

## Chapter 2

### Tom Rosser, Artilleryman

**"Come see me at daylight in the morning and I will give you the particulars  
[of your promotion] . . . Come a-runnin'."**

*J. E. B. Stuart to Thomas L. Rosser*

When Tom Rosser, who would have graduated on May 6, 1861, resigned from West Point in April, he and classmate John Pelham headed south to the Confederacy's capital in Montgomery, Alabama, to offer their services. Generally, Federal authorities did not interfere with departing cadets and their trips home. Some young soldiers, however, found the journey a difficult one. Police and marshals were searching southbound trains for secessionists carrying weapons. Rosser and Pelham's train from New York City to Philadelphia was stopped and searched twice. They were wearing their West Point uniforms, and when authorities questioned the men, Pelham claimed they were on their way to Washington, D.C., to report for duty. To prevent the unpleasant experience from occurring again, they decided to make a long, circuitous journey in order to avoid areas where anti-secession feelings ran high.

After visiting Pelham's cousin, Marianna Mott, in Philadelphia, the pair detoured via Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to lessen the likelihood of local authorities detaining them or violent unionists setting upon them. Passing through Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Cincinnati, Ohio, they crossed the Ohio River at Louisville, Kentucky, before heading south to Jacksonville, Alabama, arriving there on May 1. At Pelham's home in Alexandria, they received a warm welcome. The *Jacksonville Republican* reported the arrival of the new lieutenants "last night on their way from West Point to Montgomery. They both received appointments in the Confederate Army. . . . Pelham and Rosser are a couple of handsome, well educated and promising young officers, and will be quite an acquisition to our army at this time. We predict for them a brilliant future."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Jacksonville Republican*, May 2, 1861; Maxwell, *The Perfect Lion*, 46–47; Robert J. Trout, *Galloping Thunder: The Story of the Stuart Horse Artillery Battalion* (Mechanicsville, PA, 2002), 13–14. The *Philadelphia Press* reported on May 9, 1861, that a train from New York City to Philadelphia had been stopped, and 45 cadets were taken into custody for suspicious activity. The report stated that the apprehended cadets were headed to join the Confederacy and had purchased arms in New York. Briefly detained and disarmed, the cadets were allowed to proceed on their journey. The cadets were actually

At the Pelham home, the young men enjoyed several days of hunting, parties, drilling with the local militia, and the hospitality of Alabamians. They left Pelham's home for Montgomery on May 10, setting out to volunteer their services to the new Southern nation.<sup>2</sup>

Once in the capital, it took Rosser and Pelham almost a week to get an appointment with any high-ranking Confederate official. On May 16, Rosser, now 25 years old, commissioned as a lieutenant to serve under Brig. Gen. Theophilus H. Holmes, who commanded the coastal defenses of North Carolina. However, as part of his responsibilities he first had to serve on recruiting duty in Wilmington, North Carolina. Anxious for active service, Rosser requested a transfer and was elated when he received orders to report to Maj. James B. Walton's battalion of the Washington Artillery of New Orleans on June 7, 1861. Promoted to first lieutenant on June 7, he was placed in command of the 2nd Company on June 27.<sup>3</sup>

Composed of prominent men of the "Crescent City," the South's largest at the time, the Washington Artillery organized in 1840 and served in the Mexican–American War. It was the oldest and best-known military organization in Louisiana. The unit drilled in both artillery and infantry tactics. Of the five companies raised, the first four would serve in the Army of Northern Virginia, while the fifth would be assigned to the Western Theater, initially under Maj. Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard's command.<sup>4</sup>

On April 11, even before the first shots of the war, Walton led his Washington Artillery in seizing much-needed rifles and cannons from the Federal arsenal at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Some weeks later, the unit was mustered into Confederate service at Lafayette Square in New Orleans. Arriving in Lynchburg, Virginia, on June 2, the men boarded a train the next day for Richmond. On June 4, the battalion's four companies, with a 12-piece brass band and their cooks and servants, arrived in Richmond. On July 3, the *Richmond Dispatch* duly reported:

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headed for Washington, D.C., to join the Union army. Incidents like that, however, caused great anxiety for southern cadets trying to return to their homes.

<sup>2</sup> Rosser, "Reminiscences," 59, UVA; Sergeant, *They Lie Forgotten*, 97.

<sup>3</sup> Rosser, "Reminiscences," 67, UVA; Special Orders No. 6, AIG's Office, June 7, 1861, Rosser Papers, UVA; AGO to Annette Tanquary, June 30, 1934, Rosser Compiled Service Record, Roll M331, NA. Pelham, commissioned a first lieutenant, was assigned as an artillery ordnance officer and headed for Lynchburg.

<sup>4</sup> William Miller Owen, *In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery of New Orleans* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1999), 1–3, 8; Albert A. Nofi, *The Civil War Treasury* (Boston, 1992), 92.

The Washington Artillery of New Orleans, are now encamped in a very picturesque spot, called Mitchell's Ford, 3 miles from Manassas Junction. The locale is open, elevated and salubrious, bordered by dense woods, so that you can see the tops of the stately trees in the distance, forming, as it were, a magic circle around the camp... This battalion numbers 500 men, rank and file, 325 of whom are now in Virginia, the remainder being in New Orleans. Its . . . ordnance consists of fourteen field-pieces . . . [:] rifled cannon, howitzers and six-pounders, the last of which are from the original Ringgold battery.<sup>5</sup>

Major Walton placed Rosser in charge of the one fully-equipped and manned battery (two companies) left behind at "Camp Louisiana"—about 100 men and eight guns, plus 120 horses and four mules. Rosser drilled the men twice in the morning and listened to "sweet music" in the afternoon. "Oh, how I love music—don't know what I would do without this fine Band away off here in this lonely place," he told a friend. A young lady he met also charmed him. He complained that he saw few people who were not soldiers. But "[w]ithin sight is a beautiful young lady. See her but seldom, her curls remind me of Ellen, now far away." It had been three years, during his sole furlough from West Point, since Rosser had last seen his beautiful friend Ellen R. Lape, step-granddaughter of Thomas Hinds, a famed War of 1812 general. He had met her aboard the Mississippi steamer *E. H. Fairchild*.<sup>6</sup>

Finally arriving in Richmond on June 25 with the two companies, Rosser was happy to rejoin his West Point classmates James Dearing and John J. Garnett, who were members of the battalion. All three served as instructors, training the gunners in artillery tactics. In fact, Rosser had secured the positions for his West Point friends, much to the dismay of other battalion officers. Rosser simply dismissed complaints about his favoritism as "worthless." As he rose through the ranks, Rosser often used his influence to promote friends. Intense loyalty to his friends was, in fact, one of his primary characteristics. In turn, he expected reciprocal loyalty. Much of his later animosity toward others, especially his superiors, originated from the reciprocity Rosser expected or perceived did not meet his expectations.<sup>7</sup>

On July 17, the Washington Artillery marched to McLean's Ford, near Bull Run at Manassas, Virginia. Comprising 284 officers and men, the battalion was armed with 13 guns: six

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<sup>5</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, July 3, 1861; William Miller Owen, *In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery of New Orleans* (Baton Rouge, 1999), 16.

<sup>6</sup> Rosser to unidentified friend, July 4, 1861, & Rosser, "Reminiscences," 86, both UVA.

<sup>7</sup> Owen, *Washington Artillery*, 16.

smoothbore, three rifled brass 6-pounders, and four 12-pounder howitzers. The following day, Rosser, commanding the 2nd Company with the four howitzers, marched toward Union Mills Ford, south on Bull Run by a crossing railroad bridge. This was the extreme right of the Confederate line, which ran eight miles upstream to the stone bridge on the Warrenton Turnpike. Rosser wanted to shell a group of Union Zouaves that had come into view, but Brig. Gen. Richard Ewell, commanding that section of the Confederate line, forbade it.<sup>8</sup>

Rosser's battery, busy accompanying Ewell's brigade at 2 p.m. toward Fairfax Court House, missed the first major battle of the war on June 21. They arrived back at Bull Run too late to take part in the battle. The other batteries of Walton's battalion had been heavily engaged during the clash, which ended in a chaotic Federal retreat.<sup>9</sup>

While rushing his battery to the front after the battle ended, Tom Rosser was handed a letter from Ellen, of all people. He read it after the battery had bivouacked for the night. She had received all the letters from him after he returned to West Point, but she was not allowed to write back, and after a while her romantic interest dimmed. She had, however, reread Rosser's letters many times, and the flame still flickered. Ellen had hoped "he might call to see me on your way home after graduation," but with the advent of war, she could no "longer suffer my desire to hear again from you to tell you of the deep interest I feel now. . . . I pray for your safety, and should you survive [the war], may I hope that you will come to me?" Why did Ellen have a sudden interest in reestablishing ties with Tom Rosser?<sup>10</sup>

Whatever the reason, Rosser was astounded and quickly wrote a reply he wanted telegraphed immediately. But the corporal he sent to post the wire got lost and then did not have enough money to send it. Rosser had to send him back, this time with sufficient money to send

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<sup>8</sup> Owen, *Washington Artillery*, 24–25; Bushong, *Fightin' Tom Rosser*, 16.

<sup>9</sup> Owen, *Washington Artillery*, 43.

<sup>10</sup> Rosser, "Reminiscences," 86, UVA. Determining the identity of Rosser's girlfriend was challenging. He identified her only as "Ellen" who lived on the plantation of "General H." near Fayette, Mississippi. Census data revealed the only "General H." living in that area of Jefferson County was Gen. Thomas Hinds, who served in the War of 1812. In 1840, Howell Hinds inherited the plantation named Home Hill from his famous father. Locals still knew it as "the General Thomas Hinds estate." Ellen R. Lape was the stepdaughter of Howell and the daughter of Mary Ann (Coleman) Lape Hinds. I feel confident that Ellen R. Lape was indeed the "Ellen" whom Rosser courted. Howell Hinds was a major and assistant adjutant general of Albert Sidney Johnston's 1st Division. In 1866, Ellen married widower Dr. Charles Manuel Currell.

the telegraph. Though he could not personally go to her yet, he certainly wanted to at the first opportunity.<sup>11</sup>

The next day, Rosser and Walton's adjutant, William Owen, rode out along the Warrenton Turnpike, the route the Federals had taken while fleeing the Manassas battlefield toward Washington. The two gathered as much abandoned Federal property—blankets, overcoats, and other supplies—as they could carry on their horses. Rosser even salvaged what he thought was New Hampshire Congressman John P. Hale's abandoned carriage. Hale was one of many who had come down to "see the fun" of the anticipated Federal victory.<sup>12</sup>

Rosser had his eyes on other ladies besides Ellen. A charming woman from Fairfax County, Virginia, named Antonia Ford, the flirtatious 24-year-old daughter of Edward R. Ford, a well-to-do Fairfax Court House merchant and secessionist, purportedly had been involved in intelligence-gathering activities before the Manassas battle. According to Rosser, Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell had for a short time made his headquarters at the Ford family's home. Allegedly, Antonia had overheard a council of war and was anxious to get the critical information to Major General Beauregard. She was the object of many a suitor, but preferred to "play the field." Her brother Charles served in Col. J. E. B. Stuart's horse artillery. A civilian named Peter Wilson Hairston wrote about Antonia's exploits, and he was one of the first members of Stuart's inner circle; Hairston was also Stuart's cousin and brother-in-law.<sup>13</sup>

On September 4, 1861, Hairston told his wife Fanny about the encounter between Rosser and Antonia:

I heard yesterday one of the most romantic incidents of the war. Miss Ford of Fairfax Court House having received information thro' the Federal officers who took up quarters in her mother's house, that the enemy intended to make an attack on the 18th of July on Manassas and their plan of attack, procured permission the night before to visit her grandmother who lived six miles off. She then procured an old and rough-going horse and made her way to Manassas where she was taken

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 87–88.

<sup>12</sup> *Owen, Washington Artillery*, 42–43.

<sup>13</sup> Rosser, "Autobiographical Sketch," 13–14, UVA; Lisa Tendrich Frank, ed., *An Encyclopedia of American Women at War: From the Home Front to the Battlefields* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2013), 2 vols., 1:227–28; Larissa Phillips, *Women Civil War Spies of the Confederacy* (New York, 2004), 53–60; Peter W. Hairston to "Fanny," September 4, 1861, Peter W. Hairston Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, NC; hereinafter SHC/UNC.

prisoner by Capt. Rosser of the Washington Artillery from New Orleans. He carried her to Genl. Beauregard and she revealed to him their plan of attack which enabled him to place his men in ambush and commit such havoc on the enemy on the 18th [21st] . . . Yesterday I saw a beautiful bouquet which she had sent Capt. Rosser and I would not be surprised if the matter ended by her leading him captive. She is said to be beautiful and accomplished and I know him to be a brave and gallant man. It was said that while Confederates still held the area near Alexandria, Rosser invited Miss Ford to Munson's Hill, close enough to peer through a spyglass at the skeleton of the Capitol dome in Washington.<sup>14</sup>

### **The Reconnaissance Balloon**

The Confederate army remained in the vicinity of Centreville, Virginia, for eight weeks after the first battle of Manassas. After the battle, Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan replaced Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell as commander of the Federal army, and throughout the next several months, he proceeded to reorganize and train the army into a well-prepared fighting force. One of his initiatives was to have Professor Thaddeus Lowe construct an aerial reconnaissance balloon to observe the movements and disposition of the Confederate forces. Although a source of considerable irritation to the Confederate commanders, they could not do much about it. The balloons and their aerial observers were out of small arms range.<sup>15</sup>

Writing many years later, Tom Rosser claims that he himself came up with an ingenious solution for the pesky balloons. He realized that no cannon could be elevated more than a few degrees on its carriage, and it would require a firing angle of at least 45 degrees to reach an elevated target such as an observation balloon. So, on September 2, he had a pit dug in order to elevate the gun's muzzle and provide room for some of its recoil. No range tables existed to establish the proper firing angle, so he estimated the angle to hit the balloon. His first round missed the target, but the second shot reportedly either hit the balloon's rigging or just nearly missed it, forcing the Federals to haul their craft down quickly. Thereafter, when the Confederates employed balloons, they ascended well behind the front lines, out of artillery range.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Peter W. Hairston to Fanny, September 4, 1861, Peter W. Hairston Papers, SHC/UNC; Ernest B. Furgurson, *Freedom Rising: Washington in the Civil War* (New York, 2005), 230.

<sup>15</sup> Bushong, *Fightin' Tom Rosser*, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Rosser, "Reminiscences," 89, & "Autobiographical Sketch," 25–26, both UVA.

Rosser further distinguished himself during a small skirmish on September 11 in Fairfax County. Brigadier General William F. Smith sent a 2,000-man Federal reconnaissance force, which occupied Lewinsville, Virginia, across the Potomac River. Colonel Stuart's Confederate force opposed him with 305 men of the 13th Virginia, two companies of the 1st Virginia, under Capt. William Patrick's command, and Rosser's two guns. Major James B. Terrill led the Union infantry, accompanied by Capt. Charles Griffin's battery of eight guns and a small detachment of cavalry. Stuart moved his force from his headquarters at Munson's Hill toward Lewinsville, approaching the Federals from their left and rear. His cavalry pickets had reported the Federals there in large numbers. Securing a safe retreat route by using the woods surrounding the town as a screen, Stuart sent out about 100 skirmishers. Meanwhile, Rosser's artillery surprised "a cluster of the enemy a quarter of a mile away, sending the enemy in full retreat." His shells, Stuart recounted, were "bursting directly over their heads, and creating the greatest havoc and confusion on their ranks."<sup>17</sup>

Rallying after retreating about a mile and a half, the Union artillery unlimbered and poured round after round up the road where they anticipated the Confederate pursuit. Stuart's small force, however, had not revealed its location for most of the conflict and safely avoided the exploding shells. The Confederates fired from many positions, trying to convince the Federals that they were a much larger force. Finally, they charged part of the Union line. Some of the Yankees scattered, but some attempted to flank the Confederate left. Sent to support the infantry in that sector, a howitzer of the Washington Artillery dispersed the Federals after several shots. Although facing a numerically superior force, Stuart's Confederates had driven the enemy from the field.

Pleased with his soldiers' performance, Stuart also took notice of Rosser's diligence, writing on September 11 that "having no enemy left to contend with" Rosser had requested "to view the ground of the enemy's flight, and found the road plowed up by his solid shot and strewn with fragments of shells; 2 men left dead in the road, 1 mortally wounded, and 1 not hurt being

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<sup>17</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), vol. 51, part 1, 43. All references are to Series I unless otherwise noted. Hereafter cited as follows *OR* 51/1:43.

taken prisoner. The prisoners said the havoc in their ranks was fearful, justifying what I saw myself of the confusion.”<sup>18</sup>

Stuart complimented Rosser’s contribution to the Confederate success by his skillful handling of his two guns. Rosser reported his guns had fired 66 rifle and 41 spherical cases. Reportedly, his success in forcing down McClellan's observation balloon combined with his actions at Lewinsville won him promotion to captain on September 27, 1861.<sup>19</sup>

Nonetheless, poorly manufactured ordnance severely limited the Confederate artillery units’ firing accuracy. Early in the war, after the Lewinsville fight, Rosser’s 2nd Company complained of the:

inefficiency of the case and shell projectiles [for] the rifled guns . . . not one of them exploding. The 'Boarman' fuze, with which the spherical case and shell for the howitzer were served, showed, in their manufacture, great deficiency. There was no uniformity whatever in their burning. Some cut for five seconds did not burn, in many cases. Two others cut at two, burnt as long as four or five seconds.<sup>20</sup>

Artillery commanders found that drill was continually needed. Untrained substituting soldiers were required to fill various positions on the crew as cannoners were disabled or killed during battle or fell out of ranks from illness. All men in a gun crew needed to know how to perform the duties of each cannon position. Artillery work was exhausting, requiring endurance.

In the fall of 1861, a picture of Rosser was emerging as a young artillery officer studiously and carefully learning his craft, as well as experimenting and honing his skills as an artillerist. Cool under fire and seemingly fearless, no one questioned his bravery.

Upon Rosser's promotion to captain, he was assigned outpost duty in command of the 2nd Company. Still attached to Stuart's command, Rosser’s company was stationed at the most advanced position in the Confederate states, within sight of the Federal capital at Washington, D.C. The battalion received three 24-pounder howitzers, thereby increasing its armament to 16 guns, four batteries of four guns each. Normally only 350 yards apart, some of the opposing pickets advanced to within 100 yards of each other to get off a good shot. Rosser had not

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<sup>18</sup> *OR* 5:184.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*; Charles Preston Poland, Jr., *The Glories of War: Small Battles and Early Heroes of 1861* (Bloomington, IN, 2006), 99; *OR* 5:183 & 51/1:42–43; Owen, *Washington Artillery*, 54.

<sup>20</sup> *OR* 51/1:43; Owen, *Washington Artillery*, 55–56.



forgotten how to shoot. While out on reconnaissance on September 23, he took a rifle shot at an enemy picket leaning on a tree and brought him down "like a black bird before a fowling piece."<sup>21</sup>

After the battle of Manassas, Lieutenant George Custer participated in the fights defending Washington. In October he became ill and was absent from his unit until February 1862. Custer recuperated in Monroe, Michigan, where his brother-in-law and half-sister lived and where he met his future bride, Elizabeth Bacon. Custer began his lifelong avoidance of alcohol after meeting Elizabeth.

Stuart's brigade, pulled from outpost duty as Union pressure increased, returned to Fairfax Court House. There, on October 14, 1861, a reporter from the *Richmond Dispatch* penned a nice description of Captain Rosser:

a strong, well-made, athletic man, something over six feet in height; a naturally dark complexion, browned by exposure; dark hair, eyes and whiskers; a full, expressive face; broad, massive shoulders, and limbs that show . . . the military training that has shaped them. The head is covered with a black felt hat . . . a navy blue sash belted around the waist, the light blue pants of the corps, with red cord, and heavy top boots. . . . The tout [ensemble] of the man is decidedly picturesque. Imagine the blending of a Texas hunter with an Italian bandit—one of those glorious, noble-looking fellows [Spanish painter Bartolomé Esteban] Murillo has made famous—and you cannot form a very bad mental picture of him who is stalking with manly stride before me. As I have stated previously, his characteristics are very similar to those of General Stuart, his present friend and commander. Sagacious, vigilant, attentive to duty, well skilled in his profession, he is said to be the best artillery officer in the service, of his age.<sup>22</sup>

When the Federals made a strong demonstration at Fairfax Court House on October 19, 1861, the Rebel forces withdrew to Centreville to consolidate their lines and construct fortifications. Then, as the weather turned bad and the roads became mired in mud, virtually all campaigning ended. The ensuing inactivity opened opportunities for social activities. Rosser, like his commander, enjoyed relaxing. While the enlisted men, as was their lot, endured the cold, rain, and snow as best they could in their tents or rough cabins, the officers made themselves comfortable living quarters, transporting a framed house from the outposts to Centreville.

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<sup>21</sup>*The Charleston Mercury*, September 24, 1861.

<sup>22</sup>*Richmond Dispatch*, October 18, 1861.

Around a roaring fire, they enjoyed hot punch and various goodies, and entertained each other with their favorite music. Rosser added his favorite tune, "Dragoon Bold," to the song list.<sup>23</sup>

In November, Stuart inquired of the Adjutant and Inspector General (AIG) Office if his requested appointment of Lt. John Esten Cooke to captain of an artillery battery had been made. "If they would not make him Captain," Stuart wrote, "I wanted him senior 1st Lieutenant. John Pelham wants it and he may get it, and next to Rosser probably no graduate would do better."<sup>24</sup>

In mid-December, with winter settling in, the troops had to prepare sturdier quarters. The officers selected a site at Blackburn's Ford on the same grounds the Federals had occupied before the battle of Manassas. With plentiful wood available, the men built log huts to replace their tents. The soldiers named their quarters Camp Waltonville, in honor of the Washington Artillery's commander.<sup>25</sup>

Solid winter quarters allowed more time for social events. J. E. B. Stuart, as well as Rosser, flirted with many beautiful ladies from the area. The colonel was especially taken with Laura Ratcliffe—Antonia Ford's neighbor in Fairfax County—who reportedly also spied for the Confederacy. Stuart met Ratcliffe when she ministered to wounded soldiers at Frying Pan Church, in eastern Fairfax County. "A Happy New Year," he greeted her in January 1862. "I send you a nice beau Capt. Rosser (Miss Ford's friend)—he will escort you here to dinner, and hence to [Fairfax Court House] to spend a night with Mrs. Ford. Be assured I sacrifice a great personal pleasure in foregoing this visit for your sake and Capt. R's."<sup>26</sup>

The Washington Artillery had suffered heavily in recent fighting, needing replacements by December. As the new year began, Rosser was ordered to proceed to New Orleans to gather recruits and bring them back to Virginia. This offered him an opportunity to see Ellen R. Lape, who resided near Fayette, Mississippi. Because Federal gunboats had closed the Mississippi River to passenger steamer travel, Rosser had to ride the trains. Leaving the rails at Brookhaven, Mississippi, the closest rail point to Fayette, he hired a team and driver and set out directly for

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<sup>23</sup> Owen, *Washington Artillery*, 59–60, 64–65; Bushong, *Fightin' Tom Rosser*, 17.

<sup>24</sup> J. E. B. Stuart to Flora, November 24, 1861, J. E. B. Stuart Letters, Emory University (EU), Atlanta, GA; Adele H. Mitchell, ed., *The Letters of Major General James E. B. Stuart* (Stuart-Mosby Historical Society, 1990), 225, Alexandria, VA.

<sup>25</sup> Owen, *Washington Artillery*, 68–69.

<sup>26</sup> J. E. B. Stuart to Laura Ratcliffe, January 6, 1862, Library of Congress (LC).

Ellen's residence, a 40-mile trip. Rosser recalled that on the first night traveling from Brookhaven to Fayette, he spent the night with a planter who happened to know Ellen and the Hinds family. Rosser, excited and in love, "kept his host up most of the night talking about her." The next morning he started for the Hinds's plantation. Rosser remembered going out of his way to be friendly with the locals; he intended to marry Ellen and wanted good relations with her neighbors. Knocking at the door of Ellen's home, he felt "sure that all heard the thumping of my heart." A servant announced his presence, and soon Ellen, "a tall, handsome woman," appeared.<sup>27</sup>

She led Tom to a sofa in one corner of the room, and he sat next to her. He presented her with a solitaire engagement ring he had purchased in Richmond. But to his consternation, it would not slip over her knuckle when he tried to put it on her left ring finger. Ellen reminded him of the promise she had made in her letter: that if he should survive the war, "I might then claim her." He tried to convince her that the war was nearly over already, but she refused his marriage proposal. After staying a few days, trying to change her mind, Tom Rosser had to proceed to duty in New Orleans without having won her hand. He must have been hurt deeply and was probably angry too. He did not handle rejection well. After completing his recruiting duties, a dejected Rosser returned to Virginia.<sup>28</sup>

By the beginning of March 1862, all signs pointed to the Union army making a massive movement southward along the coast toward Richmond. With improving roads, the men of the Washington Artillery likewise prepared to break camp and head southward. Confederate commander Gen. Joseph E. Johnston assigned the Washington Artillery to Brig. Gen. James Longstreet's infantry division. On March 6, the Confederate army left the Centreville area and headed 100 miles south for Orange Court House, where, upon arrival, they found an abundance of food and a bevy of pretty girls. With the bands of the Washington Artillery and the 1st Virginia providing music, the officers enjoyed dancing at the local tavern. Celebrating a promotion, Brig. Gen. Ambrose P. Hill, along with Rosser and several others, was there.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Rosser, "Reminiscences," 104–105, UVA.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 105–106. Rosser claimed the ring was too small for Ellen because she had gained weight.

<sup>29</sup> Owen, *Washington Artillery*, 75–76.

Rosser's performance, up to this point, had so impressed J.E.B. Stuart that he felt the young captain deserved a field promotion. Accordingly, on April 4, 1862, he recommended the promotion to Confederate president Jefferson Davis; Rosser, he averred, had "extraordinary merit, unsurpassed ability, and conspicuous gallantry displayed in action." He was not alone in his observations. Colonel Beverly H. Robertson, commander of the 4th Virginia Cavalry, reported at a later engagement that "Rosser displayed much judgment in placing his pieces, which, under his personal supervision, were served in the most handsome style."<sup>30</sup>

Rosser's battery was, in fact, establishing quite a reputation. Brigadier General William N. Pendleton, Johnston's chief of artillery, took notice, requesting the battery be detached from the Washington Artillery to serve temporarily with Brig. Gen. Robert Toombs's infantry brigade; the request was approved. After two months of service with Toombs, the battalion commander, Major Walton, sharply protested to headquarters about the disruption in his command. "[I]f this policy of detachment, except for temporary duty, was continued," Walton complained, "his battalion would be dissolved, and he would be without a command."<sup>31</sup>

### **The Peninsula Campaign**

As the Confederate artillery officers attended church in Richmond one beautiful Sunday morning on April 6, they received orders to move out at once. On the march the next day, they encountered sleet and snow. Miserable already with no provisions, shelter, wood, or rations, their morale suffered another blow when they received orders to retrace their steps back to Richmond. Major General McClellan's seaborne movement of his army to the Virginia Peninsula, between the York and James rivers, and his plan to march up the peninsula to capture Richmond had necessitated adjustments. With the movement of horses and artillery almost impossible over the drenched, wretched roads, the persistent Confederates finally reached Richmond on April 13. About a week later, the men, horses, and artillery pieces were ferried down the James River to near its junction with the Warwick River. From there they marched to Yorktown. When the battalion reported to Longstreet at Yorktown, Walton left Rosser and the 2nd Company there and took the rest of the battalion to Williamsburg.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.; *OR* 11/1:663–64.

<sup>31</sup> *OR* 51/2:546–47, 572–73.

<sup>32</sup> Owen, *Washington Artillery*, 76, 78.

On the lower Virginia Peninsula, Confederate Maj. Gen. John B. Magruder, commanding 13,600 soldiers, devised an ingenious ruse to fool McClellan and the Army of the Potomac's 55,000-man vanguard. In charge of delaying the Federal march up the peninsula until Confederate army commander Johnston could assemble reinforcements, Magruder marched his soldiers back and forth across the peninsula, demonstrating noisily. McClellan became convinced that a force superior to his own would dispute his advance. The subterfuge worked for a while, holding the line at Yorktown, but it finally became necessary to withdraw farther up the peninsula. Even with reconnaissance from the hot air balloons, McClellan was not getting accurate intelligence. Plus, the Federal commander typically overestimated his enemies' numbers and strength, and therefore advanced slowly and cautiously in pursuit. Finally, he shelled Yorktown and took possession of it on May 4—after the Southerners had already left. The Confederate artillerists continued their retreat until they reached a position called Blakey's Mill Pond, only two miles south of the Southern capital, Richmond.<sup>33</sup>

Rosser was seriously wounded during a small skirmish at Mechanicsville, Virginia, on May 24. The *Richmond Dispatch* reported:

After fighting for some time, and while engaged in posting a piece to protect it from the enemy's fire, he was struck by a fragment of a shell, which tore the flesh from the right arm [above the elbow], causing a severe lacerated wound. His horse was also shot under him. About this time, the order came [for] our force to fall back, and the artillery withdrew from the field in beautiful style, in the face of enemy fire. . . . Capt. Rosser is now at the house of Dr. Gibson, on Franklin Street [Richmond]."<sup>34</sup>

Incapacitated for more than two weeks, Rosser was not fit for the field until June 15. Upon his return he discovered he had been appointed lieutenant colonel of the Washington Artillery five days earlier. Two days later, now assigned as Brig. Gen. Henry Wise's chief of ordnance, Rosser wrote, "I was fond of Artillery. . . . I soon began to see visions of glory on the battlefield with sixteen instead of four guns." On June 18, 1862, Rosser was officially promoted to lieutenant colonel.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>34</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, May 26, 1862.

<sup>35</sup> SO 34 & 65(7), both in Rosser Service Record, NA.

Rosser took command of four batteries stationed at Chaffin's Bluff, on the north side of the James River, south of Richmond. Expecting Federal cavalry to attack, and lacking cavalry of his own, Brigadier General Wise sent orders through a subordinate that if enemy cavalry appeared, Rosser's artillery batteries were to charge them. Rosser was flabbergasted but promised to follow orders. The incident prompted Rosser to request to be relieved of further service under the 55-year-old general, whom he did not respect. The request was granted, and he transferred to the reserve artillery.<sup>36</sup>

While Rosser's military fortunes waxed and waned, McClellan's forces steadily advanced up the peninsula toward the Confederate capital, with Johnston's army giving way before them. McClellan already had a numerical advantage of nearly two to one, and he anticipated receiving McDowell's 40,000 troops, stationed at Fredericksburg, which according to plan, would soon be sent to him. Instead, Gen. Robert E. Lee, Davis's military advisor, conceived a plan whereby Maj. Gen. Thomas J. Jackson—nicknamed “Stonewall” since the battle of Manassas—would create a major diversion in the Shenandoah Valley. Jackson's battles and maneuvers, including a stunning victory at Winchester, Virginia, were so successful that the Federals, perceiving a threat to Washington, halted releasing McDowell's forces to McClellan.

With his five corps within striking distance of Richmond, McClellan then made a strategic blunder by isolating two of his corps south of the Chickahominy River. Seeing an opening, Johnston endeavored to attack McClellan's left wing with the bulk of his army. The battle began on May 31 at Seven Pines, but the Confederate attacks started late and were executed in piecemeal fashion. A bloody draw resulted with severe losses on both sides, and Johnston himself was seriously wounded. On June 1, Lee was appointed commander of the Confederate forces, and immediately withdrew his army to the defenses of Richmond to reorganize and regroup.<sup>37</sup>

For the next several weeks, the Washington Artillery saw little action during the Peninsula campaign. Longstreet visited the unit's camp and informed Colonel Walton that Rosser had been appointed chief of artillery on the right wing of Longstreet's forces. Walton

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<sup>36</sup> Rosser, "Autobiographical Sketch," 26–29, UVA.

<sup>37</sup> *OR* 11/1:992.

retained command of the Washington Artillery itself, but then detailed it as reserve artillery for Longstreet.<sup>38</sup>

On June 22, Rosser received a letter from Stuart thanking him for the battery's gift of a "beautiful kepi." Stuart wrote, "I know that the most appropriate response from one is the assurance that when the red tempest of battle lowers, that cap shall be seen, where the Washington Artillery would have it, at the foremost in the charge and last in the retreat." But to Rosser's astonishment, the following day he got another letter from Stuart, informing him that he had been promoted to colonel and transferred to Stuart's cavalry brigade as commander of the 5th Virginia Cavalry Regiment. "Come see me at daylight in the morning & I will give you the particulars," Stuart instructed. "Come a-runnin'." The next day Secretary of War John Randolph officially notified Rosser of his promotion.<sup>39</sup>

Rosser wrote in his unpublished memoir, "Reminiscences," that he declined Stuart's offer. The general never imagined Rosser would resist a transfer to the cavalry, decline a personal invitation from its commanding general, and forfeit promotion to colonel and regimental command. Rosser had also spurned the highly respected Fitzhugh Lee, who had lobbied Stuart for him. "This note [offer] greatly displeased me," Rosser recalled years later, "for I had a very poor opinion of the Cavalry, as I had seen it in the Confederate service and I was too well pleased [with the artillery] to desire a change." Rosser probably adjudged the cavalry as having a little too much fun and not being attentive enough to business. He may have also been displeased about the idea of leaving his friends Pelham and Garnett. Although his ambitions would increase dramatically in the near future, at that point, Rosser may not have envisioned anymore for himself than commanding an artillery battalion at the rank of colonel.<sup>40</sup>

Rosser's uncorroborated rejection of Stuart's invitation did not end the matter. On June 24, Secretary of War Randolph summoned Rosser to Richmond. The officer arrived in Randolph's office and greeted him with deference, thanking him for the promotional opportunity and expressing "assurances of due appreciation of the honor, as well as the joy he had conferred so undeservedly." Randolph, however, was in no mood to accept any rejection of his orders. "I

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<sup>38</sup> Owen, *Washington Artillery*, 85.

<sup>39</sup> J. E. B. Stuart to Rosser, June 22–23, 1862, UVA; Mitchell, *The Letters of James E. B. Stuart*, 251, 257; Rosser's Service Record, NA; Rosser, "Autobiographical Sketch," 29, UVA.

<sup>40</sup> Rosser, "Reminiscences," 167, UVA.

have promoted you again and understanding that you are too well satisfied with your present command to accept another," Randolph said, "notwithstanding that it carries promotion with it, and I wish to say that you have already been transferred, your successor to command of your battalion of Artillery has already been appointed."<sup>41</sup>

Randolph's words caught Rosser off guard, but as the surprise weakened, he became angry. Randolph's actions violated Rosser's "code of honor," by which he believed officers were not to be treated in this manner, that they had the right to refuse capricious transfers made without their knowledge. Rosser would not accept his commission document from the secretary. "You refuse to accept," Randolph challenged angrily. "Yes," came the response, "I prefer to remain where I am. I don't like the cavalry, and while I thank you, I must decline the honor."

Randolph then launched into a demeaning harangue. "I don't ask you to accept it, but as I have seen fit to transfer you from the artillery to another branch of the service, your consent is not necessary and you have got to accept it, or you have got to leave the service as there is no other place for you." Rosser started to reply, but Randolph cut him off, saying, "Which will you do, accept promotion or resign?" Rosser, stunned at such disparaging treatment, let his temper get the best of him: "Then, sir, I'll leave the service," he replied, and walked abruptly from Randolph's office, leaving his commission behind.

Fortunately for Rosser's military future, J. E. B. Stuart intervened. The general listened intently and sympathetically to Rosser's recounting of the disastrous meeting. The general told him he had taken the only honorable course under the circumstances and urged him to wait while he tried to mediate the dispute with Randolph. Rosser recalled, "Stuart soon returned and stating 'that it would never do to leave the Secretary in such a frame of mind' toward you (me) as he was in, and begged me to go back with him and have a further talk with the Secretary of War. Of course, that meant surrender, and I was not in condition to yield."

Realizing Rosser needed time to get his temper under control, Stuart took him for a leisurely walk. Stuart made a number of "fair promises" to the young officer if he would change

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<sup>41</sup> There is no other documented evidence of Rosser's account of this event. It is entirely from Rosser's memory, recorded many years afterward in his unpublished "Reminiscences." The entire episode appears self-serving in creating a certain image of Rosser, and should be assessed with caution. It is difficult to believe that young Rosser, a lowly captain who could be colonel, would transgress his station and ignore his West Point training to adhere to the hierarchical command structure. This is Rosser's version of the events, which may be exaggerated.



his mind and return with him to talk with Randolph, surrendering to the promotion. Stuart's promises are unknown, but they probably hinted at a future promotion to command a brigade. Rosser relented and returned to Randolph's office where Stuart initiated and led the conversation. Randolph, for his part, remained silent until he recognized a moment for reconciliation, which came when Rosser asked how well the 5th Virginia was armed. "Poorly," Randolph replied, "but I'll give you the first arms that come through the blockade—and I'm expecting a cargo at Wilmington every day."<sup>42</sup>

Randolph's gesture allowed Rosser to ameliorate his previous actions in an honorable, face-saving way. The upshot of the entire affair was prosaic: Rosser joined Stuart's cavalry command as a colonel commanding the 5th Virginia Cavalry.

The entire Rosser-Stuart-Randolph episode, recorded years after the event, is cut whole-cloth out of Tom Rosser's memory. No other evidence exists. Hence, one might observe, Rosser appears favorably as an officer of rather crusty, but determined, values. The bare facts of the case suggest a more cautious approach to the story: a brand new 26-year-old lieutenant colonel, now promoted to full colonel and given his own command, defies his penultimate superior and spurns his designated commander in militant disregard of his rigorous West Point training and the basic hierarchical principle foundational to all military organizations.

Rosser's promotion to command of the 5th Virginia came with controversy. In spring 1862, Capt. Henry Clay Pate first conceived the idea of a new cavalry unit, the 5th Virginia, when returning with his Petersburg Rangers (Letcher Mounted Guards) to Richmond from service in the western part of the state. Pate's idea was to build one independent command of enlistees from every Virginia county, which would serve anywhere in the state that it was needed. Familiar with all areas of the state, they could act as scouts, harass enemy supply lines, and gather intelligence on enemy dispositions and movements. Secretary of War Randolph was so pleased with the idea, he immediately ordered Pate to implement it. Recruiters for his regiment blanketed the state, and in short order, seven companies, about 900 men, volunteered. Pate established a camp at Allen's Grove, near Richmond, and began drilling the men. The 2nd Battalion Virginia Cavalry was officially organized on May 25, 1862.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Previous paragraphs based upon *ibid.*, 167–69; Rosser, "Autobiographical Sketch," 29–30, UVA.

<sup>43</sup> Robert J. Driver, *5th Virginia Cavalry*. Virginia Regimental Series. (Lynchburg, VA, 1997), 22.

Brigadier General Stuart visited Pate's command several times, always expressing pleasure at the soldierly appearance and progress of the battalion. On June 23, Pate received a request to immediately report to Stuart's headquarters where he received one of the shocks of his life: the general informed him that his battalion no longer existed. Pate's battalion, plus another few companies, had been formed into the 5th Virginia Cavalry Regiment under a new commander, Col. Thomas L. Rosser. Pate, a hard-fighting, eccentric, and sometimes erratic, officer, was named the regiment's lieutenant colonel. An inconsolable Pate remained at Stuart's headquarters all night. On the return trip to inform his men of the changes, Pate questioned a companion, adjutant Robert S. Morgan, asking, "What shall I do? How can I meet my men and tell them a stranger has been ordered to command them?" Pate continued to struggle with the new arrangement until just before he reached camp when he said, "I think I see my way clear, now: the Confederate Government has treated me badly; but I belong to Virginia, and to her I devote my life." He proceeded to inform his men that very day at dress parade. Pate's men were troubled and protested vigorously to headquarters. One word from Pate likely could have ignited a revolt, but Pate succeeded in quelling the potentially dangerous situation.<sup>44</sup>

The following table shows the organization of the new regiment.

**5th Virginia Cavalry Regiment – June 1862<sup>45</sup>**

Company	Name	Commander	Origin
A	Gloucester Light Dragoons	Capt. John W. Puller	Gloucester Point
B	[Independent]	Capt Frederick R. Windsor	[SC, GA, LA]
C	Danville Cavalry	Capt. William K. Mebane	Danville
D	Petersburg Rangers (Letcher Mounted Guards)	Capt. John W. Bullock	Petersburg
E	King & Queen County Cavalry	Capt. Marius P. Todd	King & Queen County
F	Shields Lancers or Dragoons	Capt. John Eells	--
G	Randolph Cavalry	Capt. McNairy Hobson	Randolph, VA

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 582; John Lipscomb Johnson, ed., *The University Memorial; Biographical Sketches of Alumni Who Fell in the Confederate War*, Pate biography by Robert S. Morgan. (Baltimore, 1871), 581. Hereinafter cited as "Johnson, ed., *Biographical Sketches of Alumni Who Fell in the Confederate War*."

<sup>45</sup> Driver, *5th Virginia Cavalry*, 23, 27.

H	The James City Cavalry	Capt. James H. Allen	James City County
I	--	Capt. Rueben B. Boston	Companies B/F 3rd VA Artillery
K	--	Capt. Charles Pannill	Petersburg

Rosser “was well received” when he officially took command on June 27, 1862. Morgan recalled, "Pate invited him to his table, and lent him horses. Colonel Rosser at once commenced the organization of the regiment into squadrons. In this matter, he held no consultation with his Lieutenant Colonel."<sup>46</sup>

Meanwhile, upon receiving reinforcements, General Lee seized the offensive in what collectively became known as the Seven Days Battles, occurring from June 25 to July 1, 1862. McClellan quickly lost the initiative as Lee began a series of successive attacks at Beaver Dam Creek (Mechanicsville) on June 26, at Gaines's Mill the following day, and at Savage Station on June 29. McClellan's Army of the Potomac fell back toward the safety of Harrison's Landing on the James River. Poorly executed orders at the battle of Glendale on June 30 blunted Lee's final opportunity to intercept the Union Army, which escaped and established a strong defensive position on Malvern Hill. During the battle of Malvern Hill on July 1, which brought the campaign to a close, Lee launched futile frontal assaults, suffering heavy casualties in the face of strong infantry and artillery defenses.<sup>47</sup>

Rosser’s regiment played only a minor role in the campaign. The 5th Virginia, along with a squadron of the Hampton Legion, and the 1st North Carolina, commanded by Col. Laurence S. Baker, were ordered on June 26 to "watch the enemy's movements toward James River.” They were instructed to notify the nearest at-hand commander of any enemy attempt to move from White Oak Swamp to the James River and “to harass and delay him en-route 'till our forces could fall upon him." Two days later, Rosser reported to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Huger a

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<sup>46</sup> Johnson, ed., *Biographical Sketches of Alumni Who Fell in the Confederate War*, 582.

<sup>47</sup> David G. Martin, *The Peninsula Campaign* (Conshohocken, PA, 1992), 131–33, 143–45; Stephen W. Sears, *To the Gates of Richmond* (New York, 1992), 189, 209–10, 242, 249, 269–74, 308–12, 336.

considerable force of the enemy near Willis's Church and also small elements of Yankees moving toward the James River.

On a scout the next morning, Rosser encountered the 1st North Carolina and 3rd Virginia, both under Baker's command, returning to camp after an earlier fight that morning at Willis's Methodist church, on the Quaker Road, 10 miles southeast of Richmond. The 3rd Pennsylvania, 2nd Rhode Island, 7th Massachusetts, as well as Battery C of the 1st Pennsylvania Light Artillery, had ambushed Baker's troopers. The Rebels lost 15 men, killed or wounded, and had 48 captured. Rosser recalled that his scouts had recaptured 15 of the 1st North Carolina's horses from the enemy before he marched his troopers and the Hampton Legion to the junction of the River and Long Bridge roads.<sup>48</sup>

The following morning, June 30, Rosser's entire command got involved in a brisk skirmish when the Federals drove in his pickets on the Long Bridge Road, near Willis's Church. After reestablishing the picket line, Rosser reported:

[I] then dismounted one company and deployed them as skirmishers, giving them a squadron for support, and sent them forward, and after driving in the enemy's picket still pressed upon him, and strange to say, this gallant little band, commanded by Capt. John W. Bullock, of my regiment, drove them back within a few hundred yards of their main force, and was still pressing upon them when General Longstreet's advance came up, and with his infantry and artillery attacked them. <sup>49</sup>

At the same time, Rosser's pickets reported Union infantry advancing toward River Road, and Longstreet ordered Rosser to take his command in that direction. Rosser's subsequent reconnaissance found the head of the retiring Federal column moving hurriedly toward the James River. About 1 p.m., Rosser duly passed on his observations to Longstreet and Brig. Gen. Theophilus H. Holmes (commanding the Department of Fredericksburg and attached to Lee), but Rosser stated that "for some reason, no one paid attention to this report." Rosser then recounted what he saw to General Lee, who came himself to observe and who quickly ordered Holmes to attack the enemy. Holmes, however, arrived late in the day, about 5:00 p.m., and the dust he stirred up revealed his presence to the enemy. With support of the gunboats on the James River,

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<sup>48</sup> *OR* 11/2:13.

<sup>49</sup> Previous paragraphs based on *OR* 11/2:513, 532.

the Federals launched an attack on Holmes's troops and drove them back. Rosser then withdrew his command, sending scouts toward the river to observe the movements of the gunboats.

Early the next morning, July 1, Rosser encountered the Union line of battle at Malvern Hill. "I was near enough to hear loud and prolonged cheering," he remembered, "as if reinforcements or a general had arrived." He reported this to Huger, but Baker assumed command upon his arrival "and soon moved with my command over to the left to support the attack...Magruder was about to make." Rosser and his command were held on the left. Rosser did not particularly like what he saw. Whenever Southern troops "were thrown in contact with the enemy I could but observe the great want of proper discipline necessary to insure implicit confidence. They had not been drilled and most of them had never been under fire before." Despite a certain ineptitude, Rosser's troopers captured several prisoners and collected many arms. The 5th Virginia lost only four men, one by desertion. The regiment continued on picket duty and followed McClellan's retreat to White House Landing.<sup>50</sup>

McClellan's Peninsula campaign had failed with the end of the Seven Days Battles, and the Confederate capital had been saved. And in light of his campaign in the Shenandoah Valley that had stymied three Federal armies, Stonewall Jackson's star ascended, despite his subpar performance on the Virginia Peninsula.

On June 26, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln, exasperated at his generals' failures, reorganized the armies into a unified command called the Army of Virginia, and, passing over several senior Eastern Theater generals, named Maj. Gen. John Pope from the western army to head it. The physically imposing but boastful and obnoxious Pope meant to proceed aggressively and announced his intention to make short work of the Confederates. On July 11, Lincoln completed the top-level shakeup by ordering Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, also from the west, to come to Washington, D.C., to serve as general-in-chief of the United States armies.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid. After the Seven Days Battles, McClellan's army sought relative safety next to the James River, having suffered almost 16,000 casualties during the retreat. Lee's army, which had been on the offensive during the Seven Days, lost more than 20,000 men.

<sup>51</sup> John William Thomason, *Jeb Stuart* (New York, 1929), 211–12. Walter E. Clark, ed., *North Carolina Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina: in The Great War, 1861–1865*, 5 vols. (Goldsboro, NC, 1901), 1:420; *OR* 11/2:532; John J. Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run: The Campaign and Battle of Second Manassas* (Norman, OK, 1993), 3–6.

Barely two weeks into his command, Pope issued a series of general orders that, although generally acceptable to the Union rank and file, provoked bitter resentment in the South and sparked shock among his more conservative fellow officers. The directives encouraged his troops to seize food and supplies from Virginia farmers, raze to the ground any house from which shots were fired at his army, and threatened to shoot, without trial, anyone suspected of aiding the Confederates. Lee would later call the blustering Pope "a miscreant who needed to be suppressed." Stonewall Jackson even proposed a "black flag" war policy—which would “give no quarter” to the enemy—to strike back at Pope, but it was never approved or implemented.<sup>52</sup>

Convinced that McClellan would not resume his threat against Richmond, General Lee decided to move north.

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<sup>52</sup> Peter Cozzens, *General John Pope: A Life for the Nation* (Chicago, 2000), 86–87, 89.