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THE CONFEDERATE STATE OF RICHMOND: A  
BIOGRAPHY OF THE CAPITAL.

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THE CONFEDERATE STATE OF RICHMOND:
A BIOGRAPHY OF THE CAPITAL

by

Emory Morton Thomas

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Preface

The impetus for this project came ironically enough from reading a history of Richmond during the Civil War. While working on a proposed dissertation topic I chanced to read Alfred Hoyt Mill's the Beleaguered City (New York, 1946). Mill's book made me aware of the possibilities, fascinating possibilities, involved in a study of wartime Richmond. At the same time, however, I felt the Beleaguered City inadequate. The theme—that Richmond was beleaguered—did not appear supported by the facts. And most of those possibilities I saw in the topic were never realized in the Beleaguered City. On finishing the book I determined that some day I would undertake a history of Confederate Richmond.

Dr. Frank E. Vandiver for some time had been trying to induce one of his graduate students to investigate the urban Confederacy. He listened with interest to my reactions to the Beleaguered City. As usual, however, he did not urge me to take up the challenge and do a study of wartime Richmond myself. Dr. Vandiver did not even tell me that my proposed dissertation topic was unworkable. He let me reach these conclusions; the process took about a month. Finally I made the decision that Dr. Vandiver knew I would have to make. He knew,
however, that it would have to be my decision.

Throughout the preparation Dr. Vandiver allowed me to charge up just the right number of blind alleys, that I would learn and not be frustrated by my mistakes. Whatever the worth of this dissertation, I shall always be grateful for Dr. Vandiver's wise guidance.

My thanks go also to the other members of my thesis committee—Dr. Floyd S. Lear, Dr. Gerald Straka, and Dr. George Williams. These gentlemen have been helpful far beyond their official capacities.

During my search for materials many have earned my sincere gratitude. Messrs. John Dudley and Robert Bricker at the Virginia State Library saved countless hours and kept me on the right track. The staff at the Virginia Historical Society and Miss Brokenbough at the Confederate Museum extended help and sympathy during my search for manuscript materials. Of course the staff at Fondren Library, Rice University, deserves my thanks for patient help and kindness.

To Mrs. Douglas Southall Freeman and Mrs. Mary Wells Ashworth go my gratitude for their interest, understanding, and inspiration. And to Mr. Ambler Johnston for the simple advice which became the theme of this work, "Well, Richmond was the Confederacy!" go my thanks.

I should like to express my gratitude to my parents for their aid and to my father-in-law, Mr. Harry Tinsley Taliaferro, Jr., for his keen interest and suggestions.
During the months of preparation my wife Fran has been editor, typist, and counselor. She has given talent, energy, and devotion. I shall be a long time thanking her.
PART I

Seat of Government
1. "Never did I hear more hearty responses."¹

Revolution came to Richmond on April 13, 1861. This pleasant spring Saturday dawned on clamorous confusion as houses emptied and citizens swarmed into the street! On nearly every corner perfect strangers congregated to seek one another's reactions to news dispatches of the Confederate bombardment of Fort Sumter.

Throughout the hard winter of 1860–1861 Richmond had watched the formation of a Southern Confederacy. The city had agonized over the dissolution of the Union. A diverse, urban area, the city had little in common, save tradition, with the agrarian radicals of the Cotton South. Richmond and the Commonwealth had waited and temporized and warned. On April 12 Richmond was a Union town. But the action at Sumter transformed her.² Lincoln's reinforcement represented coercion, an overt, decisive challenge to the city. Southern traditions plus Yankee aggression would justify secession. Richmond and Virginia would wait no longer.³

The agony of indecision behind her, Richmond sought release. The excited knots on the street corners coalesced into a mob during the early afternoon, and three thousand citizens marched to the Tredegar
Iron Works near the James River. Accompanied by cannon fire and the "Harsellaise" the eager secessionists raised the "Stars and Bars" over the Works. When the shouting subsided, the speeches began. Joseph K. Anderson, master of Tredegar, Virginia Attorney General John Randolph Tucker, and others told the crowd what they wanted to hear. Virginia would secede.

The Yankee tyranny was over. Those Richmonders unable to hear the speeches at Tredegar could hear the theme repeated in the hundred-gun salute of the Fayette Artillery climax ed by the roar of massed cannons.

Having exhausted the potential for Southern fervor at Tredegar, the jubilant demonstration moved on. With a cannon from the state arsenal in tow, twenty-five hundred citizens started for the Capitol Square to pay respects to Governor John Letcher. Until this day the middle-aged and middle-class Governor had been a personal embodiment of Richmond's sentiments in the secession crisis. Obsessed with law, order, and Union, he had answered a query on his state's probable course of action by stating, "...whatever Virginia does she is not going to be dragged out of the Union at the tail of a Southern Confederacy.

However, the events of the day and the aroused populace had overridden Virginia's conservative leadership. Union men had been noticeable for their absence from
the streets on this day. John Letcher sat in the Governor's mansion and wondered whether the approaching crowd would want his guidance or his head.

While the Governor collected himself, two boys from the crowd raced for the flag pole atop the Capitol building. They sought to haul down the "Stars and Stripes" and replace it with a Confederate ensign. The swifter of the two youths reached the roof and had begun to climb the lightning rod, when suddenly the clamps holding the rod began to let go. A breathless, impotent crowd stood hypnotized below. Surely the young lad would meet death in his fall from the Capitol roof to the ground far below. But as the boy rolled down the slope, his companion, who had lodged himself in the gutter, was able to break the momentum of the fall. To the relief of the spectators, both lads were unharmed. Near tragedy did not prevent the substitution of flags, however. The "Stars and Bars" soon waved over the Capitol, and the strains of "Dixie" mingled with the calls for Letcher.

Finally the Governor appeared. Letcher was probably a bit relieved at the good humor of the crowd, but the harassed executive did not fully appreciate his serenade. Stiffly the Governor thanked the assembly for their consideration and pledged that he would do his constitutional duty. His only concession
to the spirit of the hour was his assurance that he would defend Virginia's honor. Perhaps with some irritation at the sight of an unlawful flag on the Capitol, he reminded the crowd that Virginia had not yet seceded. Letcher then bowed, bade the people "good evening," and retired. Undaunted by this mild rebuff the crowd listened to a number of fiery speeches and shouted approval of a proposed resolution, "That we rejoice with high, exultant, heartfelt joy at the triumph of the Southern confederacy over the accursed government at Washington in the capture of Fort Sumter." 3

Darkness heightened the enthusiasm. An estimated ten thousand persons, nearly one third of the city's population, thronged Main Street. Bonfires crackled on major street corners. Across Shockoe Valley more fires lighted Church and Union Hills. Torches and illuminated buildings increased the spectacle. Amid bells and fireworks there were speeches at the Spotswood House, speeches at the Exchange Hotel, and more speeches in front of the Dispatch and the Enquirer offices. 4 A band was still playing at 11:30 AM, and the Dispatch termed the demonstration "one of the wildest, most enthusiastic and irrepressible expressions of heartfelt and exuberant joy on the part of the people generally, that we have ever known to be the case before in Richmond." 5 Next morning the more
rabid secessionists were no doubt disturbed to learn that Governor Letcher had called out the public guard to secure the property and buildings belonging to the United States. During the night the Governor had removed the Confederate flag from the Capitol. But he had replaced it with a Virginia flag instead of the "Stars and Stripes." In general richmonders shared their governor's concern for order and legality. Having made the decision for secession and vented their feelings the night before, on Sunday, April 14, the populace was content to eye the bulletin boards at the Dispatch office for late news and await the next session of the Virginia secession convention for action.

For two months the state secession convention had sat in the city and voted the unionist views of Governor Letcher and probably three-fifths of the state's population. At its outset the convention contained approximately thirty secessionists, seventy moderates, and fifty Unionists. By April 4 a test vote revealed that the conservative margin had dwindled considerably. A motion to submit an ordinance of secession to the people in the regular may election failed by only three votes. Now that war had begun, it seemed that the convention would have to pass an ordinance of secession or adjourn.

On February 4 Richmond had elected three dele-
gates to the Secession Convention. Characteristically, the conservative-minded city had selected one secessionist, George Wythe Randolph, and two unionists, William H. MacFarland and Harmaduke Johnson. Although the voters had expressed unionist convictions in the selection of delegates, they had rejected the extreme views of John Minor Botts, a strong nationalist candidate.²⁰ Randolph, lawyer and grandson of Thomas Jefferson, had declared himself for disunion, though he was not a leader in the Convention's "Southern Rights" faction.²¹ MacFarland, lawyer and president of the Farmers Bank,²² and Johnson were moderates, but both had stated that if the Union offered no protection for slavery, they would favor separation.²³ On March 19 the Richmond Examiner characatured Johnson as "the dark sleek fat PONY from Richmond, supposed to be much affected with Botts" who "neighed submission."

As late as April 13 Johnson's views had so clashed with John Honcure Daniel, secessionist editor of the Examiner, that the delegate was forced by the mayor's Court to post $3,000 as surety that he would keep the peace with Daniel.²⁴ To make sure that the Richmond delegates and the convention generally were aware of the city's current sentiments, leading secessionists planned another demonstration for the night of Monday, April 15, and all that day enthusiastic crowds
packed the galleries in the Capitol.25

Despite the popular enthusiasm, many secessionists despaired of John Letcher and his "tarrapin convention." Former Governor Henry A. Wise, leader of the extreme Southern Rights wing of the Democratic Party, feared that it would be autumn before Virginia finally seceded.26 Ever an opportunist, Wise had formulated plans for a "Spontaneous Southern Rights Convention" to organize "a resistance party for the spring elections. Once organized we will be ready to concert action for any emergency, mild, middle, or extreme."27 This radical assembly was scheduled to meet in the Metropolitan Hall on Tuesday, April 16. Portrayed by the secessionist press as a "Peoples" convention in defiance of the regular convention called by the legislature, the "Spontaneous" body would not likely countenance moderation. The secessionist leaders postponed the parade and demonstration scheduled on Monday night, but this did not lessen the fervor of growing revolution.

An observer recorded on Monday:

Business is generally suspended, and men run together in great crowds to listen to news from the North, where it is said many outrages are committed on Southern men and those who sympathize with them...These crowds are addressed by the most inflamed members of the Convention, and never did I hear more hearty responses from the people.28
In desperation the State Convention sent commissioners to Washington to seek guarantees from Lincoln. The President had none to offer.\textsuperscript{29} Were this not enough to disturb Governor Letcher's sleep, on Monday he received Secretary of War Simon Cameron's requisition for Virginia troops to aid in suppressing the Southern "combinations in rebellion."\textsuperscript{30} On Tuesday rival conventions would meet in the city, a "spontaneous" assembly in violent opposition to the regularly constituted body. Wise's fears were ill-founded. Virginia would act before autumn.

A guard with drawn sword kept the entrance of metropolitan Hall, while the four hundred delegates to the "Spontaneous" convention and ticket-holding spectators assembled in secret session. In the first major address of the day P. H. Aylett, grandson of Patrick Henry, urged moderation. In defiance of his fiery heritage and the spirit of the hour, Aylett counseled delay in the hope that the other convention would do its duty promptly. A torrent of oratory answered. Captain O. Jennings Wise, son of the former governor and editor of the Richmond Enquirer, "thrilled every breast" in denunciation of Yankee tyranny and Virginian hesitation. Richmonders James A. Seddon, James Lyons, and George W. Randolph joined in the radical tirade. Finally the delegates agreed to give the State Convention one more day. What they would do if
the Convention delayed further was unclear. Yet the very absence of plan was ominous enough. Just after adjournment an excited messenger rushed into the hall, and he announced that the Governor had blocked the channel of the James River at Norfolk to trap Federal ships then in the river. Letcher had finally moved. The same day he refused to honor Cameron's requisition of troops. Secessionists in the city were exultant. 31

Next day, Wednesday, April 17, the Virginia Secession Convention passed an ordinance of secession, 88 to 55. All three of Richmond's delegates voted with the majority. Fearing a border incident with the United States before the state was prepared, the convention acted in secret session. 32 In essence the legal facade of secession merely endorsed a fait accompli in the popular mind. The only concession to the moderates was a provision to submit the ordinance to the voters for ratification. The tenor of popular opinion throughout most of Virginia reduced this provision of the ordinance to the level of a technicality. Since the news from Sumter Richmond's sentiments found expression not in the legal-minded pronouncements of the regular Convention but in the fire-eating secessionist speeches of delegates to the Spontaneous Convention.

Lieutenant Governor Montague announced the success of the "secret" ordinance to the Spontaneous Convention
within an hour of its passage, Bedlam broke loose
in metropolitan Hall. Hates rilled the air. The cheer-
ing finally succumbed to permit an address by John
Tyler. The impassioned words of the aged ex-Presi-
dent had a "supernatural effect" on the throng. Henry
A. Wise was next on the platform. An admirer turned
his speech a "burst of eloquence, perhaps never sur-
passed by mortal orator." Toward the end of the speak-
ing Letcher entered the hall. The happy secessionists
applauded their "tortoise Governor" and his resolve
to fulfill his duty to the newly-independent state.33
Finally the delegates shouted hoarse assent to resolu-
tions tendering cordial thanks to the State Convention
for the "noble act of patriotic duty which they have
just performed" and pledging themselves, "their fortu-
tunes and sacred honors in defense of their native
soil."34

Because of the "secrecy" of both Conventions',
proceedings, the glad tidings of Virginia's secession
were reduced to widespread whispers on the streets of
Richmond.35 Then on the night of April 19 the city
abandoned all pretense of secrecy. Ten thousand people
assembled at City Hall and followed Smith's Armory
Band on a torchlit parade about the city. Sympathetic
spectators lined the route. Illuminated buidings
and Confederate flags expressed the unanimity of feel-
ing in the city. A transparency depicting Abraham
Lincoln in full flight from Washington was one of
several hundred seen in Richmond during the night. The Dispatch when referring to the procession stated that "nothing that ever transpired here has served to infuse so much enthusiasm in the people of all classes, conditions and colors." The wild parade ended at the Governor's Mansion in Capitol Square. Unlike the last time a secessionist demonstration filled his front yard, Governor Letcher was now in complete accord with the throng. In anticipation of the crowd's desires the "Stars and Bars" of the Confederate States floated unmolested above the Capitol.

The spectacle of the flag atop the state capitol filled many Richmonders with pride. With the Enquirer they would beam, "The spirit of patriotism which animated our forefathers in the days of '76 still burns in the hearts of their sons! God bless the old Commonwealth!" The presence of the rebel banner, however, was odious to the twelve to twenty western members of the Secession Convention who met in the Powhatan Hotel on April 19. While the city was wildly celebrating secession from the United States in the streets outside, these men took the first steps toward secession from Virginia and the creation of West Virginia.

Also a bit disconcerted with the presence of the Confederate flag over Richmond were the Confederates
themselves. According to secessionist logic, Virginia had asserted her sovereignty and dissolved the bonds of union with the United States. But she had not yet joined the Confederate States. Although it was a foregone conclusion that Virginia would eventually enter the Southern fold, the question was when. If she waited until her people ratified the ordinance of secession on May 16, Virginia might well be overrun with federal armies and reduced to a purely nominal ally of the Confederacy. Fearful of gaining the sympathies of the Commonwealth only to lose her desperately needed man and material, President Jefferson Davis dispatched his Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens to Richmond to hasten a firm alliance between Virginia and the Confederacy. In order to underscore his concern for the success of Stephens' mission, Davis sent thirteen regiments of troops to Richmond three days later.

Stephens was an excellent choice as a commissioner to the Virginia Convention. The wizened Georgian was a thorough-going Whig. He had made up his mind on secession just in time to win the Confederacy's second highest office. Talent he had. But the unionist stigma of his late decision and the doctrinaire bent of his brilliant mind were to plague his Confederate career and render him more a liability than an asset to the Davis government. When Stephens arrived in
Richmond on April 22, however, he was at the height of his influence and powers in the young government. Stephens addressed the Virginia Convention the day after his arrival. After pointing out that he, like the convention, had exhausted every avenue of reconciliation with the old Union before deciding on secession, Stephens made a strong appeal for immediate action. He recounted the advantages of the Confederate constitution and flattered the Virginians by his very eagerness for them to treat with him. Stephens proposed a temporary arrangement with his government which would become permanent when the voters ratified the ordinance of secession. He closed his plea with a mild warning, a bit more flattery, and a very interesting proposition:

"The enemy is now on your border—almost at your door—he must be met. This can best be done by having your military operations under the common head at Montgomery—or it may be at Richmond. For, while I have no authority to speak on that subject, I feel at perfect liberty to say, that it is quite within the range of probability that, if such an alliance is made, the seat of our government will, within a few weeks, be moved to this place. There is no permanent location at Montgomery—and should Virginia become, as it probably will, the theatre of the war, the whole may be transferred here.... We want the voice of Virginia in our Confederate Councils."

Stephen's logic of a "temporary alliance" satisfied the Convention's legal minds. The volunteers assembling across the Potomac about Washington and
the Vice-president's eager suit speeded Virginia's union with the Confederacy. Stephens and six Virginia commissioners drew up a convention on April 24, and the State Convention ratified the agreement and the Confederate Constitution the next day. On April 27, the Convention resolved:

...That the President of the Confederate States and the constituted authorities of the Confederacy be, and they are hereby cordially and respectfully invited, whenever in their opinion the public interest or convenience may require it, to make the city of Richmond, or some other place in the State, the seat of the Government of the Confederacy.

If Stephen's speech on the twenty-third had proposed a bargain, the Convention had upheld its part.

2. Old Town, Young City

The night before his appeal for Virginia's prompt alliance with the Confederacy, on the floor of the convention, Vice-President Stephens received a serenade from the citizens of Richmond. As the First Regiment Band played and those assembled raised three cheers for him and for Jefferson Davis, Stephens perhaps gave more thought to the city and removal of the Confederate Government to Richmond. His broad hint the next day would be no idle promise. Montgomery was small and seemed far from the probable scene of
the conflict which would decide the fate of the young nation. Richmond and Richmond's advantages over Montgomery and other possible capitals would indeed be worthy of further contemplation.

Stephens had entered Richmond from the south. This approach allowed the city to display her best side. Another traveler to Richmond from his first impression described the city in the spring of 1801:

Passing out of the cut through the high bluff, just across the 'Jeems' river bridge, Richmond burst beautifully into view; spreading panorama-like over her swelling hills, with the evening sun gilding simple houses and towering spires alike into a glory. The city follows the curve of the river, seated on amphitheatic hills, retreating from its banks; fringes of dense woods shading their slopes, or making blue background against the sky. No city of the South has grander or more picturesque approach;...45

On the left of Richmond's panoramic spread along the James, Gamble's Hill rose above the flats of the river. Here in 1607 Captain Christopher Newport of the Jamestown expedition had planted a cross which marked the end of his exploration up the James. A string of islands interspersed with rocks and swirling rapids had halted his voyage and marked the beginning of the "falls" of the river. By 1801 Gamble's Hill overlooked the James River and Kanawha Canal which by-passed the falls and allowed packet and barge traffic up river to Lynchburg. Still another of man's accommodations with nature lay under the hill in the flat land next
to the river. Glowing and smoking, the Tredegar Iron Works had become a Richmond landmark and one of the city's important industrial and military assets.

From Gambles Hill the view of Richmond from the James swept to the right. Warehouses, tobacco factories, and flour mills crowded the bank of the river. Behind them on the long slope ending in Council Chamber Hill was the commercial and residential center of the city. Paralleling the river, Main Street and Franklin Street were avenues of trade and promenade respectively. Dominating the center of the scene atop Council Chamber Hill sat the classically columned Capitol, designed in 1785 by Thomas Jefferson. Within a block of the Capitol were most of the city's public buildings; the City Hall, the former United States Customs House, and the Governor's mansion among others. From the crest of Council Chamber Hill the land fell away into the valley of Shockoe Creek. Beyond the creek the middle class residential areas on Church and Union Hills were visible. And on the far right of the scene were the wharves of Rocketts, a suburb of the city. The houses of the poorer class of Virginians seemed to follow Shockoe Creek to its mouth and overflow onto the "flats" at Rocketts. From a distance Richmond in 1861 gave the Confederate Vice-President and other visitors the impression of an emerging urban metropolis.
whose mills and market-places had not yet overshadowed the taste and natural beauty of their provincial setting.\textsuperscript{50}

Beyond the city's physical attractiveness Alexander H. Stephens, Whig politician, was no doubt pleased with Richmond's political record. Democrats in Richmond were so few in number that they were known as the "Spartan Band." The city was "the acme of that class who proclaimed that they were Whigs, and that Whigs knew each other by the instincts of gentlemen."\textsuperscript{51} The conservative nature of the city's whiggery was demonstrated in the two-to-one majority Richmond's voters gave to the Constitutional-Unionist ticket in the election of 1860.\textsuperscript{52} Like Stephens Richmonders had decided on secession after exhausting the possibilities of reconciliation. Until February, 1859, a chapter of the American Colonization Society in Richmond was still attempting to solve the problem of Negro emancipation by supporting voluntary emigration to Liberia.\textsuperscript{53} Stephens probably most strongly felt his political kinship with the city when he visited Richmond's newest statue, that of Henry Clay, which had been unveiled in the spring of 1860.\textsuperscript{54}

Closely associated with Richmond's political posture were the city's four daily newspapers. The secession crisis in the state and nation had fanned the fires of journalistic partisanship to white heat.
Like Stephens the Richmond Daily Whig and its editor Robert Ridgeway had supported the Constitutional Union ticket of Bell and Everett in 1860,\textsuperscript{52} and for a time had counseled against secession. Ridgeway told his readers that disunion was not only illegal,\textsuperscript{56} but also impractical. The seceded states, he said, had taken the cowardly way out by withdrawing from the Union rather than remaining and defending Southern rights within the Union.\textsuperscript{57} In 1861 secessionist feeling in the city and state forced Ridgeway to resign his editorship.\textsuperscript{58} The Whig, by the time Stephens arrived in Richmond, was steering the popular course regarding disunion. And like Stephens the Whig would become one of the Davis government's sternest critics.\textsuperscript{53}

Richmond's other three dailies had a background of Democratic editorial policy. Edited by O. Jennings Wise the Daily Richmond Enquirer was known as the "Democratic Bible."\textsuperscript{50} During the war the Enquirer would carry on its ancient rivalry with the Whig by generally defending the Davis Government against the assaults of the Whig and the Richmond Daily Examiner.\textsuperscript{61} The Examiner had stood for secession and Southern rights under the editorship of Robert Old during the critical winter of 1860-1861. In spring, however, John Moncure Daniel returned to Richmond from a diplomatic post in Sardinia and resumed control of the paper. Daniel intensified the Examiner's secessionist policy,\textsuperscript{62}
and during the war he and his associate Edward A. Pollard would voice almost irrational opposition to the Davis administration. Richmond's largest daily paper in terms of circulation was the Daily Dispatch which boasted 10,000 readers. Editors James A. Cowardin and John D. Hammersley pursued a moderately Democratic policy and had advocated Virginia's secession only after a tortuous editorial dialogue from the summer of 1860 until January, 1861. The Dispatch sustained its large circulation by the accuracy of its reporting and the moderation of its editorial policy in contrast to its polemical competitors. The Richmond press was an active institution. In the spring of 1861 its unanimity for secession and enthusiasm for the Confederacy gave weight to Richmond's claim to the seat of government. As far as the Confederate Vice-President could then discern, it seemed his government would receive sympathetic support from the city's press.

In keeping with the soundness of Richmond's national and state political record was a city government ably run by urban aristocrats. Joseph Mayo, elected mayor of the city each year since 1853, had originally come to Richmond to study law under Able Upshur, later Whig President John Tyler's Secretary of State. Despite his 76 years Mayo administered the city well and dispensed justice in minor criminal offenses
at the mayor's Court. Fifteen aldermen, five from each of the city's three wards, also sat in the mayor's Court. An elected judge heard civil cases and all felonies, except those punishable by death, at monthly sessions of the city's Hastings Court. A state circuit court and the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals also sat in the city.

Richmond's legislative power was vested in a fifteen-member City Council. The Council passed ordinances and through its committees watched over the work of the various municipal departments. Composed primarily of sensibly forward-looking men, the Council did its job well. Richmond in 1861 could boast a nearly completed street railway system and a new steam fire engine. Led by such men as its President David J. Saunders, peachy R. Gratton, David I. Burr, and Thomas H. Wynne, Richmond's Council gave promise of rising to the challenges which war and removal of the Confederate capital would bring to the city's municipal affairs.

Perhaps Richmond's strongest appeal as a possible seat of government was the city's economic potential. Vice-President Stephens and the Confederate leaders could find other cities in the South with picturesque settings, stable municipal governments, and active secessionist presses. Richmond, however, offered a balanced commercial economy, easy transportation by
rail or water to at least the eastern Confederacy, and virtually the only heavy industrial facilities in the young nation.

Like most southern cities, Richmond rested her economy on an agrarian base. She had come into being and grown as a center of trade with the countryside. Situated between the great plantations of tidewater and the farms of Virginia's Piedmont, Richmond received tobacco, cotton, and grain in exchange for the products of her domestic manufacturing and articles imported from Europe or the North. During the 1850's cargoes at Richmond's port averaged 100,000 tons per year. The five railroads serving the city entered from all directions of the compass, and these roads prospered with the aid of sound management, ample traffic, and good relations with the State Board of Public Works. Great planters and prosperous yeomen made Richmond the commercial and social center of central and eastern Virginia. They came to the city at regular intervals to sell their staple crops and purchase large quantities of goods for their farms, chattels, and families.

By the spring of 1861 Richmond was no mere waystation in the exchange of staples for manufactures; she was coming of age. Trade with the interior and the city's transportation facilities spawned further economic opportunities. Although Richmond (according to the United States census of 1860) stood twenty-
fifth in population among the nation's cities, she ranked thirteenth in order of manufactures.  Much of this manufacturing activity utilized the local agrarian staples—tobacco and grain. Twelve flour and meal mills ground a product worth over three millions of dollars. Also refining the area's grains were Richmond's three bakeries, distillery, and brewery; not to mention Elijah Baker's patent medicine, "Baker's Bitters." In 1860 there were 52 tobacco manufacturers in Richmond and surrounding Henrico County whose annual gross product was valued at nearly five million dollars.

Seven major warehouses, an exchange, six tobacco box factories, and two cigar makers also served the industry in Richmond. In November, 1860, a British traveler summed up the influence of tobacco on the city. "The atmosphere of Richmond is redolent of tobacco; the tints of the pavements are those of tobacco. One seems to breathe tobacco, to see tobacco, and smell tobacco at every turn. The town is filthy with it..."

Besides the great mills and tobacco factories were many smaller manufacturing enterprises. Cobbler's, saddlers, coopers, carriage makers, blacksmiths, brick makers, and bookbinders supplied the needs of planter and worker in the city. Also profiting from Richmond's basic trade patterns with the countryside, as well as an expanding market within the city, were 964
merchants who reported over twelve million dollars in gross sales during 1860.\textsuperscript{31} Planters, merchants, and other visitors to Richmond supported several first class hotels. The Exchange Hotel, Ballard House, Spottswood Hotel, and the American Hotel were most popular with the city's guests. The urbane Tucker DeLeon claimed that Richmond hotels had been "always mediocre,"\textsuperscript{32} and the somewhat naive Kentuckian lieutenant W. H. Clark termed the Exchange Hotel the "finest building I was ever in."\textsuperscript{33} An accurate appraisal no doubt lay somewhere in between the two opinions. Hotels, mercantile enterprises, small manufactures, flour mills, and tobacco factories were examples of economic expansion and refinement based on Richmond's ancient trading-post heritage.

Alexander H. Stephens, as he mentally surveyed Richmond's economy, no doubt appreciated its sound agrarian base. The Vice-President and other Confederate leaders, however, coveted most the newer trends in the city's economic development—finance and iron manufacture. In 1861 each of the four major Richmond banks boasted more than a million dollars in capital, and the combined capital of the four totaled over ten million.\textsuperscript{34} The growth of insurance companies brought further financial prestige to Richmond's economy. Should the city become the Confederate capital, her financial men and resources could become assets to
the stability of the young nation's currency and economy. 69

Iron was the key to Richmond's greatest economic advantage to the Confederacy. The city was the center of the industry south of the Potomac. In 1860 Richmond claimed four rolling mills, fourteen foundries and machine shops, a nail works, six works for manufacturing iron railings, two circular saw works, and fifty iron and metal works. 66 The industry employed 1,550 workers, 20% of Richmond's 7,589 engaged in manufacturing. Iron manufacture in the city produced nearly two million dollars in sales annually and claimed $837,700 invested capital. 67 Joseph R. Anderson's Tredegar works was the city's largest and most diversified plant, employing 900 men by the spring of 1861. 68 However, Tredegar was far from being alone in Richmond's iron industry. Talbot and Broghey, Old Dominion Iron and Nail Works, Richmond Foundry, Burr and Ettinger, and Richmond Stove Company were some of Anderson's prosperous competitors. 69 By 1861 the iron manufacturers in Richmond had a well established trade with the South 90 and had sought to improve their products and profits by establishing a Mechanics Institute with a night school for apprentices. 91 Without Richmond and her iron industry, the Confederates' war-waging capacity would suffer a staggering blow. And what better way to emphasize the importance of the city's security than to make her the national capital? 92
Evidences of Richmond's general economic well-being were everywhere in the city. Most of the 37,910 persons who lived within the limits of the city were financially secure, if not wealthy. During 1860 the city supported only 426 paupers, and the same year the Council had built a new Alms House to accommodate any increase. Richmond taxpayers owned real property worth over nineteen million dollars in 1861. Manufacturing, trade, and the professions had made some Richmonders affluent by 1861, and with flour selling for eight cents per pound in the markets, a day laborer could manage well on $1.25 a day.

Family and professional standing joined financial status as dictators of class in nineteenth-century Richmond. As one student of the city's social mores expressed it:

...family first, with the concomitants of polish, education and 'manner,' were the sole 'open sesame' to which the doors of the good old city would swing wide.

The learned professions were about the sole exceptions. 'Law, physic, the church,'...were permitted to condone the 'new families.'

Trade, progressive spirit and self-made personality were excluded from the plane of the elect, as though germineferous. The 'sacred soil' and the sacred social circle were paralleled in the minds of their possessors.

The lines of class hardened in the urban South in a way unknown in the countryside. Of Richmond the same
observer noted, "In the country districts habit and condescension often overrode class barriers, but in the city, where class sometimes jostled privilege, the line of demarcation was so strongly drawn that its overstepping was dangerous." In general the upper classes, possessed of wealth, name, profession or some combination of the three, resided on the high ground near the center of the city. Marshall, Cary, Franklin, and Grace Streets were most popular. The industrious burgers comprising Richmond's middle class usually lived in the western end of the city or across Shockoe Creek on Church or Union Hills. Poorer families and free Negroes inhabited the lower ground near the James River and Shockoe Creek.

Richmond supported six public schools and 23 private primaries and academies in 1860. The city's 33 churches were led by such excellent men as Charles M. Minnegerode, Moses D. Hoge, Seth Dogget, and Bishop McGill. White pastor Jeremiah Jeter served a Negro congregation in excess of three thousand in one of Richmond's four African Baptist Churches. Richmond's congregations were primarily comprised of members of the major evangelical Protestant denominations. However, the existence of three Roman Catholic churches, three Jewish synagogues, one Quaker meeting house, and a Universalist Church demonstrated the variety of religious faiths in the city.
Richmond's newspapers and periodicals had a circulation of nearly 64,000 in 1860. Editor George W. Bagby from his office across from Capitol Square produced one of the finest literary journals in the nation, the Southern Literary Messenger. Special engagements by such popular entertainers as "Blind Tom," the Negro boy pianist, supplemented the prestigious regular offerings at the Richmond Theater. In sum Richmond offered the Confederacy social, educational, religious, and cultural institutions equal to any city in the South, with the possible exceptions of Charleston and New Orleans.

Vice-President Stephens surely gave thought to the selection of Richmond as permanent capital of the Confederate States. Analysis of the city as she appeared in the spring of 1861 revealed a happy blend of rural provincialism and urban potential. Richmond was an old town and a young city combined. The land, its fruits, and its possessors, still greatly influenced the town. Planter dominance was visible in both society and economy. Bankers, merchants, and industrialists, however, had begun to challenge the supremacy of the planter. And by 1861 they had equalled him in the market place, if not in the drawing room. Richmond's zest for local government and atmosphere of gentle noblesse were distinctly Southern traits. Yet the
city's whimsical policies, diverse economy, and heterogeneous population gave Richmond — youthful cosmopolitan air somewhat unique in the ante-bellum South.

The young city offered much to the Confederacy, but the Confederacy had more to offer Richmond. The Confederate experience would strain every phase of Richmond's life. But war would bring maturity to the city's social, economic, and political institutions. The Cause would inspire Richmond's finest years, and in the end, when she had made her last sacrifice, the city would feel herself the very embodiment of the Confederacy. 107

3. Permanent Capital

With the conclusion of Virginia's temporary alliance with the Confederacy, Stephen's official mission to the state ended. Doubtless he returned to Montgomery with some convictions as to the removal of the government to Richmond. On April 29 the Secession Convention appointed five men to represent Virginia in the provisional Congress at Montgomery. 108 Among these R. H. T. Hunter, former United States Senator, was especially anxious to effect a change of capitals. 109 In late March a knowledgeable diarist recorded that, "There are people who already say that the detestable hotels at Montgomery will drive Congress elsewhere." 110
A bill seeking removal of the government had been on the calendar since May 1. Hunter presented the Virginia Convention's invitation to a secret session of Congress on May 10. The same day Congress resolved to adjourn on May 23 and meet again in Richmond on July 20, unless an emergency intervened. However, on May 17 President Davis vetoed the resolution on the grounds that the legislative branch of government should not meet at a point several days' travel from the executive departments. Thus on May 20 Congress resolved that the entire government should move to Richmond before July 20. Alabama could muster only Mississippi and South Carolina in her defense and lost the capital six votes to three. The following day Davis signed the resolution, and Congress appropriated $40,000 to defray the expenses of moving the departments.

In the final analysis the reason for the move combined an appreciation of Richmond's status as a city and of immediate military requirements. Many historians have criticized the decision to move the capital so close to Federal territory. Yet the security of Richmond's industrial potential was essential to the young nation during the first months of war. And a glance at the map convinced the Confederate leadership that the three days' travel between Washington and Richmond could be made extremely costly to
the invader. If shore batteries or a Confederate navy could keep Union gunboats out of Virginia's large rivers, the distance and terrain between the rival capitals favored a determined defense. Dense forests, river obstacles, and swampy areas would impede an advance on Richmond from the north. A resourceful Southern commander could choose his battlefield and strike the enemy anywhere in the hundred mile corridor between the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Chesapeake Bay. As long as the opposing armies bore any relation to each other in size, "on to Richmond" would be a virtual siren's song luring Union troops onto a killing ground. Beyond these defensive capabilities, an army in northern Virginia would always threaten Federal territory and the Federal capital. 113

On the same day that Vice-President Stephens reached Richmond to cement relations between Virginia and his government, Colonel Robert S. Lee, late of the U. S. Army, arrived in the city to assume command of Virginia's troops. 114 Lee's military reputation was well-known to Virginians. As a young engineer officer he had won praise and recognition in Scott's Mexico War. He had commanded at Harper's Ferry during the John Brown hysteria. The dignity of his aristocratic lineage and the gentle charm of his manner may have obscured for the moment the essence of this middle-
aged Virginian—duty and genius. But a humble noblesse was also his characteristic. Presented to the Virginia Convention on April 23, he spoke out few words. On the night of April 22, after the crowd of citizens had serenaded and cheered Alexander H. Stephens, they marched to the Spottswood House in search of Lee. Mayor Mayo appeared and informed the well-wishers that Lee was at work. Others would have the time to make speeches. Lee had much to do.

Events of the preceding day had demonstrated the chaotic unpreparedness of Richmond's defenses. April 21 had begun routinely, a quiet Sunday in the city. As Richmond families were leaving the city's churches in anticipation of their Sunday dinners, the alarm bell on Capitol Square began suddenly to toll. Rumor passed on whispers then shouts through the streets. "The Pawnee is coming." "A Yankee gun-boat is steaming up the James to shell the city." Military companies ran together. A Howitzer Corps and the Fayette Artillery scrambled to hockets with their weapons; women and civilians joined the march. Cavalry companies scoured the countryside south of the city. The Young Guard and the Virginia Life Guard formed on the wharf, perhaps intending to repel a landing party. The swearing of teamsters mingled with cries of small boys, as Richmond in her Sunday best went en masse to war.
Then as swiftly as the fright had begun, the alarm passed. Even if the Pawnee had been coming up the river (and it was not), its heavy draught would not have permitted passage to the city. Richmond laughed at its folly. Beloved citizens, a bit amused at their gullibility, left the heights above Hocketts landing and resumed their Sunday routine. Some of the spectators remained to watch the assembled artillery companies engage in some impromptu, badly needed practice with their pieces. One idle rumor had panicked virtually the entire city. The local militia force was eager, but it was small and inexperienced. "Pawnee Sunday" had been a good joke on the city, but it had also revealed a very uncomical state of unreadiness.

Throughout May Lee worked to increase the efficiency of his rapidly expanding command of Virginia volunteers. Activating a long dormant state militia provided confusion and excitement enough in Richmond. In addition, however, troops from all parts of the nation joined their government in the hegira to the new capital.

Anxiety over Virginia's security and the selection of Richmond as a rendezvous transformed the peaceful town into an armed camp. The streets were full of "soldiers singly, soldiers in pairs, in squads, in files. Drums and fifes and crowds of soldiers, and nothing more." Richmond's fairgrounds became a Camp on Instruction, and cadets from the Virginia
Military Institute came down from Lexington to serve as drill masters. As early as April 27 the *Enquirer* reported nearly two thousand troops in the city and almost a thousand more at the *Camp of Instruction*. Richmond militia units drilled nightly, and many businesses suspended operation early in the day to allow their employees time to fulfill their military obligations. By November the *Whig* would estimate that 2000 of Richmond's 4000 voting population had entered the army. One participant in the transformation of this armed mob into an army remembered:

> The drilling, of which there was literally no end, was simply funny. Manoeuvres of the most utterly impossible sort were carefully taught to the men. Every amateur officer had his own pet system of tactics, and the effect of the incongruous teachings, when brought out in battalion drill, closely resembled that of the music at Mr. Bob Sawyer's party, where each guest sang the chorus to the tune he knew best.

Throughout May and June of 1861 the troops poured into the city. Volunteers came armed with shotguns, bowie knives, muskets, or squirrel guns. As soon as practicable the companies were mustered into the Confederate service. Then the men drilled, loafed, and awaited orders dispatching them to a probable front.

Elite corps such as the Washington Artillery from New Orleans joined the local "Blues" and "Greys."
The young Louisianinas with Edward, their French chef from Victor's restaurant, were popular guests at a round of teas and dances in the city. Among the many companies of the wealthy and prominent,

Whenever a detail was made for cleaning the campground, the men detailed regarded themselves as responsible for the proper performance of their task by their servants, and uncomplainingly took upon themselves the duty of sitting on the fence and superintending the work.

Women and girls made regular visits to the camps bearing cakes and other delicacies. Reviews and parades in camp, parties, and the theater in the city added to the gaiety of the season. Uniforms concealed the marks of social class, and "regardless of social distinction, or castes of society, the barriers which hedge familiar intercourse were broken down, and the man was almost forgotten in the soldier." These were the "Sala days" when the excitement of war was enjoyable in Richmond. One diarist, Mary Boykin Chesnut, wife of a South Carolina provisional congressman, recorded:

Noise of drums, tramp of marching regiments all day long, rattling artillery wagons, bands of music, friends from every quarter coming in. We ought to be miserable and anxious, and yet these are pleasant days. Perhaps we are unnaturally exhilarated and excited.

On June 7 the New Orleans Zouaves reached Richmond. On June 10 one of the company married a Richmond girl. Resplendent in blue jackets, red baggy
trousers, red caps, black leather leggings, and white gaiters, these gay warriors were reputed to have been recruited from the New Orleans jails. From the time of their arrival the chicken population in Richmond declined. At least one of the Zouaves brought a vivandière with him. She dressed like the men, and from the description of Mrs. Chesnut who saw her, "she frisked about in her hat and feathers, did not uncover her head as a man would have done, played the piano, sang war songs. She had no drum but she gave us a rascapian! She was followed at every step by a mob of admiring soldiers and boys." Mrs. Chesnut missed very few of the gay scenes in the young capital. On July 4 she noted:

A young Carolinian with queer ideas of a joke rode his horse through the barroom of this hotel [Spottswood house]. How he scattered people and things right and left! Captain Ingraham was incensed at the bad conduct of his young countryman. 'He was intoxicated, of course,' said Captain Ingraham. 'But he was a splendid rider.'

Not all of Richmond's property-owners thought the onslaught of soldiers was so exhilarating. Owners of restaurants where Zouaves had eaten sumptuously and charged the fare to the government resented the newcomers. So did almost anyone who had a hen house near one of the encampments. And when young Carolinians, drunk or sober, spoke of "coming to fight Virginia's battles for her," retorts were swift and bitter. Some Richmonders began to have second thoughts about
becoming the Confederate capital. The City Council enacted ordinances closing barsrooms at 10:00 P.M. and later shut them down completely on Sundays. The Council also requested Mayor Layo to impress upon the military commanders the necessity of making troops leave their side arms in camp when they visited the city. Ladies generally remained off the streets until most of the troops had departed for field positions. Some irritation was no doubt inevitable. Richmond, however, adjusted to the presence and occasional high spirits of her defenders. Once the initial shock passed, the city made every effort to aid the new army and its cause.

The national army which gathered about the capital found the city alive with preparations for war. Immediately after the news of fighting at Fort Sumter reached Richmond, the City Council appropriated $50,000 for arming and equipping volunteers from Richmond. To finance this appropriation and other expenses of the emergency, the Council on its own initiative began issuing $300,000 worth of notes in denominations less than two dollars. Throughout the spring and summer Richmond's military units received clothing, tents, and other supplies from city funds. To enforce the unanimity of secessionist feeling in the city, on April 22 Council enacted an ordinance on "suspicious persons." Citizens were to report persons holding seditious opinions to the Mayor who would treat them
as vagrants or persons of ill-fame.\textsuperscript{136} Further action of Council to prepare the city included a committee appointed to wait on the Governor and seek his advice in preventing "monopolies of provisions."\textsuperscript{139} In response to a petition from Richmond's physicians, Council authorized druggists to charge the city medicines needed by the families of volunteers.\textsuperscript{140} and volunteers' families received city water free, if they should be unable to afford the service.\textsuperscript{141} As significant as these actions of Council were, the individual citizens of Richmond more than matched the patriotic zeal of their municipal authorities.

As soon as the State Convention called for volunteers from the state, Richmond began contributing to the cost of equipping the soldiers and of assisting their families. Meetings, subscription blanks, and benefit entertainments raised thousands of dollars in the city.\textsuperscript{142} The County Court of surrounding Henrico County floated a $10,000 bond issue to raise and equip volunteers.\textsuperscript{143} Fifty prominent citizens, most past military age, formed the Richmond Ambulance Corps to assist the wounded.\textsuperscript{144} And the ladies of Richmond sewed. Almost every church in the city converted its lecture hall or Sunday School room into a clothing factory. Women made uniforms, knitted socks, rolled bandages, and carded lint.\textsuperscript{145} The government soon assumed most of the responsibility for clothing and
supporting its troops, but contributions of Richmond's private citizens never ceased to aid the cause.

Into the midst of Richmond's preparations for war came Jefferson Davis and the government of the Confederate States. On May 25 City Council resolved that the government's advent gave the "liveliest satisfaction" and that "no proper efforts will be omitted to manifest the public sense of the high distinction." Specifically Council resolved to "tender to His Excellency Jefferson Davis, on his arrival, the hospitalities of the city, and assure him of the high consideration in which he is held, for his official and personal virtues and services."146 Enthusiasm for the President did not confine itself to the pronouncements of Richmond Officials. The Dispatch called Davis "an instrument of Providence for accomplishing its own beneficent designs," and added, "It is impossible that the South should not feel secure with such a man as this at the helm; and thrice welcome is he in Richmond, where all respect, admire, and confide in him."147 The Enquirer termed Davis "one of the few men of the age who combine the Caesarian faculty of writing with the pen, speaking with the tongue, and fighting with the sword."148

Richmond expressed her admiration with lusty cheers when the President's train reached the city in the early morning of May 29. Cannon roared as Davis and
his party left the depot behind four splendid days and proceeded to the Spottswood House. From the window of his flag-draped suite the President thanked the crowd for their attentions and pledged his concern for the defense of Virginia. By five o'clock in the afternoon Davis was in the saddle reviewing troops. 149

Next day the President and his lady received Richmonders at the Governor's mansion for two-and-a-half hours. 150 When they had the opportunity to see the President at close range and shake his hand, the citizens of his capital were pleased. Davis was tall, and the ramrod posture of a lean frame accentuated his practiced dignity. A carefully cultivated charm and pleasant smile brightened the otherwise stern features of his face. He possessed reputation, administrative skill, and the same inimitable will that came to characterize his capital. Davis should have been Richmond's first citizen; for a time he was. 151

The President had been quietly tending the roses on his Mississippi plantation when the telegram arrived announcing his election as provisional President. Mrs. Davis remembered, "...he looked so grieved that I feared some evil had befallen our family...he told me, as a man might speak of a sentence of death." 152

Later he wrote his wife from Montgomery, "We are without machinery, without means, and threatened by a powerful opposition; but I do not despair, and will not shrink from the task imposed upon me." 153 Davis
would fulfill his responsibilities, as his duty, but he probably would not enjoy it.

The President's policies, as his contemporaries and later historians saw them, were at the same time too revolutionary and too prosaic. He ran his administration as though the Confederacy had existed a thousand years before him. His armies fought a defensive revolution, while red tape, "proper channels," and official dignities multiplied. At the same time the Davis Government would virtually overturn the Southern way of life in defense of Southern independence. His administration would suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus, conscript troops, impress goods, and finally arm Negroes in desperate attempts to win its war. While critics attacked his efforts as those of a pedant or a despot, Davis stubbornly did his duty. He drove himself so hard that his health faltered and his temper sometimes flared. Never possessed of great personal magnetism and often exhausted from his labors, the President in time withdrew into his round of official tasks. He lived four years in the capital, but Richmond never really knew him.

Now Davis was the man of the hour. On June 1 three thousand citizens and the Amory Band serenaded the President. Richmond cheered him when he rode out to see the troops every afternoon. Davis was
doing the work of President and five departments, and Richmonders were delighted.157

The arrival of Jefferson Davis signaled an acceleration in the already furious activities of governmental machinery in the new capital. Executive offices were created in the old United States Customs House for the President, Cabinet, and the departments of War, Justice, Navy, and the Treasury. The clerks of the War Office had barely occupied these quarters and sorted out the boxes of papers brought from Montgomery when permanent facilities were leased at Mechanics Hall.158 Workmen fashioned offices and committee rooms day and night, and hammers punctuated the swearing of departmental secretaries.159

Richmond's carpenters could not hope to keep pace with the political construction going on at the Spottswood House. Richmond's Council purchased the $35,000 home of L. D. Crenshaw on Cary Street for the President, but while the mansion was being furnished, the President, cabinet officials, and would-be officials lived at the Spottswood House.160

Although the national Congress assumed the cost of purchasing and furnishing the executive mansion,161 the Richmond City Council paid for the Presidential family's residence at the Spottswood at over $50 per day.162 Presiding over social arrangements for her
harassed husband was Varina Howell Davis. A handsome, if not pretty woman, Mrs. Davis would never be beloved by Richmond. She was forced to become First Lady of an established society easily piqued by this direct, "western person" with her circle of "foreign" (non-Virginian) ladies. Varina Davis made some strong friends among Richmond natives and melted an early coolness with Richmond ladies; but twice when Richmond was in peril, this professed First Lady would abandon the city for a safer locale. Nevertheless, for this hour Varina Davis found herself matriarch of the mad, microcosm Confederacy within the Spottswood House.

Mrs. Chesnut wrote:

This Spottswood is a miniature world. The war topic is not so much avoided. Everybody has some personal dignity to take care of, and everybody else is indifferent to it. A Richmond lady told me under her breath that Mrs. Davis had sent a baby's dress to her friend Mrs. Montgomery Blair (wife of Lincoln's Postmaster General) and Mrs. Blair had responded: 'Even if the men kill one another, we will advise friends to the bitter end, the grave.' I said nothing, because I will be taken aside and told by somebody else: 'That Blair story is all false, made up by these malicious, gossipy women.' In this wild confusion, everything likely and unlikely is told you, and then everything is flatly contradicted.

The "official family" was a huge one. General P. G. T. Beauregard arrived on May 30, and the "Hero of Sumter" graciously received the praise due him.
before hurrying to another field. Congressman Chesnut of South Carolina assisted the President, while his wife joined the circle of Varina Davis and "worked like a beaver, or rather a mole" for her friends. Leroy Pope Walker, Secretary of War, lived at the Spottswood until the confusion there and the press of his duties sent the Alabamian to the country for a rest. Louis T. Wigfall, Congressman and later influential Senator from Texas, came to town with the President and was soon making four speeches a day to admirers. Secretary of the Treasury Christopher G. Lemminger, Commissary-General Lucius B. Northing, and Secretary of the Navy Stephen D. Mallory made the Spottswood their home during these hectic months.

Attorney General Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, capable and smiling, scurried about seeking good restaurants and stimulating conversation. An admirer said of him, "Hebrew in blood, English in tenacity of grasp and purpose, Mr. Benjamin was French in taste," and went on to point out, "There was no circle, official or otherwise, that missed his soft, purring presence, or had not regretted so doing." In contrast to the well-oiled Benjamin, fiery Secretary of State Robert Toombs soon sickened of war-time politics, resigned his post, and in July followed Virginia's ex-governors John S. Floyd and Henry A. Wise to field commands. Toomb's successor in the State Depart-
ment was Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter, "F.F.V." Hunter, one of the nation's ablest public men, would serve the Confederacy longest as President Pro Tem of the Senate. For the moment, though, the dark, Indian-looking Virginian held his portfolio, because for political reasons the cabinet needed a Virginian. 173

Politics was the business of Davis's official set, and they plied their trade day and night about the Spottswood House. The Richmond government wielded perhaps more power than its counterpart in Washington. The Confederacy was new, and avenues of power were everywhere. For example, about one thousand civil servants came with the government from Montgomery. The Confederacy eventually employed over seventy thousand civilians. 174 Add to this the number of military posts available, and the privilege of dispensing the "loaves and fishes" of official patronage presented decided political opportunities.

As civil servants, politicians, and hangers-on joined the military in Richmond, the new capital became horribly overcrowded. In the hotels men made their beds in parlors, halls, and on billiard tables. Vacant seats in the dining rooms produced a scramble among the hungry guests. One newcomer stated, "Such a thing as a clean room, a hot steak, or an answered bell were not to be bought by flagrant bribery." 175
Another sojourner complained, "Boarding is rising rapidly, and so are the blood-thirsty insects at the Carleton House." Boarding houses and rented dwellings eased the crush at the hotels, but Richmond would never be underpopulated. Despite some discomfort,

"Everyone connected with the government remarked the vast difference of its reception by the Richmond and Montgomery people."

Richmond, having given the invitation, made the best of it when accepted. The people united in a sincere effort to show a whole-hearted hospitality to all strangers deserving of it. Gentlemen in the government were received with frank and free-handed kindness; and even a wretch, who had wintered in the shade of Washington, was allowed to flutter about and not be shunned for by the double-barreled spectacles of every respectable dowager. Richmond had little time to scrutinize the government's hordes, for before capital or government could prepare herself, war began.

Throughout the spring Richmond's Council had made efforts to defend the city. Beside general aid to military organizations, the body appropriated $5,000 to the city's immediate defenses. Colonel Andrew Talcott of the State Engineer Corps put three topographical parties in the field and selected four or five positions for redoubts. By May 21 Talcott reported to Lee that work on two outworks would begin in a few days and estimated that six hundred men would
be sufficient to garrison the works. On June 8 Governor Letcher turned over Virginia's military organization to the Confederate government. Nevertheless, local work on Richmond's fortifications continued, as the city hands abandoned their usual street cleaning duties and joined impressed free negroes. However, on June 14 Lee, in his new capacity as military advisor to the President, wrote Governor Letcher expressing alarm at the slow progress of Richmond's defense preparations. Lee suggested that more laborers be found for the work on the fortifications, and that a home defense organization be formed and armed for any emergency. At the next meeting of Council on July 8 that body empowered the mayor to impress the services of free negroes as laborers. Council also appropriated $11,000 to arm and equip the Richmond Home Artillery, a unit commanded by Thomas H. Ellis and consisting of three 60-man companies. Such were the city's preparations on the eve of the first battle for its life.

Richmond's first "war news" was glorious. On June 10 the small contingent of Colonel John Imrie and repulsed a Union force two times its size in a "very animated" battle of two-and-a-half hours. The fight took place at Big Bethel Church on the Peninsula between the James and York Rivers. The Confederates
suffered eight casualties to the Federals' seventy-six. 184 Although the action involved little more than a frontal assault against artillery, the news of a victory stirred imaginations in Richmond. The confidence inspired collapsed, however, when a Union victory at Rich Mountain on July 11 canceled the success at Big Bethel. 185 But Richmonders knew that these engagements were petty. The great battle must come, and when it did, it would decide the fate of the young nation.

As the summer moved along the tension increased.

A hushed, feverish suspense—like the sultry stillness before the burst of the storm—brooded over the land, shared alike by the people and the government. 186

Suddenly most of the troops were gone. They had joined Beauregard near Manassas oragrader on the Peninsula. The citizens were alone in the city.

Richmond slept poorly, if at all, on the night of July 21. "Each disheveled and weary-looking man was stopped and surrounded by crowds..." 187 There had been fighting. The result was unclear. President Davis had gone to the front. In Mechanics Hall at Franklin and North Streets, a cluster of officials of the provisional government filtered and paced in the war office. The telegraph brought fragmentary dispatches as Secretary Walker cursed his office and
longed to be in the field. The entire Cabinet was present. Howell Cobb, President of the Provisional Congress, pronounced the battle a draw and an argument ensued. Then Judah Benjamin burst into the office and gave out the news. Benjamin had memorized the text of the President's telegram to Mrs. Davis, "Night has closed on a hard fought field. Our forces have won a glorious victory." Hunter's face shortened; Postmaster General Reagan's eyes resumed normal size; and Benjamin fairly glowed. There would indeed be a permanent government, and Richmond would be its capital.
NOTES

1. The firing at Sumter began at 4:30 A.M. on April 12, and J. B. Jones in *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* (Philadelphia, 1886), I, 16, states that "extras" announced the news of the engagement on the twelfth. News of Sumter's fall and the full reaction to the event came on Saturday, the thirteenth.


3. A more elaborate discussion of Virginia's course to secession follows on pp. 4-6.

4. Good accounts of the reaction to Sumter's fall in Richmond are found in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 15, 1861; the *Richmond Enquirer*, April 15, 1861; Sally Brock Putnam, *Richmond During the War: Four Years of Personal Observation* (New York, 1867), 18; and W. Asbury Christian, *Richmond, Her Past and Present* (Richmond, 1912), 215.

5. John Herbert Claiborne, *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia*, with some account of the life of the author and some history of the people amongst whom his lot was cast, --their character, their condition, and their conduct before the war, during the war, and after the war (New York and Washington, 1904), 173.


10. Ibid; *Dispatch*, April 15, 1861; Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 18; Christian, *Richmond, Her Past and Present*, 215.

12. Dispatch, April 15, 1861.
14. Enquirer, April 15, 1861; Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 21.
15. Dispatch, April 15, 1861.
17. Shanks, Secession Movement, 159-60.
18. Ibid., 190.
19. As the tide of popular enthusiasm ran more and more toward disunion, the Convention's moderates kept the body in session to await action from Washington and Montgomery, and also to prevent the call of another convention whose delegates would doubtless be more radical.
22. Ibid., 42.
23. Shanks, Secession Movement in Virginia, 156.
24. Dispatch, April 15, 1861; Frederick S. Daniel, ed., The Richmond Examiner During the War; or, the Writings of John M. Daniel With a Memoir of His Life (New York, 1868), 10.
25. Dispatch, April 15, 15, 1861.
26. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 17, wise told Jones that, in the event Virginia remained in the Union, he would offer his services to the Confederacy and fight against his state.
29. Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present, 216.
Lincoln told the commissioners, William Ballard Preston, George Wythe Randolph, and Alexander H. H. Stuart, that his inaugural address expressed his views. He had nothing to add to it.


31. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 20-21; Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, Reminiscences of Peace and War (New York, 1904), 122; Dispatch, April 16, 1861; Enquirer, April 18, 1861; Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present, 216.

32. J. N. Breneman, A History of Virginia Conventions (Richmond, 1903), 53-56.

33. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 22-23.

34. Enquirer, April 20, 1861.


36. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 20-21; Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present, 216; Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, 25; Enquirer, April 20, 1861; Dispatch, April 20, 1861.

37. Dispatch, April 20, 1861.


39. Enquirer, April 23, 1861.


41. J. B. Jones emphasizes this fear that Davis will not invade Virginia to save her from the ruin of the secession process (Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 26-27).

42. Davis to Letcher, April 19, 1861, Dunbar Rowland, ed., Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist; His Letters, Papers, and Speeches, 10 Vols. (Jackson, Mississippi, 1923), V, 64-65.

43. Davis to Letcher, April 22, 1861, telegraph, Ibid., 65.


46. Ibid., 743-744; Ordinances Adopted by the Convention of Virginia, in Secret and Adjourned Sessions in April, May, June and July 1861 (Richmond, 1861), 3-5.

47. Enquirer, May 3, 1861.

48. Dispatch, April 23, 1861.

49. T. C. DeLeon, Four Years in rebel Capitals: An Inside View of Life in the Southern Confederacy from Birth to Death (Mobile, 1890), 80.

50. For descriptions of Richmond see especially Agnes H. Bonar, Poe's Richmond (Richmond, 1942); S. Horaceal, Richmond in By-Gone Days (Richmond, 1855); and Mary Newton Stanard, Richmond, Its People and Its Story (Philadelphia, 1923).


52. B. G. Garner, Jr., "Political History of Richmond," Virginia Capital Bicentennial Commission, Richmond, "Sketches of Societies and Institutions, together with descriptions of phases of social, political and economic development in Richmond, Virginia" (Richmond, 1937), Part 31, 14; typed MS in Virginia State Library, Richmond.

53. Minutes of the Virginia Branch American Colonization Society, November 4, 1823-February 5, 1859, MS in Virginia Historical Society Library, Richmond. In 1854 the chapter raised $16,000 and sent 273 emigrants, and in 1858 the group called on ministers of Richmond's churches to make special collections to finance the work.


In many respects the observations of George Cary Eggleston (Keibel's recollections, 27) describe the atmosphere of Richmond's traditional, town-like political and social life.

It was a very beautiful and enjoyable life that the Virginians led in that ancient time, for it certainly seems ages ago, before the war came to turn ideas upside down and convert the picturesque Commonwealth into a commonplace, modern state. It was a soft, dreamy, deliciously quiet life, a life of repose, an old life, with all its
sharp corners and rough surfaces long ago worn round and smooth. Everything fitted everthing else, and every point in it was so well settled as to leave no work of improvement for anybody to do. The Virginians were satisfied with things as they were, and if there were reformers born among them, they went elsewhere to work changes. Society in the old Dominion was like a well-rolled and closely packed gravel walk, in which each pebble has found precisely the place it fits best. There was no giving way under one's feet, no uncomfortable grinding of loose materials as one walked about over the firm and long-used ways of the Virginian social life.


73. For direct mention of the influence of trade with the planters see Wise, "End of an Era," 63; and Mrs. David J. Greensberg, Through the Years: A Study of the Richmond Jewish Community (Richmond, 1955), 12.

74. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census, Statistics of the United States, (including mortality, property, etc.) in 1860; Compiled from the Original returns and Being the Final Exhibit of the Eighth Census, Under the Direction of the secretary of the Interior (Washington, 1860), XVIII.

75. U. S. Census Office, Eighth Census 1860, Manufactures of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original returns Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior (Washington, 1865), 216-17.

76. Ibid.


79. Catherine Cooper Hayley, Life in the South: from the Commencement of the War by a Blockaded British Subject, Being a Social History of Those who Took Part in the Battles, from a Personal Acquaintance with them in their Homes. From the Spring of 1860 to August, 1862 (London, 1863), I, 135.


82. De Leon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 87.


84. According to the statements published in the Enquirer, April 2, 1861, the leading banks in the city in order of capital were:

- Farmers Bank of Virginia: $3,150,900
- Exchange Bank of Virginia: $3,137,100
- Bank of Virginia: $2,651,250
- Bank of the Commonwealth: $1,074,300

85. One example of financial aid was Trader's Bank's $50,000 loan to the state, Enquirer, April 20, 1861.

86. Kathleen Bruce, Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era (New York, 1931), 323.


88. Bruce, Virginia Iron Manufacture, 342.

89. Ibid., 290-305.

90. Ibid., 277-80.

91. Ibid., 315-18.

92. Ibid., 345-7; cf. 381-3.


95. City of Richmond, Real Estate Tax Books, 1861, LSS in Virginia State Library, Richmond.

96. Dispatch, April 5, 1861; Enquirer, April 2, 1861.

97. Eighth Census, "Social Statistics."

98. T. C. DeLeon, Belles Beaux and Brains of the '60's (New York; 1907), 59.

99. Ibid.

100. See Mary Wingfield Scott, Old Richmond Neighborhoods (Richmond, 1950), for a thorough description of the city's residential areas and their inhabitants.

101. Eighth Census, "Social Statistics."


103. Eighth Census, "Social Statistics." In 1860 Richmond's 33 churches divided by creed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Congregations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
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<td>Methodists</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Episcopalians</td>
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<td>Presbyterians</td>
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<td>Roman Catholics</td>
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<td>Jews</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Lutherans</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Quakers</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Universalists</td>
<td>1</td>
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104. Ibid.

105. Tyler, Cyclopedia of Virginia Biography, III, 160.

106. Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present, 211.


110. Mary Boykin Chesnut, A Diary from Dixie, Ben Ames Williams, ed. (Boston, 1961), 30.


114. Enquirer, April 23, 1861; Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present, 216.

115. This writer will make no attempt to define fully the character of Lee. See Douglas S. Freeman, R. E. Lee, A Biography, 4 vols. (New York, 1934-1935).


117. Dispatch, April 23, 1861.
118. Almost everyone in the city recorded a good description of "Palmetto Sunday." See Dispatch, April 22, 1861; Enquirer, April 23, 1861; Putnam, Richmond During the War, 24-26; Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, 26; F. C. Selton, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 103-4; John H. Worsham, One of Jackson's Foot Cavalry. His Experience and That He Was During the War 1861-1865, Including a History of "F Company," Richmond, Va., 21st Regiment Virginia Infantry, Second Brigade, Jackson's Division, Second Corps., A. R. Va. (New York, 1912), 14-16.

119. Hoylay, Life in the South, I, 368.


121. Enquirer, April 27, 1861.

122. Ibid., April 23, 1861; Dispatch, April 30, 1861.

123. Whig, November 6, 1861.


125. Virginia troops were turned over to the national government in accord with the convention which allied the state with the government on June 8, 1861. Soon after the voters ratified the ordinance of secession. Although there was some dispute over ordinance supplies and works, Governor Letcher eventually honored the state's commitment. For a discussion of the friction between Virginia Chief of Ordnance Charles Dimmock and his Confederate counterpart Josiah Gorgas, see Frank L. Vandiver, Flowshares into Swords, Josiah Gorgas and Confederate Ordnance (Austin, 1952), 67-72; and Virginia Executive Council, Minute Book, 1861 in Virginia State Library, June 1, 7, 1861.

126. William Miller Owen, In Camp and Battle with the Washington Artillery of New Orleans: A Narrative of Events During the Late Civil War From Bull Run to Appomattox and Spanish Fort (Boston, 1865), 21.

127. Eggleston, Rebel's Recollections, 73.

128. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 32.

129. Ibid., 33.
130. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, 73.

131. *Dispatch*, June 8, June 15, 1861; Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 56.


133. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, 75.

134. Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 50.

135. Richmond City Council, Minute Book, as in Virginia State Library, minutes of April 24, 1861, and July 8, 1861.


137. Council, Minutes, April 13, 22, 1861.

138. Ibid., April 22, 1861; see *Enquirer*, April 29, 1861, for text of the ordinance. The example of action taken under the ordinance is the case of John Frost reported in the *Dispatch*, May 7, 9, 10, 1861.

139. Council, Minutes, April 22, 1861.

140. *Dispatch*, May 4, 1861; Council, Minutes, May 13, 23, 1861.

141. Council, Minutes, June 5, 1861.

142. For examples see *Enquirer*, April 23, 25, and May 10, 1861.


146. Council, Minutes, May 25, 1861.

148. Enquirer, April 27, 1861.

149. Dispatch, May 30, 1861; Enquirer, May 31, 1861.


151. For a good physical description of Davis see Jones, Rebel War Clerk’s Diary, 36-37. Standard works on Davis’s character and life include William S. Dodd, Jefferson Davis (Philadelphia, 1907); Hamilton J. Eckenrode, Jefferson Davis, President of the South (New York, 1925); and Hudson Strode, Jefferson Davis (New York, 1935-64).

152. Varina Howell Davis, Jefferson Davis, ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir by His Wife (New York, 1890), II, 10.


154. Best exponents of this view of Davis were Edward A. Pollard, The First Year of the War (corrected and improved edition, Richmond, 1862), 265-66; and later Clifford Dowdey, The Land They Fought For: The Story of the South as the Confederacy, 1862-1865 (Garden City, New York, 1937).


156. Dispatch, June 3, 1861.

157. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 102-3.

158. Jones, Rebel War Clerk’s Diary, 46.

159. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 87.

160. Council, Minutes, June 8, 10, 1861.

161. Dispatch, July 9, 1861.

162. Council paid $3288 for the President’s Board from May 29 to August 1, Council Minutes, August 14, 1861.
163. See Douglas S. Freeman, the South to posterity: 
an Introduction to the Writings of Confederate 
History (New York, 1926), 126-34; T. C. DeLeon, 
Belles Beaux and Brains of the '60's (New York, 
1907), 66-65; and Varina Howell Davis, Memoir, 
II, 202-210. The standard work on Mrs. Davis 
is From Nowland, Varina Howell, Wife of Jefferson 
Davis (New York, 1931).

164. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 60.

165. Dispatch, June 1, 1861.

166. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 60.

167. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 62-64.

168. Letter of Mrs. Digfall, May 30, 1861, quoted in 
Mrs. D. Circuit Wright, A Southern girl in '61: 
The War-Time Memoirs of a Confederate Senator's 
Daughter (New York, 1905), 55.

169. Dispatch, May 30, June 4, 1861; Inquirer, June 4, 
1861.

170. The standard biography of Benjamin is Robert D. 
Leckie, Judah P. Benjamin: Confederate Statesman 
(New York, 1943).


172. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, 60.

173. See copy of article in New York Leader quoted in 
Charles G. Rayburn to Hunter, April 14, 1861, 
in Charles Henry Amsler, Correspondence of Robert 
H. T. Hunter, 1826-1875, American Historical 
Vol. II.

174. Paul F. Van Nipper and Harry N. Schreiber, "The 
Confederate Civil Service," Journal of Southern 
History, XIX (November, 1953), 450-51.

175. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 86-87.

176. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 47.

177. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 103.

178. Council, Minutes, June 3, 1861.

180. Ibid., 864.

181. Dispatch, June 7, 1861.


183. Council, Minutes, July 5, 1861.


186. Ibid., 120.

187. Ibid., 124.

188. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 65-66; for text of Davis's telegram see Enquirer, July 26, 1861.
PART II

"Hells and be damned!"
1. Adolescent Capital

Jefferson Davis returned to his capital on the night of July 23. Standing before an immense concourse of Richmond populace gathered outside the Spottswood House, Davis delivered a glowing account of the glorious battle of Manassas. The President praised his generals, Johnston and Beauregard, and the Old War Horse described the maneuvers which had brought victory. Although declining any direct credit for the triumph, Davis recalled how wounded soldiers had cheered him as their leader, and how his presence had rallied the broken ranks to the final victorious charge. The President delighted his audience by descriptions of the immense quantities of supplies left on the field by the fleeing Federals. He closed by lauding the gallantry of Southern arms, but warning this throng of citizens before him that a hard fight still remained. However, on this night, no one in Richmond would despair of the eventual Southern victory.

Some in the mob which heard and cheered the President that night were disappointed that Davis had not taken literally his constitutional role as Commander-in-Chief and personally led his army. Perhaps Davis himself shared this disappointment. Still others, in the days that followed, would lament the failure of
the Confederates to pursue their foes into Washington and seize the rival capital. But for now the single triumph would suffice.

"Men were beside themselves with joy and pride, --drunk with glory." The Dispatch in reporting the arrival of Davis stated, "The excitement in the city yesterday reached a height such as we never before witnessed." The Whig termed the collision at Manassas the "greatest battle since that of Waterloo," and the Enquirer abandoned all restraint: "Then let the songs of rejoicing swell through all our beautiful land, for God hath given us the victory! Let our whole people join in the loud and joyful acclaim...This day our freedom and independence stand secure!" In this hour following a glorious victory and the President's triumphal return, Richmond was an exultant capital. But during the weeks to come, Richmond would learn the cost of her exultation and the price of being capital of a nation at war.

Casualties of the great battle arrived in three waves. On the first wave the walking wounded stumbled into the city. Special trains carrying the coffins came next. The body of South Carolina's General Bartow lay in state at the Capitol, while many of his comrades filled new graves at Hollywood, Oakwood, and Shockoe cemeteries. Finally came stretchers bearing the seri-
ously wounded. As each train arrived:

The whole city was there—the rich merchant—the rough laborer—the heavy features of the sturdy serving-woman—the dusky, but loving face of the negro—the delicate profile of the petted belle—all strained forward in the same intent gaze, as car after car was emptied of its ghastly freight.ι

After a time the Dispatch implored its readers to stay away from the depot, as the crush there was impeding the removal of the wounded.ιι

The day after the battle many Richmond people had answered Mayor Mayo's call for a mass meeting in Capitol Square to make arrangements for care of the wounded. The citizens appointed one committee to go to Manassas and aid in bringing the soldiers to Richmond and another committee to secure facilities for the care of the military men in the city.ιιι Hospital accommodations in Richmond were painfully limited, and until more could be provided, "Almost every house in the city was a private hospital, and almost every woman a nurse."ιιιι Richmond's citizen committee solicited rooms, nurses, and supplies for the wounded, while a sub-committee called on those in the surrounding countryside to donate fresh farm produce to the effort.ιιιιι R. H. Dickinson offered free of charge his St. Charles Hotel at the corner of Main and Wall Streets as a hospital, and the day after President Davis's return, Charles Bates was collecting volunteer cooks and nurses for the new
hospital at the Second Market, on Sixth Street between Marshall and Broad. Within a month Richmonders had contributed nearly eight thousand dollars to care for 1336 patients. The City Council resolved to pay the cost of medicine for soldiers lodged with private families or cared for by voluntary associations. Council also provided a lot in Oakwood Cemetery for the interment of soldiers who died in the city. Almost totally unprepared for the large numbers of casualties, Richmonders met the crisis individually with a generous spirit that in the ensuing years would win the praise and admiration of many a wounded man. Convalescent soldiers would remember Richmond as the residence, not of government officials, but of brave and kindly ladies. Senator Wigfall's daughter recalled a

...droll story of one of these ministering angels in the hospital when she approached the bedside of an ill soldier. He looked wan and weary and infinite pity filled her heart. 'Can I not do something for you?' she asked. 'Would you like me to bathe your face?' He raised his eyes and looked at her, replying in dead earnest, with real gratitude for her good intentions, and not the slightest appreciation of the humor of the situation:

'I have had it washed seventeen times to-day, Miss, but you can do it again if you want to.'

To channel the city's patriotic energies, benevolent associations were formed in Richmond by many leading citizens and sojourners. Richmond's Young Men's
Christian Association established a depot on Main Street to collect and distribute articles for the sick and wounded. The ladies of St. James Episcopal Church secured the home of Judge John Robertson and converted it into a hospital. Several ladies opened "Soldiers Rest" in a school building on Clay Street. Throughout the fall and winter local amateurs and touring professionals presented benefit concerts in behalf of wounded soldiers and families of volunteers.

Men and women from other Confederate States who were residing in Richmond organized and operated hospitals for their state's wounded soldiers. Mrs. A. F. Hopkins established an Alabama hospital on August 1 and eventually managed 4 hospitals in the city.

One of her nurses remembered:

She neglected no detail of business or other thing that could afford aid or comfort to the sick or wounded. She kept up a voluminous correspondence, made in person every purchase for her charges, received and accounted for hundreds of boxes from Alabama containing clothing and delicacies for the sick, and visited the wards of the hospitals every day.

President of the Provisional Congress Howell Cobb presided over a meeting of the city's Georgians on August 24. The group selected an executive committee to found a hospital in Richmond and solicit funds from Georgia. By December there were three Georgia hospitals in the capital. In September South Carolina natives occupied a hospital in Manchester South of the James
near Mayo Bridge. 24 During the coming years citizens of North Carolina, Louisiana, and Texas would establish hospital facilities in Richmond for their state's troops. 25 Although the state hospitals primarily served the wounded from their respective states, in the aftermath of battle the soldier's birthplace made no difference. When Mrs. Chesnutt asked if there were Carolinians in one hospital, a matron expressed the spirit prevailing in Richmond hospitals, "I never ask where the sick and wounded come from." 26

Although the flood of wounded after great battles would always necessitate individual volunteer efforts in Richmond, the Confederate Government operated the largest hospital facilities in the city. As the casualties poured in from Manassas, Confederate Surgeon General S. P. Moore dispatched many of them to Richmond's new Alms House. The municipal building became General Hospital Number One, and its former inmates were gainfully employed as a maintenance staff. 27 After a tour of the city's hospitals in mid-August, a Whig reporter pronounced the General Hospital best managed. 28 The Surgeon General was a brusque man who offended fellow officers and private citizens with equal facility. However, one of his most critical subordinates conceded that "...he was an able executive officer, and I believe an efficient and impartial one." 29 Impeded by shortages of drugs, trained personnel, and equipment,
Moore's bureau would establish and operate twenty-eight general hospitals in wartime Richmond. 30

Richmond's greatest medical asset was Dr. William Brown McCaw, entrepreneur. In the fall of 1861 the thirty-eight year old Richmonder received authority from Surgeon General Moore to convert some recently constructed barracks on Chimborazo Hill into a military hospital. McCaw secured for his hospital the status of an independent army post, and aided by the resultant freedom of action, he built the largest military hospital in the world. 31 Chimborazo Hospital treated 76,000 patients during the war and maintained a mortality rate of less than ten per cent. The complex covered the slopes of the Chimborazo Hill with 150 buildings accommodating 40 to 60 patients each and 100 tents providing space for eight to ten convalescents each. McCaw supported his enterprise by commuting patients' rations into money. With the money drawn from the Commissary Department in lieu of food, McCaw not only supplied his charges with food, but also financed the remainder of his hospital's work. The commandant and his energetic staff baked up to 10,000 loaves of bread a day in Chimborazo's bakery, made soup in boilers from the Grant and Mayo tobacco factories, and stored as many as 400 kegs of home brewed beer in caves under the eastern end of the hill. Several hundred cows and goats belonging to the hospi-
tal grazed Tree Hill Farm loaned to the hospital by its patriotic owner. The hospital's canal boat the Chimborazo made regular trips to Lynchburg to secure provisions. Even in times of great scarcity McCaw's operation was so successful that, in addition to the hospital's great medical service, Chimborazo showed a profit. At the war's close the Confederate Treasury owed the hospital $300,000 in repayment of a loan.\textsuperscript{32}

By September 17 the \textit{Enquirer} reported fifteen hospitals in Richmond.\textsuperscript{33} A report on hospitals presented to the Provisional Congress by William H. MacFarland stressed the need for more attention to cleanliness, but found conditions generally favorable.\textsuperscript{34} Perhaps the most representative statement on the work being done in Richmond's hospitals during the latter half of 1861 came in response to the request of a doctor's wife for some new finery from the capital. Dr. Jacob Harrison wrote his wife, "I have not time to do any business at all.\textsuperscript{35}

However much the large influx of wounded warriors after Manassas burdened Richmond's resources and energies, sick and wounded were welcome guests in the city. The approximately one thousand Federal prisoners brought into Richmond following the battle were an entirely different matter. In August:

\textit{Mrs. [George Wythe] Randolph presided in all her beautiful majesty at an aid association. The ladies were old ones, and all wanted their own way. They were cross-}
grained and contradictory, and the blood would mount rebelliously in Mrs. Randolph's clear-cut cheek, but she held her own with dignity and grace. One of the causes of disturbance was that Mrs. Randolph proposed to divide everything sent in equally with the Yankee wounded and sick prisoners. Some were enthusiastic from a Christian point of view; some shouted in wrath at the bare idea of putting our noble soldiers on a par with Yankees, living, dying or dead. Shriill and long and loud it was;...36

Richmond was immensly proud of her captured "abolitionists." For a time curiosity-seekers gathered at the depot and lined the streets in front of improvised prisons to catch a glimpse of "Lincoln's hirelings." Among the Manassas prisoners was the Honorable Alfred Ely, Congressman from New York, who had driven down to watch the engagement. The spectacle of a captured congressman became such an attraction in Richmond that several fellow prisoners suggested Ely be "caged" and a fee charged for seeing him.37 The city mocked its captives by reminding them that their "on to Richmond" desires had been fulfilled, but Richmonders seldom, if ever, jeered or reviled the Federals as they passed through the streets to prison.38 For all their pride in possessing prisoners, the Confederates at Richmond had little idea what to do with them. A Richmond minister remembered:

They had not been expected in such numbers, and due preparation had not been made for their reception. There was not a Confederate official in the land who had any
experience in taking care of prisoners of war. They were therefore necessarily subjected to many inconveniences and privations, which a suddenly improvised commissariat and superintending staff could not at once remedy. They slept upon the floor on their blankets, if they had been thoughtful enough to bring any, and ate their rations from their fingers, or spread them out on boxes or barrel-heads. 39

The Confederates confined the Manassas prisoners in converted warehouses or factories near the James River. The warehouse and ship chandlery belonging to the estate of Luther Libby became Libby Prison, best known among Richmond's prisons. As the numbers of prisoners increased, only the Union officers remained in buildings. A maze of tents on Belle Isle in the James River housed the enlisted men. During the three months following Manassas the Confederates brought 2,685 prisoners to Richmond. 40 Brigadier General John H. Winder, commander of the Department of Henrico and commandant of the Richmond prisons, wisely envisioned Richmond as only a receiving station from which the government could dispatch their captives to locations farther from the war zone. 41 Although the authorities did send many prisoners south, Richmond retained from fourteen to eighteen hundred throughout the fall of 1861. 42 The presence of these unwelcome guests presented a constant threat to the city in the event of a wholesale jail delivery. In addition the prisoners
consumed a portion of Richmond's limited supplies of food and fuel. To the misfortune of both the city and the prisoners, the numbers of men crowded into warehouse prisons would increase, and the "tent city" on Belle Isle would grow.

The Federal's reaction to their makeshift quarters and improvised treatment varied. One of the best and perhaps the most complimentary descriptions of General Winder came from his prisoner Alfred Ely. The stern, sixty-five year old commandant with his "striking and commanding" appearance

...has treated me with the utmost kindness and respect, and his demeanor and general courtesy of manner, when he visits the officers, indicate a strict disciplinarian, it is true; but a person at the same time of humane feelings, and not disposed to exercise his power beyond its proper limits. 43

Although one prisoner stated that only one of ten wounded prisoners survived brutal amputations in Richmond, 44 another wounded captive carved a magnificent pipe from mahogany and beef bones to present to his doctor. 45 The prisoners' food consisted primarily of bread, water, and beef; but in the early months captives were allowed to purchase coffee, tea, butter, and the like at an average cost of $2.50 a week. 46 As a general rule the guards enforced prison regulations sternly. They killed one prisoner for violating a rule against leaning from a window. 47 However,
Confederate Lieutenant Todd, Mrs. Lincoln's half-brother, only prohibited servants to purchase items for the prisoners when one prisoner became obstreperously drunk from his purchases. Alfred Ely became president of the Richmond Prison Association, an inmate organization which met for speeches, toasts, and songs. The Association later served to orient new prisoners and supply them with the eating utensils and bedding of exchanged prisoners. In the confusion of the first weeks of war, however, such luxuries were scarce. On August 17 a sentry brought Ely two blankets, and said that they were the gift of Jefferson Davis. Thus for the first time in four weeks the Congressman slept "separate and apart" from his trousers.

These first prisoners gave the Confederate Government its opportunity to regularize wartime relations with the United States. In November the Rebels chose prisoner Michael Corcoran at random and threatened to execute him if authorities in Philadelphia carried out a death sentence passed on a Confederate naval officer for treason. Thirteen Libby inmates spent almost two months in a 17 x 11 foot cell as hostages for a like number of Confederates held in New York as pirates. In December the Richmond Government exchanged Congressman Ely for Charles James Faulkner, a Virginian taken prisoner when he returned from a
United States mission to France. These actions reinforced the Confederacy's Belligerent Rights recognized in the previous spring by Britain and France. Under prevailing international law belligerency, a halfway status between rebellion and nationhood, guaranteed equal rights to Southern ships and soldiers. Holding prisoners of war as hostages and bargaining an exchange of prominent civilians were crude methods. But during the opening months of war, these arrangements seemed necessary to a people fighting to become a recognized nation.

Maimed Confederates and Yankee prisoners were vivid reminders of war's stern realities. Richmond soon adjusted to these less glorious features of war, but the city would never again view the conflict as the happy picnic it had been the previous spring. Even if the Enquirer suggested that mourners not wear black because of the added expense to the bereaved and its depressing effect on the rest of the city, Richmonders had very little of war's expense spared them or war's horror hidden from their eyes.

Almost every aspect of the city's life felt the war's impact. In the months following Manassas Richmond was the most governed city in the land. The Confederate seat of government was also the capital of Virginia and the home of viable local governing machinery. For a time during the fall of 1861 the
Confederate Congress, Virginia General Assembly, Virginia Constitutional Convention, and City Council all met in Richmond and legislated for her citizens. Astoundingly enough, relations among these bodies were generally amicable.

Richmond's Council waited until mid-October to begin charging the Confederates for gas to light their offices. Beside paying the President's expenses at the Spottswood House and offering to furnish him with a permanent residence, Council loaned the Confederate treasury $50,000. By early November the city fathers had appropriated $10,000 for equipping Richmond volunteers, $5,000 for support of volunteers' families, and $15,000 of an estimated $100,000 eventually necessary for erecting fortifications about the city.

Further manifestation of the Council's contribution to the national war effort was its sale to the Confederate authority of horses originally purchased for local defense. In nearly all of these actions Council had performed locally a function of the national government.

Relations between city and state were also rather good during this period. Richmond's Council had financed emergency wartime expenditures by issuing notes on the city's credit. When this issue was found to violate state law, signers of the notes, Council President
David J. Saunders and Finance Committee Chairman Peachy Gratton, were threatened with prosecution. Rich-
mond's delegates in the General Assembly, however, were able to legalize the issuance of notes for less than one dollar. The crisis passed, and Richmonders secured the small change needed to supplement Con-
federate paper.

Compromise settled another minor crisis between state and city. In July the Council had authorized and financed a battery of Home Artillery commanded by Colonel Thomas Ellis. Three militia companies had organized and stood ready in case war came close to the city. Virginia's military authorities, however, first seized the unit's guns for use in the field and then proposed to muster the men into the regular army. Ellis's troops, who had enlisted for purely local action, felt the state's actions a breach of faith, and only 25 appeared for the mustering-in cere-
mony. After an exchange of published letters between Colonel Ellis and Governor Letcher and after another mustering fiasco, Letcher disbanded the unit and re-
moved the source of the problem for the disputants.

Friction among Richmonders and their governments was perhaps inevitable. If the city and state found ways to compromise differences over notes and home defense units, Confederate congressmen never stopped
complaining of crowded conditions and high prices in Richmond's hotels and boarding houses.\(^6^4\) In September the Irish mechanics at the Tredegar Works struck for higher wages and threatened to go over to the Confederate Armory if their demands went unheeded.\(^6^5\) Such chronic problems as the scarcity of skilled mechanics would always threaten the unity of the war effort. However, considering the state rights political philosophy which underlay the Confederacy's origin, the accord among local, state, and national governments in Richmond was little short of amazing.\(^6^6\)

Despite the abundance of law-makers and governments in the city, Richmond suffered in these first months of the war from a decided lack of domestic tranquility. Along with the generals and great public men came the hangers-on and barroom generals. A Confederate officer in the city on business related:

> It is quite amusing to stand about the bar rooms of the Hotels and hear the plots and plans laid for Mr. Lincoln's Army by our Hotel politicians and there are a great number of them... They talk as if the direction of the Army should be with them. Certainly if they act as they talk some big guns will go off for they use such great swelling words about Beauregard, Davis and Johnston that one would think they were mere pigmies in the hands of these intellectual giants.\(^6^7\)

One wartime resident noted that "all the loose population along the railroad... seemed to have clung to
and been rolled into Richmond with it."^68 Most of the excitement-seekers and place-mongers were harmless enough, but with the curious and honest came less worthy elements.

Stringent laws and constant raiding by the night watch never drove the gamblers from the capital. One of Richmond's police officers recalled "that the sporting fraternity had friends from the slums to the pulpit."^69 They usually occupied the upper floors of the stores on Main Street, and specialized in faro. The "Hells," as they were called, segregated their guests into two rooms according to wealth and social status. Prominent men and heavy gamblers refreshed themselves with elegant food and drink from the house buffet, and the humble players too ate and drank at house expense.

So in Richmond high and low gambled—some dashingly and brilliantly—a few sullenly and doggedly going in for gain. Few got badly hurt, getting more in the equivalent of wines, cigars, and jolly dinners than they gave.^70

During the fall of 1861 the Richmond police made seven raids on gambling operations. One proprietor John A. Worsham attempted unsuccessfully to prosecute one of the ax-wielding officers for trespass. As a climax to the fall raids, on December 27 tables, cards, and other impounded gambling devices made a
very large bonfire on Broad Street. Tucker DeLeon recalled the "Hells" nostalgically:

They looked upon the hell as a club—and as such used it freely, spending what they had and whistling over their losses. When they had money to spare they played; when they had no money to spare—or otherwise—they smoked their cigars, drank their toddies and met their friends in chaff and gossip, with no idea that there was a moral or social wrong.

Regardless of their ultimate morality, the gambling houses did not always bring such a wholesome element into Richmond's population. And activities were not always conducted genially. At eight o'clock on the morning of December 7 James McCullogh shot and killed Washington J. Wortham in a duel which grew out of slanders made on McCullogh's honesty. McCullogh, though wounded, left town two days later, and by December 11 so scattered were the witnesses that a coroner's inquest concluded that Wortham's death came "from a pistol fired by someone unknown to the jury."

Unfortunately few of Richmond's law-breakers adhered to the code duello. An indignant citizen remembered, "Thieving, garroting, and murdering were the nightly employments of the villains who prowled around the city..." Richmond police made 214 arrests during July, and the number grew. Most of the offenses were petty, but vexing nevertheless. A man named Ramm went to jail as a "nuisance and a pest" because he declared himself in favor of Lincoln.
Drunken soldiers and quarreling women crowded the Mayor's courtroom daily. The *Whig* diplomatically stated, "In the aggregate, no army in the world is composed of more quiet and orderly soldiers, but the exceptions are numerous enough to justify more rigid discipline at the camp." On August 5 Mayor Mayo warned soldiers not to slash watermelons with their bowie knives or throw the melons into the air and catch them on their bayonets. Police arrested ten soldiers during one brawl in the Old Market. The third tier at the Richmond Theatre became a "refuge for rowdies," and the *Whig* reported that "people huddle together at Metropolitan Hall in most indecent manner." The *Dispatch* summed up the situation by opening an article, "Our readers have by this time become prepared for hearing of almost any sort of diabolism..." and continuing by reporting another bold robbery. The lawlessness in the young capital shocked and horrified the hitherto quiet, provincial city.

Richmond's City Council helped combat the rising crime rate by raising the walls around the jail courtyard and by increasing the day police force from eight to eleven officers. By Christmas of 1861, 72 night watchmen patrolled the city. In February Mayor
Mayo reactivated the city's "chain gang" to ease the
dress pressure on Richmond's bulging jail. Justice in
the Mayor's court usually required the miscreant to
post a surety to guarantee his future good behavior.
Failure to meet the surety resulted in jail sentences
or "chain gang" labor.

The President himself joined the municipal au-
thorities' efforts to curb disorder in the capital.
Small boys in Richmond since time immemorial had banded
into neighborhood gangs called "cats" for fierce rock
battles, and the coming of war incited their martial
ardor all the more. One Sunday the "Hill cats" from
Shockoe Hill engaged the "Butcher cats" from "Butcher-
town," and Davis's young Negro serving boy returned
home with a bloody scalp wound. The President then
strode to the battleground and attempted mediation.
After his address to the warring parties, one "Butcher
cat" explained, "President, we like you, we didn't
want to hurt any of your boys, but we ain't never
goin' to be friends with them Hill cats." Davis was
perhaps consoled in his failure as a juvenile diplo-
mat by the fact that the Mayor's fines and switchings
also had little effect on the belligerent "cats." 

Undoubtedly the surgeon-in-charge of the third
Georgia Hospital devised the most ingenious deterrent
to lawbreaking in Richmond. Having no guard house,
this resourceful officer locked offending patients and staff in the hospital Dead House. Thereafter, he told an inspecting officer, he "never heard anything more from them." 86

The influx of wounded soldiers, prisoners, governments, and lawbreakers bewildered and often disturbed Richmonders. But war's effect on the capital's economy distressed them even more. Business patterns in the city became chaotic, as proprietors joined the army and as new merchants and alien customers filled the capital. On the surface all seemed well. French Consul Alfred Paul reported that the Federal blockade had affected prices in a "crushing manner," but that all the people seemed to care about was arms for the troops. 87 Newcomer Tucker DeLeon recounted, "Every branch of industry seemed to receive fresh impetus; and houses that had for years plodded on in moldy obscurity shot...up to first class business." 88

One interesting index gives some hint as to what was really happening in the city's market places. During 1860 Richmonders owned pleasure carriages and coaches at the rate of one for every 9.0 tax-paying males. In 1861 the ratio increased to one per 7.6 tax-payers. Although the population increased in the same period, the aggregate value of personal property fell over $200,000. The average citizen's wealth,
then, declined. But a few Richmonders became affluent enough to purchase their own carriages. Apparently, Richmond's economic adjustment to war proved difficult for many, but profitable for a few.

A January, 1862, report of the City Council's Finance Committee defined the dominant commercial trends during the first year of war. The first portion of the report dealt with Davis, Dupree and Company's petition requesting a refund of their license tax, because they had dissolved their auction business. In this case, however, Chairman Peachy Gratton's committee found that Davis, Dupree and Company merely ceased to attract customers.

If this should be considered sufficient reason for remitting a tax, the council may expect to be flooded with petitions for the remission of taxes; as it has, unhappily, been the case during the past year that many persons in the city have found their business unprofitable and have stopped it; and to remit the taxes in all such cases will materially and injuriously affect the finances of the city.

The second half of the committee's report recommended extending the time allowed for new businessmen to apply for licenses. The extension would accommodate the large numbers of new enterprises. Richmond experienced intense business activity in 1861. Yet war brought a great turn-over in Richmond's commercial economy, and many of the city's business houses passed
into new hands or out of the picture.

Very few average citizens recognized these shifting economic currents. They did notice the rapid rise in the cost and the scarcity of life's necessities. Refugees from occupied areas of Virginia swelled an already expanded population. One of the displaced recorded in her diary:

Spent this day in walking from one boarding-house to another, and have returned fatigued and hopeless. I do not believe there is a vacant spot in the city. A friend, who considers herself nicely fixed, is in an uncarpeted room, and so poorly furnished, that, besides her trunk, she has only her wash-stand drawer in which to deposit her goods and chattels; and yet she amuses herself at it, and seems never to regret her handsomely furnished chamber in Alexandria.92

Next day the woman found a place, but the owner asked a rent only three dollars less than her husband's salary.

Government jobs and expanded industry yielded greater employment opportunities for the poor. Still the inflated Confederate currency often reduced people living on fixed salaries to dire circumstances. During the four months between September, 1861, and January, 1862, all grades of flour advanced at least one dollar per barrel. Butter rose from 26 cents a pound to 40 cents a pound. The Union blockade doubled the cost of coffee in the same period,93 and Richmonders were
already using compounds of sorghum seed, corn, sweet potatoes, chestnuts, and chicory as substitutes. Common whiskey advanced from 65 cents to $1.50 per gallon, and the local Sons of Temperance became more successful in recruiting new members. The blockade, lack of sufficient transportation facilities, wartime disruption of farming, and the presence of an ever-consuming army were the basic causes of these high prices. Distraught Richmonders, however, blamed speculators and extortioners. Surely this class existed, but, relative to food prices, they were more symptom than cause of the city's economic ills.

While the majority of Richmond citizens accepted stoically war's privations, others seemed actually to enjoy themselves amid the suffering. For a time amusements and social gatherings were shunned by all. Sewing and knitting for the soldiers came first. Mrs. Chesnut recorded, "I do not know when I have seen a woman without knitting in her hand." Then to the delight of Tucker DeLeon:

...human nature and inclination still held their own; and there were many defections from the ranks of the elect, to those of more practical—and probably equally well intentioned—pleasure seekers.

Many social activities, such as sewing circles, combined self-sacrifice with enjoyment. After attending benefit concerts the audience often had the "jolliest
little suppers" until the "wee small hours." Mrs. Chesnut recorded in her diary a trip to Pizzini's, "that very best of Italian confectioners," followed by a visit to Miss Sally Tomkins Hospital to distribute delicacies to the wounded soldiers.

The coming of fall intensified social activity in Richmond. The theater reopened; minstrels appeared in Metropolitan Hall; a benefit lecture series began; the Fairfield Race Course held a three-day meet. Among the conglomerate native and official society the Mallorys, MacFarlands, Randolphs, Chesnuts, and Clays were some of the most active entertainers. Mrs. Clement Clay, wife of an Alabama senator, smiled when recalling her maid's insistence on packing ball gowns in case they might be needed.

The President was so wearied by his duties that Mrs. Davis remembered, "We ceased to entertain except at formal receptions or informal dinners and breakfasts given to as many as Mr. Davis's health permitted us to invite. In the evening he was too exhausted to receive informal visitors." Hetty, Jennie, and Connie Cary were Richmond's brightest belles of the "Season," and soon admirers termed the cousins "Cary's Invincibles." The Whig reported Christmas Day in the city:
The sidewalks were thronged all day by the crowds whom the sunshine and pursuit of pleasure attracted to the streets. The boys 'kept Christmas' by firing crackers and torpedoes, the supply of which seemed as interminable as on any preceding Christmas. Indoors, the day was spent in receiving calls and dispensing hospitality. Egg nog and other creature comforts were provided in many households, for the entertainment of visitors, and the grand feature of the day—a sumptuous dinner—was enjoyed by thousands at the numerous family reunions which take place every Christmas. 104

Robert E. Lee exemplified the median in Richmond's attitude toward pleasure-seeking and "creature comforts." Even in the grim winter days of 1864 the General encouraged dances in the city, that his officers might find release and relaxation. But Lee never allowed himself frivolity. To one who did he looked "so cold, quiet, and grand." 105

During the first months of 1862 while the capital fretted about the price of food and the propriety of attending the theater, the nation tottered. Death and defeat gave the city something more substantial about which to worry. On January 18 John Tyler died in his room at the Ballard House. 106 Richmond had recently chosen the ex-President of the United States to represent her in the Confederate Congress, and his death dissolved a link with the past.

In February Forts Henry and Donaldson fell and opened the Tennessee River to Federal gun-boats and
the road to Nashville to Union armies. Also in February Roanoke Island, North Carolina, fell to the Yankees. Henry A. Wise had commanded a numerically inferior force on the island (the Enquirer gave the numbers as 450 against 5,000). Wise's son, Richmond editor O. Jennings Wise, died in the futile defense. Richmond people filled St. James Church for the funeral and many more watched the somber procession to Hollywood Cemetery. A minister's wife noticed that the chaplain wore his uniform and wrote in her diary, "It was strange to see the bright military buttons gleam beneath the canonicals. Every thing is strange now!" Surely these disasters were not the soldiers' fault. So the capital began to wonder about her leaders.

High placed carping and quarrels there had been. During the few months of its existence, the Confederacy had spawned rifts between the "starving" army and Commissary General Northrup, General Joseph Johnston and President Davis, Mrs. Johnston and Mrs. Davis, Senator Wigfall and Davis, Judah Benjamin and General Beauregard, General John Winder and Benjamin, and between a host of other officials. As early as August Mrs. Chesnut noted that her friend Mrs. Davis "is utterly upset. She is beginning to hear the carping and fault-finding to which the President is subjected." George William Bagby, editor of the South-
ern Literary Messenger, scribbled his thoughts on a
blank page in the rear of his journal:

We have reached a very dark hour in
the history of this struggle. I do not
say the cause will fail, but the chances
are all against us....Cold, haughty, pea-

vish, narrow-minded, pig-headed, mali-
gnant, he [President Davis] is the cause.

...While he lives, there is no hope for
us. God alone can save us. Will He? 116

Richmond's press divided sharply on the merits
of Davis's administration during the February adversi-
ties. The Whig screamed for an investigation of the
Roanoke Island debacle. 117 On February 19 the Examiner
thundered:

The game we are in is no child's play.
We must fight our best; we must persist
in the struggle to the last, or consent
to a fate too miserable to contemplate.
We must go to work with greater earnest-
ness than we have yet shown. We must
discard luxury and ease. We must put
down incompetence; cease to put our trust
in pigmies, and listen no longer to pedants. 118

The Enquirer and Dispatch rallied behind Davis. The
Dispatch termed the President the "impersonation of
the principles and spirit of the free and valiant
people over whom he had been called to preside." 119

The Enquirer struck to the heart of the matter:

The press has its duty. The people
have theirs. That duty consists not
in cynical fault-finding, in illiberal
suspicions, in useless criminations—
but in encouraging a union of hearts
and a union of hands in maintaining
the independence of our beloved country! 120
On February 22, the anniversary of George Washington's birth, Jefferson Davis took his oath as permanent President of the Confederate States, as rain soaked the onlookers in Capital Square. Davis's inaugural address was heartening. After some remarks about Yankee tyranny, the President faced the issues confronting his own government. Frankly, honestly, he admitted that there had been mistakes. He resolved to correct them and earnestly sought the assistance of his countrymen.

The umbrellas and carriage roofs of her citizens hid Richmond's reaction to the President's message. After the wild joy of Manassas, Richmonders had experienced confusion and frustration. They asked why the victory at Manassas had not been pressed. They agonized over the wounded men in their homes and "adopted" patients in the hospitals. Drunken soldiers, gamblers, and thieves disturbed their peace. Richmonders sacrificed to support the cause and to feed their families, and lately they wondered if others were doing the same. They believed in the gallantry of the Southern soldier, and they could not comprehend military disaster. Richmond was still bewildered by new people, new expedients, and new pressures. But in the midst of anxiety was the knowledge that Richmond had faced the war's challenges and endured
its discomforts. On this rainy inaugural day, the President said that this was the country's "darkest hour." But then he invoked the blessing of God and of his countrymen upon his government that the cause might prevail. And Richmond answered with soggy, determined "cheer after cheer."

2. The Yankees are Coming

Rain continued to fall in Richmond until far into the night. Inauguration ceremonies ended in the early afternoon; and as soon as the President had finished his address, the members of Congress trooped back into the Capitol wondering if they would ever again be warm and dry. The Senate quickly adjourned. In the House Tennessee Congressman Henry S. Foote seized the floor and began calling for a committee to investigate the Secretary of War's preparations for the nation's defense. More important considerations prevailed, however, as the Representatives responded gratefully to Virginia Congressman William Smith's motion to adjourn in order to remedy the sodden state of feet and clothing. That night the President and Mrs. Davis held a Washington-style levee in the executive mansion. Jefferson Davis, though haggard and worn, acted well the part of a gracious host. His wife
charmed the guests and lent a personal air to the large gathering. The foul weather outside did not dampen the visitors' spirits, and those in attendance pronounced the permanent government a social success.  

Outside the brightly lit executive mansion, the capital's war went on. Back in January Abraham Lincoln had issued the "President's General War Order No. 1." Federal armies would commence a general forward movement on February 22. Although the commander of the Army of the Potomac George B. McClellan had put off his execution of the grand advance, he faced General Johnston's army at Manassas with a force three times as large. Labeling a government permanent would not reverse the military disasters of the winter, and spring would surely bring McClellan's assault on Richmond.

On Monday, February 24, two days after the inauguration, the capital resumed in earnest the task of conducting a war. On the morning of the twenty-fourth the Examiner concluded its unenthusiastic editorial coverage of the inauguration with an attack on Secretary of War Judah Benjamin and Secretary of the Navy Stephen Mallory. "It is the servant hope of every rational man and distinguished patriot," the Examiner stated, "that he [Davis] will with all speed create a cabinet of the ablest, best informed, most
experienced, and especially of the most active and energetic men." 126

Later in the day the House of Representatives paid some attention to Henry Foote's fulminations against the administration's conduct of the war. The House adopted Richmond Representative James Lyon's resolution requesting the President to furnish it information on the state of the James River defenses. 127

When the City Council met at four o'clock in the afternoon, Thomas H. Wynne presented a caustic preamble to a series of resolutions creating a Committee of Safety of the City of Richmond.

Whereas it is evident that neither the state nor the Confederate authorities are, either of them, doing, or likely to do, any thing for the Cities of Richmond and Petersburg, and it is palpable that they are, for want of proper protection, in imminent danger of an attack, against which we are at present incapable of making any resistance, it behooves the corporate authorities and people of these two cities to adopt some measures by which prompt and efficient action will secure at least a delay from, if we cannot effectually prevent, the capture of our city. 128

Council adopted the resolutions and appropriated $50,000 for the city's land and river defense. 129

Two days later on February 26, the Examiner echoed the prevailing mood:

The Government must do all these things by military order, and without consulting anybody. The President is looked to for the call to arms, to order the mounting of batteries, the blockading of chan-
nels and the enforcement of the necessary though disagreeable laws. To the dogs with Constitutional questions and moderation! What we want is an effectual resistance.130

Almost overnight Richmonders forgot their concern for maintaining their city's provincial integrity in the face of unsettled times. Apprehension over distant military reverses yielded to fear for Richmond's physical safety. Let the soldiers come and governments multiply. The Yankees were coming in earnest.

On March 1 President Davis proclaimed martial law in Richmond.131 The Confederate Congress had granted Davis authority to suspend the privilege of habeas corpus on February 27.132 General John G. Winder, commanding the Department of Henrico, assumed responsibility for administering military rule in the city and an area within a ten mile radius of Richmond.133 Winder appointed Colonel John G. Porter Provost Marshall for Richmond and divided the city into two administrative districts. Porter's assistant provost marshalls, A. C. Godwin and J. C. Maynard, commanded the eastern and western districts respectively.134 Winder's first general order forbade liquor sales in the city and required all citizens to surrender their private firearms to the Confederate Ordnance Department.135

During the first half of March the General tightened his control on the capital. By March 15 the military had placed 28 men and two women in "Castle Godwin" for suspected disloyalty to the cause.136 Most con-
spicuous among the inmates of the improvised political prison was John Minor Botts. After nearly two months' confinement, the old Whig nationalist secured his release only on the condition that he would reside far from the capital and say nothing against the Confederacy or its government.\textsuperscript{137}

Hotels delivered a list of new arrivals to the Provost Marshall's office each morning. Soldiers allowed no one to enter or leave the city without a military pass.\textsuperscript{138} Railroads were not to transport liquor into the city, and the roads were required to report the names of all passengers carried into Richmond. Winder prohibited apothecaries from buying liquor without an order from his headquarters and required a doctor's prescription for each druggist's sale of spirits.\textsuperscript{139} The General even tried to enforce the city's Hack Ordinance governing the rates charged for hired carriages\textsuperscript{140}—a feat which for some years had frustrated city police.

However ambitious Winder's actions might have been, Confederate martial law involved a unique blend of civil and military sovereignty. From the first the Mayor's Court remained open.\textsuperscript{141} On March 8 the President reopened Hastings Court in the city.\textsuperscript{142} In response to a question from Davis, Attorney General T. H. Watts instructed the President, "Let the general
rule be that the civil jurisdiction of the courts shall be exercised as usual; and the exception prevail only when a necessity for the departure is manifest."  

Richmond police still functioned, and Winder primarily employed troops in enforcing his own orders. The military authorities tried violators of the General's orders by courts martial, but a month's hard labor was the maximum penalty allowed. Some features of martial law, such as the passport system, lingered in Richmond throughout the war. In April, 1862, however, Congress restricted military arrests of civilians to crimes committed against the government.  

General Winder's reign in the capital was not without excesses. In exhaustive search for contraband liquor, his troops even seized Elijah Baker's patent medicine "Baker's Bitters." General Winder recruited many of his civilian detectives from his fellow refugee Marylanders. Critics resented the manners and questioned the integrity of these "aliens," who often earned the sobriquet, "Plug Uglies." The detectives' zeal reached alarming proportions when they themselves forged prescriptions for brandy and arrested four Richmond druggists for filling them. One citizen complained of Winder's force:  

The Baltimore detectives are the lords of the ascendant. They crook a finger,
and the best carriages in the street pause, turn around, and are subject to their will. They loll and roll in glory. And they ride on horseback, too—government horses, or horses 'pressed' from gentlemen's stables. One word of remonstrance, and the poor victim is sent to Castle Godwin. 149

Although many complained of Winder's methods, most Richmonders recognized that extraordinary expedients were necessary to the city's defense. Few people would have agreed with war clerk diarist J. B. Jones that martial law "is, indeed, a reign of terror!" 150

In April the Dispatch reported happily:

Men, women, and children now sleep the sleep of security; their dreams are not disturbed by visions of Yankee cannons; by the paddle of Yankee gunboats, or worse, by the vile rows of drunken soldiery. Our streets are quiet. Brawls are rare. Pistol-shots do not disturb the unstrung nerves of delicate or antique dames....The streets are morning, noon, and night being patrol-ed by guards, who arrest all loiterers, vagabonds, and suspicious-looking char-ac-ters....And the consequences are peace, serenity, security, respect for life and property, and a thorough revival of patriot-ism and enthusiasm. 151

Despite Richmond's enforced domestic tranquility, the Confederate capital remained in imminent danger from McClellan's hosts. On February 27 General Winder received a report on the field fortifications surround-ing the city. These works encircled the capital at roughly a twelve-mile radius. The 18 batteries and seven outworks already covered likely approaches to
the city, but some of the batteries contained three feet of water and very few had guns.\textsuperscript{152} Colonel Charles Dimmock, Chief of Ordnance for the state of Virginia, was even less sanguine in his report to the Virginia House of Delegates on February 28. The whole system seemed to Dimmock too close to the city. If a large enemy force should invest the works, the city would be in a dismal state of siege. Breastworks between the batteries would be necessary to defend against assaults of infantry. Dense forests impeded the gunners' fields of fire, and only 25 of the 218 guns necessary to arm the works were in place. "Richmond, as far as any reliance is to be placed upon these batteries," Dimmock wrote, "is in no state of defense against an enemy likely to approach."\textsuperscript{153}

In March Jefferson Davis answered the House of Representatives' inquiry concerning the defense of the James River. Besides informing the Congressmen about Richmond's defense systems, Davis revealed in his message some basic concepts in his military thinking. The President based his information on a report from acting Chief of Engineer Bureau Alfred L. Rives.\textsuperscript{154} He listed five points of strength along the river and pronounced Drewry's Bluff the key work in the defense system. This high promontory overlooking a narrow
place in the river's channel lay seven miles below the city. Batteries of guns and river obstructions rendered the Drewry's Bluff position quite formidable against wooden ships. If the enemy came in ironclad ships, no one could predict the outcome. Significantly the President concluded by pointing out that defenses, no matter how impregnable, served only to gain time. He did not anticipate shutting his armies within a besieged city and watching them starve. Richmond must not become beleaguered. Johnston's army must strike McClellan and defeat or destroy him. 155

Constructive action in Richmond's defense came from all levels and branches of government. The City Council released the City Engineer from all other duties, so that he might concentrate on the circle of fortifications. 156 Governor Letcher began enrolling as "Second Class Militia" all white males of ages 16 to 18 and 45 to 55. 157 By March 3 General Winder could report to the Governor that two regiments for the capital's local defense were nearly complete. 158

In the face of growing military crisis Richmond watched a significant cabinet shuffle take place. Since Secretary of State R. M. T. Hunter's resignation on February 18, Jefferson Davis had pondered a replacement. Judah Benjamin, the Secretary of War, was perhaps the most capable man in the cabinet, but
he was not particularly popular at his post. The affable Jew was a favorite of Richmond's hostesses who delighted in his ability to converse in French or English. Charming though he was, Benjamin was a very direct soul. His facile mind had an affinity for cutting through red tape to get a job done. This tendency did little to aid in Benjamin's understanding of the officious language of military reports and orders. The generals resented this ignorance, and the public blamed the Secretary of War for the Roanoke Island disaster. In January Stonewall Jackson had tendered his resignation during a quarrel with Benjamin. Nevertheless, Davis, desperately seeking unity, now made Benjamin Secretary of State, and brought General George Wythe Randolph from the field to be Secretary of War. Many of Benjamin's enemies would not be appeased. The *Examiner* commented:

> Mr. Davis has sacrificed to popular clamor without yielding to public opinion. ...The representation of the Synagogue [Benjamin] is not diminished; it remains full. The administration has now an opportunity of making some reputation; for, nothing being expected of it, of course every success will be clear gain.

Generally though Richmonders could not help but be pleased. Randolph was a native, and he had proved himself capable as he was charming. Since the Secretary of War had succeeded the Secretary of State
to the ascendant position in the Cabinet, Virginians were flattered to see the war portfolio go to one of their own. Indeed the Confederacy seemed obsessed with the old Commonwealth: Hunter was President pro tem of the Senate; Virginian Thomas S. Bocock was Speaker of the House; Lee was close to the President; and Johnston commanded in the field. The old Union had its "Virginia Dynasty." Indeed with so many of their fellows in high places Virginians might hope for the "Dynasty's" reincarnation in the young Confederacy. 162

Richmond had little time for pride; McClellan threatened from without. And within the city food prices soared ever higher. Finally under the authority of martial law, General Winder sought to restore sanity in Richmond's market places. On March 31 Winder issued a general order which established maximum prices on fish, butter, eggs, and potatoes. 163 To enforce the schedule, military authorities confiscated produce offered at the higher rates and distributed it among the city's hospitals. 164 Unfortunately, the General's price fixing resulted in disaster. When the schedule went into effect on April 7, low prices and the unsettled state of the surrounding countryside greatly reduced the quantity of food brought into the city.
Under pressure of dwindling supplies and a citizens' committee, Winder lifted his schedule in late April. 165 Farmers resumed their trips to the markets, but the price of food soared. In one month eggs rose 400% in price, from Winder's schedule to $1.00 per dozen. 166 In two days the price of butter climbed from a prescribed 50¢ per pound to $1.40. 167 No one starved, but Richmond's outlandish prices prompted French Consul Paul to write his superior, "The city has become a hell for all those who are forced to live here." 168

Early in March McClellan's vast army began to move. Instead of assaulting Johnston's front, however, the Federals made preparations for an amphibious invasion of eastern Virginia. McClellan sought to land his 10,000 troops on the peninsula between the York and James Rivers and move on Richmond from the east. If a bit complicated, the plan was sound. Union gunboats could cover the advance and perhaps shell the Confederate Capital while land forces conducted the probable siege. By March 24 advance columns of the ponderous Federal Army were concentrating at Fortress Monroe.

In mid-April, while the Army of the Potomac massed men and materials on the new front, General Johnston evacuated his position on the Rapidan River and marched the bulk of his force through Richmond onto the
Peninsula. Johnston, Davis, and Lee, the President's chief military aide, agreed that Johnston's army should defend Richmond resolutely. The question was where to meet McClellan's impending advance. Johnston wanted to make a determined stand in front of the capital, but Lee supported President Davis's desire to meet the Federals farther down the Peninsula. After a 14-hour meeting on April 14, Johnston yielded. He agreed to face McClellan at Yorktown. The strong-willed Virginian made no promises, however, and he clearly did not relish the prospect of fighting McClellan and his gunboats on the Peninsula while McDowell still had an army in northern Virginia.  

Feeling that under the circumstances he could do little more than slow McClellan down, Johnston later wrote, "The belief that events on the Peninsula would soon compel the Confederate government to adopt my method of opposing the Federal army, reconciled me somewhat to the necessity of obeying the President's order."  

Fortunately, most Richmonders were unaware of division among their chiefs. The capital saw an army coming to its rescue and took heart. Troops and wagons poured through the city for several days during mid-March. One Sunday a trooper interrupted church services in the city and asked the ladies to prepare food for the men in transit. That afternoon women and
girls lined the streets and divided their Sunday dinners among the passing companies. However hungry and dirty the men were, to the timorous city the army seemed "invincible." And the weary troops responded to Richmond's generosity with cheers which occasionally swelled into the high-pitched "rebel yell." The men chided any healthy-looking civilians they saw and invited them to come along. One youth waving a handkerchief from his window seemed an especially likely comrade.

"Come right along, sonny!...Here's a little muskit fur ye!"

"All right, boys!" cheerily responded the youth, rising from his seat--"Have you got a leg for me too?" And Colonel F. stuck the shortest of stumps on the window sill.

With one impulse the battalion halted; faced the window, and spontaneously came to 'Present!' as the ringing rebel yell rattled the windows of the block. The chord had been touched that the roughest soldier ever felt.

When the last gun-carriage had rattled down the Williamsburg Road toward Yorktown, the city went to work and renewed her efforts to support her defenders. Ladies filled a request for 30,000 sand bags in 30 hours. On March 24 Richmond women had formed the National Defense Association, and they continued soliciting funds to build an ironclad gunboat. Work on the city's field fortifications went on. City
Council appropriated $50,000 for obstructing the river channel and an equal amount to equip Richmond volunteers in the Confederate service.\textsuperscript{176} A citizens' meeting on April 18 adopted Virginia Attorney General John Randolph Tucker's resolution to secure quarters for the wounded. A Committee of twelve men received pledges from householders and reported them to the Surgeon General.\textsuperscript{177} Beyond these actions Richmond prayed for deliverance, and she hoped.

In the midst of the crisis, on April 16, the Confederate Congress authorized national conscription\textsuperscript{178} of men between 18 and 35 for three years' service. This legislative expedient represented the first nationwide draft in American history and a momentous departure from the government's state rightist origins.

Despite the vigorous preparations in the campaign for Richmond's life, the prospects appeared dim. The impending Federal advance kindled nascent Unionist sentiments among a few Richmonders. "Union Men to the Rescue!" "God bless the Stars and Stripes!" Residents of the capital awoke on several mornings to find such slogans chalked on walls and fences about the city.\textsuperscript{179} Elizabeth Van Lew, the doughty Unionist spinster who had spent much of the previous fall aiding Yankee prisoners, now boasted in her journal that she had a room prepared for General McClellan in her mansion on
General Winder's passport office was crowded with people seeking to flee the threatened city. In the midst of growing apprehension on April 22 Congress voted itself a raise in pay and adjourned. Making one of its few understatements of the war period, the *Examiner* commented: "To leave Richmond at the very moment of hazard is not the way to encourage the army or help a cause in peril." But Representative Dupré of Louisiana caught the spirit of the hour when he said, "People looked somewhere else than to this Congress for aid." If Dupré referred to the army, Joseph Johnston was doing little to inspire the capital with confidence.

Throughout most of April, McClellan had assembled his host on the Peninsula and conducted siege operations against Yorktown. General John B. Magruder faced the cautious McClellan with a small force and "Quaker guns," black logs mounted to look like cannon. Magruder blufféd as long as he could. On May 3, shortly before the Federals were to open a massive artillery bombardment, Johnston began moving his entire army back up the Peninsula toward Richmond. The Confederates paused briefly to delay McClellan at Williamsburg, and by the second week in May Richmond's defenders were camped in front of the city. Tucker DeLeon described their return:
They straggled into Richmond muddy—dispirited—exhausted; and, throwing themselves on cellar doors and sidewalks, slept heavily, regardless of curious starers that collected around every group.

Never had a Southern army appeared half so demoralized; half so unfit to cope with the triumphant and well-appointed brigades pressing close upon it.184

These were the same men who had seemed invincible only a few weeks before. Surely, somehow they would hold the capital. Yet New Orleans had probably felt the same desperate hope, and New Orleans had fallen a few weeks earlier.

3. The Yankees are here!

More and more people felt the urgent call to visit a sick aunt in the country or attend to some business affairs farther south. On the night of May 9 Varina Davis was entertaining a small company in the Executive Mansion when a messenger interrupted the party. He spoke briefly with the President. Davis took his wife aside and told her that a flotilla of Union gunboats had started up the James toward Richmond. When Mrs. Davis rejoined her guests, the evening went on as before. But the next day the President's family left for Raleigh, North Carolina.185 A Richmond lady wrote in her diary, "It is said that the President
does not fear; he will send his family away, because he thinks it better for men, on whom the country's weal is so dependent, to be free from private anxiety." However valid the President's reasoning, his wife's departure was hardly calculated to inspire confidence among Richmonders.

On the same day Varina Davis left for Raleigh. Secretary of War Randolph sent a memorandum to his chiefs of bureau:

Have such of your records and papers as ought to be preserved, and are not required for constant reference, packed in boxes, for removal and marked, so as to designate the bureau to which they belong. Books and papers necessary for constant reference may be kept in the presses, but boxes must be prepared for them. This is only intended as a prudent step, and is not caused by any bad news from the army. There is no need, therefore, for any panic in the city, and it should be prevented by the assurance that we have every reason to think that the city can be successfully defended.

Randolph may have stretched a point when he said that the decision to pack the department archives did not result from "bad news from the army." Richmond's greatest threat seemed now to come from the Federal navy. As the Union ships steamed up the James, the Confederates reluctantly blew up the ironclad Virginia on May 11. The Virginia was actually the rechristened Merrimac. The Confederate navy had raised
her from the bottom of Norfolk harbor and shielded her with iron plated from the Tredegar Works. For weeks she had held the Federal navy at bay, but the presence of the Union ironclad Monitor and the Virginia's heavy draught compelled her abandonment. When Richmond heard of the Virginia's fate on May 12, "it was a dreadful shock to the community." First stirrings of organized resolution in the face of the crisis appeared in the disraught city on May 14. The Virginia General Assembly declared:

The General Assembly hereby expresses its desire that the capital of the state be defended to the last extremity, if such defence is in accordance with the views of the President of the Confederate States; and that the President be assured that whatever destruction and loss of property of the state or individuals shall thereby result, will be cheerfully submitted to.

Next day May 15 Governor Letcher underscored the Legislature's determination by calling Richmonders to meet at City Hall to organize companies of citizens for the city's defense. Guns were booming on the river when the mass meeting convened at five o'clock in the afternoon. While Colonel Ellis was enrolling volunteers, Mayor Mayo appeared. The Whig reported Mayo's reaction to the crisis, "Before God and Heaven he would say to one and all, that if they wanted the Mayor to surrender the city, they must get some other Mayor."
'So help me God, I'll never do it!' Three cheers rang out. Letcher responded in kind. "He didn't know who is to surrender it [Richmond], but if the call was made upon him to surrender the city, or have it shelled, he should be tempted to reply, 'Shell and be d----d.'" Uproarious applause signaled the people's determination to let the gunboats come and fight the Yankees amid the rubble of their homes.

Later that night the joyous news came. The batteries at Drewry's Bluff had repulsed the Federals' advance. For the moment, at least, the capital was safe.

Jefferson Davis was not impressed. Next day, the sixteenth, he wrote his wife in Raleigh:

The panic here has subsided and with increasing confidence there has arisen a desire to see the city destroyed rather than surrendered. 'They lightly talk of scars who never felt a wound,' and these talkers have little idea of what scenes would follow the battering of rows of brick house. I have told them that the enemy might be beaten before Richmond or on either flank, and we would try to do it, but that I could not allow the Army to be penned up in a city.

After contemplating the situation, knowledgeable men would have agreed with Davis's military strategy. No political objective was worth sacrificing an entire army. But Richmond had neither the time nor the inclination for objective contemplation. The city was home and capital. She must not fall. The _Examiner_ answered the President's letter on the same day he
wrote it, almost as if an editor had looked over Davis's shoulder. Concluding an editorial entitled "Virginia Is not Dead Yet!" the paper stated:

When we speak of the people of Richmond, however, we do not include the Rats. We do not include the contemptible sneak who care more about their own rickety carcasses, than for the independence, the destiny, the existence of the Confederacy. ...If the authorities have not the energy, decision, firmness and resource to keep their grip on Richmond, then may God help the South! 196

During the last half of May the capital grimly prepared for the worst. The General Assembly appropriated $200,000 for more river obstructions. 197 And then the solons voted another $200,000 for removing Richmond women, children, and the infirm in case of a general bombardment. 198 The legislature also permitted a temporary change in the seat of government "in a certain contingency," 199 and authorized the Mayor's Court to convene outside the city limits. 200 Richmond's City Council met almost daily. In the event of Richmond's capture the military authorities had ordered all tobacco and cotton to be burned. Council feared that a warehouse fire in the heart of the city could spread and destroy the city. After much correspondence with the War Department, though, destruction by burning seemed the only method. 201 On May 28 Secretary Randolph had the boxes of War Department records moved to the railroad depot. He told his Chiefs of
bureaucrat that "wagons will be ready tonight at 9 o'clock to commence the removal, which should be conducted quietly and from the rear of the building to avoid panic or excitement in the city." Regardless of Randolph's precautions Richmonders saw the archives in transit. One citizen remembered, "It was evident to a casual observer that a removal of the government was contemplated." Ladies gathered at St. Paul's Church to prepare bedding for the hospitals.

The ultimate defiance occurred on the night of May 29. Proprietors of the capital's gambling houses met and determined that the "hells" were luring too many officers from their posts. Not only did they agree to close their establishments until the crisis passed, but the proprietors also pledged $20,000 to purchase items for the wounded.

A few weeks earlier the capital had faced the struggle with confusion and alarm. But the mettle displayed on the evening of May 15 had been genuine. Now there was no panic. In contrast to the mass exodus during the first half of May, people were coming into the city. Virginia's Episcopalians held their annual convention in Richmond as scheduled during the third week in May. General Baptist Association met during the final week. Government offices remained open, and citizens quietly went about their business. The
Whig commented, "Upon the whole, the charge of apathy might be brought against Richmond with more apparent justice than that of panic." 206

While Richmond's attention centered on the James River and Yankee gunboats, McClellan inched his way up the Peninsula with his grand army. Poor roads and incessant rain combined with the General's caution to slow the advance. Johnston waited. Then McClellan made a mistake. The Federal commander threw two corps south of the Chickahominy River and held the rest of his army on the north bank. The Yankee host straddled the sluggish stream. Johnston struck. On May 31 he advanced at Seven Pines and assaulted Little Mac's isolated corps. 207

Thousands in Richmond lined the city's eastern hills to follow the progress of the battle by translating the sounds of the firing. They waited nervously through the morning and into the afternoon, "like an audience at a theater when some accident or disarrangement behind the scenes prevents the curtain from rising." 208 Toward the late afternoon cannons began firing in earnest. When the listeners heard in sequence the cannons, muskets, and silence, they knew that the attacking Confederates had carried a position with bayonets and "cheered accordingly." 209 Near sundown the firing told of a general Southern
advance. McClellan's amoebic mass had yielded. Johnston's army had attacked and won. "The city had 'no language but a cry!'"\textsuperscript{210}

Then for three days the ambulances came. Five thousand wounded men filled the city's 16 army hospitals. They filled six private hospitals and 13 emergency hospitals and then overflowed into private homes.\textsuperscript{211} Surgeon General Moore's facilities had increased, but the Confederates still needed the aid of Richmond ladies to care for the men. Servants darted through the streets with trays of food for the stricken. One woman remembered Seven Pines as the time when "our summer's work had begun."\textsuperscript{212} Soldiers complained about the "red tape" and inconveniences of the government's hospitals;\textsuperscript{213} but the private heroism of Richmond's ladies moved one Georgian to state, "I can say this for the good women of Virginia: There are no better women on this globe."\textsuperscript{214}

Among the casualties at Seven Pines was the Confederate commander Joe Johnston. On the night following his victory the General lay seriously wounded on Richmond's Church Hill. The confusion which followed his fall on the field at Seven Pines allowed the Federals an orderly withdrawal. The near rout of McClellan's left degenerated into a mere repulse. At this juncture the President placed R. E. Lee in
command. The Virginian went to work at once forming an army and planning strategy. During the next three years Lee's army, like its commander, would achieve greatness. Its mission now and to the end of its life was the defense of Richmond. They called the force the Army of Northern Virginia, but in truth it was Richmond's army.

While Lee looked for an opportunity to fight McClellan, the Union commander called for reinforcements from Washington. His spies had told him fabulous tales of Southern strength, and the cautious McClellan believed them. Lincoln, however, refused to send more troops to the Peninsula. Prime reason for Lincoln's reluctance to dispatch more men from in front of Washington was the recent activity of Thomas J. Jackson. With 18,000 men Jackson had outmarched and outfought 60,000 Federals in the Shenandoah Valley. The stern Presbyterian had outlived the nickname "Tom Fool," lingering from his days as a professor at V.M.I. Now he was "Stonewall" to the public and "Old Blue Light" to his hardhitting "new model" Army of the Valley. Richmonders followed his campaign in the valley with delight. When J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry rivaled Jackson's fame by riding completely around McClellan's army, the capital was able to laugh at the baffled invaders. Secretary Randolph brought
the War Department's archives from the railroad depot back to the offices. By June 15 war clerk Jones could record in his diary, "What a change! No one now dreams of the loss of the capital." Seven Pines had been the city's baptism by fire. Now Richmond, determined and confident, waited for the next round.

On an intensely hot June 26 General Roger A. Pryor lay in Richmond recovering from an attack of malaria. While his wife fanned him, a knock came at the door. When the general read the message handed him, he called for his boots. General Longstreet had written, "In thirty-six hours it will all be over." Lee was attacking.

Richmond's streets were deserted. Everyone, it seemed, had gone out to the surrounding hills to hear the cannon and watch the "aurora of death" on the horizon. Amid the sounds of firing from the east came more noise from the northeast. Rumor swept through the throng. "Jackson is here!" "Stonewall is behind them." On the night of the twenty-sixth the hilltops remained crowded. People watched the flashes of guns from every tall building in the city. Next day the diminished sound of the guns told the story. Jackson had joined Lee, and the Federals were withdrawing before the Southern assaults. Lee struck
McClellan at Mechanicsville, at Cold Harbor, at Savage Station, at Glendale, and in White Oak Swamp. On the seventh day of fighting the Yankees beat off a furious Southern charge at Malvern Hill and retired to the James River. On June 26 McClellan had camped four miles from Richmond. After July 1 he lay inert beneath the cover of his gunboats at Harrison's Landing, over 25 miles away. The capital was safe.221

July, 1862, was an awesome month in Richmond. Richmond saw the dead swell and burst their coffins before the overburdened grave-diggers could bury them.222 In the hospitals women looked on while dying men were taken to the dead house to make room for more wounded.223 The city watched piles of amputated limbs grow in the rear of the hospitals.224 One matron remembered, "We lived in one immense hospital, and breathed the vapors of the charnel house."225

In spite of misery and gore Richmond was coming of age. The city had stood firm against the enemy in a dark hour and survived its ordeal by combat. When the danger passed, Richmonders emerged a special breed; proud and confident, they accepted their success quite casually.

No powder was wasted in salutes over the victory, no bonfires blazed, no windows were illuminated, and the general appearance of Richmond was in all respects unchanged from what it had been a month before.226
A month before the capital had been an adolescent. She had been unsure of her strength, and her mind gravitated between poles of bravado and despair. Now the crisis was past; Richmond had prevailed. Joy and confidence coalesced quietly in a mood that smacked of maturity.
1. Dispatch, July 24, 1861; Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 89.


3. For a discussion of this issue and pertinent letters of Davis, Johnston, and Beauregard, see Varina Howell Davis, Memoir, II, 120-37.


5. Dispatch, July 24, 1861.


7. Enquirer, July 26, 1861.

8. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 125-26; Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 66.

9. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 126.

10. Dispatch, July 25, 1861.

11. Dispatch, July 22, 1861; Enquirer, July 26, 1861.

12. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 65.


14. Whig, July 24, August 29, 1861.

15. Council, Minutes, August 12, 1861.

16. Wright, A Southern Girl in '61, 151.

17. Dispatch, August 1, 1861.

18. Whig, August 6, 1861.


20. Whig, August 31, 1861.


22. Enquirer, August 27, 1861.
23. William A. Carrington to E. S. Gaillard, December 8, 1862, Records of the Medical Director at Richmond, Letters Sent, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives.

24. Ibid., Carrington to Gaillard, December 6, 1862.


27. Council, Minutes, February 23, 1863.

28. Whig, August 17, 1861; cf. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie; 116.

29. Claiborne, Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia, 200.

30. Waitt, Hospitals in Richmond.

31. Major Edgar Erskine Hume, "The Days gone By: Chimborazo Hospital Confederate States Army--America's Largest Military Hospital," The Military Surgeon. Journal of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States, LXXV (September, 1934), 161. Chimborazo was surpassed in total number of patients treated only during World War I.

32. Ibid., 158-61; Chimborazo Hospital, Hospital Fund Statement, October 11, 1861-January 1, 1862, Claiborne Family Papers, MMS. in Virginia Historical Society Library.

33. Enquirer, September 17, 1861.

34. Whig, September 4, 1861.

35. Dr. Jacob Prosser Harrison to Mrs. Harrison, October 19, 1861, Harrison Family Papers, MMS. in Virginia Historical Society Library.

36. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie; 115.


40. Dispatch, November 4, 1861.

41. Enquirer, November 19, 1861.

42. Dispatch, November 4, 309, 1861.

43. Ely, Journal, 24, 96; cf. James A. Seddon to W. S. Winder, December 29, 1875, quoted in Southern Historical Society Papers, I. (March, 1876), 205-5. "His manner and mode of speech were perhaps natural-ly somewhat abrupt and sharp, and his military bearing may have added more of sternness and imperious-ness; but these were mere superficial traits, perhaps, as I sometimes thought, assumed in a manner to disguise the real gentleness and kindness in his nature."

44. William Howard Merrell, Five Months in Rebeldom; or, Notes from the Diary of a Bull Run Prisoner, at Richmond (Rochester, 1862), 19.

45. Dispatch, December 6, 1861.


47. William H. Jeffery, Richmond Prisons, 1861-1862, Compiled from the Original Records Kept by the Confederate Government, Kept by Union Prisoners of War, together with the Name, Rank, Company, Regiment and State of the Four Thousand Who Were Confined There (S. Johnsbury, Vermont, 1893), 21-22.


49. Ibid., 32.


51. Ely, Journal, 63-64.

52. Merrell, Five Months in Rebeldom, 58.


54. Enquirer, July 26, 1861.
55. This convention was the adjourned session of the Secession Convention. During the fall it drew up a State constitution conformance to the Confederate constitution, but otherwise not unlike Virginia's constitution of 1852.

56. Council, Minutes, October 14, 1861.

57. Ibid., August 12, 1861.

58. Ibid., November 4, 1861.

59. Ibid., August 26, 1861.

60. Ibid., November 4, 1861.


62. Council, Minutes, July 8, 1861.

63. Whig, August 31, November 1, 4 7, 8, 9, 1861.

64. See Bell I. Wiley, ed., The Letters of Warren Akin, Confederate Congressman (Athens, Georgia, 1959), 4-6, for a discussion of a Congressman's salary and expenses in the capital.

65. Bruce, Virginia Iron Manufacture, 359.

66. Other Confederate state governments were notorious-ly uncooperative, particularly Georgia's Governor Joseph Brown and North Carolina's Zebulan Vance. This internal conflict which allegedly doomed the Confederacy from its birth is the theme of Frank L. Owsley's States' Rights in the Confederacy (Chicago, 1925).


68. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 86.

69. Richmond Police and Fire Department Directory (Richmond, 1896), 19.

70. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 239.

71. Whig, November 11, 25, December 23, 28, 1861; Council, Minutes, December 16, 1861.
72. T. C. DeLeon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, 239.
73. *Whig*, December 9, 11, 1861.
74. Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 76.
75. *Dispatch*, July 31, 1861.
77. *Ibid*.
82. Council, Minutes, October 14, 1861.
84. *Enquirer*, February 7, 1861.
86. Carrington to Gaillard, December 6, 1862, Records of Medical Director at Richmond, Letters Sent.
88. DeLeon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, 147.
90. Council, Minutes, January 13, 1861.
91. *Ibid*.
93. *Dispatch*, September 14, 1861, January 14, 1862.
94. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 78-79.

95. Dispatch, January 14, 1862.

96. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 121.

97. DeLeón, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 148.

98. Ibid., 149.

99. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 119.

100. Dispatch, October 25, 26, November 2, 1861; Whig, September 21, 1861, January 23, 30, February 6, 1862.


104. Whig, December 27, 1861.

105. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 95.

106. Dispatch, January 20, 1862.


108. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 98; Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present, 238.


110. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 99.

111. Ibid., 106.

112. Ibid., 109.

113. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 89-90.

114. Ibid., 99.

115. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 108.

117. Whig, February 15, 1862.
118. Examiner, February 19, 1862, quoted in Daniel, Examiner During the War, 39-41.
119. Dispatch, February 22, 1862.
120. Enquirer, March 7, 1862.
121. Good accounts of the inauguration ceremonies are in "Proceedings of the Confederate Congress," Southern Historical Papers, XLIV (June, 1923), 38-41; Dispatch, February 24, 1862; Jones, Rebel War Clerk’s Diary, I, 111.
122. Jones, Rebel War Clerk’s Diary, I, 111.
124. Jones, Rebel War Clerk’s Diary, I, 111; McGuire, Diary of a Refugee, 96.
126. Examiner, February 24, 1862, quoted in Daniel, Examiner During the War, 41-43.
128. Council, Minutes, February 24, 1862.
129. Ibid.
130. Examiner, February 26, 1862, quoted in Daniel, Examiner During the War, 43.
131. Richardson, Messages and Papers, 220.
132. James M. Mathews, ed., Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America, Commencing with the First Session of the First Congress; 1862 (Richmond, 1882), I.
133. Richardson, Messages and Papers, 220.
134. Department of Henrico, General Order No. 5; printed in Whig, March 7, 1862.
135. Richardson, Messages and Papers, 221.

136. Dispatch, April 3, 1862.


138. Department of Henrico, General Order No. 4, printed in Whig, March 11, 1862.

139. Department of Henrico, Special Order No. 43, printed in Whig, March 14, 1862.

140. Department of Henrico, Special Order No. 48, printed in Whig, March 14, 1862.

141. Richardson, Messages and Papers, 220.

142. T. H. Watts to Davis, April 25, 1862, quoted in Rembert Patrick, ed., The Opinions of the Confederate Attorneys General, 1861-1865 (Buffalo, 1950), 73-75.

143. Ibid., '75.

144. Richardson, Messages and Papers, 220.

145. Mathews, Statutes at Large, First Congress, Second Session, 40.

146. Whig, March 17, 1862.

147. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 91, 141, 309.

148. Whig, March 25, 27, 1862. To Winder's alleged disarray a court martial found the four druggists innocent of a crime. See Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 116.

149. Jones; Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 123.

150. Ibid., I, 120.

151. Dispatch, April 4, 1862.


155. Richardson, Messages and Papers, 201-3.

156. Council, Minutes, March 5, 1862.

157. "By the Governor of Virginia, A Proclamation," March 13, 1862, printed in Dispatch, March 14, 1862.

158. Winder to Letcher, Richmond, March 3, 1862, H. W. Flournoy, ed., Calendar Of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from January 1, 1836, to April 12, 1869, Preserved in the Capital at Richmond (Richmond, 1893), 202-3.

159. See Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 118; Putnam, Richmond During the War, 99. Mrs. Putnam commented, "Although no complaints of want of efficiency as Secretary of State were made against Mr. Benjamin, he was ever afterwards unpopular in the Confederacy, and particularly in Virginia."


161. Examiner, March 20, 1862.

162. On the same subject Wade Hampton complained, "Of all the cavalry generals, one Maj. Genl. and five Brigadiers are from Va. So that if any other officers are to be appointed, I think some of the other states should be represented." Hampton to Louis Wigfall, Orange C. H., May 17, 1863, Louis T. Wigfall Papers, University of Texas.

163. Department of Henrico, General Order No. 12, printed in Whig, April 2, 1862.

164. Dispatch, April 17, 23, 1862.

165. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 113-14; Whig, April 30, 1862.

166. Dispatch, May 24, 1862.
167. Ibid.; May 1, 1862.


169. See Freeman, Lee’s Lieutenants, I, 145-51.

170. Joseph E. Johnston, Narrative of Military Operations Dictated During the Late War Between the States (New York, 1847), 119.


172. Beers, Memories, 47-49; DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 190-91.

173. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 192.

174. Ibid.

175. Dispatch, March 26, 1862.


177. Whig, April 19, 1862.

178. Matthews, Statutes at Large, First Congress, First Session, Ch. 31.

179. Whig, April 21, 1862; Putnam, Richmond During the War, 101.


181. Examiner, April 21, 1862, quoted in Daniel, Examiner During the War, 50-51.

182. See "Proceedings of Congress," XLIV (June, 1923), 178-83, for debate over the hasty adjournment.

183. See Freeman, Lee’s Lieutenants, I, 148-55.


188. For a full account of the Virginia's brief career see Harrison A. Trench, *The Confederate Ironclad Virginia* (Merrimac) (Chicago, 1938); J. P. Baxter III, *The Introduction of the Ironclad Warship* (Cambridge, 1933), Chapter XIII; and *Dispatch*, March 10, 11, 1862.


191. Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, p. 130.


201. Council, Minutes, May 27, 28, 1862.


203. Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, p. 130.


206. *Whig*, May 31, 1862. J. B. Jones (*Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I*, 127) noted on May 19, 1862:

> There is a sullen, but generally a calm expression of inflexible determination on the countenances of the people, men, women, and children. But there is no consternation; we have learned to contemplate death with composure.


209. Ibid.


211. McGuire, *Diary of a Refugee*, 119; *Dispatch*, June 4, 1862.


213. Rev. Nicholas A. Davis, *The Campaign from Texas to Maryland, with the Battle of Fredericksburg* (Richmond, 1863), 69.


221. See Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, I, 489-604.

222. *Whig*, June 24, 1862.


PART III

"Revolutionized City"
l. The Posture of Becoming

George B. McClellan and his grand army left the Virginia Peninsula in mid-August, 1862. The departure opened a period of unparalleled success for Southern arms in the eastern Confederacy. Federal armies would not seriously threaten Richmond's security for many months, and for a time the Army of Northern Virginia carried the fight to the Yankees. On August 9 Stonewall Jackson routed a Union force at Cedar Mountain. Later in August Generals Lee and Jackson struck and overwhelmed John Pope's bluecoats at Manassas. By using Jackson's corps for independent operations, Lee was dividing an inferior force in the face of the enemy—and winning. On September 5 the Confederates crossed the Potomac and carried the offensive into the enemy's country. The Federals halted the advance near Sharpsburg (Antietam Creek). After a bloody, drawn battle, Lee abandoned the field and recrossed the Potomac into Virginia. On December 13, 1862, the Army of Northern Virginia closed the year's active campaigning on the slopes of Marye's Heights near Fredericksburg. General Ambrose E. Burnside's Army of the Potomac charged the entrenched Confederates all day. Lee's position proved impregnable, and the slaughter was terrible.¹
Hearing news of Lee's victory at Fredericksburg, Joe Johnston commented, "What luck some people have. Nobody will ever come to attack me in such a place." Whether by luck or genius, Lee, Jackson, and the Army of Northern Virginia had saved the capital and won great victories. Some time between the Seven Days in June and Fredericksburg in December Richmonders adopted Lee's army as their own. The city lionized Jackson and Lee and began to think Lee's army invincible. The Dispatch summarized Richmond's admiration for Lee:

As modest and unpretending as the Yankee Generals are boastful and false, he quietly permits results to speak for him, and those results prove him one of the greatest military leaders of modern times. We congratulate the country that it has at the head of its armies this calm, self-poised, consummate soldier—one who both as General and gentleman is a worthy representative of the glorious South.

Lee led only one of the Confederacy's armies, but that army was defending the capital and winning the battles. Richmond did not ignore other armies and the situation in the western Confederacy. But Vicksburg and Corinth seemed far away, and the campaigns between the rival capitals appeared infinitely more important.

From McClellan's departure in August through the end of 1862 the Army of Northern Virginia's major battlefields had been at least 50 miles from Richmond. Relative quiet had settled on the city during these months.
Activity in the capital became prosaic in contrast to the alarms of the previous spring when the fighting had been close at hand. Since the militia no longer had need of daily drilling, the War Office rescinded the order compelling the city's businesses to close at two o'clock in the afternoon.\textsuperscript{4} City banks, which had been closed during McClellan's advance, reopened.\textsuperscript{5} Although government hospitals remained well populated, the great demand for emergency service and volunteer workers was relieved sharply.\textsuperscript{6} Fewer prisoners were housed in Libby, the only large numbers being prisoners waiting to be exchanged. Now at times Richmond found her warehouse-prison almost empty.\textsuperscript{7} This quiet was deceptive, for although the city no longer heard the cannons, the war presented new challenges almost daily.

General Winder spent an active year in command of the Department of Henrico. According to the \emph{Whig}, "At times, he apparently carries on conversation with two or three persons simultaneously, whilst examining or signing papers, yet there is no confusion, and so far as we have seen, no exhibition of ill-temper or official self-importance."\textsuperscript{8} In mid-July Winder again attacked the rising prices in Richmond's markets. On July 12 he fixed a maximum price for corn, and on the twenty-sixth he issued a schedule of maximum prices for all
types of livestock fodder and bedding. The General's second experiment in managing Richmond's commercial economy was no more successful than the first. Farmers withheld shipments of the enumerated items, after which Winder was rebuked by the War Department which declared that martial law did not include price fixing. By August 14 the General held 250 deserters, political prisoners, and disorderly soldiers in Castle Godwin. Later in the month Winder transferred his motley guests to William Greaner's tobacco factory on Gary Street which became "Castle Thunder." This institution and its commandant Captain Alexander soon achieved wide reputation among soldiers and would-be deserters. An army ballad proclaimed:

I'd rather be on the Grandfather Mountain
A-taking the snow and rain
Than to be in Castle Thunder
A-wearin' the ball and chain.

Stories of prisoners hung up by their thumbs and forced to wear "barrel shirts" may have served as deterents to insubordination in the army, but they also caused a congressional investigation in the spring of 1863.

During the fall and winter General Winder made further attempts to establish more order in his command. In October he dismissed all but one of his "Plug Ugly" detectives for "malfeasance, corruption, bribery, and incompetence." War clerk J. B. Jones was still not
satisfied. "These are the branches," he wrote, "the roots should be plucked up, and General Winder and his Provost Marshall [sic] ought to resign."\(^{15}\) To replace the civilian detectives, Winder had an armed soldier accompany each of the city's 40 night watchmen.\(^{16}\) By November 10 the *Whig* noted significant increase in law and order.\(^{17}\) Later in the fall Winder issued a general order forbidding the importation of more than 150 barrels (6000 gallons) of liquor into the city. None of this was to be sold to soldiers.\(^{18}\) As a result of the General's order and an act of the state legislature banning the manufacture of alcohol except for medicinal purposes,\(^{19}\) whiskey commanded $22.50 to $23.00 per gallon by the first of 1863.\(^{20}\) John Winder had a thankless task, and even his best intentioned actions met the disapproval of most Richmonders.

Virginia's General Assembly and the City Council more than matched Winder's energy and resourcefulness in meeting Richmond's wartime needs. Richmond's Council raised the salaries of city employees an average of $200 per year to meet the rapid inflation of the national currency. Attempting to slow the issue from Secretary Memminger's printing press the Council loaned the Confederate States $300,000 to bolster the treasury.\(^{21}\) In September the Council's Committee on Salt made a contract with Stuart, Buchanan and Co. of Saltville,
Virginia. The company agreed to furnish the city 1000 bushels of salt every month. Council sold the salt for five cents a pound, when the necessary item brought 70 to 90 cents in Richmond's markets. To meet the probable scarcity of fuel during the coming winter the city fathers authorized the Gas Works to sell coke to residents of the capital. Virginia's General Assembly permitted the State Board of Public Works to require railroads to transport wood into Richmond, and Council appropriated $5,000 for the cost of cutting and hauling the needed fuel. The legislature also authorized Governor Letcher to impress slaves for further work on Richmond's fortifications. In November Richmond's Council, "in view of the present large and unprecedented number of prisoners confined in the jail," appropriated $3,500 to construct six more cells. The municipal authorities also increased their support of the city's public schools to meet the higher wartime costs.

In these and other actions General Winder, the General Assembly, and the City Council sought to meet the war's demands on the Confederate capital. During a period of peace any government impressing slaves, fixing prices and quotas, and competing with free markets would have been labeled a tyranny. Richmond's general acceptance of these expedients gave some indication of the war's impact upon her and of the city's mature dedication to the war effort.
Richmond's new-found wartime maturity did not go untested. During the final months of 1862 official and individual relations with the national authorities underwent a series of crises involving the incompetence of the Davis regime. The resultant friction accelerated the city's transfer of her first allegiance from Jefferson Davis's government to General Lee's army.

In November Richmonders looked from the windows and saw barefoot soldiers marching through the snow on the city's streets. Great was Richmond's outrage over the mistreatment of her defenders. The citizens' clamor was furious. The disgraceful situation did not appear to be the fault of the Clothing Bureau, for Major Walker's ladies had produced over 300,000 pairs of boots and shoes during the past twelve months. Naturally, criticism focused on Quartermaster General Myers and the President. The Whig exhorted the citizens, "Come and shame the government as you have shamed it before. The naked soldier, who is fighting for your freedom, is shivering in your streets. Help him." Richmonders did help. Then, having contributed six to eight thousand pairs of shoes, Richmonders wondered why it was still necessary for them to clothe the national army.

While the citizens raged over a government which
allowed its soldiers to suffer, Secretary of War Randolph resigned. Throughout the spring and summer of 1862 the popular Virginian had performed his duties in a creditable manner. Then in November he advocated his own scheme for a united command in the West and advanced it to the point of ordering troops from one geographical command to another.\textsuperscript{32} The President, preferring to be his own Secretary of War, sent Randolph a tactless letter pointing out the limitations of Randolph's official position.\textsuperscript{33} When an exchange of notes between Secretary and President yielded no satisfactory solution, Randolph, calling his position that of a chief clerk, resigned. Although Davis's next War Secretary was also a Virginian, James A. Seddon, Richmonders could not condone the loss of Randolph. The Dispatch called Randolph "one of the most popular men in Virginia" and noted his "decided and acknowledged talent." "The regret at the resignation of Mr. Randolph," the paper concluded, "we are sure is general; yet if rumor as to the causes of the resignation, be true, he cannot be censured. On the contrary, his cause will be generally approved."\textsuperscript{34} Richmond's approval came with Randolph's selection to the City Council in the next election.

Later in the year a clash between Richmond's City Council and the Confederate executive branch further
strained relations between capital and government. During the fall the Confederate Congress passed another conscription bill, and on December 20 Richmond's Council made a routine request to exempt city officers from the expanded draft. Governor Letcher and Secretary of War Randolph had always been most cooperative in this matter, and the committee appointed to secure the necessary exemptions anticipated no trouble. Jefferson Davis was on an inspection tour in the West, so the committee called on War Secretary Seddon. The Secretary explained that he did not have the power to grant such exemptions and referred the Councilmen to the President. Council's committee then had to procure from an enrolling officer 30 days in which to petition the President. Davis returned, said no, and referred the committee to Seddon. The Secretary again refused, this time because he lacked authorization from Congress. The committee prepared a memorial to Congress. However, before Congress could consider the matter the 30 days would expire, and so the committee returned to Seddon for an extension. Seddon refused to grant the extension and stated that should Congress leave the matter to him, he would not even exempt the city's 51 firemen who were eligible for military duty. Although the committee finally found an officer who would extend the 30 days, the harassed Councilmen con-
cluded their report:

If the gas works and water works are left without officers, and the fire brigade disbanded and between twenty and thirty millions of private property belonging to the Confederate Government are left unprotected, and the citizens and government left without water and light, upon the President and secretary of war must rest the mighty responsibility.36

Congress responded favorably, and Council's dire predictions were not realized. Afterwards, however, the city fathers assumed, if not hostility, at least a more formal attitude toward their Confederate guests. In February Council requested the Confederate States to remove its soldiers and other prisoners from the city's jail.37 Later in the month Council presented the national government with a $7,470 hospital bill for the treatment of soldiers in the city's hospital.38 Council also began charging the Confederacy rent for use of the Alms House as a general hospital.39

Hard times and growing impatience with Jefferson Davis and his government caused at least one Richmonder to say, "I am coming to Mr. Ruffin's [Maj. Frank G., Assistant Commissary] opinion. He says he used to think Jefferson Davis a mule, but a good mule. He has come to think him a jackass."40 Ironically, Davis himself best expressed the relationship between capital and government. When the President returned from his tour of the West on the night of January 5, several
hundred people and a brass band turned out to meet him. The hour was late, but Davis was grateful. "I thank you my friends for the kind salutation tonight," he said, "it is an indication that at some future time we shall be better acquainted." He had lived in Richmond over 19 months, and still the city did not know him.

Richmond celebrated Christmas in 1862 with the usual popcrackers, calls, egg nog, and the like. But winter was hard in the city. City Council's committee on the destitute poor reported in December:

There can be no doubt that public charity will have a much larger field for its exercise this winter than heretofore and that the occasion calls for increased appropriations from the city treasury. It is one of the highest duties of every community to see that the necessities of life are provided for its poor. And your committee are satisfied that the people of Richmond will cheerfully bear any additional burden incident to this object.

Council appropriated $20,000 to the Union Benevolent Society to care for the needy during the winter. Although the numbers of destitute poor grew, and the ranks of the needy expanded to include the wives, widows, and children of soldiers, Council provided relief as long as it could secure the funds. Beside supporting the unfortunate in Richmond, in February Council dispatched $10,000 to the Mayor of Fredericksburg to
aid the citizens left homeless there by battle and Union occupation.45

During the last months of 1862 the influx of refugees became alarming. Some of these newcomers were wives of Confederate soldiers who could not work their family farms alone and sought employment in the city. Some were residents of areas of Virginia occupied by Federals. Some fled from farms and towns which had been battlegrounds. And they all profoundly affected Richmond's economy. The refugees helped drive rent in the city "head and shoulders above the means of salaried men."46 In February City Council's Finance Committee declared that rents had quadrupled in two years.47 To escape the high costs, a colony of refugees found quarters several miles away in the village of Ashland and commuted to jobs in the city by railroad.48

Both refugees and natives in Richmond depended greatly on the government and war industries for employment. The Tredegar Iron Works hired almost three times the number of men that had been on the payroll in 1861. By January, 1863, Joseph R. Anderson employed 2500 men and operated a tannery, shoemaking shops, fire-brick factory, sawmill, and nine canal boats in addition to his mills and furnaces.49 Anderson even entered the food business. Throughout the winter of
1862-1863 Tredegar agents ranged as far as Alabama seeking livestock. Tredegar bought, transported, slaughtered, and sold the animals at cost to employees. Tredegar hands consumed 1000 company hogs that winter.  

The Confederate Quartermaster Department Clothing Bureau employed two to three thousand women as seamstresses. More women signed notes at the Treasury Office. Indeed, one of Richmond's refugee citizens felt that, "The poor, being well supplied with Government work, are better off than usual."  

Many people in the capital supplemented their income with the fruits of domestic industry. Several refugee ladies made soap and sold it for a dollar per pound. Another lady put an old family recipe for gooseberry wine to profitable use. Still another made pickles and catsup for restaurants. Despite these and other projects, the mass of Richmond's immigrants and salaried people generally found it difficult to meet the ever rising cost of life in the city. The Union blockade made dry goods particularly dear. Auction companies seemed to make scandalous profits in shipments "run in" from Europe by privateers or smuggled through the lines from the North. In April a Confederate Congressman paid $120 for a suit and wondered, "What is to become of the Country?" Women lost contact with styles
in clothing, and one lady remarked:

The blockade has taught our people their own resources; but I often think that when the great veil is removed, and reveals us to the world, we will, in some respects, be a precious set of antiques. 55

Food prices continued to rise. In January the Dispatch compared a small family's weekly grocery bill in 1860 with the same fare in 1863.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Cost 1860</th>
<th>Cost 1863</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bacon</td>
<td>10 lbs.</td>
<td>$1.25</td>
<td>$10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>30 lbs.</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>5 lbs.</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>5.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>4 lbs.</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>1 lb.</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lard</td>
<td>4 lbs.</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>3 lbs.</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>5.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meal</td>
<td>1 pkg.</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles</td>
<td>2 lbs.</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>5 lbs.</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>5.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepper and Salt</td>
<td></td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>$6.55</td>
<td>$68.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many people in the city now more than ever cherished friendships with those in the country. A Senator's wife recalled, "When I had starved in the capital, I dropped down to 'Buxton Place,' whence I was sure to return laden with hampers of sweets and meats and bread made of the finest 'Number One' flour..." 57 However scarce and expensive food became during the winter of 1862-1863, the resourceful among Richmond's population would not go hungry. Mrs. Chesnut wrote of her servant:

Lawrence has simple ideas, but effective. 'You give me the money, I'll find every-
thing you want.' There is no such word as fail with him. 'There ain't nothing to eat in Richmond, not a bit of it; but you give me the money.'

During the winter an epidemic of smallpox raged among the poorer neighborhoods in the city. Prompt action by the City Council effected quarantine of the afflicted and free vaccination of all people who were unable to pay for private immunization. The city secured three wards of Howard's Grove army hospital for Negro patients and utilized the city hospital for whites. Badges identified houses infected with the disease. Although the total number of cases was relatively slight, smallpox constantly threatened the city from November to February.

In the midst of hardship and disease of these somber days Richmonders sought release from the sober realities. The soldiers came to the city for enjoyment. One Alabamian described a typical day in February, 1863:

I remained in the city all day, meeting with many officers and men at the hospitals, the Exchange Hotel and Ballard House, and Spotswood Hotel. At night I saw 'Lady of the Lake' acted. At its conclusion, while en route to camp, stopped with Capt. Hewlett and Lieut. Tate, of 3rd Ala., at a 'shindig,' and had an enjoyable time. Kissing games were popular, and some of the dancers were high kickers and not over graceful.

The same soldier celebrated St. Valentine's Day with a
"glorious bath" at the Ballard House. Richmond's parties, hospital visits, theaters, and loafing were pleasant changes from the routine of "winter quarters."

Soldiers especially enjoyed the theater, which had always been popular in Richmond. To replace the Richmond Theater, which had burned in January, 1862, manager D'Orsay Ogden built the New Richmond Theater, and opened it in February, 1862, with *As You Like It* followed by *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*. During February entertainment in the capital also featured Harry Macarthy, composer of "Bonnie Blue Flag," at the Broad Street Theater. White, Wells, and Parrow's minstrels, judged the Confederacy's best by the *Whig*, played Metropolitan Hall. As the *Whig* commented, Richmond's resident's and visitors had "no lack of resources with which to banish dull care." Richmonders augmented public entertainments with private theatricals and charades. The haunting "Lorena" was easily the most popular song in city and nation during that winter.

Maggie Howell [sister of Varina Davis] says there is a girl in large hoops and a calico frock at every piano between Richmond and the Mississippi, banging on the out-of-tune thing and looking up into a man's face, singing that song....Well, the song has not had a fair chance. We hear it squalled so, and to banged accompagniments which are discord itself.

By the second winter of war Varina Davis had become the acknowledged leader of "official society"
in the capital. Her circle was relatively small and excluded many native Richmonders. The ladies of Richmond generally resented Mrs. Davis's intrusion, but they could not ignore her. Mrs. Chesnut wrote in her diary:

I was asked wherever I turned: 'What did you do?' and more frequently: 'What did Mrs. Davis do?' Finally out of patience with so much idle curiosity I cried: 'We danced on the tight rope.' 'Have mercy, dear,' whispered Mrs. Davis. 'Never say that again. They will believe you. You do not know this Richmond. They swallow scandal with wide open mouths. Their easy credulity is such that next winter they will have the exact length of our petticoats and describe the kind of spangles we were sprinkled with.'

Tucker DeLeon described the foremost institution of Richmond's high society. "What came nearest to a salon in Richmond—and as far as I know in America—was held at Mrs. Robert C. Standards." Wife of a Richmond judge, Mrs. Standard entertained frequently and brilliantly.

In some contrast to the official society was the so-called "Quiet Set" which:

made small pretense of entertaining in the lavish old way, but Hospitality sat on their front steps and invited the proper passer within....

If some good housekeeper fell heir to a large jug of sorgham, had a present of some real flour or acquired a tiny sack of 'true-and-true' coffee, then and there went forth the summons.
This group included John R. Thompson, poet and formerly editor of the Southern Literary Messenger, John Esten Cooke, and Virginia Attorney General "Ran" Tucker. 70

The first winter of total war had brought difficulty and privation—a harder life than the city had yet known. Winter and wartime had challenged Richmond daily in a thousand ways. Nor did the capital's crises ease with the coming of spring—indeed the pace quickened. Spring, 1863, came with explosions literally and figuratively.

On Friday, the thirteenth of March, Mary Ryan went to work as usual in the ordnance laboratory on Brown's Island. Her duties involved working with explosives, but she was older and more experienced than many of her co-workers and felt no apprehension. Mary worked on friction primers, the highly explosive devices used to ignite gunpowder in large field pieces. On this day other women and girls were breaking open paper cartridges nearby. In the course of her work, Mary encountered difficulty with one of her friction primers. The obstinate device stuck in a board, and she could not pull it loose. Impatiently the young woman struck the board on the table hoping to drive out the primer. On the third blow the laboratory exploded. The initial blast blew Mary Ryan to the ceiling. As she came down, the gunpowder in the room ig-
nited and blew her into the air once again. Mary Ryan and 68 other employees were casualties. By March 15, 34 had died of burns. Mary Ryan lingered until March 16.

Chief of Ordnance Josiah Gorgas conducted a thorough investigation of the accident and instituted more rigid safety precautions. There were no more serious accidents in his shops. For Richmond the incident served as one more unneeded reminder of the perilous times in which she lived. And there were other reminders even more graphic.

Until the spring of 1863 Richmond blamed extortioners for the high prices in the markets. They could not identify the evil men by sight, but everyone knew they existed. People struggling to live on fixed incomes felt the ruinous currency inflation was probably the fault of some unprincipled speculators. They heard stories of vast profiteering and cursed the Yankee-like cupidity of some of their fellow citizens. In 1863 a readily identifiable class of villains entered the marketplace. Army agents began impressing food, and Congress regularized the procedure in law. The act to regulate impressment, passed in March, required the military to pay a fair price for articles taken. But farmers often set the price too high, and the army agents often insisted on too meagre a settlement. In Richmond the impressment system immediately drained
the markets and drove prices ever higher. The Whig summarized the situation under the title "Our Worst Enemies:"

It is deplorable in times like these, when the country is bleeding from every pore, when there is wailing in nearly every household, and when the energies of the best portion of us are taxed to the utmost for the bare necessities of life, that we should be gouged by heartless extortioners and robbed by official rouges.75

By the end of March flour brought $30 to $35 per barrel in the city. Eggs sold for $1.50 a dozen and butter for $2.70 to $3.00 per pound.76 The Secretary of War drew up a uniform schedule of prices, but the schedule could not keep pace with soaring costs. An official in the War Office analyzed the dilemma:

Farmers are making preparations for only so much corn as will suffice for their own use. They resent the Secretary's schedule prices which are often 50% below the market or neighborhood price. The instant impressment of flour, corn, and meat, as soon as they are brought to any of the inland towns to be put in market, is causing universal withholding of surplus--secretly and non-production. The army will be starved, and famine will ensue in the cities unless the Secretary changes his policy and buys in the market for the best price. The Government will have to out-bid the traders; else neither will get anything of the present scanty stock, and no future stock will be produced.77

The same official noted ominously in his diary, "There is a manifest uneasiness in the public mind different from anything I have noticed heretofore."78 Richmond's flour merchants could and did apply to state courts
for injunctions preventing seizures. But the city's consumers had no such legal recourse. They were forced to pay the high prices for available food or starve. In February the Virginia General Assembly authorized Richmond's City Council to arm its police and take whatever measures necessary to "suppress riots and unlawful assemblies."\(^{80}\)

Nine inches of snow fell in Richmond on March 19 and 20. It thawed quickly and by the end of the month roads into the city were quagmires.\(^{81}\) Even farmers willing to display their produce in Richmond's markets found it difficult to transport. Faced with even greater want than before, a group of women assembled in Belvidere Hill Baptist Church\(^{82}\) on the morning of April 2. They talked for a time and shared their desperation, and then they decided to act. First the women called on John Letcher at the Governor's Mansion. The delegation explained their plight and sought redress. The Governor listened to their grievances and expressed his sympathy.\(^{83}\) But sympathy would not suffice. Rapidly the delegation became a mob.

Boys and men loafing on Capitol Square joined the throng. "A tall, daring, Amazonian-looking woman, who had a white feather standing erect from her hat"\(^{84}\) led the procession down to Main Street. Some of the women bore hatchets or knives, and a few brandished pistols.
On Main Street the riot began in earnest. Shouting "bread," the women smashed store windows and took food. Then they seized clothing and shoes. 85 One merchant lost goods worth over $13,000, and the rioters carried off 310 pounds of beef from the City Hospital. 86 For a number of minutes it seemed that a revolution had begun. Thomas Mumford from the YMCA invited the mob to come to the Association's army depot and receive food. 87 Only a few stopped their pillage and followed Mumford. The riot went on unabated. Mayor Mayo and Governor Letcher arrived amid the disorder and tried to reason with the looters. No one listened; the pillage continued.

Finally a column of troops appeared. A company from the Confederate Armory marched down Main Street and confronted the mob. Into the impasse strode Jefferson Davis. The President mounted a dray between the armed soldiers and the mob. Women hissed. His voice rising above the din, Davis informed the crowd that such lawlessness must cease immediately. The crowd was unmoved. Then the President took out his watch, glanced at the troops, and gave the rioters five minutes in which to disperse. No one moved. Captain Guy commanded his soldiers to load and ordered them to shoot to kill when the five minutes had elapsed.
Still the mob stood firm. The troops prepared their weapons, and Jefferson Davis studied his watch. Another five minutes and the President would have to carry out his promise. He steadied the hand which held his watch and pondered alternatives. Then the mob broke. Mayor, Governor, President, and troops stood alone in the empty street. 88

Indignation prevailed when the City Council met that afternoon. No informed citizen would deny that scarcity existed in Richmond. However, the plump rioters, while screaming for bread, had concentrated their pillage on dry goods and luxuries. Furthermore, Council had received no recent applications for expansion of its poor relief. 89 One lady recorded a typical sentiment in her diary:

I saw the Rev. Mr. Peterkin, who is perhaps more thoroughly acquainted with the state of the poor than any man in the city. He says that they are admirably attended to. Large sums of money are put in the hands of the clergy for their benefit; this money is disbursed by ladies whose duty and pleasure it is to relieve suffering. One gentleman gave as much as $5,000 last winter. Besides this the industrious poor are supplied with work by the Government, and regularly paid for it. 90

Council declared that the disturbance was "in reality instigated by devilish and selfish motives," and resolved that Richmond's "honor, dignity, and safety will be preserved." The city fathers blamed outsiders and requested the committee on police to consider an ordi-
nance requiring all who had lived in the city less than a year to post bond for their good behavior. Council also offered to pay for stolen property and posted a $50 reward for information leading to the conviction of any rioter.91

Secretary of War Seddon ordered the telegraph to send "nothing of the unfortunate disturbance of today over the wires for any purpose."92 Assistant Adjutant General John Withers sent a note to the city's newspapers for the Secretary.

The unfortunate disturbance which occurred to-day in the city is so liable to misconstruction and misrepresentation abroad that I am desired by the Secretary of War to make a special appeal to the editors and reporters of the press at Richmond, and earnestly request them to avoid all reference directly or indirectly to the affair.93

On April 3 the Dispatch's lead editorial concerned "Sufferings in the North,"94 and the Enquirer gave prime space to an article on "Poland."95 The Whig avoided mention of the riot, but it did sound a none too oblique warning:

If any class is suffering—if profligate commissaries or hoarding speculators have produced artificial wants, there is an appeal to the law and an appeal to the native benevolence of the proverbially hospitable, generous, open-handed people of the South. Violence before remonstrance is an unheard-of thing under the Southern sun. It will not be tolerated.96

The day following the riot a smaller crowd re-
turned to the scene, but a cannon placed there during
the night effectively discouraged renewal of the loot-
ing.\textsuperscript{97} More than a week later, however, Mayor Mayo
feared another outbreak and requested more troops.
All of Winder's force and two battalions from the river
defenses stood ready to suppress further demonstrations.\textsuperscript{98}

Despite assurances from Richmond officials that
the bread riot had originated in sheer lawlessness
probably sparked by Yankee spies, there was want in
the city. The courts sent convicted participants in
the riot to jail for as many as three years.\textsuperscript{99} When
the fear of anarchy passed, however, Richmond's Coun-
cil acted constructively to alleviate the distress.
The municipal authorities recognized that beneath the
wanton looting of a few lay genuine frustration and
privation. A week after the incident Council appro-
priated $20,000 for free food depots in the city. A
committee of 24 men dispensed tickets to the deserving
poor in each ward. The tickets were exchangeable for
provisions at either of two depots.\textsuperscript{100} As long as
food was available, this expedient removed any cause
for further disturbance.

May brought a renewal of military hostilities.
Federal General Joseph Hooker moved the Army of the
Potomac out of winter quarters on the Fredericksburg
front. Preparing to face Lee, Hooker dispatched General
George Stoneman's Cavalry to the Confederate rear.
Stoneman's mission was the destruction of supplies and communications. On Sunday May 3 couriers reported that the Yankees in Hanover County were advancing on Richmond. Richmonders heard the news from the pulpits of their churches. After services George W. Randolph organized nine volunteer companies to man the city's fortifications. The confusion was enormous. General Arnold Elzey, Commander of the Military Department of Richmond, told an official in the War Department he wished he were dead.⁠¹⁰¹ Mrs. Chesnut became so frightened over the city's imminent capture, that she burned her diary.⁠¹⁰²

Stoneman came within five miles of the Capital on Monday the fourth. Bells rung in the city, and Randolph's improvised force again marched out to the batteries. Unfortunately they forgot to take any gun powder with them. Randolph noticed the oversight and sent for powder. Then he discovered that none of the guns had friction primers with which to ignite the powder. Had Stoneman assaulted the works, not a single cannon could have fired against him. To the relief of all, the 1500 Yankees came no closer than Ashland.⁠¹⁰³

Explosion, riot, and raid caused severe consternation in the city. Yet these did not compare in effect with the death of General Thomas J. Jackson. While the
residents of the capital were quaking before Stoneman's advance, Lee and Jackson had performed brilliantly. The Army of Northern Virginia doubly enveloped Hooker at Chancellorsville and thoroughly foiled his projected assault on Richmond. Jackson was wounded by his own troops, while returning from an evening reconnaissance. The General died May 10. 104

Richmond learned of Jackson's death the next morning. Business ceased at ten o'clock, and people began walking to the railroad depot. The body arrived in the mid-afternoon. Perhaps the largest crowd ever assembled in the city followed the coffin to the Governor's Mansion. 105 City Council met to adopt resolutions of respect. The men found that they had to "refrain from an attempt at eulogy which no language can express." 106 One resident remembered, "Nothing in the war, perhaps, excepting the surrender, ever struck Richmond with such stunning force..." 107 The Examiner added, "There was the stuff of Cromwell in Jackson, Hannibal might have been proud of his campaign in the Valley, and the shades of the mightiest warriors should rise to welcome his stern ghost." 108

On the morning of May 12 Jackson's body passed through Richmond's streets. Three brass bands went before the hearse, and the General's riderless horse followed. 109
The whole people stood bareheaded and mute... It was no mocking pageant. No holiday soldiery, spruce and gay, followed that precious bier—no chattering crowds pointed out the beauties of the sight. Solemn and mournful the escort passed; sad and almost voiceless the people turned away and, going to their homes, sat with their sorrow.

At noon the body lay in state at the Capitol. A visitor wrote, "If I had not learned of the Nation's great loss; I should think that every person in the City of Richmond had today buried their nearest and dearest friend." The day after the funeral procession the General's body was taken to Lexington for interment. Very few Richmonders ever knew Jackson personally. But he had defended them. His deeds and his character made him one of them, and they felt his loss deeply.

The previous spring Richmond had met the clear and present challenge of McClellan's invasion. Since that period of overt danger the capital had dealt with the strains of home front war. The city had found food, faced riot, and improvised local defense. The capital quarreled with her government but sacrificed dearly for the cause. Richmond's reaction to Jackson's death indicated the depth of her total commitment. In turn she had faced squarely the challenges of war—overt and subtle, internal and external. Although she never found final solutions, Richmond kept adjusting and continued seeking. And in this steadfastness was her glory.
2. "Moral force of the resistance"

Two days after Jackson's funeral the Whig printed an editorial about the "Revolutionized City." Lamenting the influx of undesirable "aliens," the editor hoped that no one thought Richmonders responsible for the crime and vice prevalent in the capital. Earlier he had written:

Richmond has had to pay through the nose for her greatness. With the Confederate government came the tag, rag and boxtail which ever pursue political establishments. The pure society of Richmond became woefully adulterated. Its peace was destroyed, its good name defiled; it became a den of thieves, extortioners, substitutes, deserters, blacklegs and cyprians. The glory and shame of a great city was its heritage.

War indeed made a strong impress upon the city. Her antebellum past seemed so absurdly simple compared with the complexities wrought by this Confederate war. Hospitals, prisons, government offices, and war industries occupied once familiar buildings. And the so many were strangers. A native could walk from one end of Franklin Street to the other and not recognize a single face. Richmond's "first citizen" was a general who rarely visited the city; her hero lay martyred in Lexington; and her President was known to most of his fellow-Richmonders only by sight.

Ironically some of the strangers who crowded the
city's streets and hotels best described Richmond, the two-year-old capital. During the summer of 1863 a number of Europeans, attracted by the Confederacy's military success, came to see the American rebellion firsthand. Some were newspaper correspondents; many were soldiers. All of these travelers were curious about this new nation and the prospects of its survival. Some of those who visited Richmond left a vivid portrait of their impressions.

The visitors' first impressions chronicled the city's wartime development. If they approached from the south, they noted that field fortifications now guarded the Richmond and Petersburg railroad. As trains reached the James River, visitors had the opportunity of a long look at Richmond's panorama on the opposite bank. The cars now crossed the James "with extreme slowness" because of the rickety condition of the much-used bridge. Once inside the city:

The idleness and business of war are instanced, on the one hand, by the belted and spurred bragarts who lounge about the hotels; the closed shops, the schools that keep perpetual holiday, the old men that gather in the shady side walks to gossip and bewail, and the negro women that scream delightedly at the peals of music. On the other, by the thousands of workmen that frame oddley—constructed floating batteries at the waterside, and forge great guns at the Tredggar works: the medley of transportation teams that rumble over bridges and file along the turnpike roads; the gangs of negro men that are marched under guard
to work at entrenchments and government buildings; the regiments in homespun gray and 'butternut,' that trail dustily through the high streets to swell distant camps. War looks at you from hospital churches and through the bright eyes of fever; it thrills you in the limp of cripples that beg at the wayside; it whispers sadly in the rustle of crape, and shouts its discontent in the yells of newsboys.  

When the traveler sought hotel accommodations, he realized that, "Richmond was never intended to hold as many inhabitants as it does now." Most of the estimates placed the city's population at 100,000 souls. Frenchman Charles Girard noticed the prevalence of homespun and uncolored clothing. "Today," he wrote, "master and slave wear almost identical clothing." Perhaps the sympathetic Girard exaggerated a bit when he continued, "at Richmond, however, they have begun to manufacture fabrics which promise to rival those of France and Belgium in beauty and quality."  

In the course of his comings and goings about the city Fitzgerald Ross, a captain of Austrian Hussars, perceived the war's impact upon Richmond's economy. Planters, and those who have anything to sell, are nearly as well off as before, as they get proportionately high prices for their goods. For those who can command gold or exchange upon England, living is exceedingly cheap.... But as Richmond is crowded with Government officials, most of whom have only their salaries, and with refugees from parts of the country occupied by Yankees, who have little or nothing at all, the war is much more severely felt here than anywhere else in the Confederacy.
M. Girard saw permanence in the political structure at the new capital. He insisted that "it is no longer a trial Government, which is seated now at Richmond, but really a normal Government, the expression of popular will."\textsuperscript{123} Lieutenant Colonel Fremantle of the Coldstream Guards noted further "normal" indications. "I found," he recorded, "at least as much difficulty in gaining access to the great men as there would be in European countries."\textsuperscript{124}

Military observers Ross and Fremantle hurried to join the van of Lee's army as it began the second major invasion of the North. Captain Justus Scheibert, a Prussian officer, joined them on the journey which ended at Gettysburg. Before he left the capital, however, Scheibert visited the fields of the Seven Days. He described the country to the east of Richmond:

Although almost a year had passed since this land had been the scene of battle, the whole country still looked as if it had been sown with debris—knapsacks, articles of leather, and broken weapons—while unpleasant mias mata lay over the deserted landscape. Only grunting swine wandered around on level ground, often rooting at the shallow graves and gnawing on bodies which stared with distorted horrible expressions at persons who rode by. Where was the time in those days to bury the many thousands of dead deep enough.\textsuperscript{125}

Most enlightening of the foreigners' comments were those dealing with morale. Although Richmonders sometimes criticized the Davis administration and often complained of the riff-raff which had accompanied the
Confederacy to its capital, the city's identification with the cause was well demonstrated to Charles Girard. After witnessing Richmond's reaction to the defeats of 1863 he wrote:

In the midst of the most serious reverses, when in the eyes of a foreigner, their cause seemed to waver most, they showed an ardor, a warlike spirit that nothing, not even the fear of death, could daunt. In all ranks of the people there was the same rallying cry, to fight an abhorred enemy to the death.126

Captain Scheibert was equally impressed. "The moral force of the resistance," he stated, "was also centered in Richmond, the capital of the rebellion.... The energy of the Confederate resistance that was typified in Richmond impressed me almost as much as the great efforts of the army later to hold the field against an overwhelming adversary."127 The city's European visitors saw her greatness of spirit which residents accepted as commonplace.

In June of 1863 Richmond's European guests saw her at the peak of her powers. The capital felt the stimulation of Lee's victories. Her army had repulsed the invador and now readied for an offensive in Pennsylvania. In the war's eastern theater Richmond's army was supreme.

The capital had prevailed on the home front; Richmond had adapted to total war. McClellan had come, and the city had shouted defiance and stood fast. Hunger
and crime increased, and Richmond sought remedies. New frictions, new expedients, and new people strained the old town, but Richmond absorbed and sifted the newness and survived the transformation. Richmond the capital had matured.

The Confederate experience had a tremendous impact upon Richmond. Conversely the city exerted no small influence upon the Confederacy. The seat of government had rather set ways before the advent of Jefferson Davis's government. The resident national government made accomodation to Richmond's characteristics and idiosyncracies in untold instances—from the boarding habits of Congressmen to Varina Davis's management of official society. More important was the capital's location and military significance. Richmond had psychological import as the capital and logistical import as the center of many Confederate war industries. Richmond was the key to military strategy in the eastern theater of the war. And concern for Richmond's security provided the Davis government with a strong temptation to emphasize victory in the East at the expense of success in the West.

Despite the significance of Richmond's steadfast adjustment to wartime trials and of Richmond's influence upon the conduct of war, these factors alone
did not make her a great capital. Richmond's claim to
greatness in June, 1863, rested upon her "warlike spirit
that nothing, not even the fear of death, could daunt."
Amid the stress of total war Richmond still danced and
laughed. As long as the city continued "the moral
force of the resistance," she would prevail.

Truly the Confederate experience had revolution-
ized Richmond. Her glory lay in meeting the transfor-
mation of total war. The city had faced her assail-
ants, dealt with her problems, and endured. But in
the revolution's inconclusiveness lay Richmond's trag-
edy. The capital was ever becoming. If the war con-
tinued long, the pace of events and crises would out-
strip Richmond's capacity to meet the challenges of
her revolution.

3. "Yesterday we rode on the pinnacle of success"

During May and June of 1863 an atmosphere of ex-
pectancy pervaded the city's thoughts. No one doubted
that the Yankees would return. But Lee and his army
still barred the way, and the Dispatch assured its
readers that the enemy's ninth "on to Richmond" drive
would go the way of all the rest. Richmond waited
quietly. The sword would decide her fate soon enough.
Even the May 28 election proved quiet. There were a few fights and some tippling, but these were common on election days. Richmond voters rejected incumbent James Lyons and chose Colonel Williams C. Wickham for the Confederate House of Representatives. The Enquirer had tried to label Wickham a unionist, because of his opposition to secession in 1861 at the Convention. However, the 43 year-old ex-Whig satisfied all doubts about his patriotism by forming a cavalry company for the cause. Richmond seemed delighted to resume her pre-war political persuasion and vote for the more conservative of two ex-Whigs. The city gave Wickham 61 per cent of the vote between these two candidates. In the same election Richmonders supported their local gubernatorial candidate Thomas S. Flournoy. However, a sizable army vote elected ex-Governor William Smith. The colorful soldier would succeed John Letcher on January 1, 1864.

Late in June Lee put his army on the road north. Aside from the strategic and diplomatic advantages of a successful invasion of the enemy's territory, Lee realized that northern Virginia was agriculturally exhausted. He determined to let Pennsylvania farmers feed his troops. Virginia had been too long a battleground. The capital's hopes went with its army. The Dispatch likened the Army of Northern Virginia to
"the sword of the Lord and of Gideon."\textsuperscript{135}

For a time Richmond focused her attention on every rumor of Lee's advance. However, Federal troops compelled the capital to narrow its vision and look to nearer fronts. While the Southern army marched through Maryland and into Pennsylvania, Union General John A. Dix threatened Richmond from the east. On June 28 the War Office learned that 25,000 Yankees were at Williamsburg and 5,000 more had landed at White House on the Pamunkey River.\textsuperscript{136} Once again volunteer companies took up arms. Two thousand government clerks and mechanics began drilling. George W. Randolph commanded the City Council's latest attempt at creating effective militia force.\textsuperscript{137} When only about 300 men enlisted (beside the government employees), Governor Letcher called out the second class militia.\textsuperscript{138} On July 2 the Federals were reported in New Kent County, 18 miles from Richmond. The same day the city's volunteer troops marched out to support General D. H. Hill's regulars.\textsuperscript{139}

Businesses closed in the capital. Confederate Treasury and Post Offices as well as ordnance shops suspended operations. Provost marshals combed the city for stragglers and escorted every able-bodied man remaining in the city to Castle Thunder.\textsuperscript{140} The \textit{Whig} noted:
Richmond shows her teeth. Her guardian, Robert E. Lee, having gone off with the boys on a little summer tour of Maryland and Pennsylvania, she has been forced to take care of herself. A party of Yankee rascallions, hearing of her unprotected condition, have crept up to the White House [landing], with the intention of insulting and robbing her. They don't know the old lady.... We saw her when she went out. —She looked very unlike the quiet and genteel dame whom we have known for some years past.... She looked glorious in her anger. In fact she looked dangerous. 141

The assemblage of clerks, laborers, and officials marched eight miles east on the Darbytown Road on Thursday the second. In the evening two of D. H. Hill's brigades repulsed three Yankee regiments below Bottoms Bridge over the Chickahominy. Then it appeared that the Blue-coats had slipped around to the north of the city.

Reports placed the enemy in King William and Hanover Counties. On Friday, July 3, Richmond's militia marched back through the city and took up positions at Meadow Bridge about six miles north of the city limits. The next day the force moved to cover Brook Road. Around midnight of July 7 Yankee cavalry swept down on Ashland, burned the railroad depot, and ripped up some track.

After destroying some crops in King William, the Federals withdrew down the Peninsula. 142

Richmond's militiamen returned to their normal occupations on Monday the sixth. 143 One of their number stated that their weekend campaign compared favorably with one of Stonewall Jackson's famous marches. 144
General Elzey, Commander of the Department of Richmond, published a general order tendering his thanks for their efforts. He found no difference between these volunteers and the regulars. The Examiner termed the volunteers and second class militia the "bulwarks" of Richmond's defense. The Federals did not cease their raiding about the capital. Each threat, no matter how small, cost the Confederacy productive hours of the mechanic-soldiers. And the destroyed crops made winter that much harder. By August a company of "Silver Grays," men over 55, were drilling in Richmond to guard the capital while the militia was away.

On July 4, while Richmond's men guarded Meadow Bridge, an extra edition of the Dispatch announced that Lee was marching on Washington. Three days later an "extra" Sentinel carried the headlines, "Important from Gettysburg, The Enemy Routed on Sunday, Forty Thousand Prisoners Captured." The Dispatch on July 7 told Richmonders that Johnston was in Grant's rear at Vicksburg, and that the city would surely be saved. Then slowly Richmonders learned the worst. Lee was retreating. Perhaps he had not been beaten, but he was retreating. Vicksburg had surrendered. The Mississippi was a Yankee river, and Lee's invincible army had suffered a bloody repulse.
Richmond's reaction to the double disaster, Vicksburg and Gettysburg, took many forms and lasted several months. On July 14 the Dispatch still claimed a victory for Lee at Gettysburg. Most Richmonders, however, sensed the significance of the defeat. A lady remembered, "Every countenance was overspread with gloom, and doubt took the place of hope." Josiah Gorgas wrote in his diary, "yesterday we rode on the pinnacle of success--today absolute ruin seems to be our portion. The Confederacy totters to its destruction." Gorgas later revived his hopes for the Confederacy, but he had not overstated. July, 1863, proved a watershed for the nation and its capital. Richmond had expended energy, resources, and life in the struggle for independence. Now spirit and flesh alike began to falter. The city's decline was gradual, and she rallied from time to time. But the military defeats of a single week had drained the city's confidence and accentuated her material weakness. From this point the capital was dying.

General Lee tendered his resignation to President Davis on July 8. The Virginian questioned the nation's confidence in his ability to lead one of its armies and offered to step aside gracefully. Davis rejected the offer. No such courtesy existed between the
President and Joe Johnston, commander in the western theater. Davis had given Johnston authority over virtually all Confederate forces in the west;\textsuperscript{155} and Vicksburg, it seemed, fell because Johnston sent no force to relieve its besieged garrison. Josiah Gorgas recorded an exchange with the President: "when I said that Vicksburgh fell, apparently, from want of provisions, he remarked: 'Yes, from want of provisions inside, and a general outside who wouldn't fight.'\textsuperscript{156} Johnston turned the blame on John C. Pemberton, commander of Vicksburg's garrison. Closing a 25-page report Johnston wrote, "in his short campaign General Pemberton made not a single movement in obedience to my orders, and regarded none of my instructions; and finally did not embrace the only opportunity to save his army—that given by my order to abandon Vicksburg."\textsuperscript{157} Johnston, Davis, and Pemberton kept the controversy alive throughout the winter. Mrs. Chesnut wrote of Johnston, "His hatred of Jeff Davis amounts to a religion....Being such a good hater, it is a pity he had not elected to hate somebody else than the President of our country."\textsuperscript{158}

Nor was all the carping confined to the military. Reverses in the field seemed to open the way for quarreling and dissidence at the capital. The fall elections of 1863 strengthened opposition to the Davis administration in Congress.\textsuperscript{159} Mrs. Chesnut wrote of Texas Sena-
tor Louis T. Wigfall, a former friend of the President, "Wigfall was here last night. He began by wanting to hang Jeff Davis." Virginia's R. M. T. Hunter also turned against the President. When visiting the Executive Mansion on business one December day, Hunter was forced to listen to a tirade by Davis against Virginia and Virginians. The Senator left in a rage without even mentioning the purpose of his visit. Although Confederate politics never developed an actual opposition party, the Congressional hostility of men like Hunter and Wigfall damaged the Davis administration more than a rival political organization. Lacking the unity and leadership of party, Davis's opponents could never be a "loyal opposition."

While Congress, President, and generals wrangled, confidence in the civil authority waned. As early as April, 1863, South Carolina politician James H. Hammond expressed a significant sentiment when he wrote Hunter regarding Congress, "Some malign influence seems to preside over your councils. Pardon me, is the majority always drunk? The People are beginning to think so." For a time Richmonders had crowded the galleries in the Capitol's legislative halls. They came to see the nation's great men debate key issues. But now whenever a crucial debate ensued, the legislators in-
voked the privilege of secrecy and barred the doors.
In the House of Representatives visitors often heard,
not the reasonable debate of learned men, but the shrill
invective of Henry S. Foote. One Georgia Congressman
wrote his wife during one of Foote's lengthy fulmina-
tions:

Governor Foote of Tenn. is now speak-
ing on the currency bill, and is rather
poking Perkins [John Perkins, Jr. of
Louisiana] in the ribs. Foote does not
pretend to argue the merits of the bill;
but is simply replying to and criticising
the remarks of others.164

A Richmond lady who admired the Tennessean's audacity,
if not his statesmanship, recalled:

It was amusing to watch the shade of
angry resignation that would steal over
the faces of the members, and of vexa-
tion that would mantle the brows of
visitors to the hall of the House of
Representatives, when, upon almost
every bill introduced, they were con-
demned to listen to the ever ready
tirade of invective that seemed al-
ways to pour from the lips of this re-
markable man....his speeches, which
might have been spirited and interest-
ing, were usually quarrelsome and dis-
gusting.165

Many legislators seemed to transfer their otherwise-
mindedness in the United States Congress to its Con-
federate counterpart. Even so Confederate Congress
did much constructive work for the cause. Unfortunate-
ly, some of its soundest legislation violated the popu-
lar sacred cow of state rights. And residents of the
capital saw first-hand the pettiness which often prevailed in their national councils.

During the summer and fall of 1863 Richmond's press divided sharply on the government's conduct of the war. The previous March the Alexandria Sentinel had wearied of almost continuous Yankee occupation and had refugeeed to Richmond. Soon this paper and the Enquirer became veritable bulwarks of the Davis administration. Both the Sentinel and the Enquirer denied being administration "organs." Said the Sentinel's editor, "We support the Administration because duty demands—not because we have received, or hoped for, its favors." In July the Sentinel said of the anti-Davis press:

These critics include the one or two really bad, treasonable sheets in our Confederacy, and other journals that have surrendered themselves to personal prejudices, and to the sentiment of opposition to the Administration.

In the same issue the editor wrote in defense of Davis:

President Davis is devoting himself to the affairs of the country with a zeal and devotion that almost wear out his physical frame, and keep his health ever in a delicate condition....He asks no one to pay better obedience to the laws than he pays himself. He sets us the example in this of a good citizen and a faithful officer. And while thus keeping within the limits of his official powers, he conducts our affairs with a transcendent ability, and fills his high station with honor to himself and to his country. Let us encourage him with our sympathies and sustain him with our generous support! This, we are sure, is the sentiment of the people; and
it is just, and right, and wise, and
politically.

The Dispatch usually maintained a benign neutrality on
issues touching the government. The paper occasionally
criticized the administration, but amid the disillusion
which followed Gettysburg and Vicksburg, the Dispatch
concentrated its venom on Yankees abroad and "croakers"
at home.\textsuperscript{170} The Whig and Examiner remained outspoken
critics of Davis's policies. These papers accused the
President and his administration of despotism at home,
sloth in the field, and favoritism in appointments.\textsuperscript{171}

If popular approval of an editorial policy had an effect
on circulation, it was significant that the Dispatch
led her four competitors in numbers of copies.\textsuperscript{172} From
this it would seem that most Richmonders rejected ex-
treme views regarding the administration and agreed
with the moderation expressed in the Dispatch.

When Jefferson Davis returned from his first major
tour of the western Confederacy in January, 1863, Rich-
mond greeted him with a brass band. In November, 1863,
the President came back from a second tour very quietly.
Not even the newspapers knew exactly when he had re-
turned.\textsuperscript{173} While politicians and press lauded or abused
Davis, the ordinary Richmonder seemed to ignore him.
Citizens in the capital had long since looked to Lee's
army for national salvation. In 1863 the carping and
lack of vision among the "official set" in Richmond
confirmed that view. Devotion to the cause and its
defenders transcended the seeming dearth of political leadership. Military adversity in 1863 drew most Richmonders together—behind the war effort, if not the war government.

Rather than criticizing their government, the majority of Richmonders transferred their anger to the enemy. The tide of Federal victories in 1863 created intense bitterness on the home front. The Sentinel expressed amazement that the Yankees in Libby Prison were actually praying. A hospital matron wrote her sister in September:

The feeling here against the Yankees exceeds anything I could imagine, particularly among the good Christians. I spent an evening among a particularly pious set. One lady said she had a pile of Yankee bones lying around her pump so that the first glance on opening her eyes would rest upon them. Another begged me to get her a Yankee skull to keep her toilette trinkets in. All had something of this kind to say...

Among Richmond’s children the epithet "Yankee" became an invitation to violence. One youngster regularly called ticks "Yankees." And a little girl would not play with her doll, because she feared the toy's hair might be from a Yankee.

Amid the personal and national trials of 1863 a fervid religious revival swept through Richmond and its army. Reacting to temporal circumstance and material hardship, the Confederates sought divine justi-
fication and spiritual peace. During 1862 Moses D. Hoge of Richmond's Second Presbyterian Church had run the blockade and secured in England over 300,000 Bibles and portions of scripture for distribution in the Confederacy. The Baptists carried on an extensive colportage campaign from Richmond. Such tracts as *Are You ready?*, *The Brown Jug*, and *True Conversion, A Dialogue between Hopeful and Christian*. From *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress* went to the armies from the Presbyterian Committee of Publication in Richmond.

During July and August an "intense revival" brought hundreds into Richmond's Negro Churches. That fall Clay Street Methodist, Centenary Methodist, Grace Street Baptist, and Trinity Methodist held large revival meetings. Between September, 1863, and September, 1864, First Baptist Church gained 147 new members. In 1862 St. Paul's rector Charles Minigerode had baptised and confirmed Jefferson Davis and Josiah Gorgas on the same day. Richmond's churches served the Confederacy well. From the pulpits came assurance that Yankees were modern-day Philistines and Jehovah would smite them down. On one of many days of national fasting and prayer William Norwood thundered at St. John's:

Oh! Shall the blessing of God on our noble cause, shall our independence, shall our lands, shall our happy homes, shall the freedom of our sons, and the honor of our daughters, be offered as a sacrifice on the
altar of mammon? Yes! unless the food of the country is wrested from the grasp of the speculators; unless the wealth of the country, instead of being hoarded for purpose of selfish gratification and aggrandizement, be laid on the altar of patriotism: unless our armies be increased and sustained; unless the hands of the government be upheld by the people; unless the voice of the factious...be silenced;...unless all of every age, profession, and pursuit, rally, in one united, great, self-sacrificing, patriotic effort to support the army, and sustain the government. Oh! how easy it is to find fault, how hard to act well.164

During the winter of 1863-1864 even the staunchest patriot needed reassurance that God sided with the South. Throughout the fall Lee, straining to rebuild his shattered army, feared for Richmond's safety. The General wrote President Davis in September that Colonel Gorgas "should commence at once to enlarge his manufacturing arsenels, etc., in the interior, so that if Richmond should fall we would not be destitute."185 Toward the end of October Lee touched another somber chord in a letter to Secretary of War Seddon. Pointing out that Richmond was quite unsuitable for impounding prisoners, Lee explained, "Our capital is the great point of attack of the enemy in the eastern portion of the Confederacy, and the emergency might arise in which it would be exceedingly inconvenient to have Federal prisoners within its limits."186 Lee's fears were unfounded. Despite the absence of direct Union pressure,
however, that winter of 1863–1864 proved the war’s hardest.

Richmond’s supply problems began during the summer. On June 1 Josiah Gorgas recorded in his diary, "The weather is very fine, but unless we can have rain soon our crops will suffer sadley, and without good crops what will become of us?" In mid-July Gorgas wrote, "The weather is disheartening, for three or four weeks it has rained constantly. All the crops in this part of the country will be lost—a sad loss to us." By the end of July the Chief of Ordnance had counted about 45 days of rain within the last 50 days.

The miserable growing season kept many crops from ripening, and the desolation of war destroyed many yields before the harvest. In October the Examiner termed the countryside between the Potomac and the Rapidan rivers a desert. Rival armies had lived in and off this land for three summers. Yankee raids like that in early July had compounded the destruction of food. Southern stragglers and brigands wearing Confederate uniforms performed depredations greater than the Federals. In August the Dispatch proposed establishing a cavalry company to protect the fields in neighboring counties from marauders Northern and Southern. In Richmond much attention focused on
the grandaddy of all turtles served in Congress Hall by popular chef and julep-maker Jim Cook. Refugees like Mrs. McGuire consoled themselves with stories of their forefathers' greater hardship in that other war for independence. But in the markets the cheapest grade of flour advanced in price from $32 per barrel in June to $40 per barrel in August. On October 30 the Dispatch reported no flour at all in the markets or mills. An occasional barrel brought $65 to $70 when offered for sale. The same day the Whig blamed a breakdown in transportation facilities for the grim prospects:

It is useless to mince words: it were folly to remain silent, when we see every day evidences of an approaching bread famine in this city, whilst within the limits of the state, it is believed, there is food enough for all the people for twelve months. The population of Richmond cannot live upon air, and whilst the majority would be willing, we are sure, to subsist on half rations of bread, there is, at present, no prospect of obtaining this much during the winter.

The Whig impressed upon its readers, as early as August, the advantage of leaving Richmond and going to the country.

Given ample warning of the coming winter's severity Richmond's City Council prepared to meet the crisis. Between July 13, 1863, and April 11, 1864, Council appropriated over $150,000 for relief of the poor.
Within the same period the municipal authorities raised city salaries twice, so that a city watchman's pay, for example, jumped from $4 per night to $6.25. On October 15 the Committee on Supply recommended that the city enter the food business on a large scale. Council appointed a Board of Supplies to secure food in the country, arrange for transportation into the city, and establish warehouse depots for distribution.

By the first of November Council had an agent combing the central and western Virginia countryside for food. Council received assurances from the Secretary of War that army impressment agents would not interfere with the collection of food for Richmond. The first floor of Dunlop, Moncure and Company's warehouse was fitted out for a storage and distribution point.

In spite of these energetic preparations Council's Board of Supplies failed to secure adequate provisions. Alexander Garret, the city's agent, found little for sale in rural Virginia. With the aid of the YmCA, Council's supply store accommodated around 1000 families until the end of January, when the public supply ran low. Although the Board withheld some salted meat until spring, the leanest season of the year, its program never fulfilled Council's ambitious hopes. There simply was not sufficient food in the state.
Chief of the Bureau of War Kean recorded in his diary:

The Commissary General of Subsistence [Northrop] was at the Secretary's office this morning before 10 o'clock urging him to retract the license to the city council to purchase for the city warehouse provisions to be retailed to the destitute. The Secretary declined and went out. Colonel Northrop then came to me and asked me to urge the thing on the Secretary. I told him I did not agree with him, that I thought it of very great importance that the city should be fed. He said very earnestly the alternative was between the people and the army, that there is perhaps bread enough for both but not meat enough, and that we had to elect between the army and the people doing without. 208

In accord with Northrop's prediction both city and army suffered a meat panic in January, 1864. Beef brought $1.25 per pound, and poultry $1.50-$1.75. 209 The Examiner called the frantic Commissary General a "distinguished vegetarian" and declined further comment. 210

Virginia's General Assembly did its part to prepare for winter's worst. The legislature passed an act in October requiring railroad companies to transport immediately all fuel shipments of more than eight cords of wood or eight tons of coal to cities and towns in the state. 211 The Assembly also outlawed all "unnecessary consumption of grain by distillers and other manufacturers of spiritous and malt liquors." Not even a contract with the Confederate government provided a legal excuse for brewing or distilling. 212

Throughout the fall of 1863 the legislators de-
bated a state-wide price-fixing bill. Many Richmonders remembered General Winder's fiasco in the spring of 1862 and became greatly alarmed. The Enquirer stated:

'It is beautiful in theory to talk of adjusting prices, of making all things square by the schedule; but when the Legislature has got its law fairly under way, the empty market houses of the cities and towns may present an awful commentary upon the wisdom of its action.'

The proposed law provided for a periodic review and adjustment of food prices. "But," wrote one observer, "they have pretty well settled on the policy of making little change as the currency declines. Flour they put at $22.50 to $28 according to quality. When it is selling on the street here for $40....Production and movement will be so cut off and curtailed that there will be great danger of famine here." 214

While the legislators debated, Richmond divided on the merits of the expedient. The Enquirer and Dispatch opposed price fixing as fervently as the Sentinel supported it. 215 A "workingmen's mass meeting" on September 18 urged the General Assembly to adopt stringent laws respecting the market places. 216 Because State Senator George W. Randolph declared that he would vote against the price-fixing bill, unless otherwise instructed by his constituents, the workers convened again on October 10. 217 A very large crowd filled City Hall and adopted resolutions in favor of the pro-
posed legislation. Resolution number seven evidenced real awareness of class among Richmond’s laborers:

That as free men we do abhor and detest the idea that the rich must take care of the poor, because we know that without labor and production the man with all his money could not exist, from the fact that he consumes all and produces nothing; and that such a dependence would tend to degrade rather than elevate the human race.218

Property owners along with the Enquirer feared "mob violence" and called the workers "candidates for the penitentiary."219 At this juncture, however, City Council conducted a poll of the electorate on October 22.220 Richmond’s voters overwhelmingly rejected the proposition instructing the city’s Senator and Delegates to vote for the bill.221 Ultimately the General Assembly also rejected the expedient, and Richmond’s markets, for better or worse, remained free of state control.

Rapid inflation of Confederate currency added to the burdens of salaried people in the capital. In August clerks in the Post Office threatened to strike for an increase in their $700 to $800 annual salary.222 One government official noted gloomily in October:

"The wages of a journeyman saddler are from $10 to $12 per day, more by 30% than the salary of a head of bureau or assistant secretary in one of the departments. There is already great suffering among the clerks who get $1500. Those who have families are reduced to the most desperate straits; yet
Congress is afraid to increase salaries. 223

Finally in late January the Confederate Congress recognized the special hardship imposed upon the government's civil servants in the capital. In Richmond all government salaries below $2000 were increased 100%; all below $3000 were raised 50%. 224

Secretary of the Treasury Memminger tried to help his foundering currency. Beginning in the fall of 1863, he argued for a repudiation of one-third of the issue. Memminger hoped to remove inflated paper from circulation and restore value to the remaining currency. However, his proposals of repudiation, even long before they were enacted, greatly damaged public confidence and accelerated the inflationary spiral. 225 Richmond bankers met in September and agreed to take all Confederate notes at face value. 226 But such examples of financial confidence were rare. Somehow the city survived. At Christmas the Sentinel calculated that one gallon of egg nog cost a minimum of $100. The Whig waxed more lugubrious:

Christmas Old Style
Christmas cakes and English beer,
Christmas comes but once a year.

New Style
Bald-faced whiskey, sour beer--
Christmas, will it come next year? 227

A "good dinner" for one resident of the capital consisted of "a piece of fat shoulder Capt. Warner let me have at $1 per pound--it is selling for $2.50--and cabbage from
my garden, which my neighbor's cow overlooked when she broke through the gate last Sunday." Mrs. McGuire struggled through an arithmetic examination and secured a job in Colonel Northrop's office. She also made canvas shoes at home to supplement her husband's salary. By January, 1864, flour brought $125.00 per barrel, and corn meal $15 per bushel in Richmond's markets, and many Richmonders went hungry.

In spite of scarcity, impressment, and inflation the capital survived. She even found sardonic humor in her privation. War clerk Jones was grimly optimistic. "We look for a healthy year," he wrote, "everything being so cleanly consumed that no garbage or filth can accumulate. We are all good scavengers now, and there is no need of buzzards in the streets." Mrs. Chesnut repeated a standard remark about inflated currency: "You take your money to market in a market basket, and bring home what you buy in your pocketbook."

During 1863 a humor magazine Southern Punch began publication in Richmond. Claiming to be a "legitimate son" of the London Punch, the periodical lampooned any and all in the capital. Punch's "Hospital Catechism" defined as the duties of a military surgeon, "to physic soldiers according to the rules of defunct writers" and "to cut, slash, and saw off as many arms and legs as
possible in one day."\textsuperscript{234} "Judge Punch" was particularly severe with Mr. Hardflint, who was accused of charging Mr. Ref. Eugee $100 monthly rent.\textsuperscript{235}

Unhappily the \textbf{Southern Punch} adopted the common practice of blaming Richmond's high prices and scarcity on the city's Jews. The magazine proposed a new name for the capital, "Jew-rue-sell-'em," and it spoke of the Jews as "Richmond Yankees."\textsuperscript{236} In reality Richmond's small but influential Jewish community served the Southern cause well. Jewish soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia numbered 110.\textsuperscript{237} In February the \textbf{Dispatch} stated:

\begin{quote}
We are thoroughly disgusted, in this era of universal speculation and extortion, with the \textit{slang} of 'Jew, Jew,' a cry akin to that of the practiced pickpocket; when he joins the hue and cry of 'Stop Thief,' to divert attention from himself.\textsuperscript{238}
\end{quote}

The paper also pointed out that Richmond's Jewish businessmen were jewelers and dry goods merchants. Extortioners or not, at least they had no part in the high cost of food and shelter.\textsuperscript{239}

In February the \textbf{Whig} surveyed Richmond's social activity, which seemed to thrive in the midst of privation.

\begin{quote}
One of the least hopeful 'signs of the times' is the prevailing mania for parties and frivolity in this city. There has never been a gayer winter in Richmond. Balls and parties every night!
\end{quote}
One night last week there were seven parties....Go on, good people. It is better to be merry than sad. The wolf is far away from your doors, and it signifieth nothing to you that thousands of our heroic soldiers are shoeless and comfortless; or that a multitude of mothers, wives and children of the gallant defenders of our country's rights are sorely pinched by hunger and want--aye, starving, or dying from broken hearts.240

Mrs. Chesnut answered a similar sentiment, "I do not see how sadness and despondency would help us. If it would do any good, we could be sad enough."241

Mrs. Chesnut recorded perhaps the most revealing social contrast between the capital's "first ladies." Mrs. Lee arrived in Richmond during the Peninsula campaign while Mrs. Davis was in North Carolina.242 Richmond's City Council had appropriated $60,000 to buy a house and lot for the Lees, but the General declined Council's offer.243 Mrs. Lee was living on Franklin Street when Mrs. Chesnut paid her respects.

Her room was like an industrial school, with everybody so busy. Her daughters were all there, plying their needles, and also several other ladies. When we came out, I said: 'Did you see how the Lees spend their time? What a rebuke to the taffy parties.'244

In January:

Mrs. Davis gave her 'Luncheon for Ladies' on Saturday. Many more persons were there than at any of those luncheons which have gone before. We had gumbo, ducks and olives, lettuce salad, choco-
late cream, jelly cake, claret cup, champagne, etc. 245

In early January it seemed that the entire city entertained General John H. Morgan. The Southern cavalry commander had recently escaped from a Yankee prison, and Richmond honored him with an official reception. For days Morgan and his Kentuckians were the toast of the capital. 246 Later in the month President and Mrs. Davis began holding weekly receptions on Tuesdays, and Virginia's new Governor William Smith entertained officially every Friday night. 247 A guest of the Davises wrote:

President and Mrs. Davis gave a large reception last week, and all the ladies looked positively gorgeous....We should not expect suppers in these times, but we do have them! Champagne is $350 a dozen, but we sometimes have champagne! The confectioners charge $15 for a cake, but we have cake! 248

Most Richmonders settled for less lavish entertainment. "Starvation parties" were quite popular among visiting soldiers and their belles. Musicians were the only expense at these gatherings. The guests danced, and laughed, and quenched their thirsts from a large pitcher of 1864 James River. 249 The Mosaic Club united Richmond's literary and musical talent. The group provided music for charitable functions, and at impromptu gatherings the members entertained each other with essays, poems, songs, and spontaneous wit. 250 As Mrs.
Chesnut exclaimed, "There is life in the old land yet!"\textsuperscript{251}

Richmond's troubles seemed always to increase with the coming of spring. In 1863 McClellan had threatened. Stoneman's raid, the bread riot, and Jackson's death had rocked the capital in 1863. And as the difficult winter of 1863-1864 waned, the city's security again became imperiled.

General Winder's problems had started to grow the previous fall with three incidents. The Commander of the Department of Henrico had appointed as one of his new detectives Augustus Simcoe, a native of Norfolk, who was, according to the \textit{Sentinel}, "spoken of as being well fitted for the position."\textsuperscript{252} But in October Simcoe disturbed the peace of a house of ill-fame. When the proprietor accused the detective of being a "rowdy," he shot her. The spectacle of a wounded "madam" shouting deserved insults at Simcoe in a Richmond courtroom did little to increase confidence in Winder's administration. The \textit{Whig}, however, found nothing unusual in the event. "This circumstance excites no surprise in Richmond, where it has long been understood that detectives are, in not a few cases, not only \textit{habitues} of bawdy and gambling houses, but the allies of the keepers of such establishments."\textsuperscript{253}

In December another Winder appointment, Captain
Alexander of Castle Thunder, was arrested for malfeasance in office. Perhaps the crowning blow to Winder's confidence occurred on the night of November 18. General John Winder, charged with protecting life, law, and property in Richmond suffered the supreme humiliation. A gang of thieves burglarized his home.

In January and February Richmond's chronic problem of captive population—Yankee and Negro slave—reached crisis proportions. By 1864 Richmond was headquarters of a ring of "Negro runners," who charged $200 to $300 for smuggling slaves through the lines to the North. As President Davis was only too well aware the city's slave population represented potentially dangerous allies of the enemy. In February he wrote in a message to Congress advocating suspension of habeas corpus in Richmond:

I have satisfactory reasons for believing that spies are continually coming and going in our midst....Yet however accurate and reliable such information might be, it was not competent testimony; and it was idle to arrest them only to be discharged by the civil authorities....Apprehensions have more than once been entertained of a servile insurrection in Richmond. The Northern papers inform us that Butler General [Benjamin B.] is perfecting some deep-laid scheme to punish us for our refusal to hold intercourse with him. If, as is not improbable, his designs should point to servile insurrection in Richmond, incendiariism, and the destruction of public works so necessary to our defense, and so impossible to be replaced, how can we hope to fathom it and reach the guilty emissaries and contrivers
but by incompetent negro testimony?\textsuperscript{257}

Richmond's Negroes remained generally loyal to the end. However, the exceptions and their very existence in the capital caused increasing anxiety in the community.\textsuperscript{258}

Jefferson Davis had always had trouble keeping his servants. He blamed Federal bribes for the frequent runaways. Two more decamped on January 8.\textsuperscript{259} Then on the night of January 19 one of Davis's Negroes attempted to burn the president's home. Occupants of the Executive Mansion discovered the fire in time and confined it to a basement room.\textsuperscript{260} When Mrs. Chesnut visited two days later, she found, "It was sad enough. Fancy having to be always ready to have your servants set your house on fire, to know they are bribed to do it. Such constant robberies, servants coming and going daily to the Yankees, carrying over silver, etc., does not conduce to make home happy."\textsuperscript{261}

For months Yankee officers had picked away at the clay under Libby Prison. Starting from a basement storeroom they had hewn a tunnel to freedom. Using spoons as shovels and secreting the dirt under a pile of straw, the resourceful inmates extended the shaft to a vacant lot across the street from their prison. During the early morning of February 10, a Federal prisoner of war emerged from the ground. After he looked for sentinels,
108 other prisoners followed him into the streets of Richmond. Wholesale escape!  

The Whig termed the group of escapees a "large odiferous rat" but joined many Richmonders in praise of the prisoners' ingenuity. Five days later Confederate soldiers, unarmed boys and a Negro brandishing a hoe had recaptured 43 of the Federals. Security precautions increased to such a degree that in March an overzealous sentinel shot and killed one of his fellows, as the unfortunate soldier peered from a window at Castle Thunder.

Major prison escapes and fear of servile insurrections constituted genuine threats to the capital's security. But the designs of Colonel Ulric Dahlgren were infinitely more alarming. Late in February the city learned that a force of Yankees had penetrated Lee's lines. The Whig confidently explained on March 1:

The movement, as far as we can learn, is confined to the enemy's cavalry and artillery, and the object is believed to be merely a raid to cut our communication by the Central [Rail] Road, the column moving by way of Charlottesville diverting attention in favor of one moving on Frederick Hall. The enemy will hardly remain long enough to do much damage, and it is hardly probable they will make their escape as easily as they came in.

In Richmond people scarcely had time to read the Whig's account before the Federals contradicted it. Early in
that raw afternoon Yankee cavalry appeared on the Brooke Turnpike. General Judson Kilpatrick's 3,000 veteran troopers appeared poised to dash into the capital. Alarm bells sounded. Local defense companies manned the capital's defenses and answered the Union fire. What was the Yankee commander waiting for? Just as a major charge seemed imminent, the Federal force withdrew.267

The capital did not have long to ponder the Union strategy. Later the same afternoon a smaller column of Yankees advanced on the city from the west. The Westham Plank Road filled with excited farmers fleeing before the Federal cavalry. Rain and sleet muffled the sound of the muskets as the Yankees came on. Finally in the early darkness the Armory Battalion, reinforced with clerks and boys, halted the enemy two-and-a-half miles from the city. The concentrated fire of mechanics, old men, and furloughed officers convinced the weary bluecoats that a regular Confederate force guarded the capital.268

Both Federal columns were soon in full retreat. General Wade Hampton's Southern cavalry harried Kilpatrick's troopers all the way to the Yankee lines at Williamsburg. The other force recoiled from the repulse on the Westham Road, skirted Richmond on the north, and circled to the east in an effort to reach
friendly lines. On March 2 Lee's Rangers (Company H, Ninth Virginia Cavalry) joined bodies of local defense troops in the pursuit. Lieutenant Pollard hounded the fleeing raiders and by eleven o'clock held his small band in ambush near Mantapike on the Mattaponi River. 269

The Federals came within twenty or thirty paces of the hidden Southerners. "Halt!" came from the darkness. The Yankee commander spurred his horse. "Disperse, you damned Rebels!" The first volley cut him down. His troopers fled, and the Confederate horseman dashed after them. Next morning the Rebels would capture of the luckless raiders and dispatch them to Richmond. When the confusion died about the point of ambush, young William Littlepage slipped from his place of concealment. The little schoolboy had always wanted a gold watch for his teacher, and that dead Yankee officer might have one. Cautiously he felt for the lifeless enemy in the darkness. The Yankee had no watch, but William Littlepage did take his cigar case and present it to Edward Halbach, the lad's schoolmaster.

Halbach appreciatively received the gift and opened the case. He found not cigars but personal papers of the Yankee officer. They identified him as Colonel Ulric Dahlgren, son of a distinguished naval admiral, and they disclosed the true depths of Yankee treachery. 270
We hope to release the prisoners from Belle Island first, and, having seen them fairly started, we will cross the James River into Richmond, destroying the bridges after us, and exhorting the released prisoners to destroy and burn the hateful city, and do not allow the Rebel leader, Davis, and his traitorous crew to escape.271

In an age that still recognized war as a civilized institution, the Dahlgren papers were regarded as a veritable bombshell. Varina Davis could hardly believe the disclosure. "Once Commodore Dahlgren had brought the little fair-haired boy to show me how pretty he looked in his black velvet suit and Vandyke collar," she wrote, "and I could not reconcile the two Ulrics."272 Richmond newspapers were unanimously in favor of hanging the 350 captives of the raid. The Examiner called them "robbers."273 The Sentinel fumed:

We have some of these men in our hands. What shall we do with them? —What do they deserve? Tried by the rules of war of what are they guilty? They are murderers, incendiaries, outlaws, detected and arrested in the execution of their crimes. They have forfeited the character of soldiers, and they should not be treated as such.274

General Lee termed the raid a "barbarous and inhuman plot" but advised against executing the prisoners.

"I think it better to do right," he wrote the Secretary of War, "even if we suffer in so doing, than to incur the reproach of our consciences and posterity."275 The prisoners were spared, but Richmond did not soon recover from her fury.
When the capital did regain her composure, she faced another year of campaigning. Grant and Meade threatened. At the surface Richmond's prospects appeared no worse than in the past. Some of the soaring confidence had faded from the hearts of Richmonders, but determination remained. The Federals concentrating on the Rapidan seemed far away, and Lee's army still barred the way to the capital.

In reality, however, the proud capital had declined noticeably. The reverses at Gettysburg and Vicksburg had shaken Richmond's faith. Confederate arms were not invincible. The crisis of the previous summer had produced carping bitterness. Then a harder winter than ever before demonstrated the city's material deficiencies. Worse still the capital rejected the maximum price bill and tried to solve heightened problems with last year's remedies. The city still laughed at troubles, but even humor had developed a sour, sarcastic tone. Finally Richmond's security became imperiled. The city's poise faltered. Richmond's glory lay in the past.
NOTES

1. For accounts of the eastern campaigns in the late summer and fall, 1862, see Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, II; Vandiver, *Mighty Stonewall*, 323-432; and Dowdey, *Land They Fought For*, 197-235.

2. Johnston to Wigfall, Chattanooga, December 15, 1862, Louis T. Wigfall Papers, University of Texas.


5. As a result the City Chamberlain no longer kept the municipal treasury in his office, and Governor Letcher removed the state's funds from the old iron safe in the treasury building. Council, Minutes, August 11, 1862; Boney, "Letcher," 316.

6. Since the beginning of the war Richmond had received 99,508 hospital patients (figure quoted from Congressional report in *Whig*, September 23, 1862). See Records of Medical Director at Richmond, Hospital Reports, Chapter VI, Vol. 151, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives, for a month by month survey of Richmond's hospital population. During the fall of 1862, the number of patients treated at Chimborazo never fell below 4,300 for any month. At General Hospital No. 1 the number treated ranged from 376 to 600. However, Mrs. McGuire reported Richmond's emergency facilities "comparatively empty" in November. (Diary of a Refugee, 169), and Dr. Holloway wrote his wife on August 16, "I have very little to do, in the way of practice now--my hospital is almost clear of patients." (Holloway Papers, Virginia Historical Society Library, Richmond).

7. For details and subsequent history of the cartel of exchange see the statement of Robert Ould, Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, in "The Treatment of Prisoners During the War Between the States," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, I (March, 1876), 125-31. The *Dispatch* reported 511 federals in Libby on November 9, and 1,350 there on December 22, giving some idea of the fluctuation.

9. Department of Henrico, Special Order 110, July 12, 1862, printed in the Whig, July 17, 1862, and General Order 45, July 26, 1862, printed in the Whig, July 30, 1862.

10. Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, General Order 56, August 6, 1862, printed in the Whig, August 6, 1862.

11. Dispatch, August 14, 1862.

12. Enquirer, August 12, 1862; Dispatch, August 19, 1862.


14. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 178; Enquirer, October 31, 1862.

15. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 178.

16. Dispatch, October 31, 1862.

17. Whig, November 10, 1862.

18. Department of Henrico, General Order 41, December 9, 1862, printed in the Dispatch, December 13, 1862.


21. Council, Minutes, July 11, August 11, 1862.

22. Ibid., September 8, 1862; Dispatch, December 10, 1862.

23. Council, Minutes, October 13, 1862.

24. Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia ... Called Session, 1862..., Resolution No. 3; Council, Minutes, October 23, 1862.


27. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I, 186; Whig, November 10, 1862.

28. Whig, November 22, 1862.
29. General Henry A. Wise wrote in the *Enquirer* (quoted in the *Whig*, November 29, 1862) that the Quartermaster General had answered a desperate plea for shoes for Wise's troops, "Let them suffer."


34. *Dispatch*, November 18, 1862. The *Examiner* (November 17, 1862) stated, "Indeed, if cabinet ministers are to continue mere automations, it matters little by what names those machines are called."

35. Matthews, *Statutes at Large*, 1 Cong., 2 Sess., Ch. LXXX.


42. *Whig*, December 27, 1862.

43. Council, Minutes, December 8, 1862.


46. *Whig*, November 27, 1862.

47. Council, Minutes, February 24, 1863.


49. Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture*, 386.
50. Ibid., 377-79, 400.
51. Whig, November 22, 1862.
52. McGuire, Diary of a Refugee, 198.
53. Ibid., 196.
56. Dispatch, January 29, 1863. These figures are only for comparison. Few Richmonders drank coffee or tea in 1863, and thus the average small family did not spend $68.25 per week on food.
57. Clay, Belle of the Fifties, 185.
58. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 281-82.
59. Council, Minutes, November 24, December 12, 1862, January 13, February 9, 17, 1863. Council paid for 734 vaccinations. The largest number of Negro patients at any one time was 102.
61. Ibid.
63. Whig, January 26, February 19, May 16, 1863.
64. Ibid., January 26, 1863.
65. DeLeon, Belles, Beaux and Brains, 217; Clay, Belle of the Fifties, 174-77.
66. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 304.
67. Ibid., 283.
68. DeLeon, Belles, Beaux and Brains, 198.
69. Ibid., 201.
70. Ibid., 203-10.

72. Vandiver, ed., Gorgas Diary, 52n. The Examiner (May 22, 1863) reported the Brown's Island laboratory again functioning.

73. Matthews, ed., Statutes at Large, 1 Cong., 2 Sess., Ch. X.

74. Chief of War Bureau Kean complained in his diary (April 13):

   The new impressment law bids fair to ruin the country and cause. Appraisers in Powhatan the other day put the 'just compensation' for hay at $20 per cart and in Hanover wheat at $6.00 per bushel. The farmers are the worst we have to deal with and at this rate will wholly break up supply of the army.

   Younger, ed., Kean Diary, 52.

75. Whig, February 16, 1863.

76. Dispatch, March 25, 1863.

77. Younger, ed., Kean Diary, 41.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia ... Adjourned Session, 1863 ... Chapter 74.

81. Younger, ed., Kean Diary, 45.

82. Sentinel, April 6, 1863.


84. Varina Howell Davis, Memoir, II, 373.

85. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 208.

86. Council, Minutes, April 12, 13, 1863.

87. McGuire, Diary of a Refugee, 203.

88. Varina Howell Davis, Memoir, II, 373-76; Pryor,
89. Council, Minutes, April 2, 1863.

90. McGuire, Diary of a Refugee, 204.

91. Council, Minutes, April 2, 1863.


94. Dispatch, April 3, 1863.

95. Enquirer, April 3, 1863.

96. Whig, April 4, 1863.


100. Council, Minutes, April 9, 1863; Whig, April 9, 1863.


102. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 306. Mrs. Chesnut's servant Molly told her, "Missis, listen to the guns. Burn up everything. Mr. Lyons say they sure to come, and they'll put in their newspapers whatever you write here every day." Mrs. Chesnut later recalled, "When Mr. Chesnut rode up and told me if Mrs. Davis left Richmond I must go with her, I confess I lost my head."

103. Younger, ed., Kean Diary, 56.

104. See Vandiver, Mighty Stonewall, 455-94.

105. Whig, May 12, 1863.

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110. DeLeón, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, 251-52.

111. W. W. Heartsill, *Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army: A Journal Kept by W. W. Heartsill for Four Years; One Month and One Day or Camp Life; Day by Day of the W. E. Lane Rangers from April 12, 1861 to May 29, 1865* (Marshall, Texas, 1876), second edition, Bell & Wiley, ed. (Jackson, Tennessee, 1954), 126.


113. Mrs. Wigfall wrote her son on May 11, "I feel more disheartened about the war now than I have ever felt before. It seems to me, it is to be interminable, and what a wretched life of anxiety it is to look forward to! I suppose the death of Jackson has affected us all, and I can't help thinking it will put new life into the enemy and give him courage to make another attempt very soon." Wright, *Southern Girl in '61*, 126.


118. This quote originally appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine*, was reprinted in the *Record, I* (1863), 41-42, and again in Fitzgerald Ross, *Cities and Camps of the Confederate States*, Richard Barksdale Harwell, ed. (Urbana, Illinois, 1958), 23n.

120. Ibid.; Whig, December 30, 1863.
121. Girard, A Visit to the Confederate States, 51-52.
122. Ross, Cities and Camps, 94.
123. Girard, A Visit to the Confederate States, 62.
124. Fremantle, Diary, 164.
126. Girard, A Visit to the Confederate States, 92.
127. Scheibert, Seven Months, 31.
128. Dispatch, June 29, 1863.
129. Ibid.; May 29, 1863.
130. Enquirer, May 29, 1863.
132. Whig, May 29, 1863.
134. See Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, II, 714, 714n.
135. Dispatch, June 22, 1863.
137. Council, Minutes, May 19, 1863.
139. Dispatch, July 3, 4, 1863.
140. Ibid.; July 4, 1863; Whig, July 17, 1863.
141. Whig, July 6, 1863.
142. Younger, ed., Kean Diary, 78; Dispatch, July 1-4, 6, 7, 1863.

143. Younger, ed., Kean Diary, 78.

144. Whig, July 7, 1863.

145. Department of Richmond, General Order No. 27, July 7, 1863, printed in Enquirer, July 10, 1863.

146. Examiner, July 6, 1863.

147. Dispatch, August 12, 1863.


150. Dispatch, July 7, 1863.

151. Ibid., July 14, 1863.

152. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 242.


155. Johnston did not grasp the advantages of his broadened command, and he failed to see how he could coordinate dispersed forces directly commanded by other generals. See Vandiver, "Jefferson Davis and Confederate Strategy." In addition to his lack of vision Johnston was also a bit jealous. In March he wrote Senator Wigfall:

I am told that the President and Secretary of War think that they have given me the highest military position in the Confederacy, that I have full military power in all this western country....If they so regard it ought not our highest military officer to occupy it? It seems so to me that principle would bring Lee here. I might then, with great propriety, be replaced in my old command.

Johnston to Wigfall, Chattanooga, March 8, 1863, Wigfall Papers, University of Texas.

156. Vandiver, ed., Gorgas Diary, 50.
157. Johnston to General S. Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector General, Meridian, November 1, 1863, Louis T. Wigfall Papers, University of Texas.

158. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 317.

159. See Wilfred Buck Yearns, The Confederate Congress (Athens, Georgia, 1960), 49-59.

160. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 229.


162. Hammond to Hunter, April 9, 1863, Hunter Papers, University of Virginia, quoted in Eaton, History of the Southern Confederacy, 63.


165. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 173.

166. The Sentinel was first published in Richmond, March 13, 1863.

167. Sentinel, September 21, 1863.

168. Ibid., July 21, 1863.

169. Ibid.

170. Dispatch, July 16, 1863.

171. For examples see Examiner, October 7, 1863, and Whig, May 30, 1863.

172. See p. 19 in Part I.

173. Whig, November 9, 1863.


175. Bell Irvin Wiley, ed., A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond by Phoebe Yates Pember Including Unpublished Letters Written from the Chimborazo Hospital (Jackson, Tennessee, 1959), 168. In contrast to the bitterness on the home front, Confederate soldiers seemed to share a mutual respect with their enemies. According to
Mrs. Pember this good nature lasted until the Federals employed Negro troops in the summer of 1864 and attempted to break Southern lines by tunneling beneath them and exploding a charge of powder. "In no instance up to a certain period did I hear of any remark that sated any hatred."

176. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 102-104.

177. For the religious awakening in the army see John Shepard, Jr., "Religion in the Army of Northern Virginia," North Carolina Historical Review, XXV, (July, 1948), 341-76.


179. For the titles and locations of these and other tracts, see Marjorie Lyle Crandall, Confederate Imprints: A Check List Based Principally on the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum, Volume II, Unofficial Publications (Boston, 1955), 220-828, and Richard Harwell, More Confederate Imprints; Volume II, Unofficial Publications (Richmond, 1957), 283-296.

180. Dispatch, July 17, 1863.

181. Sentinel, October 23, 24, 27, November 4, 1863; Whig, December 14, 1863.

182. Blanche Sydor White, First Baptist Church, Richmond, 1780-1955, One Hundred and Seventy-five Years of Service to God and Man (Richmond, 1955), 240.

183. Vandiver, ed., Gorgas Diary, 11.

184. William Norwood, God and Our Country (Richmond, 1863).

185. Lee to Davis, September 11, 1863, Dowdey, ed. Wartime Papers, 599.

188. Ibid., 50.
189. Ibid., 56.
192. Ibid., August 4, 1863.
195. *Dispatch*, June 27, September 1, 1863.
196. Ibid., October 30, 1863.
198. Ibid., August 12, 1863.
199. Council, Minutes, July 13, August 10, September 22, October 15, December 14, 1863, March 20, April 11, 1864.
200. Ibid., July 20, November 9, 1863, March 9, 1864.
201. Ibid., October 15, 1863.
203. Ibid., October 29, 1863.
204. Ibid., October 30, 31, 1863, January 11, 1864.
207. The *Whig* noted that the agent for Petersburg was having some success in North Carolina (October 31, 1863). The agent for the Tredegar Iron Works covered many states in search of quantities of food (see pp. 242-43).
209. Dispatch, January 8, 1864.


212. Ibid., Ch. 35.

213. Enquirer, October 7, 1863.


215. Enquirer, October 1, 1863; Dispatch, October 9, 1863; Sentinel, September 30, 1863.

216. Whig, September 21, 1863.

217. Dispatch, October 12, 1863.

218. Sentinel, October 12, 1863.

219. Ibid., October 22, 1863.

220. Council, Minutes, October 19, 1863.

221. The division was 867 to 296. Whig, October 23, 1863.

222. Younger, ed., Kean Diary, 98.

223. Ibid., 108.

224. Matthews, ed., Statutes at Large, 1 Cong., 3 Sess., Ch. 16.

225. For a more complete coverage of this gloomy aspect of the Confederate statecraft see John C. Schwab, "Prices in the Confederate States, 1861-65," Political Science Quarterly, XIV (June, 1899), 281-304; Richard C. Todd, Confederate Finance (Athens, Georgia, 1954); and Henry D. Capers, Life and Times of Christopher G. Memminger (Richmond, 1893).

226. Dispatch, September 17, 1863.

227. Whig, December 30, 1863; Sentinel, December 28, 1863.

228. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, II, 78-79.


232. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, 368.

233. The Southern *Punch* first appeared on August 15, 1863. The Confederate Museum in Richmond has a good file of this periodical. Other magazines published in the capital (besides the Southern Literary Messenger) were Smith and Barrow's Monthly; Bohemian; Record of News, History and Literature; Southern Illustrated News; Magnolia; A Southern Home Journal; and Age: A Southern Eclectic Magazine.


235. Ibid., October 10, 1863.

236. Ibid.


238. *Dispatch*, February 6, 1864.

239. Ibid.


241. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, 357.


243. Council, Minutes, November 9, 1863.

244. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, 385.


246. Ibid., 355; Council, Minutes, December 31, 1863; *Whig*, January 9, 1864.


249. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 270. A member of the Washington Artillery wrote of the attractions of Richmond, "I don't believe there ever were so many pretty girls to the square inch as there are now in Richmond; it is remarkable." (Owen, In Camp and Battle, 295).

250. DeLeon, Belles Beaux and Brains, 201-10.

251. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 341.

252. Sentinel, August 17, 1863.

253. Whig, October 8, 1863. Richmond's bawdy houses thrived during the war. As early as July, 1863, "Ecclesiastes," a regular contributor to the Religioso Herald (Baptist), complained, "Formerly harlots went afoot, and did not aspire to any location higher than Cary Street. But under the new arrangement, they ride in carriages (not hacks), and wear modest apparel, so that respectable people are continually found stamping their feet in vexation at being told by friends to be careful, or their politeness to that female may be misconstrued by the community." (Religious Herald, July 31, 1862).

254. Whig, December 18, 1863. See Confederate Congress, Evidence Taken before the Committee of the House of Representatives to Enquire into the Treatment of Prisoners at Castle Thunder (Richmond, 1863), for the disclosures leading to Alexander's arrest.

255. Whig, November 21, 1863.


257. Richardson, Messages and Papers, I, 397-98.

258. One resident recalled, "We were compelled to keep up a rigid practice of barring and bolting and locking; yet all precautions proved ineffectual to prevent the thievish depredations of the negroes, demoralized by the various contending influences which served to develop such propensities in them." Putnam, Richmond During the War, 266.


262. *Whig*, February 11, 1864. The best account of
the escape is in Captain I. N. Johnston, *Four
Months in Libby and the Campaign Against Atlanta
(Cincinnati, 1864), 48-112*.


267. Vandiver, ed., *Gorgas Diary*, 85; Virgil Carrington
Jones, *Eight Hours Before Richmond* (New York, 1957),
62-65.

268. Jones, *Eight Hours*, 75-82; Vandiver, ed., *Gorgas
Diary*, 85; John M. M'Anery, "Dahlgren's Raid on
Richmond," *Confederate Veteran*, XXIX (January,
1921), 20-21.


270. *Ibid.*, 91-93; "Statement of Edward W. Halbach in
Relation to 'The Dahlgren Papers,'" in J. William
Jones, compiler, *The Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid
Against Richmond," *Southern Historical Society
Papers*, XIII (January-December, 1885), 546-51.

271. *Examiner*, March 5, 1864. There is still great
question about the authenticity of the Dahlgren
papers. In April, 1864, General Meade responded
to an official inquiry from Lee and denied that
Colonel Dahlgren gave any such orders. The most
recent writing on the raid (Jones) accepts the
papers as genuine. The following points originally
summed up the investigation in the *Southern His-
torical Society Papers* (Jones, compiler, "The Kil-
pattern-Dahlgren Raid," 559-60).

1. The papers were taken from Dahlgren's
person in the presence of witnesses, by
a boy who could not write, who did not
know the name of the officer killed, and
who was absolutely incapable of forging
the papers.
2. They were turned over by Littlepage to Halbach, and were read by Dr. Bagby and others before there was any opportunity even if there had been any disposition to forge them.

3. They were carried direct to Colonel Beale, who read them and sent the papers by Lieutenant Pollard to Richmond, while retaining for some time the memorandum-book in which most of the papers were copied, and afterwards sending it also to Richmond.

4. Lieutenant Pollard delivered the papers to General Fitz. Lee, who carried them to President Davis.

5. Every one of these witnesses testify that the papers were the same as those published."


273. Examiner, March 9, 1864.

274. Sentinel, March 5, 1864.

275. Lee to Seddon, March 6, 1864, Dowdey, ed., Wartime Papers, 678-79.
PART IV

"the lean and slippered pantaloon"\textsuperscript{1}
1. "if it takes all summer"

The ox was old and debilitated. As the beast plodded up Marshall Street late in March of 1864, his cadaverous frame bore witness to the hardship of the winter just past. Still, the butcher who led him was pleased; meat was scarce, and even this gaunt specimen would yield a fair profit. Then the lead rope went taut; the ox had fallen to his knees. Urging and a swat on the animal's spare rump had no effect. The ox groaned, lay down, and appeared ready to die in the street. Leaving the crumpled animal, the butcher hurried away to get the tools of his trade. He had to slaughter the ox before nature cheated him of his investment. Several passers-by stopped to speculate whether the butcher would return in time. The dying beast made a piteous spectacle. But next day Richmonders would pay six dollars per pound for the frail remains.  

By the spring of 1864, at the age of three, the Confederate capital was old and failing. The Confederacy and its war were draining life from Richmond along with the hope which sustains life. Intermittently during the last year of the war Richmond rallied, but she never recovered. Crises came often.
In attempting to meet these challenges men and institutions in the city sometimes held the line. More often they failed.

For three years the city had lived by wit, sacrifice, and will. In the last year precious little remained to be sacrificed. Richmond discovered that even the most inventive minds could not feed the city when there was no food. Even a genius could not defend the capital without sufficient troops and supplies. As the city realized that no sacrifice within its power would be great enough, even Richmond's spirit faltered.

Richmond's last illness progressed through three rather well defined stages. The first of these, lasting throughout the spring and early summer of 1864, saw attempts both to drive off the invader and to feed the capital end in frustration. Not failure per se, but maddening cognizance of its own weakness plagued the city. Pain characterized the second stage of Richmond's decline. The long summer of 1864 saw the enemy open siege operations. Bloody fighting weakened not only Richmond's defenders but also the city's capacity to sustain further suffering. During the fall and winter of 1864-1865 frustration, pain, and material infirmity brought Richmond to a series of collapses. Conditions became intolerable. Institu-
tions failed. Nothing remained but an anti-climatic death. And death was almost welcome when it came.

Throughout the last year of the war Richmond existed in constant danger of dying or being killed. Like the ox which lay in Marshall Street, Richmond awaited death or slaughter. And on the Rapidan a man who would earn the sobriquet of "butcher" assumed command of the city's foes.

Ulysses S. Grant was an incredibly uncomplicated man. He had been remarkably successful. When Abraham Lincoln appointed him General in Chief of the Armies of the United States in March of 1864, Grant left the western theater of the war and come east. The news of his coming started the Confederate capital talking to herself. Richmonders told each other that this new assailant would do no better than his predecessors. The Dispatch reasoned:

Whatever he has accomplished has been the result of overwhelming numbers and the weakness and imbecility of our own resistance....

The man and his tactics are thoroughly understood by the great chieftain whom he is now confronting, and the next time Grant visits Washington, the Yankees, who perched him on a sofa to receive their adorations, may feel more like elevating him to a scaffold.

Grant's strategy was simple. Federal arms would encircle and crush the Rebellion at its perimeters. At the same time Union columns would drive deep into the Southland and slash at the Confederacy's vitals.
The navy tightened its blockade, and Yankee ground forces applied pressure on all fronts. General Sherman pushed his army into Georgia, seeking to run Joe Johnston's Rebels to ground, to lay waste productive farm land, and to break Southern morale. Grant oversaw the entire Federal effort, but his immediate concerns were Richmond and the army which defended her. General George G. Meade, the "savior of Gettysburg," retained command of the Army of the Potomac. Grant, however, established his headquarters with Meade's army and personally directed operations against the Confederate capital.\(^5\)

The Union General in Chief's presence before Richmond offered ample evidence of the city's military importance in the coming campaign. Preparing to meet Sherman, Joe Johnston wrote from Georgia:

> I fear that the government does not intend to strengthen this army. My reason for the opinion is that it has done nothing yet, in that way. I suppose that Grant's arrival on the Potomac will turn the eyes of our authorities too strongly in that direction to let them see in this.\(^6\)

Johnston was correct; he received no troops from Lee and something less that rapt attention from the Richmond government. Richmond's somewhat provincial concentration upon the war's eastern campaigns had influenced her resident government in the past. The capital sensed that before her gates the Confederacy would win
or lose independence.

For three years Richmond had served the Confederacy as a magnet to Yankee armies. The Army of Northern Virginia had conducted a vigorously offensive defense before the capital. Always knowing the Federal's objective, Lee had waited, chosen his field, and won great victories. Richmond's army had frustrated the designs and military careers of five commanders of the Army of the Potomac. In the spring of 1864, however, Richmond's strategic significance changed radically. Lee's force no longer bore any numerical relation to its adversary. Men and horses were often hungry. And death had taken its toll of Southern military talent. The army and its commander faced Grant's legions resolutely; some of the Army of Northern Virginia's finest hours would come during the sunset of its existence. But valor was not enough. Numbers and logistics made Lee's army a decidedly inferior force. Richmond's army, like the city, had passed its peak.7

During March and April the rival armies faced each other across the Rapidan, and Richmond awaited the campaign for her life. In this lull the capital's quiet confidence in Southern victory faltered. Richmond's genuine optimism of previous springs yielded to blind hope and despair. One sturdy maid recalled:

Defeat was nowhere written on our future prospects. Discouragement might be, but defeat nowhere! And we once more
hugged to our bosoms the phantom of hope, and it sang a lullaby to our fears, and the Confederate metropolis pursued its usual busy routine, and contented itself with the thought that 'the end is not!'

But Varina Davis felt the end was quite near. On April 1 Mrs. Chesnut recorded that the Confederate first lady was "utterly depressed. She said the fall of Richmond must come, and when it did, she would send her children to me and to Mrs. Preston."

In public most Richmonders would probably have supported the sentiments of Reverend Seth Doggett. Addressing his Centenary Methodist congregation on April 8, Doggett spoke on "The War and Its Close." He counseled no mediation or compromise. Because the enemy is factious and nearly insolvent, he said, the war will soon end victoriously. Reverend Doggett's sermon was comforting. Yet when Richmonders took stock of opposing armies, they feared Reverend Doggett's bold protestations concealed but did not allay the city's anxiety.

In such a variable state of mind the capital faced the advent of a new season of campaigning. Physical conditions within the city did little to ease Richmond's fears.

As usual the coming of spring brought with it a greater shortage of food in the city. The supplies stored for the previous winter were exhausted before farmers could harvest their early spring crops. This
year much of the farmland would yield no food for the famished city. Much of the surrounding acreage lay despoiled by fighting, and many farms were now in possession of the enemy. In addition, spring meant renewed campaigning, and this in turn meant the concentrating of troops. Richmond faced the obligation of sharing with her army what limited sustenance there was available.

In Richmond we had never known such a scarcity of food—such absolute want of the necessities of life....Our markets presented a most impoverished aspect. A few stalls at which was sold poor beef, and some at which a few potatoes and other vegetables were placed for sale, were about all that were opened in Richmond markets.11

Clothing and fuel, too, were in critically short supply. During the spring of 1864, private citizens, the City Council, the State of Virginia, and the Confederacy, all of them in turn, made attempts at relieving the city's chronic shortage of life's necessities. And a bizarre set of expedients they created.

In early March Virginia's General Assembly resurrected the domestic system of manufacturing cotton cloth. In the capital of the "Cotton Kingdom" a state storehouse sold cotton yarn and hand cards at cost. With these essentials citizens made their own cloth and clothing.12 The legislators also established a virtual state monopoly on the sale of salt. To meet
the critical shortage of this necessity the Assembly authorized the Governor to impress the privately owned works at Saltville.¹³

Some private citizens met this "chronic crisis" with increased self-sacrifice. Haxall and Crenshaw, flour millers, sold bread to the city's poor at reduced prices. The Dispatch noted appreciatively that "the liberality and timely charities of Haxall and Crenshaw entitle that firm to a prominent place amongst those who deserve to be held in grateful remembrance for their deeds during this trying period of war."¹⁴ Characteristically General Lee declined the City Council's offer to furnish him a residence in Richmond. He suggested that the funds appropriated for this purpose be applied to aid the families of his soldiers.¹⁵ Others reacted not quite so nobly. On April 4 the Whig entitled one of its articles "Look Out for Your Meat House." The rash of petty thefts defied efforts by the police to protect stored food, and rarely a night passed that one or more of Richmond's meat houses or chicken coops was not violated.¹⁶

Richmond's City Council reactivated its Supply Store and again dispatched agents through the surrounding country in search of food for the city's needy.¹⁷ In May the concept of "needy" expanded to include "such officers and citizens as are prevented by mili-
tary service from earning their usual support." By June the Council was charging its Committee on Supplies to secure provisions "for the city." The city fathers, refusing to increase Richmond's bonded debt, financed their food-finding activities by making "temporary loans" on the city's banks. The annual March tax ordinance provided for revenue which replenished the city treasury; by this time council had borrowed over $120,000. Yet the Council could not feed the entire capital.

Virginia's Governor William "Extra Billy" Smith easily qualified as Richmond's most energetic food-finder during 1864. The new Governor determined that the Commonwealth should feed her citizens, and he laid plans to buy, transport, and resell staple items on a grand scale. The state Senate, however, rejected the appropriation bill on which Smith depended to finance the venture. Immediately the Governor began seeking other sources of money. First he relieved the state's civic and military contingent funds of $40,000 apiece. Next Smith borrowed $30,000 from William H. MacFarlane's Farmer's Bank. Then, having accumulated $110,000 capital, the Governor launched his enterprise.

"Extra Billy" hired the master of a blockade runner, furnished him cotton, and sent him abroad to exchange the cotton for supplies. Desiring still
more state participation in the risky but profitable trade, Smith contracted for state control of at least five blockade-running vessels. Virginia's sea-going trade flourished briefly, then withered to insignificance as the Federals tightened their encirclement and captured the blockade ports, Wilmington and Charleston.22

On June 8 the Governor informed Alexander Dudley, President of the York River Railroad:

Corn can only be obtained at the South—and in reflecting upon the means of transportation, which will least interfere with the government in bringing supplies for our armies to this point, it has occurred to me that a train from your road will cause as little embarrassment as one taken from any other road in the state.

The object of this communication is therefore to request a train of cars from your road, complete in all its equipments and with the necessary officers and men to run it, for the purpose of transporting corn and other supplies from the South to Virginia.23

Smith went on to remind the railroad president that the state was the largest stockholder in his road, and thus the Governor felt he could demand obedience to his request. Three days later the train was his.24

Smith then dispatched an agent south with the train, and the Commonwealth entered another phase of the food business. Utilizing "borrowed" funds, a commandeered train, and state controlled ships, Smith was remarkably successful. He recalled later:
Indeed, I put rice on the general market at Richmond at 50 cents [$3.00 retail], and practically drove the retailer out of the market. At these prices, I was enabled to preserve my capital and have a margin of 10 per cent also, with which to cover losses. My supplies were such that I was enabled to make occasional loans to the Confederate Government.  

For example, in March of 1865 the army's Commissary Department borrowed 2,500 bushels of corn to feed Lee's Army. Smith estimated, "At the time Richmond was evacuated, that Government [the Confederacy], at Confederate prices, was indebted to the state, on such accounts, at least $300,000."  

In his resourcefulness Virginia's Governor placed the Commonwealth in businesses directly competing with private enterprise. Smith's measures, gravitation as they did toward state socialism, were as extraordinary as the circumstances which occasioned them. But Virginians were hungry, and the Governor tried to feed them.

While the City Council and "Extra Billy" Smith brought food into the city, the Confederate administration attacked the food scarcity by sending excess mouths out of the capital. Credit for the idea belonged to General Braxton Bragg. Made military advisor to the President after calamitous defeat at Missionary Ridge, Bragg strongly advocated removing the government's clerical force from the capital.
After two lengthy sessions, the cabinet determined to send 300 ladies, whose job was to sign treasury notes, to Columbia, South Carolina. The Bureau Chief Kean recorded scornfully, "Another reason, which the Secretary of War communicated to us, was the hope thereby to stampede the citizens of Richmond and this was the main point... The idea was worthy of the hero of Missionary Ridge!" On April 21 the ladies and the one trunk apiece allowed them left Richmond. The Examiner waxed caustic. The departure of 300 women would not appreciably increase the food supply of those remaining in the city. Furthermore, the editor informed Bragg and Secretary of the Treasury Memminger, these ladies were neither ducks who migrate nor soldiers to order from place to place. "Steady, then, Mr. Memminger. A little more brains, Captain Bragg!"

Having decided that further dispersion of the executive departments would seriously impair the government's operation, Confederate authorities next renewed their efforts to get prisoners out of Richmond. From the hodgepodge of deserters and reprobates lodged in Castle Thunder emerged four companies of infantry for Lee's army—the "Winder Legion." General Winder himself left Richmond in June to become commandant of Andersonville Prison near Americus, Georgia. In accord with his program to strain the Confederacy as
much as possible, Grant had suspended the exchange of prisoners of war. In late June the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General's Office ordered all able-bodied prisoners to Lynchburg and thence to Andersonville. Prison facilities at Danville, Virginia, and Salisbury, North Carolina, received the overflow from Richmond. However, Richmond was never able to evacuate her prisons with sufficient dispatch. In September an officer complained that he still held 6,000 Yankees on Belle Isle and had too few men to guard them. One room on the third floor of Libby Prison held 270 Federal officers in June.

During the last year of the war Richmond saw reflected in her prison conditions the city's widespread need. The Yankees consumed a portion of the capital's limited food supply, but Libby's commandant, Major Dick Turner, made sure that no prisoner thrived. A Maine volunteer wrote of Turner, "His heart was blacker than any brogans that he may ever have shined with a brush." According to inmates a day's rations at Libby consisted of a small square of cornbread (containing cob and vermin) and a piece of bacon as "big as your thumb" served twice a day. Even so, every ounce of food the Yankees could eat in Richmond robbed the city of energy and brought the capital a little nearer exhaustion.
Some of the capital's old resourcefulness and daring showed through the efforts to feed and clothe Richmond's people. Yet many were wanting. Individual philanthropy was insufficient. The City Council's depots and Governor Smith's enterprises helped the situation, but the task of feeding nearly 100,000 people was too great. The Confederate government sought to remove some of Richmond's consumers. But the authorities only relocated 300 women, and they never evacuated enough prisoners to balance the numbers of fresh captives brought into the city. The very novelty of these expedients betrayed the capital's desperation; resourcefulness blended with recklessness. And the sum total of the spring's activity was failure. As if to confirm the failure, early in June the 30th Virginia Regiment, Army of Northern Virginia, sent the women and children of Richmond a day's rations and did without themselves. In spite of all the civil authorities could do, the troops who had so long shielded the city now had to feed her as well. 40

The first week in May Grant put his army in motion. Crossing the Rapidan he faced Lee in the Wilderness. During the three-day encounter Lee's Army received the blow, delivered a counterstroke, and preserved the stalemate. On May 8 the Army of Northern Virginia
again checked the enemy advance at Spotsylvania Court House. After the initial repulse four more days of bitter conflict proved inconclusive. In less than two weeks the Army of the Potomac had absorbed around 30,000 casualties, roughly half the strength of Lee’s entire force. Less tenacious Federal commanders would have suspended the carnage and retired northward. But Grant was determined—"he put it this way, "I am sending back to Belle Plain all my wagons for a fresh supply of provisions and ammunition, and propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.""\(^41\)

While Union infantry cudgeled Richmond’s defenders to the north, Yankee cavalry thrust at the city herself. General Phillip Sheridan’s troopers slipped the Confederate right on May 9 and headed south. "Jeb" Stuart’s gray cavalry began the pursuit.\(^42\) On the tenth War Secretary Seddon reported the capital "in hot danger."\(^43\) Next day Ordnance Chief Josiah Gorgas wrote:

> The day has been one of the greatest excitement. I slept but a few hours last night having been called up by messages, and kept awake by the ringing of alarm bells and the blowing of alarm whistles most of the night. At five this morning I went to Mr. Seddon’s office and found him laboring under the impression that the last hours of Richmond were at length numbered. --The entire cavalry force of Meade’s army were reported to be rapidly approaching the devoted city from the direction of Ashland, with Stuart at their heels it is true, but having a good deal the start of him. All the city militia were trans-
ferred to that side of the city, and a
brigade of old troops (Hunton's), from
Chaffins Farm. —We breathe more freely
now (11:00 P.M.), as Stuart is on their
flank and the city defenses in their
front.44

Stuart's weary force beat off the Yankees at Yellow
Tavern, but the action cost the gay warrior a mortal
wound. They bore Stuart into the failing city he had
done so much to defend, and Jefferson Davis came to
the death bed. Early on the morning of May 12 the
General died. Richmonders crowded St. James Church
for the funeral and mourned his passing. Richmond
had rung with Stuart's laughter, and his daring had
thrilled the city. When he died some of Richmond's
heart went with him. Stuart himself, going into his
last battle, had said, "I'd rather die than get whipp-
ed."45 His passing left Richmond to ponder both
death and defeat.

Increasingly the beleaguered capital lived with
death. Nor was the dying confined to the battlefields.
Little Jeff, the President's son, was puzzled. His
four-year-old brother Joe was sleeping on the brick
pavement in the middle of the afternoon, and he could
not wake him. Kneeling beside his brother, Jeff shook
him at first and called to him. Finally Mrs. Semmes,
wife of the Louisianna Senator, came. She would help.
"Mrs. Semmes, I have said all the prayers I know how,
but God will not wake Joe!"46 Four doctors could do
no better. Joseph Emory Davis never regained consciousness after his fall from the piazza of the Executive Mansion.⁴⁷

Joe had been his father's favorite. For once the President ignored the war. Davis sent away government messengers: "I must have this day with my little child."⁴⁸ All that night he paced the floor.⁴⁹ Davis's personal tragedy and the cumulative pressure of his public responsibilities exacted a heavy toll from him. Gorgas wrote of the President in June, "He is looking quite well, but is growing not only gray but white with his cares."⁵⁰

Too many had died. Daily the cadence of the "Dead March" sounded in Richmond's streets as the funeral processions passed. Great men and warriors died, and their passing brought public sorrow in Richmond. Newspapers lined their columns in black, and great crowds paid their homage. But nearly every family, high and humble, lived with personal loss. Husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons—even the President's son—filled the hillsides about the capital. A soldier predicted that regardless of the war's outcome, the graves of Richmond's defenders would make the city a Southern mecca, a holy place.⁵¹ In quiet moments Richmond mourned her sacrifice and wondered how many more would die for her. Even Mrs. Lee yielded to a rare
despondency. "What will my poor husband do? It seems God has turned his face from us."52

Grant kept pounding at Lee. Swinging southeastward he crossed the North Anna River and occupied the same ground that McClellan had held two years previously. Cold Harbor was again a battlefield and the bloodletting was awesome. In just over fifteen minutes the Confederates inflicted 7,000 casualties upon the blue invaders. The gray line stood firm, and at length Grant suspended the futile contact.

Failing to overrun or outrun Richmond's defenders north of the city, Grant crossed the James below the capital and renewed his assault from the south and east. The Federals invested the city of Petersburg in mid-June.53

Tactically the Confederates had won a victory. Lee had met and repulsed Grant at every turn. Richmond was secure and her army intact. The size of Yankee casualty lists moved Northern papers to call Grant a drunkard and a butcher. In Richmond the Examiner mocked the Union Commander in Chief:

But let Grant not be cast down too much: Impossibilities are not fairly to be expected of any man; let him not resign himself to despair, nor give himself up wholly to drink. A good man struggling with adversity is a spectacle for the Gods; and although he can by no means take Petersburg, not to speak of Richmond, yet let him remember that he who ruleth his own spirit is greater than he who taketh a city.54

As the possibility of a mobile campaign for Rich-
mond lessened. Lee dispatched Jubal Early with 10,000 troops to the Shenandoah Valley. After ridding the Valley country of Federals, Early marched into Maryland, and on July 11 the Confederates were at the gates of Washington. The Rebels even managed a shot at Abraham Lincoln as he surveyed his capital's defenses. Early's force was too weak to storm the rival capital, but the raid thoroughly frightened Washington and her government. As two corps from Grant's army hastened to secure the Union capital, Richmond rejoiced in Early's audacity. His raid had eased the pressure on Petersburg and given notice that the embattled South was yet capable of offensive action.\textsuperscript{55} And after surviving over three years behind Lee's army, some in Richmond yielded to habit. They "had begun to regard it [Richmond] as invulnerable."\textsuperscript{56}

Strategically, however, the situation was far less sanguine. Jubal Early never rejoined Lee at Richmond. From Maryland Early withdrew into the Shenadoah Valley and there watched his corps wither away before the energy and overwhelming numbers of Unionists under Sheridan. Early's Washington expedition gained a brief respite for Lee, but time was no longer a Southern ally. The slaughter in the Wilderness, at Spotsylvania, and at Cold Harbor had drained life and leadership from the gray army. When Grant lost nearly 60,000
men in one month, he replaced them. As always the Army of the Potomac was well fed and adequately supplied. Lee had fewer losses, and his army was close to its base. But the South had little to offer his army in the way of men or provisions.\textsuperscript{57} When the determined Grant began siege operations at Petersburg, the campaign degenerated into one of attrition—a static contest the Confederacy could not win. Lee had scant room for maneuver and insufficient striking power to threaten seriously the Yankee mass. Richmond was no longer the magnet which lured Federals to their defeat. The capital was a millstone around Lee's neck. Richmond's defense immobilized Lee's army while Grant bludgeoned it into impotence.

For three years the Confederacy and its war had made a tremendous impact upon the capital. The Confederate experience had transformed Richmond. Conversely, the city had greatly influenced the nation and the war. Spring, 1864, brought the war very close to Richmond. Now more than ever Southern independence seemed to hinge upon the campaign for Richmond and Richmond's army. And so the exchanged influences—Richmond's upon the Confederacy and the Confederacy's upon Richmond—began to coalesce. The city identified herself ever more with the national cause; the Confederacy saw in Richmond's internal welfare and external security nation survival. City and Confed-
eracy were becoming one in their concern for Richmond's provisioning and defense. Richmond was becoming a Confederate polis.

But Richmond was dying. Frustration mocked the city's best efforts and drained hope from her heart. Seeking to administer the coup de grace, Grant assailed from without. Eventual death was certain; the only question was what would cause it—nature or "butcher."

2. "My boy is dying, slowly, but surely"

With every skirmish the frustration and the pain increased. Fortunately, during the long summer of 1864, the second stage of Richmond's dying malady, the city seemed numb. The Examiner said it best. "To write or to think now of anything whatever, save the marching or fighting of the day that passes, is plainly impossible." Richmonders closed their minds to all but Lee's army fighting at Petersburg and the suffering in the city's hospitals.

William Mason Smith had been a cadet at the Citadel when the war commenced. His widowed mother was a Huger, and he came from the South Carolina low country. On the morning of June 3 a gap opened between Kershaw's and Hunton's brigades near Cold Harbor. Lieutenant Smith was deploying skirmishers in the void, and Yankee
Sharpshooters were active.

Then Willie Smith was sitting down. Instinctively his hand clutched at his stomach. "I am killed."
Moments passed, and Willie felt better. "I believe I am not much hurt." He stood up testing his wound and straightening his blouse. He continued giving directions to his men, but the pain returned, and Willie became uneasy. He lay down and called for a surgeon. Doctor Cain examined the small, blackened opening, but he refused to give an opinion. At the brigade field hospital the doctors told Willie his wound was mortal. He might live three or four days. The division hospital was two miles away, and Willie was convinced that the road was the roughest in the world. Two young doctors wanted to probe for the musket ball, but Willie refused. His wound was mortal; he would not suffer more. All day he lay on the wet ground composing his thoughts amid the shock and agony of his throbbing stomach. Toward evening a captain from his regiment found him, borrowed an ambulance, and started for Richmond with Willie and two other wounded South Carolinians.

The journey took four hours, and it was dark when the ambulance reached the city. One hospital, then another, refused to receive them. The men groaned and cried out to the driver to stop. They would rather
die in the street than continue the torture of travel. Their cries attracted attention. A gentleman and some ladies directed the ambulance driver to Stuart Hospital. There, more than twelve hours after his wounding at Cold Harbor, Willie Smith found rest.

Eliza Carolina Middleton Huger Smith determined to go to her son. Mrs. Smith's brother-in-law J. J. Pringle Smith telegraphed for passports. And Pringle Smith wrote to his nephew:

My dear Willie, I am feeble and write with difficulty, but something I must say. You have done honor to us all. I thank you for the example you have given my sons. It is a sort of guarantee that hereafter all of the name must come up to the measure of duty to his country, each one according to his ability.

God grant that you may come home again to us.

Mrs. Smith arrived at Willie's bedside. The boy smiled. "God is good; everybody is kind and I am so glad to see you."

At this juncture Mrs. Smith's letters best relate the awesome tale of Willie and Richmond in the summer of 1864.

No date

Mason's wound is promising but he has pneumonia from exposure after being wounded.... The Drs. are bright about him & all kind.... Many of those that see him come back again & again to help & inquire—men, women, & children. He has many extra comforts—a room to himself in which kind Cousin Celly has put a cot for me.

June 11
I can only write by snatches between attending to Mason, & acknowledging the kind attentions of the ladies who keep him well supplied with all sorts of comforts even luxuries.

...Dr. Meredith (Chief Surgeon of this Hospital) says no human hand could have made such a wound. His expression is that 'the ball meandered so as to just avoid the intestines' also the bladder. His right leg is useless to him, & some of the Drs. think he may not recover it. Where the ball is they do not know yet.

...Oh! the unavoidable dirt & misery of this place. Our men bear so bravely & patiently too, that it excites admiration and wonder.65

June 19, 1864

Mason is going on pretty well but that means that he is not desperately ill or dying, but very suffering & by no means out of danger. One lung they think is congested—he is spitting clotted blood:...

Mason cannot take stimulants yet; 2 kind ladies sent him strong soup, tea, bread & ice cream also mild. All honour to these Richmond ladies.66

June 23, 1864

Do write to Mr. Pringle about the money I must have. I have drawn $500 on the Fraser & co.'s letter. I cannot stay here without making donations from time to time to The Hospital, or I should feel that I am devouring the Soldier's spare diet. The ladies who brought so many things are shut out by this Dr., because he thinks they worry his patients, many of whom are fearfully reduced and wounded, & did not like to be inspected by ladies, so Dr. L. said.67

June 30, 1864

He has fever all the time & is getting worn down, consequently he is in a trying state for those around....Oh! this Hospital experience is subduing indeed. Some-
times my heart seems hard as a nether mill stone, then again my faith fails for a little moment & it all seems black, but I know that God reigns & no matter at what human cost I want his 'will on earth, as it is in heaven,' but He must give me strength. 68

July 4, 1864

Thank God Mason is better to-day.

What are the chances of some gentleman of the family being able to come & take Mason home if I can not make a more convenient arrangement when the time comes?.... Washington [servant] is with the horses, but then we think they must be sold. Wash. has not sense enough to take them home by land & no transportation is given. Capt. Smith says Wash. & horses would be stolen before they got far. It is a dilemma. Mason is too sick to decide & I wish I had somebody to tell me what to do... 59

July 4, 1864

I see dead bodies carried by the windows two or three times a day & have seen worse than that.... Mothers or friends would be of no use in many cases I see around me. It would just be torture for the friends to witness it all...they bury the dead like animals, without any religious service & without clothes almost if not entirely. They say the Confederacy cannot afford to lose the clothes. 70

July 10, 1864

He is motionless & very weak....He told me some days ago that he did not wish to die, but was not afraid if so God willed it. I asked if he would do again, knowing the results, as he had done about coming to Virginia. He said 'Yes, for I came from a sense of duty in the sight of God, & with the hope of the approval of my Uneles & those I love, also of those whose opinion I respect in the community.' 71
July 29, 1864

Mason thinks he has located the Ball & that it is working out; his increase of pain in the groin the Drs. attributed to the return of natural sensation but yesterday he complained of his 'pulsations' as I touched the bed, which looks like suppuration. We are to begin poulticing to-day. How wonderful it will be if it so turns out...I fear it is too bright a hope to be true. He is completely paralyzed still & his bed sores are frightful. 72

August 6, 1864

Here we are at Mr. Miles! [William Porcher Miles, Confederate Congressman from South Carolina] the move over & Mason no worse. I had 3 days of great worry & anxiety. Mason's case is at a critical point just now & Dr. Jones at the Hosp., is ill from a rising on the knuckle which he scratched with his saw & has poisoned himself. Sent for Dr. Bolton & brought him [Mason] here under Dr. B.'s advice. Mr. Miles is kindness itself.

I am very weary to-day & was over exerted yesterday; he was brought down through the Street on a stretcher by relays of men. It looked so like a funeral that I could not stand it but drove on ahead & left him...As he passed along the people sent him out iced water & offered other refreshments; too much cannot be said for these untiring people....

Dr. Bolton is very apprehensive about Mason: he thinks the Ball may be on the spine!!! 73

August 7 or 8, 1864

Dr. Bolton will make an exploration for the ball after administering chloroform....

Mrs. Miles is kind & affectionate, but delicate & in a family way, so that I really
dread sometimes the effect of Mason's groans & exclamations on her. He wakes up constantly giving signs of uncontrollable pain; his voice too is the strongest thing about him.

For the first time last night he lost self-control & wished to die; asked for anything that would end his sufferings.

Afternoon

The Dr. made his examination. No trace of the ball; it is now a question of time and strength...[4]

August 9, 1864

Doctor Bolton's opinion is very discouraging; he has little hope of recovery...The ball is probably in the pelvis beyond discovery, & therefore beyond reach. Strong nourishment, anodyne, & Brandy.....He is young & therefore it may be a long struggle; the Dr. says in that point of view not a hopeless one, but I tell you my opinion is that it will not be very long. I see a great change from yesterday. I hope that he will fall asleep; that is my prayer for him. [5]

August 12, 1864

My boy is dying, slowly, but surely; days may elapse yet before the struggle is over but I doubt it; perhaps a few hours may bring rest for his tortured body, & I believe safety for his soul....Motion is torture. He is drugged with Morphine all the time yet feels the pain; wakes up screaming. [6]

August 20, 1864

My boy passed away on Tuesday Eve. [August 16] at 1 past 7 o'clock. He was dying from Saturday morning [August 13] at 6 o'clock. [7]
September 12, 1864

At the last day before the 4 dying days he asked me what the Dr. thought, I could not bear to pronounce his doom so answered, 'Our times are in God's hands, let us wait & see my son.' 'Mother, I know that, but I want the truth as to the Dr's. expressed opinion.' I asked for strength & answered, 'We believe it is God's will that you are to die & that soon;' his answer is burnt into me in characters of light 'all right, God's will be done.'

They bore Willie Smith to Hollywood Cemetery to lie with his comrades. He was more fortunate than most; his mother had come to comfort him, and he had had the best of care. Perhaps his agony was greater. But he had performed his duty, and he died at peace.

3. "I shall however endeavour to do my duty and fight to the last."

In his diary war clerk J. B. Jones said the excitement was "the greatest I have ever known here." News that Fort Harrison had fallen reached Richmond shortly after breakfast on September 29. Loss of the earthwork bastion southeast of Richmond seemed to open the way for Yankee armies to storm the capital.

...all the local organizations were immediately ordered out. Not only this, but squads of guards were sent into the streets everywhere with orders to arrest every able-bodied man they met, regardless of papers; and this produced a consternation among the civilians. The offices and government shops were closed, and the tocsin sounded for hours, by order of Governor, frightening some of the women.
Finally, reinforcements from Lee and militia troops blunted the Union thrust, but they could not recapture Fort Harrison. After two days of futile counter-attacks the gray army threw up fresh earthworks and awaited the next Union assault. At length the fall of Fort Harrison did not prove decisive. In the weeks that followed, Richmond remembered the excitement and alarm in the city, but soon the details of the military encounter merged with those of countless other engagements. The fall of the earthen fort was only one of many emergencies which occurred during the third stage of Richmond's last illness. In other stages the city had been frustrated and pained. Now in the fall and winter of 1864-1865 the capital crumbled, piece by piece.

Throughout the long summer Grant had pounded, probed, and extended Lee's lines. He even tunneled beneath the Southern trenches and exploded 8,000 pounds of powder in search of a decisive breach in the Rebel front. With determination and luck and often by a hair's breadth the gray army hung on. Grant had fought it out all summer, and Richmond eluded him.

The continuous marching and fighting, however, had been hard on Richmond's defenders. One recalled, "We were always hungry." After reinforcing threatened
sectors of the front all summer, one veteran wrote to a friend, "There is hardly an acre of ground from Richmond to Petersburg, or from the James to the Chicka-hominy, that we have not been over a dozen times." By autumn the Army of Northern Virginia's capacity for successful offensive action was confined to "cattle raids" against the Union commissary. Richmond and her defense confined the army to the trenches. Although Yankees did not encircle the city, the army lay besieged. Spirits sagged under the deadly monotony of defense.

The malady of siege set the tone of Richmond's existence. The sounds of alarm bells clanging and citizen-soldiers hastening to a threatened section of the line became all too familiar in Richmond. Happily the reserve troops were better soldiers than poets.

Like a beast of the forest, fierce, raging with pain,
The fat in his madness, advances again
His eyeballs are glaring, his pulses beat fast,
While the furies are hastening this effort, his last.
But the seven-thorned queen a calm presence preserves,
For they've sworn to defend her—the "Richmond Reserves."

However romantic the Sentinel's correspondent thought the home guard troops, each time the clerks and workmen marched out of the capital and into the trenches, the work of the war government ceased. Mail remained in the Post Office. The routine correspondence swamped the few old men left behind in the executive
departments. The Confederate Armory and the Tredegar Iron Works stood idle until mechanics returned from the field. Cabinet officials attended the most menial tasks. Chief of Ordnance Josiah Gorgas wrote in his diary during one period of alarm, "As all my officers and clerks are in the field I am obliged to attend to details myself and have trudged about the streets until I am thoroughly tired."89

Richmond's militia force performed creditably, but Lee needed more than a few thousand civil servants and mechanics to reinforce his thin ranks. In the capital a government official recorded:

The conscription is now being pressed mercilessly. It is agonizing to see and hear the cases daily brought into the War Office, appeal after appeal and all disallowed. Women come there and weep, wring their hands, scold, entreat, beg, and almost drive me mad.90

On one occasion the conscripters lured large numbers of men into a warehouse headquarters on the pretense that they would receive passes. When the petitioners arrived they received not passes but rifles. The "headquarters" quickly became a prison whose only exit led to the front. War clerk Jones chronicled the desperation:

From the age of fifteen to fifty-five, all were seized by that order--no matter what papers they bore, or what the condition of their families--and hurried to the field.... No wonder there are many deserters--no wonder men become indifferent as to which side shall prevail, nor that the administra-


tion is falling into such disrepute at the capital. 91

However hard life became in the rest of the Southern Confederacy, it was probably a few degrees harder in Richmond. A hospital matron in the capital later recalled a trip south in October, 1864, "I noticed on my return a great difference in the means of living between Virginia and the Gulf States. Even in the most wealthy and luxurious houses in Richmond, former everyday comforts had about this time become luxuries, and have been dispensed with earlier in the war." 92 During the winter Congress raised the salaries of governmental employees in Richmond above those of workers elsewhere. 93 Indeed Judge Halyburton, Judge of the District Court of the Eastern District of Virginia, received exactly twice the salary of any other District Court judge. 94 Only too well did the Congressmen realize the difficulty of salaried people in the capital.

Late in November Warren Akin, newly elected member of the House from Georgia, arrived at his post.

I was just 9 1/2 hours going from Greensboro N. C. to Danville Va. a distance of 48 miles, traveled in a box car in the night and slept on some corn sack, but as it was not very cold, I made out pretty well. I am boarding for the present at the American Hotel, and have to pay $25 per day for board, and one dollar every time my boots are blacked, and $10 per dozen or $30 per month for washing. So my board will be at least $810 per month, and if I am here long it will
take all my pay to meet expenses traveling to and from this place and while here,--even if it will then. I know not how long I am to support my family, if this war continues long.95

Akin soon moved into a boarding house and decreased his expenses as much as possible.

I wear my flannels, drawers and night shirts two weeks, I have worn two shirts, all the past week. My handkerchiefs will get soiled, and I would wash them myself, but I have no iron to iron them. A dollar apiece for washing socks and handkerchiefs is certainly very severe.96

The Georgian began eating only two meals per day, and in just over two months at Richmond Akin lost fifteen pounds.97

Another Georgian who refugeed to Richmond revealed, "The one topic of conversation everywhere and on all occasions is 'eating,' even the ministers in the pulpit unconsciously preach of it." To ease the food shortage Dr. Minnegerode, rector at St. Paul's, formed the Richmond Soup Association.99 And the Confederate authorities impressed food to a degree that the Examiner stated, "If Richmond starves it will not be the fault of the enemy, but of the Sec. of War & impressment."100 Then the Davis administration allowed an ever-expanding number of its civilian employees to draw rations from government stores.101 In attempting to feed not only the army, but also employees in the capital with impressed food, the Confederacy resembled a Leviathan state.
Even in peacetime the redistribution of wealth would have been difficult to effect. By winter, 1864, it was well nigh impossible. Of all Southern cities Richmond felt the war's privation most keenly. The resources and the people's cooperation were nearly exhausted. In the final analysis, the expedients of Richmond's governments did little good during the war's last winter. More than one Richmonder asked with Mrs. McGuire, "What would we do without our country friends?" \(^{102}\)

The most embarrassing shortage was that of money. \(^ {103}\) During the eleven months from April, 1864, to February, 1865, Richmond's city government spent over $1,700,000; city taxes yielded just under $450,000. The sale of railroad stocks for almost one million dollars had reduced the deficit to $326,250. \(^ {104}\) Still the city foresaw no decrease in spending during 1865, and thus the Council's Finance Committee recommended tripling the tax rate and demanded that the gas and water works be self-sustaining. \(^ {105}\) The gas and water works had not been self-sustaining since the war began. In 1864 the gas works alone accumulated a deficit of over $600,000, and this when gas sold for up to $50 per 1000 cubic feet. \(^ {106}\) If the city's utilities could for once sustain themselves, if the rapid inflation of the currency did not make the tax rates almost immediately obsolete, if hoarders of city notes did not decide en masse to redeem them, if the supply of rail-
road stocks held out, if Richmond's taxpayers could meet the tripled rates, if all these improbabilities should occur—then, barring the unforeseen, the city would remain solvent another year.

The physical hardship of the last months was severe. Its cumulative effect on Richmond was indeed pitiful. The once proud capital, racked by inner pains, nearly ringed by assailants, and grown quickly old, entered second childhood. Richmonders sought release and preferred to ignore reality.

Some persons in this beleaguered city seem crazed on the subject of gayety. In the midst of the wounded and dying, the low state of the commissariat, the anxiety of the whole country, the troubles of every kind by which we are surrounded, I am mortified to say that there are gay parties given in the city.

There are those designated 'starvation parties' where young persons meet for innocent enjoyment, and retire at a reasonable hour; but there are others where the most elegant suppers are served—cakes, jellies, ices in profusion, and meats of the finest kinds in abundance, such as might furnish a meal for a regiment of General Lee's army.¹⁰⁷

Tucker DeLeon pronounced the gatherings "not the brilliant and generous festivals of the olden days of Richmond, but joyous and gay assemblages of a hundred young people, who danced as though the music of shells had never replaced that of the old negro fiddler—who chatted and laughed as if there were no tomorrow..."¹⁰⁸

One resident stated, "There seems to be a perfect mania on the subject of matrimony,"¹⁰⁹ and another wrote,
"Every girl in Richmond is engaged or about to be."\textsuperscript{110} As one lady understated, "There was certainly a painful discrepancy between the excitement of dancing and the rumble of ambulances that could be heard in the momentary lull of the music..."\textsuperscript{111} Now "the fiddles scraped and the music swelled for 'the dancers dancing in tune,' while they shut their ears and would not hear the minor key that wailed the ruin of our hopes."\textsuperscript{112}

In keeping with the gay abandon of Richmond's second youth was the wedding of General John Pegram to Hetty Cary. The people of the capital filled St. Paul's Church on January 19, 1865, for the event. One of Pegram's comrades wrote, "One of the handsomest and most lovable men I ever knew wed to the handsomest woman in the Southland—with her classic face, her pure complexion, her auburn hair, her perfect figure and her carriage altogether the most beautiful woman I ever saw in any land."\textsuperscript{113} The candlelit service was elegant, and the popular young couple received congratulations from the Confederacy's notables. Jefferson Davis sent his carriage for the bride, and his horses set tongues in motion by balking on the way to the church. Those in search of omens also discovered that the bride had torn her wedding dress as she entered St. Paul's. The nuptials proved gossipy as well as gala, and the worn capital loved it. The Pegrams
spent their honeymoon in a farmhouse near the General's command at Petersburg. 114

Meanwhile, in the saloon of a steamer in Hampton Roads, there was talk of peace. Vice President Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter, and Judge James A. Campbell met Lincoln and his Secretary of State Seward. Politely the Federal President described his terms; they amounted to unconditional surrender. The Confederate commissioners politely refused. The entire proceeding consumed one four-hour session. Jefferson Davis had expected as much. He would never cry for quarter.

Richmonders crowded the African Church on February 6 to hear the results of the Hampton Roads Conference. Davis, Hunter, Governor Smith, and others fired the throng with patriotic orations. The President's speech was perhaps the best of his career. He moved the people to renewed hope. Josiah Gorgas noted, "The war feeling has blazed out afresh in Richmond, and the spirit will I hope spread thro' the land." 115 Lee was finally Commander in Chief of all Confederate armies, and Davis had a new Secretary of War, John C. Breckinridge. 116 For a few days the desperate hope persisted—perhaps a union of all the Southern armies ...a decisive battle...Lee would save them.

Sheridan was ravaging the Shenandoah Valley; Sherman knifing through the Carolinas. Grant renewed
his assaults. And on February 6, a little while before
Richmonders shouted their patriotism in the African
Church, John Pegram fell dead in the snow. Exactly
three weeks after his wedding day the young General's
coffin lay where he had stood a bridegroom at St.
Paul's.

Beside it knelt his widow swathed in crepe. Again Dr. Minnegerode conducted
the ceremony, again the church was full.
Behind the hearse, waiting outside, stood his war charger, with boots in stirrups.
The wailing of the band that went with us
on the slow pilgrimage to Hollywood will
never die out of memory.117

The next time Josiah Gorgas wrote of morale at the
capital he said:

People are almost in a state of despera-
tion, and but too ready to give up the
cause, not that there is not patriotism
enough to sustain it, but that there is
a sentiment of hopelessness abroad—a
feeling that all our sacrifices tend to
nothing, that our resources are wasted...118

The last hours were desperate. In January the
irascible Congressman Foote departed for Washington,
personally to negotiate peace. He failed.119 Jour-
neyman cabinet member Judah Benjamin offered to resign,
if President Davis felt the action would restore con-
fidence in the administration. Davis rejected the of-
fer.120 Joseph R. Anderson, master of the Tredegar
Iron Works, petitioned the government to take over
his enterprise and manage it for the remainder of the
war. The overburdened government declined.121 On
March 14 the President approved an act of Congress authorizing him to remove the archives and to assemble Congress elsewhere. And on Congressional authority Richmond's City Council began raising a volunteer force of men over 50 years old. These desperate measures were the death throes of the capital. So little was left, and each day multiplied the cost.

The Confederacy had yielded many of its founding principles in the name of wartime expediency. Finally, the most basic of Southern mores lay sacrificed to the phantom hope of independence. The Confederates determined to take Negro slaves out of the fields and put them into the army.

In the winter of 1864-1865 only one source of manpower remained to fill up Lee's decimated ranks. The Virginia General Assembly and the Confederate Congress debated long and often bitterly the question of arming the slaves.

Wrote President Davis to Governor Smith, "My idea has been that we should endeavor to draw into our military service that portion of the negroes which would be most apt to run away and join the army of the enemy, and that this would be best effected by seeking for volunteers for our own army." Finally, in March of 1865 Congress passed a law authorizing Negro enlistment, but not guaranteeing freedom for the
slave-soldiers.\textsuperscript{125}

Negroes had dug trenches, driven wagons, and carried ammunition to release whites for the conflict. Although Negroes were still legally chattel, at the last they were soldiers too. On March 22 the curious passer-by watched field hands worth $10,000 in the inflated national currency drill in Capitol Square.\textsuperscript{126} Lee welcomed the new volunteers and urged President Davis "to carry it [the law authorizing enlistment of Negroes] into effect as soon as possible."\textsuperscript{127} The Sentinel asserted that the mamelukes were better men than the "wretches the Yankees send against us,"\textsuperscript{128} and the Examiner exhorted the government to let the slaves beat back the foe and worry about "our social mores" after victory.\textsuperscript{129}

Finally, having made the last sacrifice, the Confederacy and its capital could only vow with Lee, "I shall however endeavour to do my duty & fight to the last."\textsuperscript{130} And at the last the Confederacy and its capital were one and the same. The campaigns in northern Virginia had always been crucial; Richmond's location and logistical importance had long dictated not only strategy and tactics, but also breadth of vision. Militarily, once the Confederacy made the decision in 1864 to defend Richmond with Lee's army on Grant's terms,
the fortunes of city and state were identical. The siege narrowed the war to one campaign, one theater, one objective. And when Richmond fell the nation collapsed; Lee's army, the only viable force in the Confederacy, lasted one week after the evacuation of the capital. As one perceptive Richmonder recalled, "The tremendous efforts to capture the Capital; the superhuman exertions to defend it in the last four years, had made Richmond the cause!"¹³¹

The Confederate experience had metamorphosed the city, and in turn the conditions within Richmond had greatly influenced the Confederacy. Responding to Richmond's problems Jefferson Davis had proclaimed martial law, quelled a bread riot, and made countless other national adjustments to local situations. Now Richmond was a city-state, and the distinction between local and national blurred. Congress as well as City Council sought means to feed the city's population. The President went to the people—Richmond people at the African Church— with his indignation over Lincoln's refusal to negotiate peace. The wires and rails leading from the capital were usually open, but somehow governmental communication between Richmond and the hinterland broke down. It seemed that the problems, the crises, the people that really mattered were in Richmond.
In spirit, too, Richmond embodied the Confederacy. The nonchalance with which the city faced her perils, the contagious determination of Davis—these and other qualities were evident in the mind of the polis. The city's morale had risen and fallen in time with national fortunes. As one resident noted, "Richmond was indeed the Confederate barometer, as well as the heart and brain of our...nation."

Richmond had prayed with Jackson, danced with Stuart, and sought to emulate the nobility of Lee. Spiritually, more than any other way, Richmond and the Confederacy were one. Even the enemy knew this, for when the time came they sang:

Now Richmond has fallen, rebellion is done,
Let all men rejoice for the victory is won!
The city where slavery once dwelt in her pride
Is now in our hands and the rebellion had died,
Now Richmond is taken, they'll harm us no more,
For treason is crushed and rebellion is o'er.
Our armies have triumphed, the traitors have fled
We've captured their city, secession is dead.

Nation and capital had had quite an impact upon each other. Now like spent swimmers they clung to each other, and they went under as one.

4. Sans evertyhing

On April 1, 1865, the Sentinel proclaimed:

We are very hopeful of the campaign which is opening, and trust that we are to reap a large advantage from the opera-
tions evidently near at hand. But our people should clearly comprehend, that whatever the temporary result, and though misfortune beyond what seems in the bounds of possibility should befall us, our independence will still be in our option, and our final success will still be beyond the power of our enemies to prevent it. 134

Richard M. Smith, the Sentinel's editor, was merely saying what was expected of him. So were Foote, Benjamin, Anderson, Congress, Council, and almost everyone else. All but the blind zealots had known for weeks, even months, that the city, state, army, everything, was doomed.

When Admiral Raphael Semmes assumed command of the entire Confederate navy on February 18, his fleet numbered eight vessels. 135 At the last Lee had roughly 54,000 troops to fight off Grant's 115,000. 136 Near the end of March, 1865, R. G. H. Kean recorded, "Through the effect of Sheridan's raid [in the Shenandoah Valley] Richmond is rapidly approaching a state of famine. Bacon is $20 a pound, flour $1,200 a barrel, butter $25 a pound, beef and that the worst $10 to $12, wood $200 a cord, etc., and the supply exceedingly meager." 137 The Confederate state of Richmond was exhaustion.

Perhaps Josiah Gorgas described it best. On March 6 the faithful Rebel wrote:

The crisis of our fate is rapidly approaching, and men's minds are harassed with doubts, fears and perplexity. The
weak are for submission and those who have more fortitude are affected by the fears of the timid. A few men remain strong and if they have them conceal their fears. Wherever three or four are gathered together there are ominous whispers and dubious shakings of the head. Even those whose faiths remain unshaken find it difficult to give a reason for their faith.  

By all rational criteria the cause was already lost. Even its President saw the end. He wrote to his wife, "If I live you can come to me when the struggle is ended, but I do not expect to survive the destruction of constitutional liberty." Richmond lay in suspended animation. She was doomed. She felt this intuitively. But she would not act upon the knowledge.

Grant kept extending his lines westward. Finally, Lee's force would stretch no farther. Very early on April 2 a general Federal advance broke through the gray curtain of earth and men. Lee did not ponder long; he had to act quickly to avoid a rout. Desperately hoping to unite with Joe Johnston's remnant army, the commander in chief decided to retreat into North Carolina.

He telegraphed the war office, "I see no prospect of doing more than holding our position here till night. I am not certain I can do that." In any event he counseled the immediate evacuation of Richmond.

Lee's dreadful message reached the war office at 10:40 on that balmy Sunday morning. From the war office a courier bore the telegram one block up
Ninth Street to St. Paul's Church. Jefferson Davis was on his knees, following the ante-communion service Dr. Minnigerode road. The President took the telegram from the sexton, read it; then he quietly put on his overcoat and left the service. His departure created no disturbance; affairs of state had interrupted Davis's worship before. Soon, however, the sexton was calling out everyone connected with the government or military. By the time the city's churches had concluded their services, Richmond knew or at least sensed the worst. The Confederacy planned to evacuate that night.

President Davis assembled the heads of departments and bureaus in his office and told them of the impending flight. There was much to do. The administration's plans had been but hypothetical, for Davis never emphasized planning for defeat. Now within twelve hours the entire government must pack, load, and leave. 143

At four o'clock in the afternoon the city Council met to discuss the fate of those remaining in the doomed city. Mayor Mayo officially announced the Confederacy's decision to abandon the capital. The city fathers requested that Governor Smith leave two companies of militia to keep order in the city. Smith concurred and appeared in person to report what he knew of the government's plans. As further insurance against possible disorder, the Council appointed 25
citizens in each ward to dispose of all liquor supplies in the city. Finally, the Council resolved:

That in the event of the evacuation of the city, the Council and a committee of citizens to be appointed by the President, together with the Mayor, shall be authorized to meet the Federal authorities to make such arrangements for the surrender of the city as may best protect the interests of the citizens.144

The City Council then adjourned until nine o'clock the next morning.145

Outside the Council Chamber Richmond's streets flowed with people and property.

The office-holders were now making arrangements to get off. Every car was ordered to be ready to take them South... The people were rushing up and down the streets, vehicles of all kinds were flying along, bearing goods of all sorts and people of all ages and classes who could go beyond the corporation lines...146

Through the night the work of evacuation continued. By the early hours of April 3 the government had packed and loaded all that the available wagons and railroad cars would carry. Left behind was only a token military force to fire Mayo's Bridge when the last of Lee's army had crossed. The trains pulled away; the wagons rattled off into the night.147

No one was quite sure how the fire started.148 Captain Clement Sulivane, commanding the last Confederate force in the city, was powerless to prevent its leaping flames. His orders called for him to hold Mayo's Bridge
until Lee's rear-guard crossed, then to destroy this last span across the James. Sullivan watched as the flames illuminated the city. A mob gathered and began wildly looting and stealing. Several thousand descended upon the commissary depot at Fourteenth and Cary Streets. The Confederacy had been unable to transport the stores of food, and the mob was hungry. The City Council's committees had faithfully poured barrel after barrel of whiskey into the streets. Now the rioters scooped and drank from the gutters. The frenzy mounted as the fire spread and at last engulfed the commissariat.

Sullivan was anxious. Dawn approached and still the rear-guard had not come. The tar, pine knots, and kerosene were in place on the bridge. It could not be long until the enemy's arrival. At last General Gary's hard-pressed troops appeared. Ambulances then cavalry dashed across to the south side. "All over, goodbye; blow her to hell." In minutes the bridge was smoke and flames. Sullivan crossed ahead of the flames, sent his command on its way, and turned to watch the pyre. 149

The last Rebel had departed. Richmond's Confederate epic was over. Pain and hardship and anxiety and strain were no more, but no more would there be the challenge, the excitement, the life of this great
drama. Sullivane watched Union cavalry pass up Main Street; then the endless blue column of infantry marched through the city. He heard the "very welkin ring with cheers" as the Federals reached Capital Square. "And then we turned and slowly rode on our way."^{150}
NOTES

1. The title is from Jaques's "Seven Ages of Man" Speech in Shakespeare's As You Like It.

2. Whig, March 22, 1864.


4. Dispatch, March 26, 1864.

5. For detail see K. P. Williams, Lincoln Finds a General and T. Harry Williams, Lincoln and His Generals.

6. Johnston to Wigfall, April 5, 1864, Wigfall Papers, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

7. See Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, III, 340-46.

8. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 288.

9. Chesnut, Diary from Dixie, 399.


11. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 303.

12. Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia...1863-64..., Ch. 28.

13. Ibid., Ch. 6.


15. Council, Minutes, March 14, 1864.

16. Whig, April 4, 1864.


18. Ibid., May 14, 1864.

19. Ibid., July 11, 1864.

20. Ibid., April 11, May 31, August 30, 1864.


26. Ibid.

27. Bragg's popularity was quite low. Said the Enquirer on February 23:

...we earnestly implore the President not to dampen the enthusiasm of the people and dishearten them this early in the spring by the appointment of Gen. Bragg to any important command, where he has no superior officer.


29. Ibid., 146.

30. Sentinel, April 20, 1864.

31. Examiner, April 25, 1864.

32. Dispatch, May 16, 1864.

33. Examiner, June 9, 1864.

34. See the statement of Robert Ould, Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, in "The Treatment of Prisoners During the War Between the States," Southern Historical Society Papers, 1 (March, 1876), 125-131.


37. John Harrold, Libby; Andersonville, Florence, The

38. Abner R. Small, *The Road to Richmond: The Civil War Memoirs of Major Abner R. Small of the Sixteenth Maine Volunteers*. Together with the diary which he kept when he was a prisoner of war, Harold Adams Small, ed. (Berkeley, 1939), 160.


44. Vandiver, ed., *Gorgas Diary*, 129.


46. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, 405.

47. *Dispatch*, May 2, 1864.


49. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, 405.


55. For a full account of Early's activities see Vandiver, *Jubal's Raid*.

56. Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 303.

57. Not the least of Lee's problems (along with numbers of men and provisions) was the loss of competent subordinates. As Douglas S. Freeman pointed out with reference to May of 1864, "The battles of a single month had put 37 per cent of the general officers of the Army of Northern Virginia hors de combat. Except as Lee himself embodied it, the old organization was gone." (*Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 514.)


65. Mrs. W. M. S. to J. J. P. S., June 11, 1864, Smith Letters, 100.


67. Ibid.; June 23, 1864, 103.

68. Ibid.; June 30, 1864, 105.


70. Mrs. W. M. S. to J. J. P. S.; July 4, 1864, Smith Letters, 108.


72. Mrs. W. M. S. to Mrs. Arthur Manigault, July 29, 1864, Smith Letters, 121.

73. Mrs. W. M. S. to Mrs. Allen S. Izard, August 6, 1864, Smith Letters, 126-27.

74. Mrs. W. M. S. to J. J. P. S.; August 7 or 8, 1864, Smith Letters, 129.

75. Ibid.; August 9, 1864, 130.

76. Ibid.; August 12, 1864, 132.


78. Ibid.; September 12, 1864, 139.

79. Ibid.

80. Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, II, 295.

81. Ibid.

82. Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, III, 590-91.

83. Ibid.; '540-43.

84. W. L. Timberlake, "In the Siege of Richmond and After," Confederate Veteran, XXIX (November, 1921), 412.

86. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 590-615.

87. i.e. Richmond.


94. Ibid.; No. 6, 7.


96. Ibid., 43.

97. Ibid., 64, 105.


103. Shortages were not new in Richmond. On November 11, however, the City Council discovered that one John T. Rogers had sold a city fire engine! Rogers claimed the machine as his personal property and sold it to a Confederate quartermaster in Raleigh, North Carolina. The fire engine had belonged to a volunteer fire company, and when the city established a full-time fire department Rogers secured rights to the engine from ex-members of the company.
Naturally the former owners of the fire engine intended that it continue to serve Richmond. It took the Council a month to establish conclusively that Rogers did not own the engine. Council Minutes, November 11, December 12, 1864.

104. Ibid., February, 13, 1865.
105. Ibid., February 23, 1865.
106. Ibid., March 13, January 9, 1865.
108. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 351.
111. Ibid.
112. Wright, Southern Girl in '61, 241.
113. Cited in Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, III, 629.
114. Harrison, Recollections Grave and Gay, 201-03.
115. Vandiver, ed., Gorgas Diary, 168; Dowdey, Land They Fought For, 381-84; Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, II, 410-12.
117. Harrison, Recollections Grave and Gay, 303-05.
121. Bruce, Virginia Iron Manufacture, 421.
122. Ramsdell, ed., Laws and Joint Resolutions, No. 175.
123. Ibid., No. 191; Council, Minutes, March 15, 1865.
124. Davis to Smith, March 25, 1856, Rowland, Letters, Papers, and Speeches, VI, 522.
126. Wiley, Southern Negroes, 89; Christian, Richmond: Her Past and Present, 250.
127. Lee to Davis, March 10, 1865, Dowdey, ed., Wartime Papers, 914.
128. Sentinel, March 24, 1865.
129. Examiner, March 9, 1865.
131. DeLeon, Four Years in Rebel Capitals, 348.
132. Putnam, Richmond During the War, 187.
134. Sentinel, April 1, 1865.
135. Admiral Raphael Semmes, Memoirs of Service Afloat During the War Between the States (Baltimore, 1869), 799-808.
137. Younger, ed., Kean Diary, 204.
139. Varina Howell Davis, Memoir, II, 575.
140. Freeman, Lee's Lieutenants, III, 675-80.
141. Dowdey, Land They Fought For, 400.
142. Ibid.
143. Davis, Rise and Fall, II, 566-67; Dr. Minnigerode's description of the President receiving the evacuation message in Elizabeth Wright Weddell, St. Paul's Church, Its Historic Years and Memorials (Richmond, 1931), I, 243-44, cited in William J. Kimball, ed., Richmond in Time of War (Boston, 1960), 141-42. Josiah Gorgas did not learn of the evacuation until 1:00 PM (Vandiver, ed., Gorgas Diary, 179). Most observers, however, date their knowledge of the impending fall earlier. Dr. Minnigerode received the news before he served communion after the President's departure. For a good study of the evacuation and occupation see Rembert Patrick, The Fall of Richmond (Baton Rouge, 1962).

144. Council, Minutes, April 2, 1865.

145. Ibid. The entry in the Council minutes for April 3, 1865, reads, "The city was, on this day, occupied by the United States forces, and the Council did not, therefore, meet."

146. McGuire, Diary of a Refugee, 344.

147. See Vandiver, ed., Gorgas Diary, 179-80; McGuire, Diary of a Refugee, 342-47; Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, II, 465.

148. For example Gorgas attributed the blaze to the firing of railroad bridges (Vandiver, ed., Gorgas Diary, 180), while Jones felt explosions at the powder magazine and arsenal started the fire (Jones, Rebel War Clerk's Diary, II, 467-68).


150. Ibid., 726.
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The sources of Richmond's wartime history are numerous. Reiteration and significant omissions occasionally mar the voluminous record. In general, however, the researcher's most important function is that of interpreting and compressing his abundantly available materials.

Most important of the manuscript sources are the minute books of Richmond's City Council. The minutes offer insight into the workings of Richmond's municipal government, as well as into the minds of the Councilmen. As far as I can discover the Council's minutes have never been used extensively. They warrant a separate study. The Personal Property Tax Books and the Real Estate Tax Books offer valuable information on such topics as land values, personal wealth, male population, slave population, and the like. Unfortunately the Real Estate Tax Books after 1863 and the Personal Property Tax Books after 1862 are unavailable. The minute books of Richmond's Hustings Court provide some indication of the crime rate and the nature of crimes committed in the wartime capital.

The War Department Collection of Confederate records in the National Archives contains much material on the functions of the Confederacy in Richmond, some of which is pertinent in a study of the city itself. Among the records of the Medical Director at Richmond a "letters sent" file contains a number of detailed reports on Richmond hospitals. A collection of hospital reports presents statistics, month by month from the fall of 1862, on the population, deaths, discharges, and admissions in each of Richmond's hospitals.

The Social Statistics compiled from the Eighth Census give a good view of Richmond in 1860. Such items as the numbers and kinds of schools, periodicals, and
churches make this source an important one. Although its relevance to Confederate Richmond is limited, the minutes of the Virginia Branch of the American Colonization Society from November 4, 1823 to February 5, 1859 chronicle the activities and influence of this highly significant organization.

Beyond these items the manuscript sources of Richmond's wartime history are disappointing indeed. The Louis T. Wigfall papers at the University of Texas are a valuable record of the infighting within official circles in Richmond. Without exception, however, the other manuscript collections cited contain little relevant material.

One very good reason for the paucity of manuscript materials is that many diaries, memoirs, reminiscences and collected letters have found publication. Two valuable collections of primary sources are William J. Kimball's Richmond in Time of War and Katherine M. Jones's Ladies of Richmond: Confederate Capital. Kimball's volume is a "canned source" designed primarily to be used in teaching research paper techniques. It contains, however, several obscure and enlightening entries. The Jones work arranges quotations from Richmond ladies chronologically and in this way presents one version of Richmond's wartime history.

Atop the list of ladies whose published diaries and memoirs are especially important is Mary Boykin
Chesnut. Her *Diary from Dixie* presents a vivid portrait of social life in the capital. Mrs. Chesnut's close friend Varina Howell Davis in her *Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: a Memoir by His Wife* offers insight into her own experience as guest and matriarch in Richmond. Invaluable as a guide to hardship and refugee life in the capital is Judith W. McGuire's *Diary of a Southern Refugee During the War*. Sallie Brock Putnam's *Richmond During the War: Four Years of Personal Observation* is an interesting, although sometimes factually inaccurate record of the attitudes of a native Richmonder. Bell Wiley's edition of Phoebe Yates Pember's *A Southern Woman's Story* provides a graphic view of hospital conditions in the capital. The author's position as hospital matron and her lively writing style make this little volume one of the most interesting and important accounts of Richmond life.

The *Memoirs of Governor William Smith* (John W. Bell, ed.) present a good account of Smith's attempts to feed his constituents. Letters, speeches, and the like are appended.

The diaries and memoirs of governmental officials in Richmond are quite important. The *Letters of Warren Akin, Confederate Congressman* (Bell Wiley, ed.) gives an illuminating look at the daily life of a Georgian

Best known, and perhaps deservedly, among Richmond diaries is J. B. Jones's *Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate Capital*. Jones tampered with the original diary before he published it, and therefore much of the remarkable insight and many sage observations stem from hindsight. Still, as a day-by-day account of what one Richmond resident of importance did and thought and did, the work is unequaled. Another War Office diary is that of Head of Bureau of War Robert G. H. Kean (Younger, ed., *Inside the Confederate Government; the Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean*). Kean held a key position, and therefore his observations are more informed than those of Jones. His diary does not contain the color and volume of Jones's work, however. The *Civil War Diary of Josiah Gorgas* (Vandiver, ed.) contains the opinions and attitudes of the talented Chief of Ordnance. Gorgas's diary presents a contrast to Jones's and Kean's in terms of political opinion. Jones was a great hater. He grew to despise Jefferson Davis, Judah Benjamin, John H. Winder, and others. Kean
also held strong opinions about the Confederate leadership. He was the protege of George A. Randolph and grew to dislike Davis for displacing Randolph and James A. Seddon, Randolph's successor. Gorgas was more moderate. He liked Davis, tolerated Congress, and displayed no lasting hates.

In a class by themselves are two works of T. G. DeLeon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals* and *Belles, Beaux, and Brains of the 60's*. The gregarious DeLeon was a keen observer, and he recorded his views in skillful prose. His descriptions of society at the capital are unmatched.

Among a myriad of prisoners' accounts Alfred Ely's *Journal* is probably the least biased. Most of the literature on Richmond's prisons is highly questionable. Prisoners tell tales of harsh treatment while prison officers go to the other extreme in describing the justness of their regimes. I.N. Johnston's *Four Months in Libby and the Campaign against Atlanta* tells (as only a participant could) the exciting story of the 1864 tunnel escape.

Hospital experiences, too, are rather well documented. The best accounts come from Phoebe Yates Pember, Mrs. Fannie A. Beers (*Memories*), and the Mason Smith *Family Letters 1860-1868* (Daniel E. Huger Smith, Alice R. Huger Smith, and Arney R. Childs, eds.).
Soldiers continually passed through Richmond and enjoyed the pleasures of the city. Among the many materials some of these warriors left behind are the *Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee* and Benjamin Washington Jones's *Under the Stars and Bars*. Lee's letters to his wife as well as his official correspondence reflect conditions in Richmond and military conditions in front of the capital. Jones spent much of the war in garrison camps about the city, and his book, composed of letters to a friend, gives a good picture of the city through a soldier's eyes.

The list of sources which follows is restricted to material cited in the footnotes, plus a few additions.
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