the Sixth Virginia who sometimes rode with Mosby, had come to visit.<sup>134</sup>

As Lee's army attempted to cross the Blue Ridge, numerous skirmishes broke out in the mountain passes. The Union cavalry repulsed the beleaguered Confederates and maintained control of Fauquier. As more soldiers flowed into the county, the lack of

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<sup>127</sup> Robert T. Bell, *11th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1985), 38-42.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>129</sup> John E. Divine, *8th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1983), 25.

<sup>130</sup> Bell, *11th Virginia Infantry*, 42.

<sup>131</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 171.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 182, 184; Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 308.

<sup>133</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, July 19, 1863, *"My Heart is So Rebellious*, 195.

<sup>134</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 161.

supplies became a real problem. "With the exception of Loudoun county," one newspaper reported, "there is nothing to harvest except a few acres of wheat and corn, and this must be done by manual labor, as the country has been entirely stripped of stock."<sup>135</sup> Thankfully for the soldiers, the train began running once more to Warrenton and brought with it much-needed food.

Unlike previous occupations, though, this one was different. Fauquier was no longer in a no-man's-land. The Union army had complete control of the county, and General Meade set up headquarters in Warrenton. The Dulanys found themselves "completely surrounded by Yankees," and as the Union soldiers had orders to "take everything" everything was being taken.<sup>136</sup> All hogs, steers, and milk cows were confiscated, and the Dulany's house, Oakley, was taken over as Colonel William Mann of the Seventh Michigan Cavalry and his staff for their headquarters. "We will be left to live on wheat bread and water," Ida despaired, but, she continued, "we still hope for better days."<sup>137</sup> Northern newspapers, reporting on these events, took a different view: "Intelligent rebel officers, now in our hands, admit that this is the most gloomy period for the hopes of the Confederacy."<sup>138</sup>

Despite the presence of so many Union soldiers, Mosby and his rangers were still in the area, and they wasted little time in attacking the Federals' weakest points (usually the rear of columns, wagon trains, and pickets). It was exactly what Mosby had wanted to do to John Pope's retreating line but had been unable to accomplish. This year was different, as Mosby had his own command and could choose his own targets. The rangers were so successful that Mosby had to send Fount Beattie to Stuart in Culpeper twice in one week

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<sup>135</sup> "Telegraphic," *Daily Cleveland Herald*, July 27, 1863.

<sup>136</sup> Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*, 171.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>138</sup> "By Telegraph," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 29, 1863.

with Union prisoners.<sup>139</sup> With such a large Union presence in Fauquier, Mosby focused much of his attention on Fairfax and Alexandria, where he and his men found a familiar target, the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Mosby led attacks on the railroad and also, at one point, surrounded the Fairfax Court House in one of his most daring raids yet.

The Union cavalry did not sit idly by, however. General Herman Haupt, the man in charge of military railroads, informed General Rufus Ingalls, chief quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac: "Every citizen of suitable age for draft who is not in the army should be regarded with suspicion and closely watched for I am told that many men have been exempted from draft on condition of joining Mosby's band, who are guerrillas at night and farmers by day."<sup>140</sup> While again their facts were not correct, Haupt was right to focus on the young men in the area. Two of General Pleasonton's officers, Colonel Huey and General George A. Custer, were "thoroughly scouring the whole country and making some arrests" in hopes of either capturing Mosby or driving him out of northern Virginia.<sup>141</sup>

The Union army's frustration with the rangers only mounted through the summer. A reporter travelling with the Federals expressed his own dissatisfaction with the guerrillas. "[They are] simply robbers, who hang around the skirts of our army to rob and murder stragglers," he declared. "They should never be taken prisoners. There is but one fate fit for them - death of dogs."<sup>142</sup> The Union cavalry did what it could to break up the guerrillas and had some success, as Huey and Custer demonstrated, but the rangers' practice of "skedaddling" when attacked made it hard to capture more than a few of them at a time. More units were needed to track Mosby if he was to be defeated. "The guerillas are familiar

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<sup>139</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 2, p. 991.

<sup>140</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 3, p. 755.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 830.

<sup>142</sup> "Mr. N. Davidson's Despatches," *New York Herald*, August 2, 1863.

with every path in Fairfax and Loudoun counties, and are able to escape from all parties sent in pursuit of them," a reporter from Washington, D.C., noted. "Nothing less than a force sufficiently large to scour the whole country this side of Bull Run Mountains will avail anything towards terminating those annoying visitations."<sup>143</sup> The rangers' "continuance is a stigma upon our arms, and it is to be hoped that the necessary steps for ridding us of these thieves will be promptly initiated."<sup>144</sup>

The Federals resorted to what had been tried before – mass arrests of male civilians in the hopes of capturing some of the rangers in the process. At the end of July, Henry Halleck, from the War Department in Washington, D.C., blamed the citizens or "rebel soldiers in disguise" for "numerous depredations."<sup>145</sup> Instructing Meade to take control of the issue, he ordered that any citizen against whom there was "sufficient evidence of having engaged in these practices" should be arrested or "put behind the lines."<sup>146</sup> Furthermore, all citizens living within ten miles of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad would be held responsible for the security of the road, depots, and stations, and they themselves would have to labor to fix any damage done by guerrillas. If these measures failed to stop the attacks, Halleck continued, it was Meade's duty "to direct that the entire inhabitants of the district or country along the railroad be put across the lines and their property taken for Government use."<sup>147</sup> Unfortunately for both Halleck and Meade, this did not stop the guerrillas, nor did it change the opinions of the citizens. Indeed, when the provost marshal forwarded rebel prisoners, including farmers and a few guerillas arrested

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<sup>143</sup> "News from Washington," *New York Herald*, August 5, 1863.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> "Potomac," *Vermont Chronicle*, August 18, 1863; *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 1, p. 102-03.

<sup>146</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 1, p. 102-03.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

under Meade's proclamation, they were more bitter in their expression of hatred to the federal government than were the soldiers."<sup>148</sup>

While Mosby continued to evade capture, his focus on small acts of sabotage against the Union army frustrated Lee. Stuart forwarded Mosby's latest report to him in early August and once more asked for a promotion for the major. While Lee did forward the report to the War Department, he added his own thoughts. After commending Mosby for his latest success, the general added, "I fear he exercises but little control over his men. He has latterly carried but too few on his expeditions, apparently, and his attention has been more directed toward the capture of wagons than military damage to the enemy."<sup>149</sup> What Lee failed to consider, though, was that Mosby was more uniquely suited to attacking supply lines than causing "military damage."<sup>150</sup> Mosby did not have the men needed to launch a full-scale attack on Union cavalry, and neither he nor Stuart believed such actions were necessary to be successful. The Union army was expending a great deal of effort trying to thwart and capture Mosby; he was a useful distraction that allowed Lee's army to retreat safely. Mosby defended his role, too, in writing to Stuart: "The military value of the species of warfare I have waged is not measured by the number of prisoners and material of war captured from the enemy, but by the heavy detail it has already compelled him to make."<sup>151</sup> However, Mosby realized the necessity of proving his worth to Lee and so determined to strike the railroad when possible.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> "Meade's Army," *New York Herald*, August 12, 1863.

<sup>149</sup> *OR*, vol. 27, pt. 2, p. 992.

<sup>150</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 112.

<sup>151</sup> *OR*, vol. 29, pt. 1, p. 81.

<sup>152</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 112-113.

Despite Lee's misgivings about Mosby's actions, the rangers were having great success against the Union wagon trains. They managed to "severely inconvenience" the army as supplies the Federals depended on from became harder to obtain.<sup>153</sup> Only the most "venturesome and greedy of the speculating gentry will offer their wares, teams and precious persons to the chances of being captured," it was reported, bad news for one of the Union's largest armies.<sup>154</sup> Sutlers were civilian vendors who had arrived in army camps at the beginning of the war. They provided goods the military did not, especially important as certain supplies and food became harder to obtain. However, they also consistently raised prices, and so while soldiers appreciated the wares they provided, they also condemned the vendors, often referring to them as "vultures."<sup>155</sup> When attacked by Mosby's Rangers, the sutlers themselves were typically unharmed, and once their goods were captured by the partisans, they reported the theft to the Union army and passed along any information they could on the direction in which the guerrillas were headed.<sup>156</sup> Mosby severely impeded sutler traffic from the federal capital to northern Virginia, but he could not stop the wagon trains, at least not yet.

Attempting to abide by Lee's orders, Mosby set out on August 24 with his men to burn railroad bridges east of Bull Run. While scouting to ensure the trestles were unguarded, he saw a detachment of the Second Massachusetts cavalry guarding one hundred Union cavalry horses. It was too good a chance to pass up, and so Mosby changed

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<sup>153</sup> "Meade's Army," *New York Herald*, August 12, 1863.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> James I. Robertson, Jr., *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 72-73.

<sup>156</sup> Lieutenant Colonel H. H. Wells to Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Taylor, August 11, 1863, pt. 4, #1459, 1462, Provost Marshal Records, South of the Potomac, 1862-1865, RG 393, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

his plans. The Union cavalymen drove the horses to a tavern near Fairfax Court House, where they stopped to water their mounts. At that moment, the rangers attacked, and after a brief fight, the Union men either ran away or surrendered. Mosby's men captured twelve prisoners and eighty-five horses.<sup>157</sup> It was a huge success and infuriated Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. Incensed by the loss of badly needed horses (that were worth \$11,000), he ordered a court of inquiry into the episode.<sup>158</sup>

However, Mosby's aura of invincibility suffered a crack in the fight. While rumors consistently swirled in the North after major raids that the partisan leader was either dead or wounded, Mosby had always escaped injury. This time he was not so lucky. In addition to two rangers killed during the skirmish, three were wounded, including Mosby himself. Shot through his ribs and right thigh, he was taken to the nearby woods, where the Forty-Third's assistant surgeon, Dr. William L. Dunn, treated his commander.<sup>159</sup> Mosby placed Lieutenant Tom Turner in charge, and despite the day's distractions, the rangers continued on to burn one train trestle.<sup>160</sup> In the days to come, several rangers took him to his family's home in Amherst County to recuperate. For the first time in the brief history of the partisan battalion, Mosby was not leading the charge.

Throughout August, both armies settled in on their respective sides of the Rappahannock. Eerily similar to their positions from the year before, both took a few weeks to restore some calm and order after the ordeal that was Gettysburg. It was a bit like

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<sup>157</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 113; Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 78-79.

<sup>158</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 114. Ultimately, the colonel of the Thirteenth New York cavalry, Charles Russell Lowell, of the prominent Boston family, took responsibility for the failure and received a warning from the court.

<sup>159</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 113-114.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

a winter break with both armies hunkered down, but instead of hibernating in the snow and mud, the soldiers did what they could to protect themselves from the heat of the Virginia summer. "The thermometer for the time has ranged from ninety to one hundred degrees in the shade," a reporter complained, "with not a breath of air stirring."<sup>161</sup> "So warm today," Tee grumbled. "I shall surely melt into a grease spot."<sup>162</sup>

Besides discomfort, the rising temperatures caused other problems. A drought hit the area, which made the rising temperatures even more pronounced and wreaked havoc on crops. The scarcity of food, always a problem, was compounded by the weather. Tee worried about her brothers camped along the Rappahannock. "It seems almost impossible for life to subsist on so little," she fretted, for there was "not a sprig of grass anywhere around them."<sup>163</sup> By taking the war north, Lee had hoped to give Virginia a reprieve. Unfortunately for both the army and the residents, it was not long enough. Even Union soldiers mourned the destruction of northern Virginia. "Poor Virginia!" Yankee Captain Charles Francis Adams, Jr., wrote. "Her fighting men have been slaughtered; her old men have been ruined; her women and children are starving and outraged; her servants have run away or been stolen; her fields have been desolated; her towns have been depopulated."<sup>164</sup> Lee's army was in dire straits, as the Gettysburg campaign had exhausted both men and horses. Nonetheless, the battle-worn commander refused to give up.

The Union army struggled to find clean drinking water, amongst other issues, but once the railroad was repaired in early August, supplies from Washington, D.C., arrived frequently. Twenty-five trains a day from the capital to Rappahannock Station supplied the

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<sup>161</sup> "Mr. F. G. Chapman's Despatches," *New York Herald*, August 14, 1863.

<sup>162</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 166.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 275.



army “with all necessaries.”<sup>165</sup> However, the residents were unable to benefit from this influx of goods. Secessionists were told they were not allowed to buy from restocked stores in Warrenton unless they took the oath of allegiance, and sutlers were forbidden to sell to civilians.<sup>166</sup> Despite their deprivation, residents did not take the oath. “Will starvation & nakedness ever force our people to take that bitter pill?” Betty Gray observed in her diary, “God forbid.”<sup>167</sup> This refusal had ramifications as conditions only worsened through the summer. “Provisions are very scarce,” a correspondent traveling with the Union army reported. “In fact, there is nothing here. How they are to live another winter they do not know themselves.”<sup>168</sup> Although she had complained about the retaliation Mosby’s actions had brought on the county, Betty Gray took a different view after a summer of struggle. Railing once more against Union rules that forbade her family from purchasing goods in Warrenton (as no one in her family would dare disgrace themselves by taking the oath), Betty wished for assistance from the rangers: “Mosby has again helped himself to the Yankee supplies, took 21 wagons more last week. I wish I could meet with Mosby at this time. I would ask no more favors from the Yanks.”<sup>169</sup>

As the situation worsened through September, Betty changed her staunch view on Yankee supplies. She was furious that her father forbade her to trade with the soldiers, not even allowing her the chance to have cloth to make new clothes. Jealous that her neighbors had obtained goods, Betty declared, “As to my own views I don’t see the impropriety of dealing with them just for the accommodation of ourselves. They have stripped us of every

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<sup>165</sup> “Meade’s Army,” *New York Herald*, August 12, 1863.

<sup>166</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 49, 53.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>168</sup> “By Telegraph,” *Vermont Watchman and State Journal*, August 21, 1863.

<sup>169</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 53.

comfort and if we can secure any by dealing necessities with them it is all right.”<sup>170</sup> She must have been persuasive, as the next day, her mother and sister went to Warrenton to go shopping. Unfortunately for the Grays, the one store in town with any remaining stock was nearly sold out. Making a sort of peace with her Union occupiers, at least when it came to household goods, Betty was no doubt weary of living without the finer things in life. A young lady accustomed to a certain lifestyle, it is no surprise that she was no longer willing to let her scruples about Yankees get the better of her.

Some Union soldiers, either pitying the residents or trying to curry favor with them, offered little gifts. Betty and her brother received stationary and tobacco, respectively, from a passing federal soldier, both being items that were hard to come by in the region. Mrs. Gray made sure to give the soldier some money in return so that her children would not be in anyone’s debt, much less to a Yankee.<sup>171</sup> The soldier returned a few days later, once more bearing gifts. This time Betty received sugar, violet soap, and a newspaper.<sup>172</sup> Small luxuries, but luxuries she had long been without. However, as the loyal secessionists had expected, the gifts came with a price. The Yankee then asked to spend the night, his reason being that he was afraid of being captured by guerrillas. The family allowed him to stay, but whether he really was scared or was attempting to discover whether the Grays harbored guerrillas was unclear.

Union occupation made everyone nervous, and Fauquier’s residents resorted to asking for guards once again. The Grays were relieved to obtain one, not just to protect them from marauding bands, but also from a relatively new occurrence: the presence of

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 51.

African American soldiers in the county. "It is bad enough to stand Yankees," Betty recorded in her diary, "but when the blackest contrabands ride up to your door having all the privileges of their white soldiers to rob & be insolent to us it is unbearable."<sup>173</sup> Reports that Meade had two African American regiments stationed with him in Warrenton sent shockwaves through the community.<sup>174</sup> President Lincoln had endorsed the policy of enlisting African American troops in March. Soon after, the War Department created the Bureau of Colored Troops, and northern black men were now subject to conscription.<sup>175</sup> The majority of black troops were initially assigned to manual labor, echoing Lincoln's statement in the Emancipation Proclamation that African American soldiers should "garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places."<sup>176</sup>

When Lincoln had originally announced his intentions as a part of the Emancipation Proclamation, Jefferson Davis had responded in December of 1862 by stating, amongst other things, that all white officers in black regiments would be considered "robbers and criminals deserving death" and, if captured, would be executed.<sup>177</sup> The Confederacy never followed through on the formal executions, but the U.S. government used Lieber's Code, General Orders No. 100, to clarify the legality of black troops.<sup>178</sup> In late July, Lincoln issued General Orders No. 252 to confirm that one rebel soldier would be executed for every

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>174</sup> "The Latest News," *Weekly Raleigh* [N.C.] *Register*, Sept. 9, 1863.

<sup>175</sup> McPherson, *Tried by War*, 201; John David Smith, "Let Us All Be Grateful," in *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era*, ed. John David Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 26; Ervin L. Jordan, Jr, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 266.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>177</sup> *OR*, series 2, vol. 5, p. 797.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 46.

Union soldier “killed in violation of the laws of war.”<sup>179</sup> Despite this threat, Confederates continued to employ captured black soldiers in forced labor, and there were still instances of rebel soldiers murdering surrendering or wounded black troops.<sup>180</sup> While African American units in northern Virginia were not actively involved in the fighting, with most serving on camp and engineering details, that did not matter to the citizens of Fauquier.<sup>181</sup> It was bad enough that most of the slaves in the area had run off to Union camps or north to Washington, D.C., but now to be faced with African Americans in the blue Union uniforms was unbearable to many Fauquier citizens.

It was not just African American soldiers that raised citizens’ suspicions. After their run-in with Jessie Scouts earlier in the summer, the Edmonds family was wary around Confederate soldiers they did not recognize. Three men in rebel uniforms claiming to be a part of Ewell’s brigade came by the house in early August, but the family was skeptical. Tee slipped out to a neighbor’s house to bring back an apparent Confederate captain and two soldiers whom she wanted arrested if they were indeed Union soldiers. A crisis was averted when the soldiers turned out to be Confederates from Louisiana. With soldiers coming and going constantly, the residents did not know who they could trust.<sup>182</sup>

The skirmishes between Mosby’s rangers and detachments of Union cavalry were about all the excitement the county experienced in the heat of summer. General Meade remained in Warrenton, and the two armies continued to face off across the Rappahannock. In their boredom, the pickets began shouting across the water to one another, both to

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<sup>179</sup> Smith, “Let Us All Be Grateful,” in *Black Soldiers in Blue*, 47.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Robertson, “From the Crater to New Market Heights,” in *Black Soldiers in Blue*, 169.

<sup>182</sup> Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, 165.

exchange news and to taunt the other side. Sometimes, the men even bathed together in the river.<sup>183</sup> Their officers shared news, too. Colonel Robert C. Hill invited General Custer across the river into Culpeper so that Custer could carry a note to General David McMurtree Gregg, a former classmate and friend of Hill.<sup>184</sup>

As the weather slowly cooled, action picked up along the river, a relief to President Lincoln, who was growing anxious about his commander's inability to act. Writing to Secretary Welles, he fumed, "It is the same old story of the Army of the Potomac. Imbecility, inefficiency - don't want to *do*- is defending the Capital. Oh, it is terrible, terrible, this weakness, this indifference of our Potomac generals, with such armies of good and brave men."<sup>185</sup> Thankfully, for Lincoln's sake, Meade instructed his cavalry commander, General Pleasonton, to probe Lee's lines and ascertain where his forces were concentrated.<sup>186</sup> From both his scouts and southern newspapers, Meade learned that Lee had sent General Longstreet's two brigades to support Braxton Bragg in Tennessee. It was the perfect chance to take advantage of the Army of Northern Virginia's weakened numbers.

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<sup>183</sup> "From the Army of the Potomac," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 27, 1863, Sept. 10, 1863.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>185</sup> McPherson, *Tried By War*, 199.

<sup>186</sup> "We have been permitted to make some extracts from a private letter from a member of the 1st Long Island Regiment now stationed at Warrenton, Virginia," *New Haven Daily Palladium*, Sept. 12, 1863; "Telegraphic," *Daily Cleveland Herald*, Sept. 17, 1863.

## Chapter 8: One Vast, Barren Wilderness, Fall – Winter 1863

Autumn weather made movements easier when General Pleasonton crossed the Rappahannock on September 13. During a skirmish near Brandy Station, Stuart and his cavalry lost two guns to the Union cavalry and were forced back across the Rapidan.<sup>187</sup> As a result of this success, Union infantry began to follow and crossed the Rappahannock. From his headquarters at Orange Court House, Lee was prepared for the advance. Choosing the high ground across the Rapidan, he dug in and waited. Meade's scouts confirmed what had been rumored, that the area between the Rapidan and Rappahannock had been evacuated by the Confederates.<sup>188</sup> Now, and throughout northern Virginia, "no Rebels exist[ed] there beyond the prowling vagabonds of Mosby and White."<sup>189</sup>

However, with the majority of the Union army moved into the Confederates' abandoned camps in Culpeper, the bridge across the Rappahannock rebuilt, and telegraph lines stretching across the river to link the army to Washington, Mosby saw multiple possibilities to plague Meade's rear.<sup>190</sup> Following his recuperation at home, he immediately visited both Secretary of War Seddon, in Richmond, and General Lee, at his headquarters at Orange Court House. Seddon was thrilled to meet the partisan commander whose reports he eagerly read, and he "spoke in the highest terms of the services" of Mosby's battalion.<sup>191</sup> From Richmond, Mosby travelled to see Lee, who welcomed him warmly. It was only their

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<sup>187</sup> "Telegraphic," *Daily Cleveland Herald*, Sept. 17, 1863.

<sup>188</sup> "From the Army of the Potomac," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 18, 1863.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861-1865* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 277-80.

<sup>191</sup> James A. Ramage, *Gray Ghost: The Life of Col. John Singleton Mosby* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 115.

second meeting and the first since Mosby had officially become a partisan. The general encouraged Mosby to continue to attack the railroad and consider attempts to capture high-ranking Union officials, as he had done so successfully with Stroughton.<sup>192</sup>

Once back in Fauquier, ensconced as partisan leader, Mosby conducted raids north into Fairfax County while also keeping Lee informed of Union movements and, consequently, happy with the partisans' actions.<sup>193</sup> Following Lee's instructions to try to capture high-ranking Union commanders, in late September, Mosby and his men crossed Union lines and entered Alexandria, intent on taking Francis H. Pierpont, the restored governor of Virginia.<sup>194</sup> An ardent unionist who had grown up in the northwestern part of the state, he led the charge for the creation of West Virginia, which was admitted to the Union in June of 1863. Pierpont continued to serve as governor of the unionist-controlled sections of Virginia and his jurisdiction extended as far south as the Union lines, which explained his presence in Alexandria.

Unfortunately for Mosby, as had occurred when he attempted to capture Colonel Wyndham earlier in the year, Pierpont was in Washington on the night the rangers came to town.<sup>195</sup> Despite having evaded the partisans, Pierpont was incensed and complained to Edwin Stanton, Lincoln's secretary of war, that if these "impudent and Wicked" rangers were not stopped, Union sentiment in the entire region would be "demoralized."<sup>196</sup>

Unwilling to return to Fauquier without some prize, the rangers instead rode south of

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 115-16.

<sup>194</sup> Lieutenant Colonel H. H. Wells to Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Taylor, September 29, 1863, Provost Marshal Records, South of the Potomac, 1862-1865, pt. 4, #1459; 1462, RG 393, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>195</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 117.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

Alexandria to the home of Pierpont's aide, Colonel Daniel H. Dulaney. They found the house easily since Dulaney's son, French Dulaney, was a private in Mosby's command and participated in the night's raid. Having secured their prize, French said to the colonel, "How do Pa? I'm very glad to see you." "Well, Sir," his father replied, "I'm damned sorry to see you."<sup>197</sup> With the capture of another high-ranking official, the rangers earned more attention in the press and praise from both Stuart and Lee. Lee commended Mosby's "boldness and skill" in keeping the Federals on "constant apprehension" and inflicting "repeated injuries."<sup>198</sup>

Thanks to their numerous exploits, Mosby's command continued to grow, and by October 1, there were enough men to form another company. Once more Mosby held "elections" by presenting a list of officers and having the men confirm his selections. The captain of Company B was William Rowley Smith of Fauquier, a former member of the Black Horse cavalry and known as "a man in the prime of life, remarkable for his personal strength."<sup>199</sup> "[He] is cool, bold, and possesses in a remarkable degree the qualities necessary for command," declared one man.<sup>200</sup> Company B quickly proved its worth by striking a Union cavalry camp outside Warrenton, and the entire battalion continued to plague Union sutlers. Having captured several of them along with their goods on the Little River Turnpike near Alexandria on October 11, the rangers shared their spoils with some loyal Confederates. As the partisans picked through the wagon, a couple returning from

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<sup>197</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 117.

<sup>198</sup> War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. in 128 parts (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), vol. 29, pt. 1, p. 81 (Cited hereafter as *OR* and from the first series unless otherwise indicated.)

<sup>199</sup> Hugh C. Keen and Horace Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry, Mosby's Command* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1993), 84.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*



Alexandria came down the road. The Dunhams, loyal secessionists from Fairfax County known to the rangers, had travelled to Alexandria seeking supplies, a fruitless trip until they crossed paths with the rangers. Inviting the couple to fill their wagon with some of the captured goods, the men were glad to help a family in need, but also amused. "I thought our men were past-masters in the art of handling sutlers' goods," ranger John Munson observed, "but Dunham and his wife made us ashamed. It was their first experience, but they did not require any teaching from us."<sup>201</sup>

Mosby's actions prompted the usual response from Washington. The number of Union patrols increased in the vain hope of stopping his attacks, but a few arrests and angry citizens were the only result.<sup>202</sup> Mosby's men continued to find sanctuary in the numerous safe houses scattered across northern Fauquier, although, well aware of the rise in searches and seizures by the Union army, they more often chose to sleep in yards, barns, or the woods to prevent capture during the night.<sup>203</sup>

Unfortunately for Fauquier's loyal Confederates, their reprieve from the Union army was brief. By mid-October, Meade's army was back in the county following a fight in Culpeper. Lee had not been content to remain below the Rapidan for the winter and certainly did not want Meade as far south as Culpeper. It was much safer to have Union army north of the Rappahannock. Luckily for the Confederates, in response to Longstreet's movement to Tennessee to support Braxton Bragg, Lincoln and Stanton had agreed to send

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<sup>201</sup> Keen and Mewborn. *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 85.

<sup>202</sup> Amanda Virginia Edmonds, *Journals of Amanda Virginia Edmonds: Lass of the Mosby Confederacy, 1859-1867*, ed. Nancy Chappelle Baird (Stephens City, Va.: Commercial Press, 1984), 171.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps of the Army of the Potomac to Chattanooga.<sup>204</sup> When Lee learned of this, he wasted no time, wanting to strike Meade as quickly as possible. The Confederates successfully re-captured Culpeper Court House, with Lee arriving in the familiar town on October 11.<sup>205</sup> While forced out of the county, Meade nonetheless managed to wreak havoc in his retreat. Union soldiers destroyed the Orange and Alexandria Railroad in the northern section of Culpeper as well as the depots at Brandy and Rappahannock Stations and the bridge across the river. Furthermore, the Union cavalry again fought Stuart to a draw. Once unthinkable during the early years of the war, the Union cavalry proved once more it was a match for the skilled Confederates.<sup>206</sup>

After this series of actions, an emboldened Lee attempted to recreate Jackson's movements against General Pope fourteen months earlier and push Meade still farther north.<sup>207</sup> Sending his army around Meade's right flank, Lee hoped to cut off the federal retreat and catch the army as it fell back towards Manassas.<sup>208</sup> This strategy had been hugely successful one year before, but there were crucial differences this time around: George Meade was not John Pope, and A.P. Hill was not Stonewall Jackson. Meade may have had some of the traits that crippled previous commanders of the Army of the Potomac, most notably, a hesitancy to follow through after major attacks, but his army was more experienced than the one Pope had led. And General A.P. Hill's corps, which Lee sent north to flank Meade, did not display the alacrity that had been hallmarks of Jackson's marches.

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<sup>204</sup> James M. McPherson, *Tried By War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 200.

<sup>205</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 290-92.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 292-93.

<sup>207</sup> "Telegraphic," *Cleveland Daily Herald*, Oct. 13, 1863.

<sup>208</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 293.

Lee's plan appeared to be successful in the beginning. While studying maps of the area, he decided his army would first converge on Warrenton before flanking Meade.<sup>209</sup> Stuart set off across the Rappahannock with Ewell and Hill's divisions. Meade's scouts informed him of the Confederates' actions, and the Union army began to fall back towards Washington.<sup>210</sup> The Army of Northern Virginia reached Warrenton on October 13, when Lee received word that Stuart was trapped a few miles away, near Auburn.<sup>211</sup> Two columns of federal troops, still retreating back to Manassas, had unknowingly fenced in one of the most famous bodies of cavalry in the war. Lee sent Ewell's artillery and between those guns and Stuart's own, the Confederates were able to create a successful diversion and rescue the cavalry.<sup>212</sup>

Following this unexpected turn of events, Lee started a brisk march toward Bristoe Station, just over the county line in Prince William. He was still determined to catch Meade.<sup>213</sup> The quick march suited the Confederates, who knew that if they overtook the Army of the Potomac, they would have access to their food and supplies. For an army in which many men were marching barefoot, the idea of new boots spurred them along.<sup>214</sup>

Unfortunately for the Confederates, those captured wagon trains were not meant to be. At mid-afternoon on October 14, Lee heard Hill's infantry and artillery heavily engaged with the enemy. As the commander approached Bristoe Station, he attacked with two brigades and four batteries of artillery before realizing he faced the Union army's entire

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<sup>209</sup> William D. Henderson, *The Road to Bristoe Station: Campaigning with Lee and Meade, August 1 - October 20, 1863* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1987), 122.

<sup>210</sup> "From the Army of the Potomac," *Daily National Intelligencer*, Oct. 15, 1863.

<sup>211</sup> Henderson, *The Road to Bristoe Station*, 148.

<sup>212</sup> Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography*, 4 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), III: 177-79.

<sup>213</sup> Emory Thomas, *Robert E. Lee* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 310.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

Second Corps, commanded by Gouverneur K. Warren.<sup>215</sup> The Federals were arrayed along Broad Run and protected by a railroad cut.<sup>216</sup> By the nature of their location, the Federals had “more advantageous ground” and a larger force than Hill had anticipated.<sup>217</sup> The rebels were quickly repulsed with no time for reinforcements from Ewell to reach them.<sup>218</sup> The battle of Bristoe Station was quick but deadly, with the Confederates suffering a staggering 1,361 casualties.<sup>219</sup> The Federals also captured five pieces of artillery.<sup>220</sup>

The artillery could be heard in Fauquier by residents who anxiously awaited the outcome of the battle. They could hear the cannon booming: “[T]he shells bursting so near, the deafening musketry, soldiers dashing up from every direction for their breakfast & the numbers we have seen pass by.”<sup>221</sup> “Take it all together,” Betty Gray remarked, “this has been the most spicy day with us since the war.”<sup>222</sup> Despite the high number of casualties, men from Fauquier were lucky as most did not participate. The Forty-Ninth Virginia faced only artillery fire, Sixth Virginia Cavalry, including the Dulany Troop, was involved but suffered no casualties, while the Fourth Virginia was assigned to torment the Union rear guard and so did not participate.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Thomas, *Robert E. Lee*, 311; Henderson, *The Road to Bristoe Station*, 172.

<sup>216</sup> Henderson, *The Road to Bristoe Station*, 172; “The Fight of Wednesday,” *Daily National Intelligencer*, Oct. 17, 1863.

<sup>217</sup> “By later advices from the army of General Meade,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 16, 1863; *OR*, vol. 29, pt. 1, p. 432.

<sup>218</sup> McPherson, *Tried by War*, 200.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 433; Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III:181-83; “The Battle of Bristow Station,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 17, 1863; “The Fight of Wednesday,” *Daily National Intelligencer* Oct. 17, 1863.

<sup>220</sup> *OR*, vol. 29, pt. 1, p. 408.

<sup>221</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 58-59.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>223</sup> Richard B. Kleese, *49th Virginia Infantry* (Appomattox, Va.: H. E. Howard, 2002), 51; Michael P. Musick, *6th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1990), 41; Kenneth L. Stiles, *4th Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1985), 38.

Unlike the Confederate victory at Second Manassas, this battle did not produce another resounding defeat for the Union army. Instead, Lee had to abandon his plan; his flanking movement, so successful in the past, had failed. While Lee considered the idea of pushing Meade across the Potomac, his original objective, he believed that the condition of his men and the lack of supplies made that impossible. His soldiers had no shoes or blankets, and they desperately needed rations.<sup>224</sup> Frustrated with Hill, he decided to retreat back across the Rappahannock, back to the familiar countryside of Culpeper.<sup>225</sup> “[I see] no benefit to be derived from remaining where we are,” he informed Jefferson Davis.<sup>226</sup> During the retreat, the Confederates destroyed the railroad between Bristoe Station and the Rappahannock, by heating rails and wrapping them around trees to prevent their re-use.<sup>227</sup> While the Federals did follow the Confederates this time, the rebels managed to cross the Rappahannock before a battle could ensue.<sup>228</sup>

Fauquier’s citizens were occupied with feeding the “hundreds of dear soldiers” as they walked and rode through the county back to Culpeper. Although food was scarce, “as long as we have a mouthful,” vowed Betty Gray, “we will divide.”<sup>229</sup> On their march through Fauquier, the desolation of the countryside was even more apparent to the soldiers. “As far as the eye can reach on every side, there is one vast, barren wilderness; not a fence, not an

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<sup>224</sup> Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III:184; Henderson, *The Road to Bristoe Station*, 193.

<sup>225</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 294-95; "To-Day's Despatches," *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco], Oct. 21, 1863.

<sup>226</sup> *OR*, vol. 29, pt. 1, p. 408; Thomas, *Robert E. Lee*, 311.

<sup>227</sup> Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 295; "The Eastern News," *Daily Evening Bulletin* Oct. 23, 1863.

<sup>228</sup> Thomas, *Robert E. Lee*, 311; Jeffry D. Wert, *Mosby's Rangers: The True Adventures of the Most Famous Command of the Civil War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 319.

<sup>229</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 59.

acre cultivated, not a living object visible,” observed one Confederate.<sup>230</sup> Lee himself saw the devastation firsthand when he rested at a farmhouse on the heights above the Rappahannock. Shocked by the destruction of property, a member of his staff noted, “Drills and ploughs of most valuable kinds had been piled together in the yard by the Yankees and burned.”<sup>231</sup> Living nearby was a man by the name of Ham Brown, a freed slave who was a “practical mechanic” and owned and operated a blacksmith shop and a foundry.<sup>232</sup> He was most likely the producer of the ploughs and drills Lee saw burned on the nearby farm. Granted his freedom in 1841, Brown employed a number of local men.<sup>233</sup> However, despite his pledged loyalty to the Union, he lost livestock and horses to the Union army and his shop was destroyed, although this was attributed to Confederate troops.<sup>234</sup> Brown was forced to leave the county, living with well-known unionist John Minor Botts in Culpeper before continuing to Alexandria.<sup>235</sup> However, despite the destruction, defeat, and retreat, Fauquier’s white residents were pleased with the result. “My heart feels sad to hear that our Army has again left no one behind,” confessed Betty Gray. “It is worse than if we hadn’t seen them at all though it is a consolation that we have run old Meade back to Centerville.”<sup>236</sup>

With the Army of Northern Virginia once more south of the Rappahannock, only Stuart’s cavalry and Mosby’s partisans remained in Fauquier. On picket duty, the cavalry

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<sup>230</sup> Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III: 185.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>232</sup> Case of Ham Brown (No. 14,286), Ancestry.com, *U.S., Southern Claims Commission Allowed Claims, 1871-1880* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2008.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>236</sup> Snyder, “Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary,” 59.

had begun falling back in two columns towards the river when Stuart, headed to Warrenton, skirmished with Union cavalry under the command of Generals Kilpatrick and Custer on Broad Run, near Buckland. Hearing the fight, Fitz Lee alerted Stuart that if he continued falling back to Warrenton, they could possibly join together to rout the Yankees. Stuart agreed and retreated towards the county seat, getting within two-and-a-half miles of the town when he heard Fitz Lee's guns. Immediately turning on the Union cavalry, the Confederates, including the Black Horse Troop, chased the Yankees all the way back to Buckland.<sup>237</sup> This success, which Stuart called "the most complete" rout that any cavalry had "ever suffered" during the war, became known as the Buckland Races.<sup>238</sup> It helped ease the pain of the defeat at Bristoe Station, but Lee knew he could not attempt to go on the offensive again without more supplies and men.<sup>239</sup>

Following the Confederate success at Buckland, Stuart's cavalry soon crossed the Rappahannock to join Lee in Culpeper. The Union army once more assumed control of Fauquier.<sup>240</sup> "The usurpers" returned, Betty complained, and "this time they didn't give us time to dread their coming but followed at the heels of our army as it fell back."<sup>241</sup> Even after the army's victory at Bristoe Station, the northern public did not view the event as a major strategic win. "It must be acknowledge that the campaign of the past fortnight has not been one that has brought much glory to either army," the *New York Times* reported.<sup>242</sup> The skirmishes and battles were mostly ones of strategy, and while the rebels had "inflicted

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<sup>237</sup> *OR*, vol. 29, pt. 1, p. 383-84, 387, 391-92, 451-53; Stiles, *4<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry*, 38-39.

<sup>238</sup> "Late Operations in Northern Virginia," *Fayetteville Observer* [N.C.], Nov. 5, 1863.

<sup>239</sup> Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III: 187.

<sup>240</sup> "To-Day's Despatches," *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco], Oct. 22, 1863.

<sup>241</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 59.

<sup>242</sup> "Army of the Potomac," *Daily National Intelligencer*, Oct. 26, 1863.

no great damage on us," the Army of the Potomac also managed to inflict "no great damage on the rebels."<sup>243</sup> Even Meade confessed, "I am free to admit that in the playing of it [Lee] has got the advantage of me."<sup>244</sup>

With General Lee and most of the Army of Northern Virginia safely across the Rapidan, Mosby's force was again one of the last remaining Confederate outfits operating in northern Virginia. With Meade focused on Lee, Mosby and his men did what they could to destroy Union supply and communication lines. "At the front everything is still quiet, except the guerrillas," one northern newspaper noted. "And they are as active and indefatigable as if they considered it incumbent upon them to verify in their own person the Scriptural assertion that 'there is no rest for the wicked.'"<sup>245</sup> In late October, the rangers continued their attacks on the wagon trains travelling to and from Alexandria. The success of this latest series of assaults forced the Federals to alter their supply route as they deemed the Warrenton Turnpike no longer safe.<sup>246</sup> Not only did this rerouting cause additional headaches, as the new route was not as convenient, but it also put an additional burden on Mosby's longtime target: the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. The railroad was considered a safer vehicle for supplies despite the numerous cavalry guards that typically accompanied the wagon trains.

These events also proved Mosby's effectiveness once more. While Lee wanted him to focus on larger targets, such as the railroad, that was not where the rangers' strength lay. Conventional commanders did not always think much of the small attacks on wagon trains,

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III: 188.

<sup>245</sup> "From Gen. Meade's Army," *New Haven Daily Palladium*, Nov. 4, 1863; "By Telegraph," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 20, 1863.

<sup>246</sup> Lieutenant Colonel H. H. Wells to General M. R. Patrick, October 16, 1863, Provost Marshal Records.



at which the rangers excelled, but this latest attack had forced one of the largest armies in the field to change its supply trains' routes. Mosby may not have captured hundreds of prisoners or derailed a train, but his attacks were costing the Union army time and money, not to mention much exasperation. Mosby received praise from both Stuart and Seddon, who remarked on the reports, "Noted, with admiration at the fearlessness and skill of this gallant partisan."<sup>247</sup> The mere presence of his men forced the Union army to divert resources away from its focus on Lee's army as cavalry detachments were routinely assigned not only to track the rangers, but also to guard supply wagons and the railroad. In early November, Meade ordered the entire Third Division of the First Corps to guard the Orange and Alexandria.<sup>248</sup> This was a thankless job for the soldiers, who soon realized how dangerous the position was and how vulnerable they were to attacks from the rangers.<sup>249</sup>

In addition to skirmishing, tracking Meade's men, and shielding their own positions in Fauquier and Loudoun, the rangers had another pesky problem on their hands. Northern Virginia was full of men in gray uniforms who claimed to be a part of Mosby's rangers while taking advantage of its citizens. What had been occurring in other parts of the Confederacy engulfed by guerrilla warfare had finally reached Mosby's Confederacy. It was what Lee and Stuart had warned against. Guerrillas and bushwhackers did not have a good reputation, and since Mosby held his men to a higher standard than the average bushwhacker (why the term "partisan" was so important), both commanders wanted Mosby to consider enrolling them in the regular cavalry. Mosby had resisted that move, but was now experiencing some negative consequences of his stubbornness. In an attempt to combat the problem, he called

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<sup>247</sup> *OR*, vol. 29, pt. 1, p. 495.

<sup>248</sup> Keen and Mewborn. *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 89.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*

his men to a meeting on November 2 at their usual rendezvous point at Rector's Cross Roads and gave each one a certificate that formally identified the bearer as a ranger.<sup>250</sup> Word spread that only enlisted rangers carried this document, which allowed civilians to challenge men whom they suspected of being mere bushwhackers.

This meeting also gave Mosby and his officers the chance to read letters of commendation from Stuart and Lee, who had been pleased with their actions throughout the fall. Mosby also expressed his own pleasure with his men by allowing company commanders to lead their own detachments on independent reconnaissance missions.<sup>251</sup> This was the ultimate act of trust by a partisan leader who believed his officers had ridden with him long enough to have learned and understood how raids should be conducted.

In addition to Mosby's battalion in the northern section of the county, the Confederates also had left a small force to defend the crossing at Rappahannock Station.<sup>252</sup> The men, part of General Early and Ewell's forces, occupied the well-fortified works constructed by the Federals the year prior. Meade was determined to rout the Confederates from Fauquier, and so on the evening of November 7, Generals Sedgwick and French drove the last remaining Confederate pickets across the river, in what would become known as the Second Battle of Rappahannock Station. As the fight escalated, Union forces overwhelmed the Confederates along the heights, members of the famed Louisiana Tigers, and many fled for the river, some managing to cross the bridge while others swam their way to safety. However, most of the soldiers were trapped and taken prisoner.<sup>253</sup> Ewell,

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>252</sup> Thomas, *Robert E. Lee*, 311.

<sup>253</sup> "The Eastern News," *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco], Nov. 10, 1863; Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 300-303; Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 318-19.

watching safely from across the river, felt helpless, as he knew there was nothing he could do to help his men. He did set the bridge on fire from his side to prevent the Union cavalry from crossing over, but it was too little too late. The Union army captured 1,600 men and four cannons.<sup>254</sup>

The following morning, after the fog lifted, the front lines of the Union army proceeded across the river into Culpeper. The army was “in fine spirits” and finding little opposition, as Ewell’s men had retreated, the force continued deeper into the county.<sup>255</sup> Union cavalry under John Buford soon ascertained that the bulk of Lee’s army had retreated to Gordonsville. One month and one day after beginning the Bristoe campaign, the Army of Northern Virginia once more found itself on the south side of the Rapidan River. Many of the rebel soldiers and officers were frustrated, but morale remained high.<sup>256</sup> Unfortunately for the soldiers on both sides, the fighting was not over yet. There was one more campaign to be waged before they could settle into their winter quarters.

After the excitement of the previous few weeks, Fauquier’s citizens settled into back into the rhythm of wartime occupation. The Federals re-laid the railroad tracks as quickly as possible, and by the end of October, the Orange and Alexandria had once more reached Warrenton.<sup>257</sup> On her family’s plantation outside of the county seat, Betty Gray was surrounded by the Fifth New York, which had taken up residence. With her family still wanting for food, Betty took matters into her own hands. Accompanied by her family’s

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<sup>254</sup> "Gen. Meade's Advance Movement," *New Haven Daily Palladium* [Conn.], Nov. 10, 1863; Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 319; George Gordon Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade*, ed. George Gordon Meade, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913), II: 155.

<sup>255</sup> Meade, *The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade*, II: 155.

<sup>256</sup> Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III: 192-93.

<sup>257</sup> "Telegraphic," *Cleveland Daily Herald*, Nov. 2, 1863.

guard, she marched to the closest Union camp, three miles distant, in search of the commissary department. Once there, she was informed that unless a member of her family took the oath of allegiance or she had an order from General Sykes, the corps commander, she would not be allowed to purchase goods. Not one to give up easily, Betty proceeded to the general's headquarters, where, in due course, she obtained written permission to buy whatever supplies she needed.<sup>258</sup> Despite her eventual success, Betty was infuriated by the demeaning ritual: "Oh I wish I was in Dixie where I never could see or be compelled to ask favors of the Yankee race."<sup>259</sup>

Life was not much easier for those with unionist loyalties. Although much of Fauquier was overwhelmingly pro-secessionist, there were still pockets of Union supporters. While their proclivities were known to their closest neighbors, they did what they could to remain out of the public eye in order to protect themselves. They were not always successful. Robert and Virginia Butler owned 140 acres near Bealeton, not far from Kelly's Ford along the Rappahannock. Robert had briefly served in the militia when the war began, but had no desire to enlist in the Confederate army. Once the Confederate Conscription Act passed, he hid in the nearby woods with his wife's brother, who was also evading enlistment, whenever Confederate soldiers were in the area. When he was not avoiding conscription officers, Butler was farming with his sons. He managed in this manner until retreating Confederates, following the Bristoe campaign, passed his house when he was slaughtering hogs. In addition to taking the meat, the soldiers, aware of Butler's unionist views, set fire to the house and arrested him. However, neighbors came to

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<sup>258</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 62.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

the Butlers' rescue and managed to put out the fire. Another neighbor was even able to distract the Confederates long enough to allow Butler to escape the patrol.<sup>260</sup>

Robert Butler was not the only man to evade Confederate conscription. Thomas A. Brooks, also a farmer, lived not far from the Butlers. He routinely aided the Union army by guiding them across the Rappahannock and hid and protected Union scouts and their dispatches. He also spent time hiding from local Confederate conscription officers. Writing after the war, he recalled that he once spent eleven nights hiding in the nearby woods to escape the draft.<sup>261</sup> Despite the loyalty of the Butlers and the Brooks, both families suffered under Union occupation. As Ida Dulany and Betty Gray gave food to Confederate soldiers, the Brooks and Butler families shared their food and livestock with the Union army. Yet, it still left them in a tough position as both families lost hogs, corn, straw, hay, and bacon; all items important to surviving the winter that was to come.<sup>262</sup>

Other unionists in Fauquier had an easier time while under federal occupation. Susan and Richard Carter interacted with many Union officers, including Generals Henry Slocum and Meade, who both stayed in their home. As with the Butlers and Brookes', neighbors were aware of the Carters' sympathies. Writing after the war, Susan stated that they were threatened by Confederates since her husband did not join the army, but they were "vague threats," and the Carters were never "molested or troubled," unlike the Butlers and Brooks families.<sup>263</sup> Susan reported that she had always been "for the Union" and believed slavery was wrong and was glad "to see it destroyed." During Union occupation of the county following the battle of Gettysburg, men from both Slocum and Warren's corps

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<sup>260</sup> Case of Robert and Virginia Butler (No. 14,703), Southern Claims Commission.

<sup>261</sup> Case of Thomas A. Brooks (No. 15,285), Southern Claims Commission.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>263</sup> Case of Susan M. Carter (No. 8,649), Southern Claims Commission.

camped on the Carter's farm. Following the Bristoe campaign, Union soldiers returned, this time under the command of General Charles Griffin, and spent the winter living on the Carter's land.<sup>264</sup> Despite this favored treatment by several Union officers, and despite willingly giving several of them milk cows, the Carters still suffered the loss of much-needed crops, including corn.<sup>265</sup>

Throughout November, the Federals settled back into life in the county. "What a knack the Yankees have for making themselves comfortable," Betty Gray remarked. "Their tents form quite a village appearance."<sup>266</sup> The bulk of both armies faced each other across the Rapidan River, neither yet preparing for winter. Meade and Lincoln wished for one more decisive victory, not only because they wanted to crush Lee's army, but also because Virginia was experiencing unseasonably warm weather. The weather was "admirable for campaigning," and the water in the Rapidan was low, allowing for easy crossings.<sup>267</sup> This weather would not last, and when Meade decided to act at the end of November, rain delayed the Union advance.<sup>268</sup> During a break in the storms, Meade pushed across the river. Fighting occurred at Payne's Farm on November 27 and along Mine Run in the following days.<sup>269</sup> However, the major battle both commanders wanted did not materialize. Lee's army had built an extensive set of fortifications, and Meade, having learned from previous

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<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 63.

<sup>267</sup> "Telegraphic," *Cleveland Daily Herald*, Nov. 14, 1863.

<sup>268</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 320; "By Telegraph," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 23, 1863

<sup>269</sup> Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 320

battles, decided he would not risk challenging the Confederates' defensive position. He ordered the Army of the Potomac to retreat back across the Rapidan on December 2.<sup>270</sup>

By this time, winter weather had arrived and no further campaigning occurred in the East for the rest of the year. Meade showed great restraint in not subjecting his men to a fight he did not think he could win, but it nonetheless infuriated Lincoln, who was exasperated with the army.<sup>271</sup> Lee was likewise frustrated, complaining, "We should never have permitted those people to get away."<sup>272</sup> Despite the exasperation, there was not much to be done, and both armies settled in for the winter. The Union army stretched south from Warrenton to Culpeper while the Confederates built camps in and around Orange Court House.<sup>273</sup>

With no great victory by Lee to usher in the new year, it fell to Mosby and his men to raise spirits. The colder weather did not dampen the rangers' actions, as they continued to harass Fauquier's occupiers. The men attacked a small wagon train on November 21 and captured medical supplies, which were desperately needed in the Confederacy.<sup>274</sup>

Following the attack, several rangers stopped at the home of James Skinker, a wealthy farmer, to have supper. While eating, Martha, one of Skinker's slaves, informed the men that members of the First Pennsylvania cavalry had followed them and now had the house surrounded. The Skinker family quickly extinguished all the lights in the house and moved as quickly as they could to get the rangers to their hiding place, located in the attic under several loose floorboards. They did not move fast enough. While two of the three rangers

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<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 321-22.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., 322.

<sup>272</sup> Thomas, *Robert E. Lee*, 312.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid, 318; Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln*, 322-32.

<sup>274</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 91.

were safely hidden, Dolly Richards, one of Mosby's newest recruits and a former member of the Seventh Virginia cavalry who had also served on the staff of General Jones, was caught on the staircase when the front door was broken down by the Federals. Determined to fight his way out, Richards pulled out his revolvers, firing blindly as he ran for safety out of the back door. While Richards was successful in escaping, the Union soldiers noticed that there was not one, but three Confederate overcoats in the parlor. They proceeded to search the entire house for the other two rangers. When they arrived in the attic, the ever-vigilant Martha informed them that she would take them to where the soldiers had hidden. No doubt trusting her more than the white members of the Skinker family, the Union soldiers followed Martha outside to the flower garden. When no Confederates were found, Martha told them they must have escaped. Not content to leave empty handed, the Federals arrested Mr. Skinker. While riding towards Salem, they encountered Richards, this time riding on a borrowed horse and attempting to gather rangers to harass the Federals. Exchanging gunfire again, Richards once more escaped, although he was slightly wounded in the arm. Thanks to the quick thinking of an enslaved woman, the rangers had been spared.<sup>275</sup>

Not all the partisans were as lucky. The same First Pennsylvania cavalry, after failing to capture Richards, apprehended William Lucas, another new member of Company B. Unfortunately for Lucas, he was captured wearing a blue uniform and carrying one of Mosby's certificates declaring him to be a ranger. Union general David Gregg was

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 92.



determined to make an example of him, and Lucas spent ten months in prison before being exchanged.<sup>276</sup>

Following Meade's movements south, Mosby and the rangers did what they did best, and what Meade had feared might happen: they raided the rear of the Union army.<sup>277</sup> They also continued to attack the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, which the Federals had recently rebuilt to Brandy Station, where Meade's headquarters were located prior to the start of the Mine Run campaign.<sup>278</sup> In one raid, on the night of November 26, the rangers attacked a Union wagon train in Culpeper County and captured 112 mules, 7 horses, and 20 prisoners. They also burned between thirty and forty wagons.<sup>279</sup>

Despite the main bodies of the armies settling in for the winter, the Union cavalry did not cease in its efforts to capture the rangers. Searches of homes across Fauquier occurred more frequently. They "come to tantalize & search the quiet dwellings of old men, women & children," Betty Gray angrily recorded. "On every hill & as far as your eyes can reach behold squads of or swarms of hornets going at furious rates over hill & dale."<sup>280</sup> Rumors abounded, especially in regards to the residents of Warrenton. After so many months of constant occupation, even some of the most loyal rebels were willing to compromise for food. Young women were accused of having their loyalty "easily bought" by "Coffee and sugar and whiskey."<sup>281</sup> Referring to the town of as "a perfect little sinkhole of villainy," Betty did admit she hoped the stories were "shamefully exaggerated."<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> Keen and Mewborn, *43rd Battalion Virginia Cavalry*, 92.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 93; Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 123.

<sup>278</sup> Ramage, *Gray Ghost*, 123.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>280</sup> Snyder, "Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary," 68.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

The arrival of Christmas served as a reminder to erstwhile slaveowners of all they had lost. "Servants are of no account in this section," Betty Gray recorded. "No crops can be raised on account of the Yankees as they generally are here in the seasons to appropriate all of our labors to their uses and the field servants who are left are free as air & rule the day generally."<sup>283</sup> With both a lack of slaves to labor in the fields and the presence of both armies throughout the planting and harvesting seasons, most families in Fauquier were struggling. The Confederate army was not faring much better. One of Tee's younger brothers, who had not yet enlisted, visited his two brothers serving in the Sixth Virginia cavalry. When he returned to Belle Grove, he reported to Tee that the soldiers were living on "not even half rations for themselves and their horses."<sup>284</sup> Her brothers wanted additional food for their Christmas dinner and Tee despaired writing, "I wish we could gratify their wish."<sup>285</sup>

Despite the lack of extra food, the residents did what they could to celebrate the holiday. Confederate money was no longer worth much, but Susan Caldwell, aided by her brother-in-law, managed to obtain coffee, sugar, and meat to enjoy during the holidays.<sup>286</sup> As the Caldwells resided in Warrenton, where much of the Union army was located, it was easier for them to obtain supplies than it was for those who lived in the northern section of the county. The Edmondses managed to make a little Christmas cake, as Tee tried "to have a

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<sup>283</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>284</sup> Amanda Virginia Edmonds, *Society of Rebels: Diary of Amanda Edmonds, Northern Virginia 1857-1867* ed. Lee Lawrence. 2nd ed. (Warrenton, Va.: Piedmont Press & Graphics, 2017), 205-06.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 206.

<sup>286</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, December 7, 1863, "*My Heart Is So Rebellious*": *The Caldwell Letters, 1861-1865* ed. J. Michael Welton (Warrenton, Va.: Fauquier National Bank, 1991), 204.

little Christmas, as much as in our power to enjoy.”<sup>287</sup> Likewise, the Gray family was also able to bake cakes and pies.<sup>288</sup> However, Betty struggled to find any Christmas cheer. “Bright and beautiful is the sun,” she noted, “but anything like brightness contrasts so badly with our careworn and troubled hearts.”<sup>289</sup> This cruel war “changed all pleasures into pain, all times of enjoyment into grief and mourning.”<sup>290</sup>

With the Army of the Potomac stretched between Fauquier’s residents and Confederate lines, news was hard to come by. “We are “*know nothings*” in Warrenton,” Susan Caldwell complained to her husband, “we never get a paper and we see very few from across the lines.”<sup>291</sup> One piece of good news that did make it through the lines was the coming inauguration on January 1 of Virginia’s next governor. One of Fauquier’s most famous citizens, William “Extra Billy” Smith had been elected in May.<sup>292</sup> Long-time commander of the Forty-Ninth Virginia Infantry, Smith had been promoted to general, but following news of his election, he resigned, fortuitous timing considering his lackluster performance at the battle of Gettysburg.<sup>293</sup> A Democrat, Smith was able to unite his party with Whig conservatives, enabling him to achieve victory over a crowded gubernatorial field. His success was seen as evidence of Virginia’s continued belief in and support of the Confederate cause.<sup>294</sup> Unfortunately, as Smith’s wife and daughter remained at home in

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<sup>287</sup> Edmonds, *Society of Rebels*, 206.

<sup>288</sup> Snyder, Betty Gray Fitzhugh Snyder Diary, 69.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>291</sup> Susan Caldwell to Lycurgus Caldwell, December 7, 1863, “*My Heart is So Rebellious*,” 204.

<sup>292</sup> Scott L. Mingus, Sr., *Confederate General William “Extra Billy” Smith: From Virginia’s Statehouse to Gettysburg Scapegoat* (El Dorado Hills, Calif.: Savas Beatie, 2013), 276.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, 269-276.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, 243.

Warrenton, they were unable to travel to Richmond for the inauguration festivities. The Union army refused to allow the family to cross into the Confederacy unless they took an oath of allegiance, something the Smiths declined to do.<sup>295</sup>

The new year did not bring much promise of easing the struggles faced by Fauquier's residents. The Edmonds family suffered more loss when another of Tee's brothers, Clement, joined Mosby's Rangers. This left only one brother, Chester, still at home. Two of her other brothers, Bud and Syd, were still members of the Sixth Virginia, but they sometimes rode with Mosby. Tee realized that Clem did not have much of a choice. "He either had to join," she despaired, "or be dragged off by the Confederate conscript officers to some other portion of the army."<sup>296</sup> She worried about his health, as he suffered from tuberculosis, but knew that that it was "better for him to be nearer home than off in the regular service."<sup>297</sup> Once more, the benefits of joining a partisan command were clear. Clem could come home to be nursed when necessary and would not be subject to a military hospital.

Cold days and snow protected many residents from Union raids, but they did not cease. The Edmonds home, Belle Grove, was raided in early February, just two weeks after Clem enlisted in the rangers. All four of the brothers and four other partisans were at their home when a Union cavalry patrol, under the command of General David Gregg, searched the house in the early morning hours.<sup>298</sup> Catching the household by surprise, not all of the men were able to escape into Belle Grove's hideout, a small trap door cut into the side of

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<sup>295</sup> Ibid., 292.

<sup>296</sup> Edmonds, *Society of Rebels*, 210.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid., 210-11.

the house that was usually hidden by a wood pile.<sup>299</sup> The Edmonds women managed to protect their siblings and sons, but two of rangers who made it into the hideout were discovered. The Union cavalry had been in the area long enough to know that the Edmonds boarded rangers and so thoroughly searched the house. The soldiers also took six horses, and the family was thankful not all were stolen.<sup>300</sup> “I watched them as long as I could discern two grey coats from the mass of blue,” Tee recorded in her diary, of her friends being taken away.<sup>301</sup>

However, the worst news was yet to come. The reason the Union cavalry searched the Edmonds home, as well as others throughout upper Fauquier, on that cold morning was because John Cornwell, a local man who had been a ranger, deserted the partisans after a disagreement with Mosby over reimbursement for supplies he had brought from Charlottesville. Cornwell went to General Gregg and informed him of the safe houses that harbored Mosby’s Rangers, which led to the raid.<sup>302</sup> Tee, of course, was beside herself. “May the God in Heaven strike vengeance on his head, ere many more moons have sent on him.”<sup>303</sup>

This event signaled a change in partisan command across the Confederacy. Mosby was no longer as invincible as he once was and the Union army was becoming more successful at tracking his moves and his men. This mirrored what was occurring throughout the Confederacy. Despite the passage of the Partisan Ranger Act in the spring of 1862, many politicians were still uncomfortable with guerrilla warfare. The debate

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<sup>299</sup> Ibid., 212.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid. 212.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., 211.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid., 213.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

intensified in early 1864 as many Confederate officers also became outspoken against partisans. General Thomas Rosser, a cavalry officer in Virginia, told Lee that the partisan rangers in the Shenandoah Valley were “a terror to the citizens and an injury to the cause.”<sup>304</sup> His beliefs were supported by Jubal Early, Lee’s nephew, Fitzhugh Lee, and ultimately, Lee himself. Both Lee and J.E.B. Stuart endorsed Rosser’s complaints and forwarded them onto Jefferson Davis. Ultimately, the Confederate Congress voted to transfer all partisan rangers to the army, although they allowed James Seddon, the secretary of war, to make exceptions. Seddon allowed two, the battalions of John Mosby and John McNeill, who operated in western Virginia.<sup>305</sup> Once more, Seddon’s respect for Mosby and what he was accomplishing allowed the partisans in northern Virginia to continue.

So close to being forced into the conventional army, Mosby once more escaped that fate and this decision would have major ramifications in the months to come. The events of 1864 would prove to be the most challenging Mosby and his rangers had yet experienced in the war. The partisans’ reliance on the loyal Confederates in Fauquier grew as the Union army increased the number of raids into the county, determined to capture the rangers. The devastation wrought upon the county only got worse as the Union army embraced more destructive tactics under their new commander, Ulysses S. Grant. Clem Edmonds had joined the rangers at a most auspicious time.

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<sup>304</sup> Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 237-38.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

## Conclusion

Unfortunately for the people of Fauquier, 1864 would be the most devastating year of the war yet. Coming on the heels of the damage wrought in 1862 and 1863, the events of 1864 would ravage the county even more. On a national level, 1864 would bring major changes to the Union war effort. While George Meade remained commander of the Army of the Potomac, a new general was brought east to replace Henry Halleck as general-in-chief. Impressed with what he had accomplished out west, President Lincoln asked Ulysses S. Grant to assume control of all Union forces in the field. He was promoted to lieutenant general by an act of Congress, the first man to hold that rank since George Washington.<sup>306</sup> As Lincoln had explained at a time earlier in the war when Grant's reputation had suffered, "I can't spare this man; he fights."<sup>307</sup> Unlike previous commanders in the East, Grant did not balk at the sacrifice of men when he believed it was necessary to defeat Lee's army. He made his headquarters in the field, traveling with Meade's army and conducting the war from there. While he had originally planned to return to the West, once he arrived in Washington, Grant realized that "here was the point for the commanding general to be."<sup>308</sup>

The arrival of Grant signaled another shift in the war. For over two years, since the battle of First Manassas, both sides had resigned themselves to fighting a war of attrition. No longer did either army expect to triumph after one glorious battle; it was now about wearing the enemy down gradually. However, this war of attrition shifted when Grant

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<sup>306</sup> Jeffry D. Wert, *The Sword of Lincoln: The Army of the Potomac* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 327.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>308</sup> Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2003), 421-22.

assumed command. The general realized that simply waiting for the destruction of the Confederate armies was not enough to achieve victory; it also must become a war of exhaustion. The Union army not only had to eradicate the economic underpinnings of the Confederacy, it also had to destroy civilian support for the war. No longer were the armies the only focus; men, women, and children on the home front had also become targets. Grant understood that he not only had to defeat the Confederate armies on the battlefield, he also had to crush southern morale at home.

Grant did not waste time. He needed major victories before that year's presidential election to build support amongst a northern public that was tiring of the war. One of his most trusted subordinates, William Sherman, took Grant's place as commander in the West and was instructed to strike southward toward Atlanta. Benjamin Butler was to launch another Peninsula campaign from Fort Monroe, Franz Sigel was told to fight up the Shenandoah Valley, and Nathaniel Banks, from his base in New Orleans, was commanded to capture Mobile. These actions were to occur simultaneously to exhaust and decimate the Confederate armies and prevent reinforcements from being shifted across the South.

While Grant's subordinates struggled to implement his plans, two men were especially effective: William Sherman in Georgia and Philip Sheridan in the Valley of Virginia. When Grant assumed control of the Union armies, the Army of the Potomac was reorganized and Philip H. Sheridan, another general from the West, was made the commander of the cavalry, a decision that had major ramifications for the people of Fauquier. Under orders from Grant to destroy the "source of supplies for Lee's army," Sheridan spent the fall of 1864 burning barns, mills, and railroads in the Valley.<sup>309</sup> In

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<sup>309</sup> Ibid., 556.



Georgia and South Carolina, William Sherman was doing the same. In addition to decimating the southern economy, these events also had the desired effect of weakening Confederate morale. These orders had their roots in the ones issued by John Pope in 1862, but they would prove to be much more effective.

In the fall of 1864, Sheridan was commanded to defeat Jubal Early's army and ruin the economy in the Shenandoah Valley. A secondary goal was to rout Mosby and his rangers. When Sheridan arrived in Virginia in late summer, Mosby had 250 men under his control as well as four cannon.<sup>310</sup> His men were well trained and experienced at this point in the war, as many had operated as partisans for over a year. For this reason, Mosby was comfortable splitting them up to lead concurrent attacks. Throughout Sheridan's campaign, the rangers did what they did best, which was to harass Union troops, capture supplies, disrupt communication lines, and wreck railroads. However, once he defeated Early, Sheridan turned the full focus of his cavalry to Mosby and the residents who supported him. At the end of November, Sheridan sent General Wesley Merritt and his division of 5,000 men across the Blue Ridge Mountains into Fauquier with orders to destroy Mosby's economic support, just as had been done in the Valley.<sup>311</sup> Crops, livestock, and slaves were to be carried off and barns and mills were to burn. As in the Valley, houses were not to be destroyed.<sup>312</sup>

These orders brought even more devastation to the people of Fauquier. Most families, including the Edmondses and the Dulanys, lost what little livestock and horses they had left, as well as having numerous outbuildings, including barns and storehouses,

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<sup>310</sup> James A. Ramage, *Gray Ghost: The Life of Col. John Singleton Mosby* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 164.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 228-29.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, 229.

turned to ashes. Despite this, the Confederates of Fauquier, especially the women, remained loyal to both Mosby and Lee's army. Similar to the elite white women Sherman encountered in the deep South, Sheridan's actions against the loyal Confederates in Fauquier only served to strengthen their hatred of Union soldiers and increase support for the Confederate cause.<sup>313</sup> That support would remain strong through the spring of 1865, when their greatest fears were realized and news of General Lee's surrender arrived. Even then, many people did not give up hope, as Mosby continued to operate and refused to surrender his rangers. Ultimately he disbanded them, allowing them to surrender individually, but depriving the Union army of what they had fought for in northern Virginia for over two years – the capture of Mosby and his command. The citizens of Fauquier, left to pick up the pieces and rebuild their lives, did so by relying on the survival skills they had gained during the war. The county would always be shaped by the events of 1861–1865, and very few residents repented of their actions. They remained loyal to the memory of the Confederacy, and Mosby's Rangers, long after the war ended.

The monumental battles fought between the two most famous armies of the war overshadow the ordinary person's experiences in Virginia. Both battles of Manassas, Seven Days, Chancellorsville, Wilderness, and Petersburg, amongst others, remain much of the focus of the study of the Civil War in Virginia, but for a region that suffered so much hardship, it is also necessary to examine how these major events affected Virginia's residents. The best way to do that is by studying them on the local level. Residents of the Tidewater experienced the war very differently from those in the southern and western parts of the state, and those Virginians who lived on the outskirts of Washington faced

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<sup>313</sup> Lisa Tendrich Frank, *The Civilian War: Confederate Women and Union Soldiers during Sherman's March* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2015).

another diverse of trials and tribulations. Surviving the constant occupation of either one army or the other from 1862 – onward, the white residents of Fauquier had faced constant struggles that altered the way they viewed themselves and their relationship to the war. That many citizens also harbored Mosby’s partisans adds another layer to the story. Studying Fauquier, and the county’s residents, black and white, male and female, rich and poor, free and enslaved, soldier and civilian, allows for a better understanding of the occupied South and the toll the war took, as well as the ways in which it did, and did not, affect loyalty to the Confederacy. Whether or not Fauquier is a “typical” southern county, if such a thing exists, remains to be seen. What is certain is that has a rich history that has much to add to our understanding of life during the Civil War. Only by examining the war on the local level can a clearer picture of the “real war” emerge.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Daniel Sutherland, “Getting the ‘Real War’ into the Books,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 98 (April 1990): 201.

# Figures

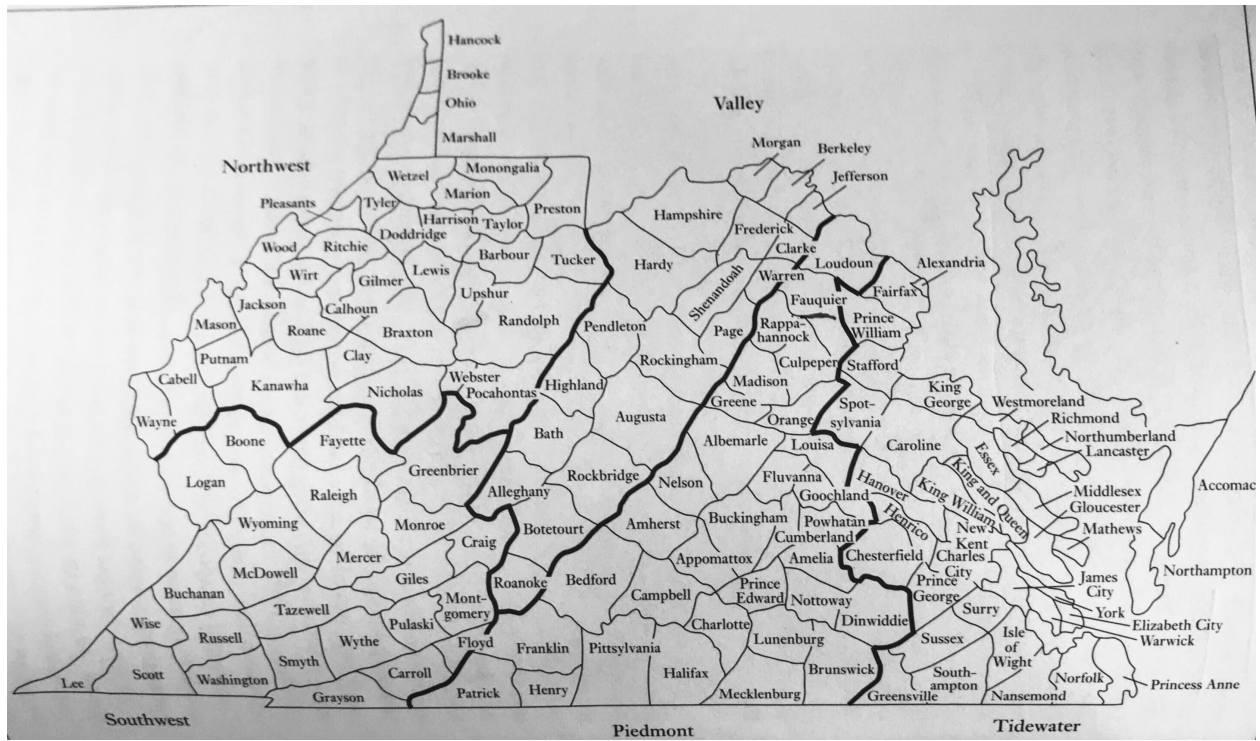


Figure 1: Counties and Regions of Virginia, 1860. William Link, *The Roots of Secession*, 14.

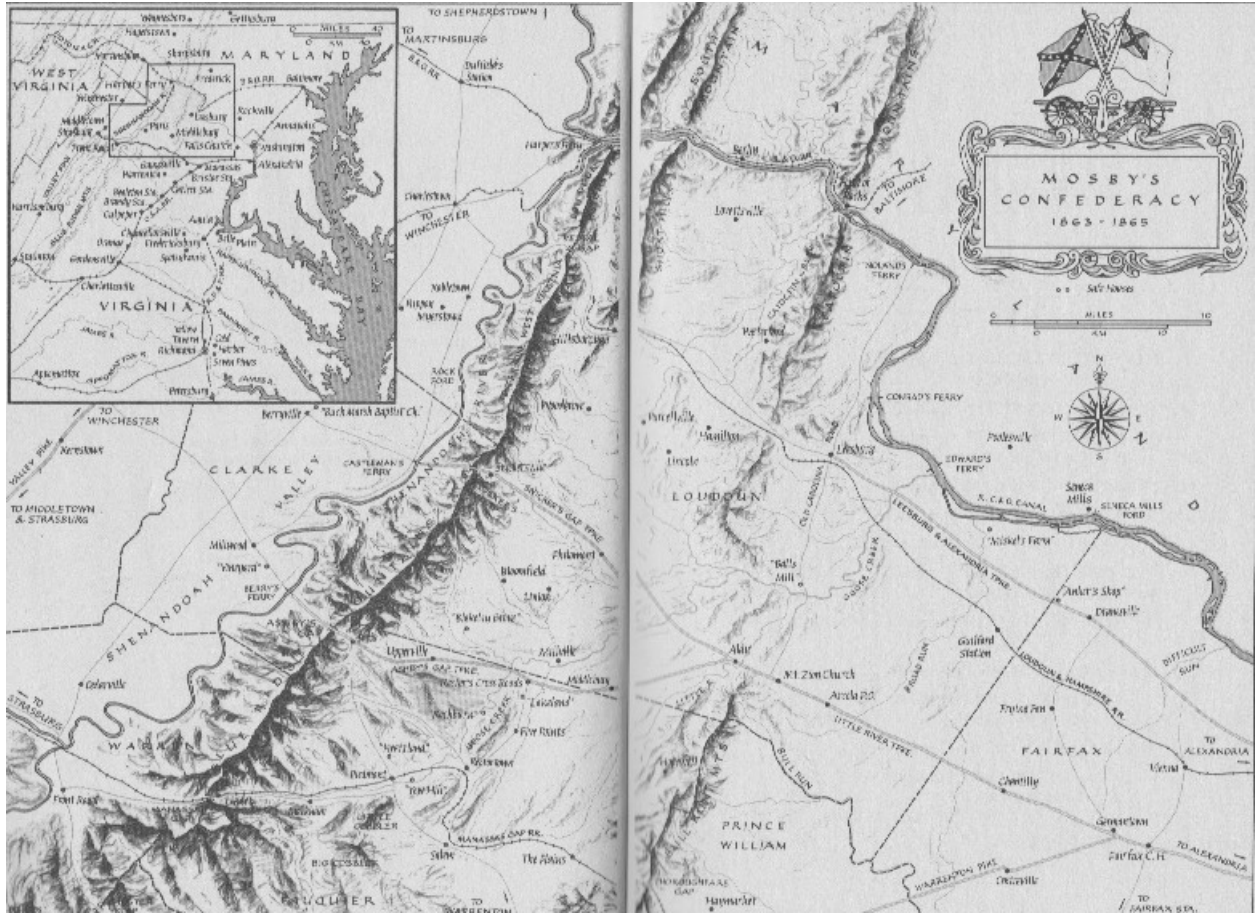


Figure 2: Map of Mosby's Confederacy. Jeffry Wert, *Mosby's Rangers*.



Figure 3: Amanda Virginia "Tee" Edmonds. Nancy Chappelle Baird, ed., *Journal of Amanda Virginia Edmonds*, xi.



Figure 4: Small door that hides the entry to the basement at Belle Grove. When firewood was stacked in front, it provided a hiding place for many of Mosby's Rangers. Lee Lawrence, ed., *Society of Rebels*, 212.

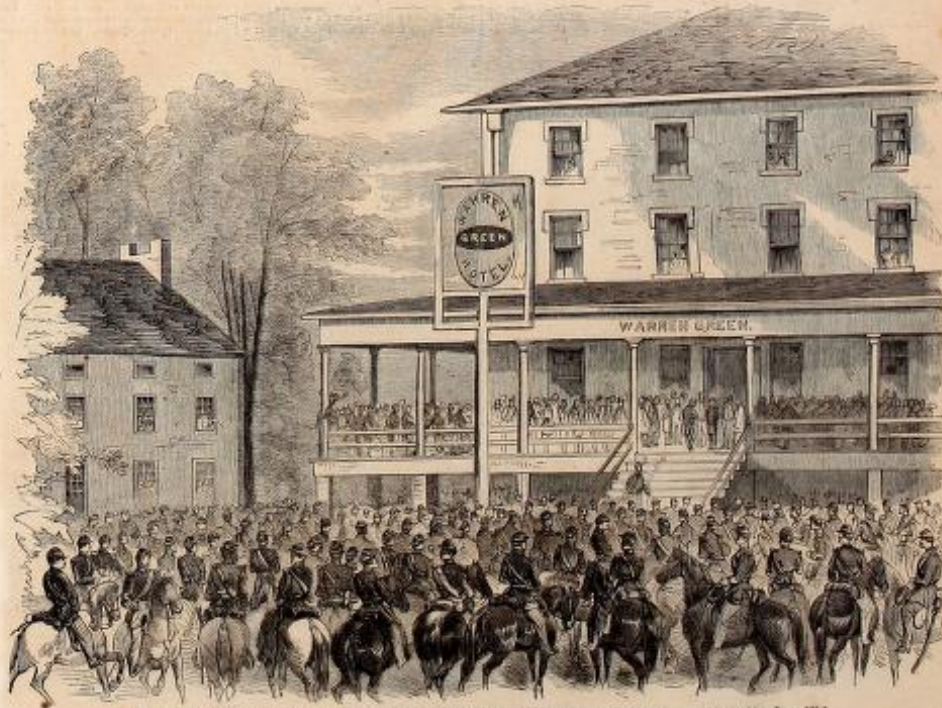


Figure 5: Mary Eliza "Ida" Powell Dulany. Dulany, *In the Shadow of the Enemy*.





WARRENTON, VIRGINIA.—Sketches by Mr. THOMAS B. DAVIS.—[SEE PAGE 755.]



MCCLELLAN'S ADIEUX TO HIS OFFICERS AT WARRENTON, VIRGINIA.—Sketches by Mr. THOMAS B. DAVIS.—[SEE PAGE 755.]

Figure 6: "Warrenton, Virginia," and "McClellan's Adieux to his officers at Warrenton, Virginia," *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 29, 1862.



Figure 7: John S. Mosby (center) and several of his rangers. Wert, *Mosby's Rangers*.

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